

Strategy, Mission and the Way Forward

A collection of political reports from the
League of Revolutionaries for a New America

RALLY, COMRADES!

VOICE OF THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARIES FOR A NEW AMERICA

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Introduction

In order to be effective, revolutionary organizations must constantly step back, assess and examine the environment and conditions within which they work. From this examination they develop a strategic overview that directs them in the overall class struggle to achieve the goal of a cooperative, communist society. This means revolutionary organizations must always be asking: How do we get from where we are to where we need to be? How do we accomplish our tasks? What kind of organization is needed for this stage of history?

The League of Revolutionaries for a New America political reports are ongoing estimates of the general situation we face. They proceed from the continuity of our overall understanding of the content of the time, our political tasks, and our role as revolutionaries. They seek to deepen our National Convention documents, and to guarantee that our work is along the line of the real world. We make adjustments as necessary. Building on our treasury of knowledge, the political reports help to guide the work of the League.

The League is getting experience with analyzing the situation from the point of view of the relationship of forces (the enemy and our class); how these are moving and thinking. We also look at what we need to do and say to influence the thinking of our class, and where we need to focus. This goes beyond an analysis of this or that event, or series of events, and helps us to get a better understanding of the overall battlefield.

We proceed from the point of view that the content of the time, the impact of the technological revolution, and the general factors developing our class, are creating a commonality across the country. At the same time, these general processes express themselves locally according to history, specific conditions etc., and in this sense the reports are a guide along a general line.

The revolutionary process is moving into uncharted territory. We must leave behind the preconceptions of the past period and begin

to grapple with the new conditions. Our starting point as revolutionaries is to describe as accurately as possible the situation faced by our class, where it is in its development, and use that information to constantly examine and reexamine our political conclusions, and the strategy and tactics that flow from those conclusions. The answers to the questions revolutionaries face are not the purview of this or that person, or this or that organization. They are questions of the revolution, and as such involve all who seek to end the destruction around us and build a new world.

When it is no longer possible to reform the system, then the only solution is for the oppressed and exploited class to gain the political power to reorganize society in its own interest. The task for these leaders is to begin to look strategically at the question of how are they going to play a role in shaping the consciousness of their class so it can move forward step by step in the fight for political power.

If revolutionaries understand the significance of developing leaders so they can influence the people they lead, then the question we must answer is, how are the leaders of this revolutionary class to be developed as strategic thinkers, as revolutionaries positioned to shape class consciousness as a condition of moving along the path to revolutionary solutions? This gets to the heart of the question of what kind of organization the League is building, and what the tasks of the League are at this particular point.

The League is the place where the revolutionaries can receive the tools necessary to resolve the problems facing society today. By bringing the revolutionaries who are the leaders of the dispossessed into the League, the conditions can be set not only for their development and training but also for the League to build as the type of organization that can be about really changing things.

Revolutionaries create nothing new; they do not invent or discover. They merely express in general terms, the character and aims of the struggle, the historical movement going on in front of our very eyes. We in the League face the future with confidence. Drawing strength from the historical striving of the people, we show the meaning and possibilities of the times we are in. We put forward a solution to the ills of transformation. We present a revolutionary strategy to win the political power to reorganize society in the interest of human progress.

— *Rally, Comrades!* Editorial Board

Historical Shifts and the Danger of War

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, July 2011
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The overwhelming aspect in the world situation today is the shifting of economic power from one area of the world to another. It is very difficult to select the essential element that shifts power from one country to another. We are not talking about shifting the power from one class to another. That involves social revolution and is easy to understand. Very often we have to go back in history and discover the levers of change to help us understand this kind of a question.

SHIFTING ECONOMIC POWER IN WORLD HISTORY

One thing that stands out in world history is the fact that mighty nations, powerful nations, develop along trade routes. Whether you are considering ancient Egypt or the Middle East or the rise of China or the United States, they all became powerful as wealth production shifted from one sector of the world to another. We are seeing again a very dramatic shift of wealth creation, trading and a consequent shift of power from one area to another, from the West to the East.

This is not a short-term or easy process. We're talking about an entire portion of history. If we look back at the period of time when the Middle East was the center of wealth and culture we will see that it was the terminal of what was known as the "Silk Road," the trade route between China and the developing European market.

Why did it collapse suddenly? The invasion of America and the subsequent development of the slave trade, which was the most

profitable enterprise in history, changed everything. The triangular trade route, with Western Europe as its hub, quickly changed world economics. Gold instead of land came to represent wealth, and the “rosy dawn of capitalism” ushered in an entirely new era.

The rise of Western Europe was very dramatic and entirely tied to the slave trade. The development of the textile industry was akin to the development of electronics today. A whole new world with cotton as its base came into being. Just as globalization “naturally” grew out of electronics, imperialism “naturally” grew out of the development of industry. The West was able to colonize the so-called backward world and maintain economic hegemony through economic dependency as well as military might.

World War II changed all that. The collapse of the British Empire shifted the balance of power from West Europe to America. Jubilant capitalists declared an American century based upon the reality of the world’s dependence on U.S. food and industrial production.

U.S. imperialism is essentially financial, that is, investment rather than simply the expropriation of other people’s natural resources. Financial imperialism’s first task was to control the overthrow of the closed colonial system developed by Europe’s imperialists. This was accomplished through 30 years of slaughter of the colonial liberation movement.

Just as earlier forms of imperialism created the conditions for its destruction, so we are seeing the logic of modern imperialism creating such conditions again.

As American imperialism tightened its grip in the former colonial and semi-colonial world, it increased its investments in these countries. Industry and its infrastructure were strengthened as these countries attempted to export their way out of the entanglement of debt to the financial oligarchy. Just as the indebted world admitted the failure of export economies, the electronic revolution changed everything.

World production for a world market became possible. The rapid growth of production in the enforced low-wage areas and the lightening-like shifting of finance and speculative capital created conditions for demographic factors to assert themselves.

CHINA AND U.S. GEO-STRATEGY

China, through its revolution, put an end to its “century of humiliation” and began the process of reclaiming its country. The rap-

id development of its industrial base along with a rapid expansion of its population placed China again in a central position in the world's fastest growing market.

Let us look at the demographics. Asia, with an overall 30% of the world's landmass, holds 60% of the world's population. During the 20th century the Asian population quadrupled. There are 731 million people in Latin America and the Caribbean with one billion in Africa. Clearly, it would only be a matter of time before these relatively backward nations were pulled into the effects of international trade and commerce and then begin the process of struggling for their independence and finally dominance of their areas.

Change involves destruction — it has always been a violent process. As the shifting of world power accelerates, so does the danger associated with change. Henry Kissinger's statement made in a CNN interview this year with Fareed Zakaria that with "China's increasing power and economic security, dealing with the Communist nation poses a 'big challenge' for the United States," is a case in point.

"There are elements in China who, particularly after the financial crisis, feel that there has been a fundamental shift in the balance of power and that the international conduct of China and the results of its conduct should reflect this," he stated. America has been dominant in the last 50 years — China has been dominant in 1,800 of the last 2,000 years.

"America is entering a world in which we are neither dominant nor can we withdraw, but we are still the most powerful country. How to conduct ourselves in such a world? China is the most closely approximate country in terms of power. And one with such a complex history. It is a big challenge."

This is diplomatic talk covering preparation for war. China is concerned with America's steady progress in encircling China with military outposts. A military post today is a squad of specialists who are trained in the destruction of space platforms and the triangulation that guarantees the accuracy of rockets.

The Chinese are well aware of these dangers and are discussing the situation. The U.S. arms deal with Taiwan last year is understood to be a key part of the U.S. strategy to encircle China and the East region, allowing the U.S. to have a footprint from Japan to the Republic of Korea to Taiwan.

In an article published in January, 2011, the renowned military

strategist, Air Force Colonel Dai Xu, summarized the U.S. geostrategy and its impact on China's interests. "China is in a crescent-shaped ring of encirclement," he wrote. "The ring begins in Japan, stretches through nations in the South China Sea to India, and ends in Afghanistan. Washington's deployment of anti-missile systems around China's periphery forms a crescent-shaped encirclement."

Ni Lexiong, an expert on military affairs with the Shanghai Institute of Political Science and Law, told the *Guangzhou Daily* in February of this year, "The U.S. anti-missile system in China's neighborhood is a replica of its strategy in Eastern Europe against Russia. The Obama administration began to plan for such a system around China after its project in Eastern Europe got suspended."

Tang Xiaosong, Director of the Center of International Security and Strategy Studies with Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, said that the encirclement can be expanded at any time in other directions to India or to other Southeast Asian countries. The U.S. efforts to sell these countries the Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC)-3 missile defense system is one indication of this. This, of course, is being closely watched, as any "integration of India into the U.S. global missile defense system, would profoundly affect China's security." ("China Circled by Chain of U.S. Anti-Missile Systems," *China Daily*, February 22, 2011)

We should note that both the U.S. and China have a first strike nuclear doctrine. In other words, the slightest miscalculation on either side could launch the rockets. A new world order is emerging, and we should expect world relations to become even more volatile, with all the social and political consequences for us as revolutionaries in this country.

MILITARIZATION OF U.S. ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

It is not possible to speak of the militarization of American society and its economy without keeping uppermost in our minds what this economy is. Wikipedia gives us a brief synopsis:

"The economy of the United States is the world's largest national economy. Its nominal GDP was estimated to be nearly \$14.7 trillion in 2010, approximately a quarter of nominal global GDP. Its GDP purchasing power parity was also the largest in the world, approximately a fifth of global GDP at purchasing power parity. The U.S. economy also maintains a very high level of output per capita. In 2009, it was estimated to have a per capita GDP (PPP) of \$46,381,

the 6th highest in the world. The U.S. is the largest trading nation in the world. Its two largest trading partners as of 2010 are China and Mexico.”

It is difficult to sort out various aspects of the economy since the so-called military industrial complex has existed since WWI, and is entangled with every aspect of our economic and social life.

The militarization of the economy is summed up in these few statistics: In the past nine years, non-industrial production in the U.S. has declined by some 19 percent. It took about four years for manufacturing to return to levels seen before the 2001 recession — and all those gains were wiped out in the current recession. By contrast, military manufacturing is now 123 percent greater than it was in 2000 — it has more than doubled while the rest of the manufacturing sector has been shrinking.

As for the ongoing militarization of American society — rather than paraphrase, it is worth quoting a section of Michael Sherry’s book, *In the Shadow of War: The United States since the 1930s*:

“Though the United States never completely demobilized following World War I, and standing forces were maintained to a greater extent in the years that followed it, World War II was the driving force that utterly changed this historical pattern of general neglect of the military. During the Second World War, the United States underwent total mobilization of all available national resources to fight and win, alongside her allies, a total war against Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, a mobilization of resources far greater than that which took place during the entire previous history of the United States.”

In 1977, after the Vietnam war and the Watergate crisis, President Jimmy Carter began his presidency, Sherry writes, with “a determination to break from America’s militarized past.” However, increased defense spending in the era of President Ronald Reagan brought the military-industrial complex back into prominence.

As for the militarization of American society — the economy and the society are joined. In his 2005 review of Andrew J. Bacevich’s *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*, Tony Judt puts it well.

“The United States,” Judt writes, is becoming “not just a militarized state but a military society: a country where armed power is the measure of national greatness, and war, or planning for war, is the exemplary (and only) common project.”

“...Why does the US Department of Defense currently maintain 725 official US military bases outside the country and 969 at home (not to mention numerous secret bases)? Why does the US spend more on defense than all the rest of the world put together? After all, it has no present or likely enemies of the kind who could be intimidated or defeated by star wars missile defense or bunker-busting ‘nukes.’ And yet this country is obsessed with war: rumors of war, images of war, ‘preemptive’ war, ‘preventive’ war, ‘surgical’ war, ‘prophylactic’ war, ‘permanent’ war.

“... Among democracies, only in America do soldiers and other uniformed servicemen figure ubiquitously in political photo ops and popular movies. Only in America do civilians eagerly buy expensive military service vehicles for suburban shopping runs. In a country no longer supreme in most other fields of human endeavor, war and warriors have become the last, enduring symbols of American dominance and the American way of life.

“But Bacevich’s deepest concern lies closer to home,” Judt writes. “In a militarized society the range of acceptable opinion inevitably shrinks. No nation, as James Madison wrote in 1795 and Bacevich recalls approvingly, can ‘preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare. Full-spectrum dominance’ begins as a Pentagon cliché and ends as an executive project.” (“The New World Order”, *NYT Review of Books*, July 14, 2005)

The chilling reality is summed up in the fact that Chicago has three military elementary schools.

This militarization of society could not take place without an unending propaganda campaign. Every day the TV spends hours convincing the people that it is glorious to be severely wounded. The government, the military, the educational system, the media and industry have become a machine of unending war and a militarized society to support it. This is the face of American fascism and describes the difficult task that lies before us.

Third Party: Breaking the Ties That Bind

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, September 2011
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The U.S. two-party system that has protected the economy is in crisis and in the beginning stages of self-destruction. The capitalist class knows that it can no longer rule in the old ways. From the state budget battles to the fight for immigrant rights, for decent health care and the protection of public education, to the Occupy Wall Street movement, the American people are increasingly aware that something is terribly wrong. They are demanding that the government solve their problems and they are growing increasingly restless at the government's refusal to do so.

The impulse toward a third party is arising from historical tendencies. At the same time, it is being formed and shaped within the context of the qualitatively new conditions and the struggles that are arising on the basis of those conditions. Regardless of the form, these struggles can all be traced back to the same content — the disruption and destruction of the capitalist system, caused by electronic production — and the battle to reorganize society on the foundation of that new means of production.

The struggles are intense, but in a historical sense they are just beginning. The political consciousness that is injected into the motion now will help to shape its content as the struggle develops.

RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE RUST BELT

The response to the economic crisis began to play itself out on the level of the cities and states of this country following the 2010 elections. These elections helped push forward open attacks on the

working class while furthering the shifting of wealth to corporations and the wealthy.

The struggle against the state budget cuts and against the attacks on collective bargaining in the spring of 2011 went through interrelated and overlapping phases. Open protests against pending legislation took the form of occupation in the various cities. The struggle moved into various petition campaigns for repeals or recalls and then to elections to recall elected officials or overturn legislation. This process varied in different states according to political conditions on the ground.

The first phase saw the open demonstrations at state capitals throughout the Rust Belt. Daily occupations and protests took place as the first volley was fired at the public employees, state-by-state. Even though those protests were some of the largest of such gatherings since the 1930s and 1960s, they still were not enough to stop the onslaught, as the state legislatures moved to reshape the government to serve the corporations over those of the people. Wisconsin, Ohio and Michigan became the front line battle grounds.

The response to the attack expressed different degrees of intensity. In both Wisconsin and Ohio the budget bills proposed were passed by their legislatures, and their governors signed them. The bills were direct attacks on the collective bargaining rights of all public sector workers in those states. The attacks in those two states opened a militant response from all sections of organized labor. This helped to unite the workers in both states in the private and public sectors.

Rapid, decisive and successful recall and repeal campaigns in the first phase were carried out in Wisconsin and Ohio against the Republican representatives. In the next phase, Wisconsin workers needed to win three recall seats in the Senate to have the majority. They were successful in winning only two seats. So, the Republicans maintained the majority.

In the case of Ohio the repeal process was very successful. They needed 300,000 signatures statewide but were successful in getting one million more. In these two campaigns, the struggles were intense. The fight has polarized the population of each state as the workers attempt to beat back the corporate control being imposed upon them.

In Michigan the attacks were different. Governor Rick Snyder and corporate forces relied on the old divide and conquer strategy

of setting one group against another. Thus all public employees are not under attack, just the state employees. Not all seniors' pensions are being taxed, just those in a certain age bracket. The Governor of Michigan has been successful in this attack on one entity at a time; thus the solidarity across the state was less rapid.

The Democratic Party of Michigan openly declared it would have nothing to do with either of the petitions, the "Recall of Governor Snyder" or the "Repeal of Public Act 4" (Emergency Manager), which has the power to take over cities, townships and school districts. Labor unions in the state only gave lip service to the efforts. However, AFSCME and the teacher unions helped with printing costs for the "Repeal of Public Act 4" petitions.

The petitioning was strictly an all-volunteer effort in Michigan. A broad section of individuals collected signatures on both the "Recall of Governor Snyder" and the "Repeal of Public Act 4," even though there are only three cities — Benton Harbor, Ecorse and Pontiac, Michigan and the Detroit School District — that are currently affected by Emergency Managers.

However, the state is already extracting concessions from other cities. In the city of Northville, the school teachers ratified a contract that increases their health care out-of-pocket costs from \$300 to \$3,000. And Detroit police had to sign a contract ending their pensions, forcing them to use 401Ks.

Michigan is experiencing one of the worst economic crises in history: people are being cut off welfare, and more cuts to safety net programs are on the way. The Michigan Legislature voted for Governor Snyder's 48 months (4 years lifetime) "time limitation" for people on welfare (part of Clinton's so-called welfare reform of 1996), which will affect tens of thousands of people, including up to an estimated 45,000 children. Almost 25% of Michigan's children already live in poverty. How will the families feed their children, pay their rent or house notes, and what about their health care? The people of this country are in a war, and revolutionaries need to educate the working class about their role in this war.

As a result of all these struggles, there is a bubbling of interest in the Rust Belt toward building all kinds of parties. The "legitimate" institutions and organizations are not part of this process. What is left is anger, frustration and a large mass of people that have no organizational expression, no leadership speaking on their behalf, who at any point can explode.

U.S. THIRD PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Motion toward a third party development is underway in the U.S. The trade unions are widening their independence from the Democratic Party. Obama's base of independent voters and what is left of the old Roosevelt coalition is adrift. While there is no widespread, organized popular call being made at this time for such a party, preliminary underground developments are occurring through pre-party probing in the form of articles, declarations, meetings, discussions, conferences, etc.

While most of this talk appears unconnected, it represents a third party motion that has one foot inside the Democratic Party pushing it do the right thing, with the other foot outside, discussing the need to create new reformist political parties to the left of the Democratic Party. After (and possibly before) the 2012 general elections we should expect to see more rapid motion and organization directed towards the development of third parties.

We must always ask ourselves a fundamental question during each and every step along the revolutionary line of march, "What are the American people prepared to understand at this time?"

Recent polls indicate that an increasing number of Americans would look favorably on the creation of a third or fourth party. Two pollsters, Patrick Caddell and Douglas Schoen, pulled together the results of these polls in an August 25, 2011 Wall Street Journal Op-Ed piece entitled "Expect a Third-Party Candidate in 2012." "A Rasmussen Reports poll conducted [in August]" they wrote, "found that 'just 17% of likely U.S. voters think that the federal government today has the consent of the governed,' while an extraordinary 69% 'believe the government does not have that consent.'"

"More than half (51%) of voters favored having a third major political party," the article went on. "Nearly one-third (31%) said that having a third major party in our country is very important. Voters favored having a major third party run a candidate for president in 2012 by a margin of 58% to 13% — with one in five saying they were absolutely certain or very likely to vote for a third-party candidate."

"In line with these findings, 52% of all respondents in a May Gallup poll said there is a need for a third party," and for the first time in Gallup's history, "a majority of Republicans polled embraced the idea."

Historically the working class has been economically tied to the

capitalist class at the point of production. It's been politically tied to the capitalist class through the Democratic Party. Today, the Democratic Party remains the glue that ties the workers to the capitalists politically. That's why the League's strategy is to throw the blow at the middle — the Democratic Party — to break that connection as a first step towards the development of working class political independence.

Is the development of a third party a blow that strikes at this middle? It is, and revolutionaries should welcome and embrace motions towards a third party. As workers are increasingly thrown out of the production process and out of the capitalist economy, the subjective political ties are beginning to fray and break. The process is accelerated with the development of a third party, which becomes a new environment and school for political independence from capitalist rule.

Tactical alliances with bourgeois third party developments are temporary and necessary alliances that are totally consistent with and along the revolutionary line of march. While the League fights side by side with other forces to create a third party, it remains poised to fight those expressions that advance any form of exploitation and private property.

As revolutionaries we are integrally, intimately and forever committed to the development of working class political independence and development of class consciousness, to take each step and complete each stage along the revolutionary line of march.

INVESTIGATE, STUDY, LEARN FROM HISTORY

Philosophy teaches that things develop as sublation — destruction and preservation. What will be destroyed? What will be preserved?

To answer these questions and plan ahead, a deep understanding of American politics and the political apparatuses is necessary. Some inquiry is needed into what are the rebellious groupings or cores within the existing apparatuses that can attract all these loose groups that today are putting out feelers for a third party. A third party will not come from someone's wishes. It will arise from historical tendencies, and the development of the tendencies over a long period of time.

When we talk about a third party we must keep uppermost in our minds that we are talking about a bourgeois party, a party that

will be formed to save private property — if not capitalism. The formation of such a party does not require the same kind of radical break with tradition that a worker's party will demand.

What do we learn from the last big effort toward forming a third party? The Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) in 1948 was in a very difficult situation. It seemed that fascism was going to take over in the U.S. In this difficult situation, the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) became the chief organizers of the PPP, dropping its independent role entirely. It was correct to accept the goals of the PPP, but they never identified their own independent positions. As a result, it was crushed right along with the CPUSA. The CPUSA did as well as it did because Henry Wallace, an anti-communist, was a decent person who wouldn't red bait within the PPP.

The people who are moving toward a third party today are much more bourgeois, more anti-communist and less experienced.

Finally, we have to understand what is driving the third party motion today. In 1948 it was the holdovers of the Roosevelt coalition and all they represented. Today there is an objective process forcing this process forward. It is the irreversible development of electronics, with the resultant decline in the value and standards of labor and the inevitable leap to a qualitatively new social order.

TASKS OF THE LEAGUE

At the heart of all the struggles today is the effort by the ruling class to realign the political superstructure to protect private property and the naked rule of the corporations, and the resistance to those efforts by a growing section of the American people.

The ruling class has no intention of allowing the growing mass of propertyless to have a political voice. In the face of the ruling class juggernaut, the American people have no representation, and there is nothing on the horizon that speaks for the people, who themselves are scattered and divided as to their true interests.

We will now see the importance of a line of march. Now that calls for a third party are emerging it is important to move carefully, not so far ahead as to lose the connection with other revolutionaries, but not too timidly to end up simply following behind. It will be essential to visualize a progression from where and how political resistance evolved in this country, to learn how to develop it as a basis for the qualitative step into a worker's party.

The war must be won on the political battlefield. The League con-

centrates on the political aspects of the struggle, defending democracy for everyone. But democracy is impossible without defeating the economic power of the corporations, and the only way to do that is to take over the corporations.

Nationalization of the corporations in the interests of the workers is the next step in achieving the ultimate goal of gaining the political power to guarantee that the socially necessary means of production are finally placed in the hands of the people.

The call for nationalization sums up the demands of the people, and offers a solution. The fight to unify around this next step is the environment in which the League can assist the class in seeing its historic mission, present a vision of the future that is possible, and disseminate a strategy to achieve it.

Solving the Riddle of History

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, July 2012
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The introduction of labor-replacing technology is destroying value, polarizing society and giving rise to the formation of a new class of workers — the majority of which includes contingent, below-minimum wage and part-time workers. A new section of the working class, they are a new quality within it. Increasingly driven out of the relationship between worker and capitalist, they are forced to fight for a new society where society owns the means of production and the social product is distributed according to need. The actual program of this new class is to abolish private property, and this program is in the interest of the whole of society.

Objectively, the historic role of the new class is to unite all those who can be united and lead society forward to this new world. All wealth, all property has been created by the exploitation of human labor — from slave to serf to wage-slave — and appropriated as the private property of the ruling class. Only the elimination of private property can end the class system and its various forms of exploitation. All of the inequalities that human beings have known and continue to suffer today are rooted in this fundamental relation between the owning class and the exploited class.

The ability of the new class to fulfill its historic role will depend on it achieving consciousness of itself as a class and consciousness of its historic mission. That consciousness has to be brought to it by revolutionaries.

POLARIZATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Our society is based on the unity of two contradictory poles — a capitalist class that owns the socially necessary means of produc-

tion, and a working class which essentially owns nothing but their ability to work at these means of production. One side sells labor power; the other sells the wherewithal to create this labor power. This is their essential economic connection. If these poles stood starkly in opposition to one another they would soon tear society apart over the division of the social product. Spontaneously, and by design, social and economic gradations on both sides prevent this. Our society has not only poles, but also almost numberless gradations from poverty to wealth, the most important being a bribed, skilled, secure "labor aristocracy" with one foot in the proletariat and the other in the lower ranks of the capitalist class. Each social stratum inter-penetrates the next, tying them all together into a stable society.

How can such a leviathan be overthrown? The beginning of change is polarization, which the dictionary defines as "a sharp division into opposing factions." For polarization to begin, some qualitative aspect of the old has to be removed, or some aspect of a new quality has to be introduced. Since the "middle" in any process holds the poles together, something has to be introduced that destroys this middle and creates polarization.

This "something" of a new quality is labor-replacing, automated production. With the introduction of robotics, the relation between the sale of labor power and the purchase of the means of subsistence began to break. With such an attack against the qualitative foundations of the economic order, everything else came under attack. Capitalists lost their political dependency on the "labor aristocracy" which in turn lost the good jobs and the life that went with it. All the ideological and social institutions connected to the old order came under fire. The "welfare state" which guaranteed a docile, healthy, educated workforce began to be dismantled.

As the economic and social "middle" began to disintegrate, the poles, or opposing factions, have begun to clash in a real way for the first time since the Civil War. We are only at the beginning of the beginning of polarization, but the process is now irreversible.

This destruction and polarization is objective. It is not the result of someone's idea or wish, but the inevitable outcome of an economic revolution on the one hand and a static political and social structure on the other. So, as the economy polarizes, so does society. Consequently, the legal, social and ideological threads that held society together are breaking. What we have known as democracy is

coming under attack from all sides.

Considering the large percentage of people who were not allowed to participate in formulating these laws, we have never had a real democracy. What we did have was widespread ownership of petty capital, i.e., small businesses and especially the family farm. Such economic independence made it impossible to govern without consensus. Despite the horrors of chattel slavery, the centuries of the Native American holocaust, and the political exclusion of the female half of the population — the political life of the country, American democracy, “our way of life” was stable. There was a community of interest so long as there was a community of ownership.

As technology replaces labor, the economic, political, ideological and social “middle” threatens to burst asunder. The community of interest between a very large section of the population and the giant corporations threatens to dissolve into thin air. The strengthening community of interest between the government and the corporations replaces the former community and becomes the foundation for a new form of rule. This is fascism.

Faced with an expanding property-less mass of workers with constantly declining standards of living, the ruling class is forced to discard the trappings of democracy in one political and social arena after another. The rise of fascism during the 1920s and 30s was political — it was a program that a section of society visualized and fought for. Today, the rise of fascism is objective; there is no other way to preserve private property.

THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE UNITY OF THE NEW CLASS

The only way out for the new class — and all those who can be united — is to abolish private property in the means of production altogether. The new class is objectively communist, which is to say history is forcing it in the direction of a communal or cooperative society, since this is the only way it and the majority of the working class can survive in the age of electronics.

Although it will be a long and difficult process, it is objectively possible today for the majority of the working class to unite around a program that is in their common interest, thereby making it possible for them to lead society to communism.

Labor-replacing electronic production and globalization are cre-

ating the objective conditions for the majority of the working class to unite. In the past period of industrial development, temporary unity of the privileged section of the working class was possible, but it was not possible for the workers to unite as a class. Racism, backed up by the social privileges granted the white poor over the Black, kept people divided. Today, white workers are finding themselves on the street corner begging for food alongside of Black workers. Whether the new class realizes it yet or not, white, Black, immigrants — documented and undocumented — are all victims of the capitalist system.

However, it's important that we see that a new form of racism is developing that can interfere with class unity and be used to develop a fascist culture. Of necessity, this new form of racism is not based on color. As the ruling class and the professional classes have increasingly become integrated, racism based simply on color has to be eliminated. This new form of racism is directed against the "ghetto Blacks," the "illegal immigrant" and the white, so-called "trailer trash." In other words, class and cultural differences with the ruling class, not color, are emerging as the ideological basis for the assault on a section of the new class. If not checked, the ruling class propaganda offensive can serve to isolate this section of the class from the rest of the class, as well as from society.

Unity isn't automatic. It has to be fought for by conscious people. The white workers are being pushed down, but there is still a fundamental difference between the situations of lower-class blacks and lower-class whites. Nonetheless, the American ruling class is no longer giving anything to anyone. Dispossessed whites are being forced down to the social and economic level of the Black dispossessed and this is creating the objective conditions for unity of this section of the class. Indeed, in many cases around the country, such as the murder of Trayvon Martin and the widespread revulsion of videotaped beatings of the undocumented at the border, and the killings in Anaheim, among others, impulses toward unity are beginning to appear.

PROGRAMMATIC CONTENTION

All sections of society are being affected by the extreme shifts in wealth and the growing polarization between wealth and poverty and are drawn into struggle. All sorts of programmatic appeals — program in the sense of how to solve a problem — contend for dominance.

In the run-up to the 2012 elections, candidates of both political parties preach their claims to the best route to saving the “middle class.” These calls do not address the needs of masses of people who never benefitted much from the past period of capitalist expansion. Nor is it possible to protect something that has already been destroyed. For millions of formerly well-paid workers — the so-called “ ” — the good jobs are gone forever.

Programmatic agitation against “big government” is a natural response to the bailout. Workers who owed their social and financial security to the expansion of capitalism and its market suddenly found themselves dispossessed of the American Dream just as the government made an unconcealed transfer of wealth of unprecedented magnitude to the banks and other corporations. This anti-big-government programmatic theme relieves the government of responsibility to serve the public interest. It is often culturally coded to appeal to the backward, racist, and self-defeating channels of thinking carved out by the American history of slavery, genocide, and discrimination. Its struggle to rise to predominance is fostering the ideological conditions for a fascist movement.

The growing anti-corporate sentiment represents an awakening of the interests of the people against the corporations, the interests of the 99% against the 1%. But it does not necessarily challenge the ever more direct political power of the corporations and the ever more apparent class nature of the State.

Proposals to forgive some portion of home mortgage debt or student debt could redistribute a trickle of money — much welcomed for students facing a lifetime of debt or families in danger of losing their homes. But these proposals do not solve the problem of diminishing wages, the elimination of jobs, and the inability to pay for the necessities of life.

Changes in the State have inseparably intertwined the corporations and the government, aligning the power of the State itself against every social struggle. The immediate problems and disasters of the day cannot be resolved as long as the corporations and the capitalists as a class hold political power.

THE WAY FORWARD

The demands of the new class for the food, housing, education, health care and an opportunity to contribute to society are summed up as the demand for a cooperative society. This program of the

new class is the only program that can solve the problems faced by society.

The contention over what to do about people's immediate needs sets the stage for the coalescing of a defining consciousness of who is fighting whom and who is the target of that struggle. The program of the new class holds the potential to politicize the developing awareness and to develop consciousness of the program that can resolve those problems and inspire it with the determination to struggle for the political power to reconstruct society.

The task of revolutionaries is to introduce new ideas into the minds of the combatants, to make them see that their fight is to build a new society, and give them a vision of the economic paradise that is possible if the new means of production are taken over by the people.

The League of Revolutionaries for a New America has set as its mission to unite the scattered revolutionaries on the basis of the demands of the new class and to educate them to a cooperative, communist resolution of the problems. It is dedicated to assembling a core of revolutionary propagandists who can create the conditions for this new, revolutionary, objectively communist class to play its role in history.

Strategy, Mission and the Way Forward

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, September 2012
Rally, Comrades! Volume 22 Edition 6, November/December 2012

In order to be effective, revolutionary organizations must constantly step back, assess and examine the environment and conditions within which they work. From this examination they must develop a strategic overview that directs them in the overall class struggle to achieve the goal of a cooperative, communist society. This means revolutionary organizations must always be asking — How do we get from where we are to where we need to be? How do we accomplish our tasks? What kind of organization is needed for this stage of history?

FINDING THE CENTER OF GRAVITY

The term center of gravity is a scientific term most often used in military contexts. In his book, *On War*, the great military strategist Karl von Clausewitz described centers of gravity emerging from the “overruling relations of both parties”; that is, a center of gravity is relevant only in relation to an enemy. It matters because of its effect on an enemy or a situation. “One must keep the dominant characteristics of both belligerents in mind”, Clausewitz wrote. “Out of these characteristics a certain center of gravity develops, the hub of all power and movement, on which everything depends. That is the point against which all our energies should be directed.” There “is no higher and simpler law of strategy” he wrote “than to focus military force on the most vulnerable part of your enemy’s defense”, dubbed the center of gravity.

For the League, the center of gravity is a political question. The

League uses the concept as a means of developing an assessment and a plan to address the overall class struggle. We ask ourselves: What is going to be the heart of that struggle? Where do we concentrate in order to push the process forward?

We look first at what is objectively happening in America, where the enemy is the most vulnerable. We have to determine the group which at this time, under these particular conditions we see developing in the real world, that can pull the whole process forward along the path to a communist society. Once we identify this “center of gravity,” it is essential to develop a plan that has the goal of politically influencing this group as a means of politically influencing the class as a whole. At the same time, through taking this strategic approach, an organization of revolutionaries not only shapes the political and intellectual formation of the class, but seeks to influence the coming revolution in America.

THE DISPOSSESSED AND LRNA STRATEGY

For many years, the League has written about the emergence of a new class. Part of the working class, this new class is being created by the qualitatively new means of production of electronics.

The current electoral rhetoric showed quite clearly that the discussion over jobs is directed toward those who have had decent jobs and are now falling into economic instability and poverty. It is directed to that group of people in America whose economic situation puts them in a position to move the entire revolutionary process forward. These millions of people we call the dispossessed are at the core of the new class.

The dispossessed are relatively well-educated (with at least a high school education), have had jobs, have lived in a fairly decent situation, and have been socially active and socially aware in that they vote, attend church or participate in some kind of civic or community activity.

The foreclosure crisis and loss of income have widened the gap within the class, but whites are not the only members of the dispossessed. Along with a large number of whites, a disproportionate number of African Americans and Hispanics were victims of the foreclosure crisis, which resulted in wiping out 90% of their wealth.

The dispossessed are not at all a cohesive political entity, and have been pitted against one another along color, ethnic, gender and religious lines. Because they are part of the unraveling “mid-

dle" of American politics that supported the policies of the ruling class, they tend to be the most socially and economically conservative.

Yet, their deteriorating economic position puts them in a position where they have to move against their conditions. It is impossible to predict which way they are going to move, but when they do they are going to pull — by virtue of their position in society — a huge section of society with them.

MICHIGAN IS HARBINGER

We can see the beginnings of this process in the situation faced by the workers in Michigan. There, the dispossessed are among the tens of thousands of workers who have been battling valiantly for their very survival, fighting to have the needs of the people met, in some cases struggling to defend against more cuts to vital services and a continuing decline in their standard of living.

Now, democracy itself is at stake. Public Act 4 (also known as the "dictator law") displaces the duly elected representatives of local governments and imposes a state-appointed "Emergency Manager" to rule over the people, without the consent of the governed.

Seeing their democracy going down the drain, the people have mounted an effort to repeal Public Act 4 through a referendum on the ballot in November. Despite a spirited campaign, the State moved at every turn to block their efforts. Leaders of the movement ran into a wall: the question for them, and for us, is how do we move forward if there is no legal or political redress of our grievances? Finally, it was placed on the ballot and the people of Michigan voted it down. Undeterred, the ruling class is now gearing up to force through another round of Emergency Manager legislation.

The handwriting on that wall is: "No more reforms are possible." Or, in other words, it has never been more clear that these are revolutionary times. From New Deal to No Deal, the ruling class is shutting the door on reform, on even the most incremental amelioration of the misery of the people.

This predicament is being manifested in many ways and on all fronts around the world. The workers of Greece waged a massive and intense struggle for reform, or just to maintain the reforms won in a past period, but the ruling class did not budge. The uprisings of the Arab Spring have seen their efforts turned back.

Across the U.S. we see, as in Michigan, cities and states teetering

on bankruptcy even as they absorb one wave of budget cuts after another. Where is the ability to turn that around, or even to slow it down? The doors are being shut.

Anaheim and many other cities have felt the full brunt of a police state bent on exacting its control through brute force. The G8 and NATO meetings as well as the Republican and Democratic national conventions were armed camps.

Even the elections, that last spectacle of bourgeois democracy, were an exhibition of the two ruling political parties who have no real solutions to offer. In other words, no real reforms are possible. More important is what is coming after the elections. The likely scenario is a continuing stalemate in Washington, the inability to address the cause of this epochal crisis — the growing permanent joblessness — and an accompanying fiscal crisis that threatens to drag us off a cliff.

This is not a doomsday scenario, however. Not to fight, or to give up all hope, is not an option. The question is not whether or not to keep on fighting, but *how* we fight. This is where matters of strategy and identifying the political center of gravity come in.

STRATEGY AND LEADERSHIP

Revolutionaries base their work on what is arising. At this time, under these conditions, that is the political and social motion of the dispossessed. They are not going back to work. They have no redress for their grievances. The capitalists have nothing for them. They are being pushed outside not only capitalist relations, but out of bourgeois society, where they no longer play any role whatsoever. They are pitted against one another by the ruling class and told that their problems are the results of one another.

The ruling class understands the significance of this grouping, but it has nothing to provide them but ideology. America is getting close to the stage economically when the American people cannot keep talking about the social and ideological questions in the face of their families living on the streets or going without food. The strategy of the ruling class is to prevent awareness and identity of different classes in America, and to stop people moving in their own interests along those lines. The League makes sure that class interests and class identity are part of every discussion.

To influence the movement, revolutionaries also have to figure out how to work within this section at this time. Masses are moved

through the people who influence them. We commonly call these “leaders,” but we do not mean this in the traditional sense. Leaders are those who influence others, who step forward and seek to solve the political problems they and others face.

When it is no longer possible to reform the system, then the only solution is for the oppressed and exploited class to gain the political power to reorganize society in its own interest. The task for these leaders is to begin to look strategically at the question of how are they going to play a role in shaping the consciousness of their class so it can move forward step by step in the fight for political power.

If revolutionaries understand the significance of developing leaders so they can influence the people they lead, then the question we must answer is: How are the leaders of this revolutionary class to be developed as strategic thinkers, as revolutionaries positioned to shape class consciousness as a condition of moving along the path to revolutionary solutions? This gets to the heart of the question of what kind of organization the League is building, and what the tasks of the League are at this particular point.

The League is the place where the revolutionaries can receive the tools necessary to resolve the problems facing society today. By bringing the revolutionaries who are the leaders of the dispossessed into the League, the conditions can be set not only for their development and training but also for the League to build as the type of organization that can be about really changing things.

WIDESPREAD PROPAGANDA

These leaders are scattered everywhere. How do we reach them?

In the words of one seasoned revolutionary fighter in the escalating battles in Michigan, “When you look at what we are faced with, it means that there is nothing left for us but widespread propaganda.”

Doing widespread propaganda does not mean that revolutionaries step away from the heat of battle or propagandize from a distance. Revolutionaries accomplish their mission by working within the practical struggle. From within the struggle, revolutionaries offer solutions to the questions of the day, pushing the movement forward along its line of march from scattered defensive battles to united political struggle. Every struggle becomes a battle over actual interests and a school for revolutionary ideas.

When the doors are being shut by the ruling class, for example,

the development of third parties such as the Green Party is inevitable, and this helps to open a door to take us along the path in which the struggle must go to achieve its goals. When the government puts the needs of the corporations above those of the people, the struggle for nationalization of vital resources and services pushes the struggle along the path to taking over the corporations in the interest of the people. When public education is attacked on every front, the teachers' struggle for better conditions for students and for decent public education for all allows for bringing into the struggle the vision of a cooperative society.

All of League propaganda is aimed at getting the LRNA in a position to influence this growing discontented mass in America. We do widespread propaganda, but we recognize that simply by attacking everything we attack nothing. We aim at the center of gravity, that core that can pull the whole revolutionary process forward. Therefore in line with our estimate, the League directs its propaganda at the conditions and concerns of the growing core of dispossessed and particularly those who are emerging as leaders from its ranks. This is the meaning of the League's mission: "To unite the scattered revolutionaries on the basis of the demands of the new class, to educate and win them over to the cooperative, communist resolution of the problem."

The League has the weapons to accomplish its mission. The presses and their interrelationship each play a particular role. The presses of the movement cast the net wide, providing the basis for League propaganda. At the same time, particularly through *Rally, Comrades!* and other forms of propaganda, and through education, the League is able to present to the leaders of the dispossessed an understanding of the problems they face and a strategy for victory.

Elections 2012: Austerity, Third Parties, and the Global Economy

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, December 2012
Rally, Comrades! Volume 23 Edition 1, January/February 2013

It is almost impossible to make an overarching assessment of the international and domestic situation in one article. Instead, we must try to grasp the central objective link that is pulling all the events in a certain direction at this particular moment. That link, generally speaking, is also connected to the central link of strategy. Political strategy isn't something you invent and then struggle to impose on others. Political strategy must utilize the lumber, the historical relations and ideologies at hand, in order to achieve one's goals under new conditions.

What is, and has been, America's basic strategy to achieve and maintain hegemony in a world rapidly changing because of electronics and the resultant globalization? How does the capitalist class continually accommodate and struggle both at home and in the world to adapt to new conditions in order to maintain its control of power and wealth as a class.

WORLD INSTABILITY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR MARKETS

At the end of WWII a wave of national liberation and communist revolutions threatened to change all the world's relationships. To confront this motion, the United States had to unite old enemies under the slogan of stopping communism. This meant to unite Europe on the basis of its being white, western and imperialist — for they could not maintain their profits without clinging to the colonies —

even if that required a change in form.

Out of this mutual dependency a series of military, economic and political alliances such as NATO and the European Union emerged. Despite the importance of the emerging countries such as China or Brazil, the U.S. is financially, militarily, culturally and politically entangled with Europe. If the U. S. is pulled into economic depression, it will be because of Europe. In a contradictory way, all nations are scrambling for an economic foothold in Asia to avoid that depression. For the capitalist class, the elections were the means by which to persuade the American people to accept more war and greater sacrifices so the capitalists can gain that foothold.

We are seeing a general decline in the West. On the surface, the reasons for this are quite obvious. The capitalist system is absolutely dependent upon expansion. You can't have a capitalism that stands still. There has to be expansion. There has to be a market. That is how the capitalists came out of the crisis in the late 1800s. It was the expansion represented by imperialism that allowed them to stabilize and to gain control of the world.

Today, the world has been completely converted to capitalist relations and there is nowhere for it to expand. Europe, which has run its course, got there first and developed the most rapidly on the basis of having a relatively small population, creating a huge percentage of the world's wealth. Today, that is shifting. Southeast Asia contains something like 60% of the world's population. China for example, has a growth rate of 7.5% a year (compared to 2% in the U.S.). The only place that it is possible to talk in terms of expansion is where there is still underdevelopment. That is Africa and South and East Asia.

The struggle is now about how the capitalists are going to get into those areas, how they are going to exploit the situation in such a way that it stabilizes the capitalist system. It is not possible to go into these countries in the old imperial way and simply steal their resources. A market has to be created. If there are no markets, there are no jobs. But jobs can't be created politically. The job comes from the development of a market. Expansion is the only way a market is developed. But the development of qualitatively new technologies makes capitalist expansion impossible.

Today, the capitalists have nothing else left to them but war. The prosperity of the past period was based on rebuilding the world out of the destruction of World War II. The U.S. destroyed Japan.

China was leveled. All of the productive capacity in Europe was destroyed. Sixty million people were killed in WWII. In the entire world, the U.S. was the only country with productive capacity. Today, they cannot create a market except through the result of the destruction of war. And of course war is a market in itself. War is the most profitable industry there is — the slaughter of human beings is much more profitable than the slaughter of cattle.

The capitalists labeling of their economic competitors such as China, Russia and others as enemies of the U.S. is ominous and is leading to a dangerous situation. The capitalists are determined to win the American people to their vision of the world and its future. They seek to convince us that their economic competitors are our enemies. They are doing this in order to unite the American and the European people to prepare them to take greater cuts in their standard of living and to maintain order to face this enemy.

AUTOMATION AND U.S. AUSTERITY

Austerity both globally and domestically is not a policy choice but an economic and political necessity. The transition from industrial production to digital production is dominating the entire world process; the bourgeoisie is compelled to seek maximum profit at the same time that the source of their profit (labor power) is becoming superfluous. They must pursue austerity measures. The only debates are over how fast, how deep, and how to maintain political control of the process. This is not the 1930s where the New Deal was possible — it raised tax rates on the rich in order to preserve the system and access the huge profits made possible by the war and postwar expansion. Now there is no significant expansion on the horizon and no reason to (substantially) raise taxes on the rich.

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the technological revolution is not sitting still but is accelerating. Every revolutionary advance in the productive forces dramatically exacerbates the antagonism between them and the system of distribution based on private property.

One example is the “additive manufacturing” recently described in Forbes Magazine: “In additive manufacturing, parts are produced by melting successive layers of materials based on 3D models — adding materials rather than subtracting them. The ‘3D printers’ that produce these use [powdered] metal, droplets of plastic, and other materials — much like the toner cartridges that go into

laser printers. This allows the creation of objects without any sort of tools or fixtures. The process doesn't produce any waste material, and there is no additional cost for complexity. Just as, in using laser printers, a page filled with graphics doesn't cost much more than one with text, in using a 3D printer, we can print sophisticated 3D structures for about the cost of a brick..."

"In the next decade, we will see further advances. Engineers and scientists are today developing new types of materials, such as carbon nanotubes, ceramic-matrix nanocomposites, and new carbon fibers. These new materials make it possible to create products that are stronger, lighter, more energy-efficient, and more durable than existing manufactured goods. A new field — molecular manufacturing — will take this one step further and make it possible to program molecules inexpensively, with atomic precision. The materials we use for manufacturing and techniques for production will be nothing like the assembly-based processes that exist in China — and the U.S. — today."

Based on the revolution in productivity, US domestic manufacturing continues to yield record output today, even after industrial employment has steadily nose-dived since 2000. The result is ongoing, increasing unemployment and destitution, intractable economic stagnation, and relentless impoverishment and expansion of the new class.

TREND TOWARD NATIONALIZATION

The productivity explosion combined with the anemia of the market is forcing the government to intervene. The election was in many respects a referendum on the nationalizations of the last four years and the Obama victory marked a definite consolidation of the trend.

The battle for the hearts and minds of the dispossessed, especially in the Rust Belt, is the center of gravity of the class struggle today. Sure enough, that is exactly where the bitterest battles of the campaign were fought, and it was over the issue of nationalization — the auto "bailout" of 2008.

Obama won the critical swing states of Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin on the strength of popular support for the bailout. Romney wrote a 2008 *New York Times* OpEd called "Let Detroit Go Bankrupt" and paid the price for it. Sixty percent of Ohio voters supported the auto bailout, and 75% of bailout supporters voted for Obama.

Auto nationalization was in no way a victory for the working class, accompanied as it was by draconian wage and benefit reductions. But it marked a shift in the form of the class struggle that facilitates the move from economic to political struggle.

The election result was also a major referendum on and victory for so-called "Obamacare." The PPACA (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act) is not a "government takeover of health care" as its opponents claim, but it does represent a whole new level of unity between (especially) financial corporations and the State. It is more accurately described as a "health industry takeover of government."

Not only does it include massive government subsidies for insurance and pharmaceuticals, but it also imposes the "individual mandate" to guarantee the market at a time when more and more Americans can no longer afford premiums. The July Supreme Court approval of PPACA set off an immediate spate of mergers among managed healthcare companies racing to position themselves to corner as much of the new market as possible.

Finally, the Obama victory means that the fictitious "fiscal cliff" will be resolved along lines laid out by the Obama-appointed Bipartisan Deficit Commission. Its recommendations were so politically toxic that even its own commissioners refused to formally approve it. The result of Obama's attempt to force it through the lame duck Congress remains to be seen.

PPACA and the Deficit Commission, like the auto bailout, are new forms of the class struggle. Each represents a consolidation of bourgeois economic and political control. Because neither of them can solve the underlying antagonism between revolutionary means of production and static property relations, they each contain the seeds of their own destruction. They cannot meet the needs of the people for jobs, housing, health care, and education. But they do offer new and important political battlefields where these issues can and will be fought out.

It is worthwhile to look at the November 18, 2012 *New York Times* article by Thomas Edsall, "Is Rush Limbaugh's Country Gone?" which describes some of the post-election polls. It is clear that the Democratic Party and Republican Party represent the same interests — they are both parties of the ruling class. One conclusion that can be arrived at from the article is that there is a real difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties about how to defend these interests.

The article also provides some understanding of what the mood and level of development of the people are. There is a section of the American people who have “a very different approach to the role for government, very different views on race and tolerance, different views on gender roles, and very different views on economic opportunity and security. These are some of the biggest divides in our culture.”

For revolutionaries, these poll results demonstrate increasing support for government responsibility for meeting the basic needs of the people. At the very time the ruling class is forced to turn increasingly to nationalization, the people are spontaneously gravitating toward the idea that the government should serve them, not the corporations. It is the role of revolutionaries to attach ourselves to those impulses and develop and consolidate them through the introduction of new ideas.

WAY OPENING FOR THIRD PARTY IN THE U.S.

- Over \$6 billion were spent on federal elections, topping the record set in 2008 by \$700 million, making this campaign the most expensive in U.S history.
- Major parties listed (that have “an independent state organization... in a majority of the states”) are the Republican, Democratic, Libertarian, Green and Constitution parties. This does not include Independent Democrats or Independent Republicans.
- 50+ regional parties and 35 minor national parties are listed in Wikipedia. Of those 35, 15 were founded since 2002.
- The four-year trend shows third parties increasing their numbers by 400 percent over the next 4 years.
- In total, 205,739 votes were cast for Green Party U.S. Senate candidates.
- In total, 381,225 votes were cast across the U.S. for Green Party candidates running for the US House of Representatives.

The environment for development of a third party today is based on the objective situation. In the 20th century, third parties were vehicles for sections of the bourgeoisie to pressure for their interests when some were left out or crushed by the consolidation of monopolies during the quantitative stages of capitalist development.

As such they were temporary diversions that actually facilitated the ongoing political domination of the two-party system.

The underlying social antagonism and bipartisan austerity of today makes the situation completely different. It is no longer possible for the two-party system to contain the class struggle. A third party doesn't just emerge because a political grouping decides to build it. It emerges because the economic and political polarization demands it, i.e., the two old parties cannot control the situation and/or they split.

There is going to be a tremendous impulse toward a third party. It will likely be something similar to the 1948 People's Progressive Party in the effort to save the Democratic Party. There is no way for the progressive wing of the Democratic Party to save the Democratic Party except by destroying it by taking up the questions of the day in a way that corrals the impulses of the people within a system of private property. That is another part that is going to emerge out of this dynamic process.

Party fault lines are opening up right now. Republicans are polarizing over whether to continue to pursue the overtly racist Romney agenda. The Democrats are polarizing over whether to save the safety net or submit to Obama's "Great Betrayal." These are not minor policy disputes either. They are life-and-death battles involving key party constituencies that can determine the future makeup and/or survival of the parties themselves.

Economist Richard Wolff described how this happened in Greece: "Greece's two main parties of the middle alternated power for decades, but they suddenly dropped to a combined 35 percent of the vote in the 2012 elections. Left and right parties surged into political prominence."

The situation is dangerous because election results indicate that people's consciousness is all over the map. Romney/Ryan lost but not by much, running on a more or less overtly pro-fascist agenda. Obama voters thought they were resisting fascism but aside from that had very different, scattered agendas.

Bourgeois strategy is above all to prevent any kind of class unity. The propaganda appeals to the "middle class" are designed to divide the dispossessed and attack immigrants, poor whites, and African Americans. "I've got one mandate. I've got a mandate to help middle class families, and those who want to be part of the middle class," Obama said in a wide-ranging news conference after the election.

Basic issues of access to food, water, shelter, utilities, etc. are becoming hard to ignore. Under the surface there is the compulsion to take what is needed. The appeal to the so-called middle class will certainly be used to combat people who are being forced into being “criminals of want.”

An anti-corporate third party will simultaneously serve as a vehicle for the workers and for the ruling class. The bourgeoisie will try to retain control of the system after the two-party system splinters and restructure the political system to maintain private property. Within the working class, the new class represents the force capable of abolishing private property, but only if they are united with the idea of transformation of the productive relations to conform to the new economic base of society.

Revolutionaries who participate in the development of an anti-corporate, anti-fascist third party will influence it by pulling together a working class trend within it. The stronger the working class trend, the stronger the third party. It is crucial to influence the consciousness of the revolutionaries involved in the process. Political polarization will develop from this engagement over ideas, strategy and direction: polarization that will lead to a true workers party and a separation of class interests.

Attitude toward government is critical to the development of consciousness. Up to 60% of Americans say they prefer “smaller government” with less regulation and services. Yet 70-80% still support Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, and almost 60% say the government should support people who can’t take care of themselves. The battle around these programs — especially where they intersect with the various battles around nationalization — will clarify the concept of what it means to fight for a government for the people, not for corporations. Consciousness will begin to develop out of the struggles for a government that serves the people.

The actual victory can only happen when the class becomes conscious of itself as a class. That is why we say that revolutionaries have no option but to create and disseminate propaganda that shows the roots of the problem, the vision of a new society and the strategy to get there. There is no other road to get to victory.

The following political report, “Latino and Black Unity” was written as a supplement to “Elections 2012: Austerity, Third Parties, and the Global Economy.”

Latino and Black Unity

One of the important outcomes of the presidential elections was the emergence of Black and Latino objective unity. This Black and Latino unity was not a conscious effort. That is, Latinos and Blacks did not say "Let's unite and vote for Obama." But by voting for Obama, however, Blacks and Latinos were objectively moving along the same lines — a common demand for health care, for decent housing, for education for their children, for jobs and a way out of poverty. Revolutionaries can rest upon this objective unity to develop the subjective unity of class.

This Black and Latino unity is not the same as the slogan put forth by the Communist Party USA calling for "Black and Brown Unite and Fight!" That slogan is ideological and based on color and ethnicity and not on class. It is based only on common social oppression and not on the common exploitation as labor. Everyone is going to come at the Blacks and Latinos based on their ethnicity and their special interests. The revolutionaries' tactic will have to be to expand and solidify the objective unity of Blacks and Latinos, but based on class.

This unity is important and advantageous to the revolutionary process because if revolutionaries propagandize these two groups on the basis of class, it will strengthen the working class fight for change. Revolutionaries start with this unity and propagandize about class interests. This unity has to be seen within the context of the line of march of the revolutionary process.

2012 ELECTIONS

Blacks and Latinos turned out in record numbers on November 6 and voted for President Obama by broad margins. They tipped the balance in at least three swing states and secured their position as an organized force in American politics with the power to move the national elections. Obama won 71%-75% of their vote. The strong turnout among Latinos lifted them to 10% of the American electorate. Ninety-three percent of Blacks, or nine out of ten, solidly voted for Obama. They represent 13% of the electorate. By all accounts, the Latino and Black vote brought Obama victory.

This is not to say that Latinos and Blacks are happy with the Obama administration. Unemployment plagues the Black community with 15% official unemployment and 25% among Black youth

nationally and even higher in some cities. Many Latinos were upset because Obama did not deliver on immigration reform during his first administration as he had promised. But at the end many Latinos were more afraid of Mitt Romney's policies on immigration of "self-deportation." Of course, the deferred action policy which Obama issued June 15 of last year helped him with the Latino vote.

It's important to point out that Latinos are not a homogeneous group. They are divided by economic interests and stratified by nationality, i.e., Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Chileans, Cubans and so forth. Yet, Latinos are no different than other workers, and the main issue for Latinos is the economy, or jobs. The second issue of importance is immigration reform. In exit polls conducted by ImpreMedia and Latino Decisions, immigration was a major factor in the decision-making process. A majority of those polled said they knew an undocumented immigrant.

The 2012 elections revealed a stark problem for Republicans. "Clearly, when you look at African American and Latino voters, they went overwhelmingly for the president," observed Iowa Republican strategist John Steinman. "And that's certainly a gap that's going to require a lot of attention from Republicans." In addition, women voters favored Obama by 55%; three out of five voters between the age of 18 and 29 voted for Obama, and Obama got about 70% of the Asian vote.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Strategic and tactical considerations in any battle need to be taken by both sides, the capitalists and workers, as well as within both sides, among the capitalists and among the workers. What must be asked is "If I move this piece on the chessboard what will be the consequences and what am I willing to lose?" Revolutionaries must determine what is happening in the real world at any given time, in any given situation, that can provide an opening to develop the consciousness of the class.

The two main parties appeal to and attempt to control different sections of the workers, but their primary purpose is the same — to channel the political grievances and allegiances behind the program of the capitalist class. Where they differ is tactics. The Democratic Party's tactic will be to preserve and expand the unity of the Latinos and Blacks. The Republican Party's tactic will be to break that unity by going after a sector of the Latino vote. The Republi-

cans know that they don't stand a chance with the Blacks so they won't even try. Both parties will ground their efforts in the ethnic card and special interests.

Jobs and immigration reform are the two main issues that will be used to drive a wedge between Latinos and Blacks. The workers can't live without jobs and the capitalists can't deliver jobs with an economy based on electronic production. The workers' goal is to have a good life with enough food, housing, healthcare and education to live that life. Jobs are the means to that goal.

Revolutionaries have to propagandize based on class. They have to anticipate and blunt the Republican Party's tactic to divide Latinos and Blacks based on their "own specific agendas." There are enough misleaders in both camps of Latinos and Blacks who will attempt to break this unity.

Immigration, for example is a key issue for Latinos. Already, Democrats are offering immigration reform that will lead to citizenship for the millions of undocumented, while Republicans are also putting forth a kind of immigration reform. But in order not to be alienated from their constituency, Republicans are talking about piecemeal immigration reform that will lead only to legalization and not citizenship. Legalization and citizenship are two different things. Legalization can mean a work permit, bracero-type programs, and legal residency but not citizenship. The Republicans are also putting forward politicians they hope will appeal to Latinos on the basis of ethnicity. Marco Rubio, for example, is playing a central role in Republican immigration reform proposals, and there is talk about him being the Republican Party presidential candidate in 2016.

Jobs and immigration reform are tightly wrapped around each other. It is jobs that drive immigration. The capitalist class, particularly the Republican Party, will take advantage of the competition for jobs to attack any effort for citizenship of the undocumented immigrant, and will propagandize the Black workers against the Latinos.

VISION OF A NEW SOCIETY

How do we stop the class from fighting along national struggles? We have to stop the ruling class from setting up the political terrain. When the ruling class propaganda machine talks about ethnicity and special interests, revolutionary propagandists need to talk about class but without ignoring the historical oppression of these

two groups. Here lies the art of politics. If revolutionaries do not do this then both groups will end up fighting each other for the crumbs dispensed by the capitalist class. Revolutionaries wage a fight for human rights and equality for everyone.

Revolutionaries have to propagandize for a different type of society, a cooperative society. We have to raise the issue of a new society where work does not have to mean the back-breaking labor and dangerous jobs of the past; a society where everyone can have what they need to lead a decent and cultured life. We have to talk about how with the political power to utilize the potential of the new technology, workers can achieve their goal of a good life for themselves and their families.

Polarization Accelerates as Economic Power Shifts

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, March 2012

Rally, Comrades! Volume 22 Edition 4, July / August 2012

The world has entered the beginning stage of a vast social revolution brought on by the transfer of social production from electro-mechanical production to electronics. The outstanding feature of this stage is irresolvable overproduction. Automated production within the wage labor value system polarizes society with unheard of wealth at one pole and unheard of poverty at the other. This antagonism is irresolvable within the capitalist system and the struggle inevitably moves from the economic level to the political revolutionary level. For revolutionaries, this reality must guide any discussion on our assessment and our tasks.

A global economic crisis is shattering and transforming all existing social and political institutions and relationships. The fundamental antagonism that is destroying the very basis of modern society lies at the heart of the economic and political crisis that is engulfing the globe.

The U.S. is struggling to dominate the world. It has militarized its economy and turned to war in its attempt to maintain its control. At the same time, its dominance is being challenged. A profound shift in economic power is taking place — from the U.S. to Asia. As we assess the current situation in the U.S., we recognize that a process of political restructuring is taking place, including how that situation is playing out in the elections as well as in the motion toward a third party, as the ruling class strains to accommodate itself to the new economy. But the struggle to control that process is taking place on a world scale, not just at home.

Though the politicians keep pointing out that national security is first about economics, the struggle to obtain and maintain supremacy inevitably comes down to political and particularly military solutions. The empire is in crisis, and the U.S. State has placed permanent war on the agenda.

The deepening global crisis and the competition for shrinking markets means that no country can back down without courting economic ruin. The U.S. ruling class cannot implement all the changes necessary to carry on this fight without unifying at least a section of the American people around its goals. President Obama is attempting to use the populist message of the 99% to mobilize a section of the American people behind his program.

Objectively the U.S. has no way out. Every path leads to greater polarization, discontent and the further development of the new proletariat. At the same time, fascism grows out of the process to implement whatever solution the U.S. pursues to protect and maintain its position in the world. Inevitably, any solution the U.S. pursues will force it to crack down further at home as it moves to more aggressively impose its will on the world stage.

THREAT OF WORLD WAR

Globalization — capitalism in the age of electronics — defines the economic motion of our time. The political motion is toward empire. By globalization, we mean the opening up of the world to expand and advance investment in a period of electronic labor replacing technology. Globalization can take place under a political system of allies and equal states or it can take place under a system of vassal states, such as with empire. By empire we mean the indirect control of the process by one nation.

For the U.S., this means that all strategic competitor countries must be brought under its domination. The contradiction the U.S. faces however, as do all countries of the world, is the problem of the market in a time of labor-less production. On the one hand, the world economy cannot develop without a market. On the other hand, the world market is shrinking due to production with labor-replacing technology and the resulting inability of people to consume. Since profit can only take place through the sale of commodities, the contention is over access to and control of the market that is left. Today, China is outselling the U.S. Something has to give.

The U.S is preparing for war against China. Installing friendly

regimes in the Middle East, along with the military encirclement of Russia and China, is a strategic step in this direction.

“The entire planet is divided up into geographic Combatant Commands under the control of the Pentagon,” writes Michel Chossudovsky. “The Pentagon’s military road-map consists of a sequence of war theaters. The five-year campaign plan includes... a total of seven countries, beginning with Iraq, then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Somalia and Sudan.”

In an interview this year, Middle East scholar Ibrahim Aoude described the back and forth of this process, and the adjustments that are made to achieve the overall strategic goal. “Thus far, Iraq and Libya have been destroyed. Egypt and Syria are in progress. Preparations are underway to separate Iran from Syria. Then they can hit the resistance in both Lebanon and Palestine. What delayed the move against Russia and China was the resistance in both Iraq and Afghanistan; the U.S. didn’t succeed and was compelled to withdraw from the first and is about to do so from the second.”

As powerful as the U.S. military is, it can no longer get everything it wants when it wants. This doesn’t mean it won’t sabotage, assassinate leaders, foment “uprisings” and drive the world to the brink of nuclear war to accomplish its strategic goal. It does mean that irreversible polarization has begun. Today, the U.S. is threatening Russia’s and China’s national interests. As a result, Russia and China are forced closer together. Polarization means the breaking of the monolithic character of a process. Struggle becomes the dominant relationship.

The U.S. is in the process of encircling China militarily, establishing bases in Australia in addition to Iraq and Afghanistan and Central Asia, docking Navy ships in Singapore, and is building up troops in the southern Philippines to assist in the fight against “terror” there. The so-called “Pivot toward Asia” with its increased focus on air and sea power is directly related to preparing for war with China.

U.S. attempts to destabilize Syria and overthrow the government there has a direct impact on Russian geopolitical interests. Relations between Syria and Russia go back many decades. This cooperation has included military arms supply, the training of Syrian officers, and the construction of military facilities. The Syrian port of Tartus has served as an additional warm water port for Russia for many years and gives it greater access to the Mediterranean

and the Suez. Russia has plans to modernize its major naval facility there to insure that Tartus can accommodate all Russian Navy vessels, including aircraft carriers, large warships, and missile cruisers. Russia and China cannot just step back and simply submit to the U.S. They have their own national interests. Wars always become inevitable when one country feels its national existence is at stake. Over the past twenty years, there have been numerous small wars around the world but the national existence of the bigger and more powerful countries have not been threatened. Today, however, the world is moving into a situation where the national existence of Russia and China is being threatened.

Clearly the world situation is extremely unstable. Even as the U.S. attempts to unite a world bourgeoisie under a U.S. dominated empire behind a façade of democracy and human rights, every step it takes only heightens the antagonisms.

TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The ruling class is masterful at strategic thinking. Our thoroughgoing understanding of the real processes underway must shape our strategic thinking. The strategic tasks of revolutionaries flow from the content of the time — the irreparable antagonism between the productive forces and productive relations. Our starting point as revolutionaries is to describe as accurately as possible the situation faced by our class at every stage of its development and to use that information to constantly examine and reexamine our political conclusions, and the strategy and tactics that flow from those conclusions. The answers to the questions revolutionaries face are not the purview of this or that person, or this or that organization. They are questions of the revolution, and as such involve all who seek to end the destruction around us and build a new world.

Humanity is moving through a world historical process of transition and change. The League of Revolutionaries for a New America looks at the world from this immense and broad perspective. There are tens of thousands of revolutionaries ready to join an organization of revolutionaries. They are ready to become part of a strategically thinking organization that can articulate the next step toward that end point of change.

The future of humanity is at stake. The qualitatively new class—that is arising globally—is the key. It must be educated about communism. Understanding cause and effect in human history helps

us to map the line of march forward through all of the destruction and instability to the only solution for humankind — a global cooperative, communist society based on distribution according to need. It is the only solution that will end war and bring peace. The task of revolutionaries is to build the political force that can move history in that direction.

US Political Realignment Rooted in Global Transformation

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee, March 2013

Rally, Comrades! Volume 23 Edition 3, May/June 2013

The goal of the U.S. is to dominate the world economically and politically in an era of history in which qualitatively new means of production are destroying all previous economic and social relations and laying the foundation for struggle on a world scale.

The ruling class cannot succeed in its goals without restructuring the economic, political and cultural life of America. They must continue to consolidate and expand the merger of corporations and government through nationalization in the interest of stabilizing capitalism and instituting economic “reforms” which will address the overall system.

They must win over a section of the American people to their program in the face of growing unemployment, poverty and austerity. They appeal to the “middle class” of all identity groups in the name of an all-American unity, while at the same time they isolate the masses within these groups by abandoning any social responsibility for their plight and implementing a fascist police state. The structural and racial inequalities within capitalism will make this attempt at all-American unity impossible.

GLOBAL ECONOMY AND PERPETUAL WAR

The world is now on a perpetual war footing. The economies and societies of the world are being militarized. Demonstrations in the U.S. and elsewhere are attacked with guns and tanks. Civil rights

are violated. The point is we are already at war. War is politics by other means.

As the economies of the world deteriorate — as buying and selling breaks down due to the introduction of labor replacing technologies — the space for peaceful resolution of the world's economic problems is diminishing. We see the escalating situation in the increased U.S. military encirclement of China and in the U.S. effort to install a missile shield in Europe aimed at Russia. We see the potential for smaller antagonisms to become larger wars — such as between Japan and China or in the U.S. military build-up in the Philippines. We see it in the U.S. sabotage of industrial capacities or intellectual property of the various countries.

Regional blocs between the U.S. and the Europeans on the one hand — as witnessed in the recent wars in Libya, Syria and Mali — and in the objective forcing together of Russia and China on the other hand, are consolidating. They are not simply a reaction to the military aggression of the U.S., but also an attempt to create or protect the market for their economies, which are increasingly based in electronics.

The more the market shrinks the greater is the competition. The more rapidly the means of production are developed the greater is the inability of the masses to consume.

Along with continual war, the global rulers are attempting to solve the problem of the market through policies like the Trans-Pacific Economic Partnership or by renewing NAFTA. But national interests and the advance of regional blocs simply intensify the contradictions. Both the U.S. and China have a first-strike nuclear doctrine. The slightest miscalculation on either side could launch the rockets.

ALL-AMERICAN UNITY IMPOSSIBLE

The striving toward an all-American unity is a key component of ruling class strategy. They are attempting to create an all-American unity by working through the leaders that they have created to move the masses. But because of the objective racial inequality within capitalism this can amount to nothing more than all-white unity.

The modern definitions of an “American middle class” were introduced by the U.S. ruling class propaganda machine during the post-World War II period. American capitalism, virtually unscathed by the destruction of the war, used the Marshall Plan rapidly to ex-

pand its financial investments and industrial production to rebuild war-torn Western Europe and Japan.

Simultaneously, it propelled massive, unprecedented capital investments into the new markets of Africa and Asia created by the dismantling of European direct colonialism. This expansion, along with the rising cold war with the Soviet Union, the anti-communist witch hunts characterized by the House on Un-American Activities Committee, the Korean War and more, required a national political unity — an all-American unity. This was in fact an all-white unity. It was made possible through sharing a small part of the new-found spoils with the white American workers. As a result, the expanding and predominantly union section of the U.S. working class, along with a fast growing social stratum of “white collar” professionals experienced a constantly rising standard of living for 30 years. These predominantly white workers and professionals became the newly defined and commonly referred to as the “middle class.”

The Civil Rights and Women’s movements were taking shape during this same post-war period. Their decades-long struggles that followed were in large part the demand to be included in the trickle-down benefits of the economic expansion. Organizations that arose out of these movements framed the political issues for equality, specific to the identity of their respective movement, all with the objective to get a piece of the American Dream.

As the massive industrial centers of the country expanded, Blacks, Latinos and women increasingly entered the industrial and professional workforce and became part of America’s growing homeowner landscape. During this period, identity politics found an economic base and stable forms of organization and ideological centers amongst those fortunate enough to join the new “American middle class.”

At the same time, racial inequality is built into the system of capitalism itself, making it impossible for Blacks and Latinos to be fully integrated into the “middle class.” Because they started from this position in society, the Blacks’ and Latinos’ situation has declined more than other sections of the working class. America cannot overcome its history without changing the economic system. While the ruling class has to prevent these groups uniting on the basis of class, the revolutionaries must show these same groups that uniting in their class interests is an indispensable part of being able to resolve their problems once and for all.

By the early 1980s, post-war industrial economic expansion came to an end, as all corners of the world were brought into the developing global market of production and exchange. The accelerated use of robotic, computer-driven production, the resultant globalization of the economy and the hundreds of millions of jobs eliminated worldwide over the last forty years have destroyed the capitalist market. The new electronic-based, global-capitalist economy produces far more than it can consume.

The result is an economy that is rapidly polarizing as its economic middle is being destroyed. Most of America's old industrial centers and their suburban rings have been boarded-up, abandoned and otherwise destroyed. So too has been the fate of a large section of that broad, post-war, industrial "middle class." As the economic middle is destroyed, what remains still provides the ideological and political glue — the center — that ties the working class to the strategy and politics of the capitalist class and the two corporate parties.

Ruling class propaganda appeals to and targets this economic middle every day, to politically influence the country as a whole. The two ruling class political parties are working overtime to make social-issue appeals to the "middle class" cores found in all of the various identity groupings, including whites. These appeals include "protecting the middle class," "equal rights of opportunity," "middle class values," "right to choose," "same sex marriage," "paths to citizenship" and declarations about strengthening the economy and creating jobs.

However, today the significance of the term "middle class" is purely political and not at all economic. The ruling class has no economic expansion and no trickle-down bribe to offer. But it still needs to keep its ties to the masses. To do this, it needs to ideologically win over those — that core — who still own property. This includes a large section of the working class. It is here that we find the central importance of the ruling class term "middle class."

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALIGNMENTS

The Democratic Party's victory in the 2012 elections gave rise to much discussion about a "Rising American Electorate" (RAE). The media has reduced this RAE to only a question of ethnicity or gender, but this is only its features.

As early as 2002, in their article, "Majority Rules — The Coming

Democratic Dominance,” published in *The New Republic* in 2002, and in their book, *The Emerging Democratic Majority* published in the same year, John Judis and Ruy Texeira wrote of this rising new American electorate. They showed that the change was not simply a matter of numbers or identity groups. Instead, they argued, the significance of this new electorate lay in its role in and the connection to the developing new economy based in electronics and the society that was being created by it.

“If this emerging Democratic majority has eluded many observers,” they wrote, “perhaps it is because it differs substantially from the New Deal Democratic coalition that dominated American politics from 1932 to 1968... The [Republicans] can scour the coal pits of West Virginia or the boarded up steel mills of Youngstown for converts, but America’s future lies in places like Silicon Valley and North Carolina’s Research Triangle. The party that most clearly embodies the culture and beliefs of these areas will dominate political discourse in postindustrial America at the dawn of the new century, just as the McKinley Republicans dominated nascent industrial America at the dawn of the last.”

The Democratic Party began to restructure itself in the 1990s to align with the massive shifts that were taking place as a result of electronics. It positioned itself to represent the capitalist forces that were driving the development of a world economy. Among the American people, it moved away from its traditional base, becoming a party of this “new electorate,” as Judis and Texeira wrote, “professionals, women and minorities rather than blue-collar workers.”

The Republican Party is going through its own process of restructuring and its current situation is reflected in the 2012 Presidential election results. “Telling is Romney’s defeat in 13 of the nation’s largest 15 cities,” Sam Tanenhaus wrote in the February 10, 2013 *New Republic* online, “but also Indianapolis, San Diego, Houston, even Dallas. If the trends of the 2012 elections continue,” he went on, “the GOP could find itself unable to count on a single state that has as many as 20 electoral votes.”

Despite its current problems, the Republican Party is not finished yet. It remains key to the two-party facade of capitalist democracy. Neither is the capitalists’ method of rule finished yet — the use of the South as the political reserve to control the entire country. This Southern program for power is expressed politically in the neo-liberal mantra: slash social programs, privatize public services, de-

regulate the economy and the environment, cut taxes for the rich, increase military spending to fund the drive for empire. Under today's conditions, this program is the end of democracy and the implementation of a fascist order.

The missing piece in the analysis of commentators trying to understand the RAE is the qualitative transformation taking place in the economy and how this is reshaping politics in America. As the economy deteriorates society will only polarize even more. There is a narrowing of who is able to participate in the political process. This is being justified by using the historical divisions in American society to facilitate the development of fascism, race being a central factor.

The attacks on democracy in Michigan under the Emergency Financial Manager laws were instituted first in predominantly Black cities and, with the addition of Detroit, stripped almost half of the African Americans in Michigan of local democracy. This obvious ploy to use race-baiting to destroy democracy throughout the state and impose dictatorship as a solution to the fiscal crisis was soundly defeated in November. (The Governor has flouted the wish of the people and instituted yet another EFM, this time in Detroit).

The promoters of this vision of a "Rising American Electorate" are in reality referring to the upper strata of all the identity groups, including whites. In fact, a huge section of the RAE "coalition" is poor, and part of the growing dispossessed. They are economically unstable, faced with foreclosure, unemployment, and poverty. Programs to help the "middle class" will not help them, yet they are being pulled along in this coalition under the lead of the upper strata.

The two-party system is not over yet, and it will continue to play its role to enforce capital's rule. At the same time, the rulers are not afraid to let the idea of a third party float to the surface — as long it is under their control. On the other hand, a third party is not simply a subjective thing. It is an expression of real political and economic motion. While the Republican and Democratic Parties appear to be moving apart, in reality they have the same program. Because people cannot redress their grievances within this party system the result is a social motion away from the two parties. This is the objective foundation for a third party to emerge.

Revolutionaries must be prepared to use the developing social motion for a third party to lay the foundation for a workers party that can represent the independent political interests of our class.

War and the Current Situation in Asia

Political Report of the LRNA Resident Standing Committee, July 2013
Rally, Comrades! Volume 23 Edition 5, September/October 2013

The world is in the clutches of a social revolution triggered and fueled by the transition of social production from electro-mechanical production to electronics. In its strategy of empire-building, the goal of the U.S. is to dominate the world economically and politically in this era of history, in which the qualitatively new means of production are destroying all previous economic and social relations and laying the foundation for struggle on a world scale.

In this new world scenario, where the underlying factor is brutal competition over new global markets, Asia, and particularly China, is rising as a major international force that will define politics in the 21st century. After WWII the economic and therefore political power in the world shifted from Europe, with England at its helm, to the U.S. But since the 1980s Asia has been steadily rising as an economic force, beginning the shift from the West to the East. The 2008 global crisis only reaffirmed the U.S.' decline. As Asia rises as a global economic force, the more U.S. supremacy is threatened, and the closer the world gets to the war.

ECONOMIC SHIFT TO THE EAST

“For the first time since the 16th century, the single largest concentration of global economic power will be found not in Europe, nor in America, but in Asia,” states Michael Evans in his article for the Foreign Policy Research Institute, “Power Paradox: Asian Geopolitics and Sino-American Relations in the 21st Century”. The magnitude of Asia’s population — 4.3 billion, i.e., 60% of the world’s population, and its extensiveness in territory — from Afghanistan

through Russia to Japan to Australia — no doubt aid Asia in growing into a powerful economic force.

To help wrap our brains around Asia as a continent it is helpful to see Asia the continent as three separate regional economic areas: East Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia. The countries with the largest economies in the continent are China, Japan, India, South Korea and Indonesia.

The economic area of East Asia is home to the world's most dynamic economies — China, Japan and South Korea. It is no surprise then, that in 2006 East Asia's GDP stood at 37%. East Asia claims a population of 1.5 billion people, about 38% of the population of Asia and 22% or over one fifth of all the people in the world.

While South Asia has one fifth of the world's population (1.2 billion), with the majority living in the Republic of India, it is also the poorest region in the world. More than 40% of its population lives on less than \$1.25 a day. Nonetheless, South Asia is of strategic importance to Asia, since an estimated 50% of world container traffic and 70% of ship-borne oil and petroleum transit the Indian Ocean on its way to East Asia. (Sixty percent of trade is by sea.) Also, India has the third largest navy in Asia and is second only to the U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean.

Southeast Asia is the smallest sub-region in Asia with a population of about 593 million and 14 countries. These fourteen countries, with the exception of East Timor, are in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). But regardless of its size in population, Southeast Asia is a geopolitical and geo-economic fulcrum. This is due to the importance of the South China Sea and the expansion of trade partnerships. ASEAN's primary goal is to establish and stabilize the area economically. In respect to the South China Sea, the territorial disputes over the Scarborough shoal between China and the Philippines threaten to embroil the region in war to the extent that China has issued warnings to its citizens in the Philippines. Meanwhile the Philippines feels assured because it has a commitment from the U.S. to protect what it considers to be Filipino territory if attacked.

U.S. AND ASIA ECONOMIC TIES

U.S. trade with Asia has increased from \$300 billion in 1991 to \$900 billion in 2006. Asian nations are also major holders of outstanding U.S. federal debt. As of December 2011, China, Hong

Kong, Japan, and Taiwan were among the top ten foreign holders of U.S. Federal debt amounting to \$2.5 trillion, or 28.6% of the total outstanding federal debt.

President Barack Obama sees Asia as a solution to U.S. economic woes with its huge population and resources. Obama's National Export Initiative of 2010 targeted the Asia-Pacific region, specifically China, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam, as countries to export U.S. goods and services. Major companies from China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore are becoming leading competitors to those U. S. companies because they also see their domestic and regional markets as a destination of their goods and services, as well as foreign markets beyond the region. Today, in their search for new markets, all corporations, whether Chinese or American, venture abroad to sell their products and services in execution of the law of maximum profit under capitalism, if they are to survive.

China has become a manufacturing matrix tying together all of Asia into one powerful regional economic market. Trade is what ties China to the rest of Asia and Asia to China. The reciprocal relation between China and Asia is that while China manufactures goods and services for the global market, Asian countries in turn supply China with components and parts for the manufacture of such goods and services. In this trade relationship both China and Asia benefit. China is propelling Asia's economy upward, and China has become the world's number one factory, making it the number one rival of the U.S. in the desperate race for markets.

CHINESE AND U.S. RELATIONS

As China grows into an economic force it is becoming the main focus of U.S. military strategy. The U.S. has no qualms about flexing its military muscle to protect its economic and geopolitical interests in China and the whole of Asia. Economic supremacy is at the bottom of any war danger in the region.

The two rivals differ in philosophy in terms of achieving or maintaining their power. The U.S.' goal is to build an empire and have worldwide hegemony. To bring the world to its knees and be subservient to U.S. needs, the U.S. military might has to be superior to all.

This is where China and the U.S. differ. China does not have an empire-building strategy. While China has not been without its contradictions — the opening of the country to controlled foreign

investment, the allocation of society's resources to building up the economy, and the rise of a small but wealthy elite in the country — China's long term goal since the Chinese Revolution has been to raise the standard of living of its people overall. To do this it has to concentrate its fiscal budget on enhancing and growing the civilian sector. This translates into feeding its population, building schools and housing complexes, and providing health care and education.

China has followed a path of bolstering its civilian economy over military expenditures. China's military budget of \$115.7 billion is only about one-seventh of the U.S. military budget, estimated at about \$737 billion in 2012. The U.S. military budget is the largest in the world, and it equals 39% of all military expenditures in the world. Without a doubt the U.S. military expenditures reflect its empire building strategy.

China's military strategy is one of defense against invasion. It has no military bases outside its territories, while the U.S. operates and/or controls between 700 and 800 military bases worldwide. In fact, military forces are aimed and ready in South Korea, Japan, Guam, Afghanistan and Taiwan, a clear and present danger to all of Asia and particularly China.

U.S. ON A WAR FOOTING

Today more than half of the U.S. discretionary budget goes to the military. The size of the U.S. military budget grows apace with its empire-building strategy, particularly as Asia's economic might grows, and more specifically China's. The U.S. recognizes that the center of gravity for its foreign policy, national security and economic interests has to shift towards Asia, and this mandates that its strategy and priorities be adjusted accordingly.

The deteriorating world economic situation and the intensifying struggle for markets between the U.S. and Asia, particularly China, are continuing to create instability and pushing the world toward war. In such an unstable environment, the ruling classes lift historical threads from history to whip up ideological propaganda against this or that group.

Historically, when it comes to the U.S. and China rivalry, there are two geographical points of contention, Taiwan and North Korea, that the U.S. empire-builders can lift to unleash an inevitable war. Their ultimate goal is to contain China and to consolidate U.S. military, political and economic power throughout the world under

the new conditions of today.

Revolutionaries have to see things for what they are: In this case, where is the war danger emanating from and by whom? The competition for markets is moving the U.S. empire builders to reach out and secure markets at any cost. We revolutionaries have to shed light on the real problem for everyone to see. We shed light so that we, the working classes of the world, can unite as a class, fighting for our own interests, and not for the capitalist class. This is the real meaning of proletarian internationalism.

As American revolutionaries — living in the belly of the beast — we have a special role. In the immediate sense, we have to raise consciousness so that the American worker fights against its own ruling class and against U.S. military budget increments, and demands our tax money that can be used for education, health care, food, and housing. In these battles for the necessities of life, we bring to the fore our real class interests, and reach out to our sisters and brothers in Asia. We have to raise class consciousness so that the American workers stop being complicit with the U.S. capitalist class as it “terrorizes” the world to achieve its Empire.

Korea: Key Link in Encirclement of China

Political Report of the LRNA Resident Standing Committee, August 2013
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The Korean War, or any war, has to be seen in the context of the strategic goals of the combatants as well as those of the allies on either side. What was the setting for the outbreak of the war and what is the situation today?

First, the background for the outbreak of the war. The United States emerged as a full-fledged imperial power at the turn of the 20th century. Its first aggression was against the decrepit Spanish Empire. The rebellions in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines offered an opportunity for U.S. imperialism to quickly defeat Spain, convert Central and South America into colonial preservers of the US and, most importantly, conquer the Philippines and use them as a springboard to “the illimitable markets of China.”

Preventing China from re-establishing itself as a dominant world economic power and guaranteeing its “open door” to U.S. imperialism has always been the basis of U.S. Asian policy. Korea has always played a key role in this. However, the U.S. isn’t the only power interested in China and Korea. Most of the 1905 war between Japan and Russia was fought in Korea. The Japanese won that war and annexed Korea as a colony and the basis of the Japanese Empire. From Korea, the Japanese invaded Manchuria and China. Russia and Japan constantly clashed over Japan’s intrusions into Siberia. This broke out into a full-scale war in 1938 with the Soviet Union crushing the Japanese army in the biggest tank battle in history up to that time. The Japanese then transferred five million crack imperial troops to Korea and the Siberian border where they

remained until the end of WWII. Recognizing that they could not defeat the U.S.S.R., The Japanese turned to China and South Asia. The Japanese trained a Korean puppet army, mainly recruited in the South, and an administration under the feudal lord, Syngman Rhee. The grandfather of the current South Korean president, Park, was a general in the Japanese Army.

Korea was basically agrarian and feudal in the south and industrial in the north. A powerful anti-Japanese national liberation movement led by Kim Il Sung was primarily based in the North where it was aided by the Chinese Red Army, which was also fighting the Japanese, as well as the puppet Chiang.

When war broke out between Japan and the U.S., the hard-pressed Americans extracted a promise from the U.S.S.R. to attack Japan within three months of the ending of the European War in return for American aid. Exactly on schedule the U.S.S.R. declared war on Japan. The U.S. dropped the bomb on Hiroshima on August 6th. The U.S.S.R. declared war on Japan on August 8th. It was not the bomb that ended the war so abruptly — it was the rapid destruction of the imperial army, and the liberation of all of Manchuria and the northern half of Korea. Both the U.S. imperial establishment and the Japanese fascists panicked as the Soviet Army poised to liberate the entire north of Asia. As horrible as the war was, the Japanese and Americans had a common interest in stopping the spread of communism in Asia. This was the real reason for the abrupt ending of the war.

The Americans quickly occupied the southern part of Korea in an agreement to disarm the Japanese and hold democratic elections to unify the country. The strategic goal of imperialism regarding China kicked in. The U.S. blocked the elections and installed the pro-Japanese butcher Rhee as president. The move to encircle China began again as the French invaded Vietnam, the British moved to invade Burma, and the Dutch attacked Indonesia.

Since Korea borders both China and Russia it is the most accessible invasion route. The U.S. built up its forces in Japan and Korea. The Soviet Union's decision to boycott the United Nations over its exclusion of Red China gave the Americans an opportunity. In April of 1950 there were two large-scale incursions by South Korean troops. The Democratic Republic in the North issued a warning that any further incursions would mean full-scale war. On the 25th of June there was another large-scale invasion. The North pulled

back its troops for ten miles then unleashed a massive counter attack.

There has never been a peace treaty to end the war and it could begin again without notice. At this time it is the flash point and key link for the encirclement of China.

The Changing Situation and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

Political Report of the LRNA Resident Standing Committee,
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We are living in rapidly changing, dangerous times. Polarization of all kinds is expressing itself. The world is slowly slipping into two camps. For the moment Syria is the international focal point for this motion. In the Western Hemisphere the polarity is becoming more intense. Venezuela walked out of the conference to reconcile with the U.S. after a slanderous attack by the U.S. at the U.N. and defiantly offered Edward Snowden asylum. Bolivia shut down the American embassy and threatened to break relations after the war-like detention of its president. At the recent 68th General Assembly of the U.N. one Latin American leader after another denounced U.S. policies. Here in the U.S. the Trayvon Martin murder has accelerated racial, national and class divisions. Wealth and poverty continue to polarize as all elements of the State, especially the Supreme Court, tighten the grip of fascism over all aspects of life.

From the right and from the left, the people are becoming more disgusted with and distrustful of the government. All the elements of a social upheaval are moving into place.

Underlying this process is the destruction of society, the polarization of wealth and the denial to growing sections of the American people of the basic necessities of life. The people are responding to, but do not yet understand the root of the problems they face, or as it engulfs them, the reality of fascism in America.

Fascism is an objective process, a result of the qualitative change in the economy and the creation of permanent unemployment. There are stages to this process. The economic aspects of fascism are evidenced in the merger of the corporations and the State, and are now in place. The political aspects of fascism arise on the basis of the economic aspects and facilitate it.

Myriad laws have been and are being passed that are directed toward containing the upsurges of the masses. These laws also transform the legal structure in order to protect and facilitate the interests of the corporations and the capitalist class to the exclusion of the American people. The goal of the rulers is the preservation of private property under some kind of new system.

Rising and interpenetrating these stages is the stage of the social expressions of fascism. We are seeing the creation of an environment in which the lives of a growing section of the American people are considered worthless. The Trayvon Martin murder verdict crystallizes this reality.

NEW STAGE OF MOVEMENT

These stages of the development of fascism are fueling and shaping the rising social motion. Experiencing the growing poverty and the refusal of the government or the politicians to redress their grievances, the workers are losing their faith in the government and beginning the process of separating from the political system. This is a necessary step in their development as a class and for their independence from the capitalist class. These processes — the stages of fascism on the one hand, and the rise of a new stage of the spontaneous movement — are beginning to clash, and this will only deepen the political polarization as conditions worsen.

The rise of a third party is inevitable given these conditions. This party will not simply be one or the other of the individual third party formations in existence today, but will reflect the broad social motion as it develops. Within this impulse and formation of a third party the revolutionaries must figure out how to work “shoulder to shoulder” within the third party in such a way to prepare for the next stage, the development of a workers’ party, while maintaining our independent role.

The process is unfolding without any sense of class interests or a vision of the future that is possible. This makes the rising movement vulnerable to the fascists and other forces that seek to corral

the movement into the hands of the capitalist class. This broad social motion is objective and as such includes all kinds of currents. This motion is objectively communist but it is arising in an environment where it can be taken off track and channeled into a fascist solution. The fascists are responding to the same deteriorating conditions and the failures of the government to protect the well-being of the American people, and are organizing to put forward their program.

The days of social upsurges arising on the basis of an expanding economy and a ruling class advancing its interests through granting certain concessions are over. Today, the movement is arising on not only the basis of the destruction of the economy and society, but within a process of developing fascism which is complete in its economic and political stages, and rapidly accelerating in its social stage. Revolutionaries cannot understand this and simply go on as before.

CONDITIONS ADVANCING THINKING

The demands of this movement are objective; they cannot give up and go home. They need housing, food, health care and other basic necessities of life. This movement is coming into conflict with the State, which is standing in the way of them securing these basic necessities. This movement is in fact, if not in understanding, struggling to transfer capitalist property in order to feed, clothe, house and care for itself. Revolutionaries' call for nationalization in the interests of the workers is part of this process. The State will not allow this and is fully capable of crushing any attempts to do so. In its efforts to transfer capitalist property to itself, the important result is not the transfer of property — which the capitalists will not allow — but the rising understanding that property cannot be transferred because the capitalist class will not allow it.

The process is just in the beginning stages, but this is our north star: to create an organization that is a subjective expression of the objective process. Although still in the stage of social awareness, the realities of fascism are advancing the outlook and experience of this new stage of the movement. These embryonic beginnings are drawing the dispossessed of all kinds into activity and politicizing them. This is an essential development of our class as they begin to break their ideological and political ties with the rulers and set out looking for their own independent course. What is the root of the

problem, how do they redress their grievances and take advantage of all that is made possible by the new period of time?

It is in the process of this movement's realization that the State will not redress its grievances, giving rise to the demand for new solutions, that the revolutionaries can develop the stages of consciousness along the line of march from scattered economic struggles to united political struggles against the State. Such a task requires widespread propaganda within this growing movement that provides the answers that it seeks.

The intensifying polarity of wealth, the inevitability of another economic crisis, the spread of fascism, and the developing upsurge alert us to a changing situation. On that basis, we determine how we will move forward.

TASKS OF THE LEAGUE

Causality is the philosophical foundation of our organization. Our understanding that the events of today are the basis for the events of tomorrow demand that we not only carefully examine today, but use that knowledge to prepare for tomorrow. The progression of political events follows the dialectical process — that is, from quantitative to qualitative stages. It is not possible to deal with qualitative change without adjusting thinking and activity with each quantitative stage of development.

The new level of social motion is stirring up debate. This is good and healthy. These discussions should be schools where we learn to apply our dialectical knowledge. Right now there is a debate as to whether or not there is a fascist State. Bourgeois philosophy tells us that things are categories, things in themselves. Dialectics teaches that everything is connected to everything else and is in constant motion, maturing, declining, arising again. Such a debate should include a discussion on what are characteristics and what are features. In America democracy has essentially meant the right to vote for an elephant or a jackass. In other countries it means the obligation of the State toward the people.

Thus far, events over the past period have shown the correctness of our general line. Fundamental to the League's thinking is that a new motive force (the micro-chip) has allowed for the development of new means of production that are destroying value as the basis of exchange. Value-less production is marginalizing a new class of proletarians who cannot exist without distribution according to

need. The destruction of value and the emergence of a communist class have shifted the communist party — the subjective expression of the actual movement — from an ideological to a concrete and practical, i.e., political base. The old ideological communist party is obsolete and must be replaced by a practical, political communist party that represents the motion of an actual communist class. Such a party does not exist. History cannot move forward without it. How is such a party to be built? What kind of an organization of revolutionaries is needed to build such a party? These are some of the questions this growing social motion has thrust upon every revolutionary.

Fascism Today and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

Political Report of the LRNA Resident Standing Committee
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The Objectivity of Fascism Today

The State is an instrument of force in the hands of the ruling class. Its basic purpose is to protect and further the political and economic interests of the ruling class. This includes doing whatever is necessary at a given time to clear the way for the economy to develop along the lines necessary for the ruling class.

Fascism is the merger of the State and the corporations. While there are subjective aspects to the development of fascism — things that are consciously engineered by the ruling class — the fascism we are experiencing in the U.S. and elsewhere today is not a subjective choice of the ruling class, but is fundamentally an objective reflection of economic development. As the economic base of society is transformed, the social and political superstructure that rests on and reflects the base must also be transformed.

The capitalist relations of production are the source of surplus value. As technology is replacing labor in production value is being destroyed and markets shrink. The capitalist seek profit wherever they can find it, by whatever means is necessary. The result is that the corporations and the State merge so that the corporations can impose their direct dictatorship on society and channel the social capital as they see fit to boost profits — privatizing things that were public, using public funds to subsidize private businesses, eliminating taxes on corporations and the wealthy, cutting welfare

programs, etc.

The demands of globalization also play a role in the evolution of fascism. The power of the State — whether expressed as political, economic or military pressure — is necessary to break down the remaining barriers to the integration of the global market. Any barriers to the global mobility of capital must be eliminated. These barriers include the institutions of the bourgeois democratic republic, due process of law, the welfare State, etc.

Another aspect is that global markets are contracting as technology replaces labor, and the capitalist countries are competing for markets and access to resources such as oil and gas. In some cases this competition takes a military form. In the case of the U.S. in particular, the State has been restructured to maximize its ability to use force to maintain the U.S.' hegemonic position in the world through capturing markets and resources and isolating competitors.

Yet another facet illustrating the objective character of fascism today is the ongoing reduction in widespread property ownership in the population (homes, farms, small businesses, etc.), which is the objective basis for bourgeois democracy. The economic and political "middle" that tied the working class to the capitalist class is being destroyed. As jobs disappear, wages fall and the social safety net is shredded, the growth of a new section of propertyless workers threatens private property. The ruling class cannot allow these people to have a say in society's direction; only a cooperative society can meet their needs. Even the limited bourgeois democracy we have had is forced to give way to the dictatorship of the corporations. We see a significant example of this in Michigan with the imposition of the "Emergency Financial Managers" on various local governments, displacing elected officials. The State is changing form to protect private property, under conditions of the destruction of the economic foundation of private property. The State will deal forcefully with any social eruptions. The political, repressive aspects of fascism arise on the basis of the objective economic situation confronting the capitalists, and facilitate what they need to accomplish economically.

It should be noted that these conditions (the elimination of human labor and the destruction of value) give rise to nationalization as an objective battlefield. Each class needs nationalization in its own interests. The bourgeoisie needs it to subsidize private profit and protect private property, and the workers need it to guarantee

them the necessities of life. Each class needs the State to intervene in the economy. Thus the question of nationalization raises the issue of which class the State serves, and nationalization becomes the battlefield where class consciousness can be taught.

We should clearly understand that fascism is not a policy choice for the bourgeoisie today, as it was during the Depression of the 1930s. The Depression represented a crisis of overproduction, not a qualitative revolution in the means of production. Under those conditions, some capitalist classes chose fascism as a way to deal with the crisis, while others accomplished their goals by maintaining some form of bourgeois democracy. Today fascism — the merger of the corporations and the State — is an objective reflection of an economic revolution which is destroying the foundation of private property itself. There is no possibility of “overturning fascism” today and “restoring democracy.” No reform is possible. There is nothing to go back to. With the ongoing elimination of human labor from production, the contradictions in the economy have reached such an extreme that the merger of the State and the corporations necessarily evolved to prevent the collapse of the capitalist economy. The old society is being destroyed by objective forces, and the only way to have democracy and access to the necessities of life is to fight forward into a cooperative society.

The Culture of Fascism and the Role of History

Fascism was imposed in Italy and Germany, but it is arising objectively, and stage by stage, in America. First comes the qualitative or objective side. By objective, we mean that which arises independent of our will or consciousness. Driven by new objective conditions of electronic production and labor-less production, the State and corporations in America have consolidated, which is fascism.

On the subjective side the political features of fascism are seen in numerous ways. Examples are the reordering of the State to facilitate the profits and goals of the capitalists in this new era; the increased Supreme Court rulings that safeguard corporate profits and shield corporate corruption; the stepped up wave of police killings; the arsenal of fascist legislation such as “Stand Your Ground”

laws, along with the National Defense Authorization Act provision that allows the government to arrest and detain a person without charge.

Now the rulers must guarantee a broad acceptance of fascism among the American people — which can only be accomplished by the cultivation of a fascist culture. This is not hard to do given the history of America: slavery and fascism in the South, genocide of the Native Americans, racism, male supremacy, police killings, lynchings and other forms of inhuman brutality.

THE RISE OF A FASCIST CULTURE

Culture is a way of life of a group of people — the behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept and that are passed along from one generation to the next. Culture in its broadest sense is cultivated behavior. It is the totality of a people's learned, accumulated experience that is socially transmitted. Culture progresses largely without people thinking about it. This is the danger today.

To develop a fascist culture, the ruling classes must reach into history and dig out their country's most violent, horrific aspects. The German fascists, for example, created their fascist culture from Germany's most violent, chauvinistic, mystical aspects of history. The fascist culture the rulers are cultivating today in America has roots going back not only to the genocide against the Native Americans and chattel slavery, but to European history. The Anglo-Saxon master race theories and the German white race or master race theories are integrally connected to the ideas that arose to justify racial slavery in the Americas.

Prior to the mid-15th century the word "race" wasn't even in the English language. It arose around the time that the profitable undertaking of African slavery and the slave trade to the Americas began in earnest. It was then that Europeans increasingly saw "white" as a race. White supremacy in the U.S. colonies — based mainly on color discrimination — developed step by step along with American expansionism. It sought to justify and legalize the horrible brutality and compulsory working to death of human beings in the capitalists' pursuit of maximum profits.

The culture of fascism being cultivated in America today aims to support the economic and political aspects of fascism that already exist. It is accomplished in a myriad of ways, on a daily basis. One unconscionable expression was seen when the House of Represen-

tatives stood up and unanimously applauded the U.S. Capitol Police for gunning down an unarmed woman. This murder was widely accepted as necessary to protect the “American way of life.” It is part of a fascist culture that aims fire at anyone deemed a threat.

These ideas reflect today’s economy, which is marked by the end of value and that places the value of human life at zero. It is worth noting, too, that although the slave created value and thus had a price tag, today’s conditions are creating a far worse situation. The new class is of absolutely no value to the capitalist system. The forcing of perhaps millions of people into greater hunger and even starvation through food stamp cuts is one example.

FASCIST IDEAS THE RULERS ARE USING TO PROMOTE A FASCIST CULTURE

No fascist culture has arisen without using the concept of “exceptional people.” American Exceptionalism is the historically evolved belief that America is unique when compared with the historical development of other countries. American Exceptionalism is often expressed as the “land of the free and home of the brave.” The people have been taught by the rulers that to deny American Exceptionalism is to deny the heart and soul of America.

The rulers have promoted these ideas over and over, and they are deeply embedded in the American psyche. As a result, Americans see their country as the world’s greatest model for democracy, and responsible to establish freedom and democracy globally. These ideas are rooted in the belief that America is a country of peace and prosperity (despite that it has been at war since its origin). Madeline Albright summed up these views after the first Iraqi war by saying, “If we have to use force it is because we are America. We are the indispensable nation. We stand tall. We see further into the future.”

As the motion toward world war intensifies, we are seeing the revival of these ideas by President Obama and others. In a speech on the Syrian crisis this year Obama said, “When, with modest effort and risk, we can stop children from being gassed to death, and thereby make our own children safer over the long run, I believe we should act . . . that’s what makes America different. That’s what makes us exceptional.”

Given this history, it is not surprising that a poll done in November 2011 by the Pew Research Center found that a large percent-

age of Americans — 49% of those polled — believe that American culture is superior to others. However, as testament to changing times, the poll also found that these ideas are being shaken up. The percentage of Americans touting America's "cultural superiority" was down 11 points from 2002.

The second idea that the rulers are using to cultivate a fascist culture involves the changing form of racism. With all of our historical roots, it isn't difficult in America to make a transformation from racism based on color to racism based on poverty and the new class. While there is plenty of the old racism to go around the new form of racism is directed against an emerging new class that includes the "ghetto blacks," the "illegal immigrant" and the white, so-called "trailer trash."

The class and cultural differences with the ruling class — not color — are emerging as the ideological basis for the savage economic assault against the poor of all colors. As during slavery, the rulers put forth a position that blames the victim and in this way the poverty, brutality and murder of defenseless people is made acceptable.

Out of this progression will develop not only a fascist culture, but a full-fledged fascist movement. The fascist culture will feed the fascist movement and the fascist movement will feed the fascist culture.

The ruler's goal is to stop the revolution from proceeding on a class basis. Their aim is to guarantee that the new class, particularly the dispossessed, does not unite. This is happening at a moment in history when it is finally objectively possible for the class to unite.

This is not to say that the deeply embedded ideas based on America's history of slavery and color racism are not still flourishing. The rulers insured that as many whites as possible believed that they benefitted from segregation and discrimination against the blacks. As Lyndon Johnson said in 1960 to the journalist Bill Moyers, "If you can convince the lowest white man he's better than the best colored man, he won't notice you're picking his pocket. Hell, give him somebody to look down on, and he'll empty his pockets for you." The reality is that, through the decades, the majority of whites have lost more than they gained from color racism. They have lost healthcare, education, social welfare, etc. The point is that now is the time when a qualitative change in thinking is possible. This depends on the conscious intervention of the revolutionaries.

The only alternative to a fascist culture is a communist society, where a communist, cooperative culture can flourish. Culture is therefore a key battlefield in which the ideas of class interests are fought out. No revolution has developed without a culture that not only illuminates the social scene, but that heroically points the way out. Revolutionaries must take the weapon of culture away from the rulers by cultivating a culture that embraces the vision of a communal society organized around distribution by need where everyone has a chance to contribute. Such a society will ensure that the practical and cultural needs of all will forever be met.

Edging Toward a New Stage of Consciousness

The sole role of revolutionaries is propaganda — the raising of the political consciousness of the working class. Revolutionaries shape propaganda using a scientific understanding of the situation on the one hand, and a thorough knowledge of the thinking of the people on the other. To produce effective propaganda and develop the proper tactics, revolutionaries have to answer: What is the situation? What are the intellectual blocks that, cleared away, will help the workers advance to the next stage of consciousness? And finally, what are we going to do? These questions can only be answered by an organization of revolutionaries that is organically connected to the spontaneous movement.

FLASHES OF CONSCIOUSNESS

In the course of the political struggle there comes an event that crystalizes people's thinking. It becomes a beacon of light that shines the way for others to follow. At these moments, revolutionaries must reassess the thinking of the people to ensure that propaganda and tactics are in tandem with the revolutionary side of the spontaneous movement.

The process of development of political consciousness is triggered and fueled by what V. Lenin in *What is to be Done?* called "flashes of consciousness." These flashes of consciousness or flashes of insight are events or situations that shake up the workers' thinking, causing them to respond and opening their minds to new ideas.

Revolutionary propaganda plays a crucial role at these political junctures. It adds the clarity needed to solidify these “flashes of consciousness” into permanent nodal points in the development of people’s thinking. As the class begins to move, revolutionaries must move with it. They must use the “flashes of consciousness” among the true fighters and leaders of the movement to teach. By articulating what people are really fighting for and by putting forth a vision of a new world and how to get there, revolutionary propaganda can permanently secure the understanding of the true significance of an event. In this way revolutionary propaganda advances the political consciousness of the workers to the next quantitative stage of development.

“FLASHES OF CONSCIOUSNESS” IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Generally, the level of political consciousness today is the stage of social awareness. At this stage workers are grouping themselves together, not as a class against a class enemy, but as a mass against “racist cops,” “corporations,” “the government,” etc. Yet the importance of this should not be underestimated. The workers are beginning to recognize more clearly the contours of the enemy — the government, police, its laws and institutions.

An overview of key events — flashes of consciousness — in the last few years gives us an indication of the quantitative stages of development of social awareness in the American people.

Hurricane Katrina, 2005: As people screamed from rooftops for help, the world witnessed the inhumanity of a government that was more preoccupied with the interests of the corporations than in saving and securing human lives. Official estimates put the death toll at 1,833. In the face of the government’s disregard for human life revolutionaries could teach who the enemy really is — the capitalist class and its economic system, where profit and private property are more precious than life itself.

Immigrant Rights Mega Marches, 2006: With these marches the spontaneous movement took a historic turn, going from the defensive to the offensive on the immigration issue. Close to four million people, the great majority of whom were U.S. citizens, shielded the undocumented as these workers took to the streets and drew a line in the sand with their chant, “We won’t go and if you deport us we’ll come back!” This inspirational counterattack from one of the most vulnerable sections of society provided revolutionaries with

the opportunity to teach that the immigrant worker is part and parcel of the American working class.

The Rust Belt, 2010-2013: The response of millions of workers to the economic crisis of 2008 began to play itself out in the cities of this country following the 2010 elections. The results of these elections opened the way for stepped-up attacks on the working class with policies that furthered the shift of wealth to the corporations and the rich. The struggle against these attacks moved from the occupation of state houses to various petition campaigns for repeals or recalls, to elections to recall elected officials or overturn legislation. The Rust Belt workers' "flash of consciousness" was the recognition of their betrayal by the Democratic Party, and has translated into a growing interest in third party alternatives. The workers of the Rust Belt are still reeling from the economic devastation of the region, bankruptcies and the anti-democratic imposition of Emergency Financial Managers.

Occupy Wall Street Movement (OWS), 2011: The OWS movement is both an expression of a stage of struggle and consciousness and a catalyst that pushed consciousness forward. The coining of the phrase "the 99% vs the 1%" became part of the popular discourse. Although most of its adherents are opposed to the corporations, but not necessarily to the capitalist system, the OWS does contain a discernible anti-capitalist thread. As such this anti-capitalist thread is a "flash of consciousness" that has helped set the stage for the development of future stages of consciousness.

Moral Monday & Trayvon Martin, 2012-2013: Shocked by the Zimmerman verdict, people were moved to spontaneously march, to rally and to hold vigils against such a blatant injustice. It was another step in the loss of faith in the legal system. It created an opening for revolutionaries to teach the meaning of the ongoing ruling class attacks against our class — that the attack is not against Blacks because they're Black or Latino or white or Asian, but rather the attack is class-based and is an attack of one class against another class.

The Moral Monday protests in North Carolina this summer also have shown us that consciousness has leapt to a new quantitative stage of social awareness. The movement battled not on scattered fronts, but it directly confronted the State. They were not just fighting back. The Moral Monday movement opposed the Southern program, that the State seeks to impose, with a program of its own.

The Moral Monday movement spoke in defense of the bottom of society.

Though the quality is still social awareness, the spontaneous response to Trayvon Martin's murder and the Zimmerman verdict and to the Moral Monday movement is edging the consciousness of the workers closer to where they can learn social consciousness. With social consciousness the workers come to understand that they are members of a class and that they need class solidarity. They come to understand that their class is exploited and that they must fight that exploitation as a class. The times call for revolutionaries to produce and disseminate propaganda that hammers out the idea of class and of class unity.

The workers' thinking has not yet progressed to the stage of social consciousness. But direction is more important than velocity. It is clear that workers are beginning to discern the different class interests. Simply fighting back is no longer enough, and the workers are beginning to put forward programs in their interests. This means something fundamentally new for the revolution in America. These developments are of the utmost importance and they will define the League's role as an organization of revolutionaries.

It is the economic crisis that is pushing people into the streets to right what they perceive as wrong. But it is revolutionary propaganda that points out class interests, that unmasks the enemy, and that points the way forward with a vision of a new society. Revolutionary propaganda will be decisive in securing those flashes of consciousness as nodal points in the thinking of the American people.

Reconstruct Society on a New Basis

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A recent survey by the Brookings Institution found 42% of the American people believe that capitalism is either “not working too well” or “not working at all.” It also found that 44% believed that capitalism and the free market system are at odds with Christian values.

Along with this anti-capitalist sentiment comes a political awakening — an outrage against injustice and a loss of faith in the government.

They are right: Production without labor is destroying capitalist production relations. The ruling class is using its political power to protect private appropriation and their interests at the expense of the people of this country and the world.

Revolutionaries can and must politicize this awakening, unite the outrage with the vision of a new society that does away with privation and inequality, and infuse it with the confidence that this vision is possible. To do that we have to understand the underlying change. Only then can revolutionaries fight for its direction.

NEW MOTIVE FORCE

A new motive force is replacing human labor in production.

This is no small change. At other stages of social development, the defining motive force ranged from animal and human power to electro-mechanical power driving machinery. Today’s micro-chip stores and transmits not only specific, programmed mechani-

cal movements — but also the capacity to make virtually instant decisions based on new information received. As it transmits the decision-making capacity of human labor, the microchip is replacing living labor in one aspect of production after another.

As an economic system defined by the buying and selling of labor power as a commodity, capitalism cannot survive this new motive force. But the ruling class can use its political power to preserve its wealth and continue private appropriation of the social product.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE

Productive forces that replace labor mean that property relations built around mechanics, labor power and value are becoming untenable. Although the new motive force begins to destroy capitalist production relations, the State still has to protect and promote private property — the private appropriation of the social product. The ruling class uses its political power to give legal expression to the needs of private property under new conditions.

Private property is not simply a big accumulation of wealth. Nor is it the same as personal property, in the sense of someone's bed or books or bicycle. Property relations refer to relationships in society, relations between people and property.

At its essence, property is a legal question — in the broad sense of ownership and appropriation. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels described in their writings the main stages of appropriation of the social product — the stages of private property up to and including capitalism. In mediaeval society, the means of production were suited for individual use, and accumulation was based on individual production.

The emergence of large-scale industry called for the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the capitalists and the separation of laborers from their tools. In the first volume of *Capital*, Marx summed up this centuries-long period of social development in a few words: The “expropriation of the immediate producers ... [the] dissolution of private property based on the labor of its owner.” He also anticipated the possibility of the end of all systems of private property: the “expropriators are expropriated.”

Property relations, in the sense of who owns what and who appropriates the product of labor, are the legal expression of the production relations at a given stage. They are the legal framework in which those production relations operate, whether those produc-

tion relations be ancient slavery, feudalism, or capitalism.

Here we are not talking about “legal” simply in the narrow sense of “laws.” There need be no law on the books that says the owners of the factories get to appropriate the product of the workers’ labor. Yet everything in society is set up that way: Workers have to work in order to get money to buy the necessities of life. Capitalists hire the workers and appropriate the fruits of their labor.

Changes in private property relations recast relationships within society — relationships among classes in society, government, the State, corporations, and property. When the owning and appropriating class needs to re-shape these relationships in order to continue private appropriation under new conditions, it uses its political power to do so.

Legal and political changes at the origin of capitalism shaped society to facilitate the new production relations. Capitalist relations of production first developed in agriculture, in a particular area in England. Beginning in the 16th century large landowners fought for a series of laws that began the private enclosure of lands that had previously been accessible to the whole village. People could no longer graze their sheep or cut their hay where they used to.

These laws began to reshape society in the interest of the rising capitalist class. They separated workers from the land, forced them to sell their labor power to the capitalists, in agriculture and then in industry. They promoted the rise and expansion of capitalist production relations and, ultimately, the export of a new form of inequality to places far beyond the English shores.

Specific legal and political relationships also shaped U.S. capitalism. Here there was no 19th century capitalism without the depraved and murderous enslavement of millions of African Americans. Propelled by the capitalist market, slave labor — especially on the cotton plantations of the Mississippi Valley — drove the explosion of the U.S. onto the world market.

In the irony and dialectic of history, at a certain point the property relationships of slavery had to be abolished in order for capitalist production relations in the U.S. to move on to their next stage of growth and expansion. After the Civil War the 13th Amendment abolished the right of one person to own another as property. But it did not end the capitalism whose expansion was made possible by that slavery. As the world so painfully knows, the period after the Civil War saw an expansion of capitalism that catapulted the

U.S. from the second-rate country it had been in 1840 to a first-rate imperialist power within 60 years.

Particular relationships of private property were suited to capitalism's growth at one stage. At another stage they became a fetter. Laws were passed. Books were written. War was waged. Political and legal changes ensured capitalism's growth under new conditions.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES SHAPE SOCIETY

Today, the foundation of American society is again shifting — this time in a qualitatively new way. The introduction of the microchip into production replaces human labor and introduces an antagonism to the production relations of capitalism. Production without labor calls for distribution based on need.

The ruling class cannot stop the economic revolution and its fundamental threat to exchange based on labor and value. But it can wield its political power to protect its interests under these new conditions. It is acting directly and openly to wield the power of the State against everything, from public education to the earth's endangered ecology.

This economic and political motion has been the merger of the corporations and the State. It uses the power of the State to direct key aspects of the economy, serve corporate interests and protect private property.

This merger is the basic structure of fascism. It has been a protracted process. But when the cyclical crisis of under-consumption came to a head in the financial crisis of 2008, it gave the ruling class the opportunity to advance this merger to a higher phase of its development. The merger required and made possible a wide spectrum of domestic laws and regulations, legal contracts and global agreements that subjugate society to the corporations.

Protecting private property today is not only police guarding surplus food from hungry people. As immoral and obscene as that is, there's more to it. Today a vast array of new laws, regulations, legal agreements and precedents aims to protect the economy and uphold the private appropriation of the social product, even as the production relations of capitalism are being destroyed.

One spot on this spectrum addresses the reorganization of the financial sector. The Federal Reserve granted exemptions to the financial sector and Congress approved its deregulation, opening

new avenues of investment.

Banks are now allowed to buy up infrastructure that stores and delivers commodities. JPMorgan is moving to gain control of the copper supply. Goldman Sachs collected about \$5 billion in fees over the last three years by moving aluminum back and forth among its 27 industrial warehouses in the Detroit area — money making money based ever more remotely on labor and production of value.

The path is cleared for the owners of money to make more money in new arenas of speculation made possible by the microchip. Credit default swaps bring in high returns for some investors — and wreak havoc on cities that have to pay off the banks and cut allocations for the public good. The microchip can put knowledge about anything — from the genetic structure of plants, animals, and humans to changes in interest rates and currency values — onto the market for sale or speculation. Scientific knowledge about natural resources is thrown onto private markets. Some hedge funds now focus their speculation on water supply, drought or how fast a glacier dissolves into the earth's warming waters.

Changes to the legal and political superstructure are destroying relationships in society once assumed stable. A new generation of global trade agreements protects the profits of the world's corporations at the expense of the people of the world. Banks that are deemed "too big to fail" become exempt from the rule of law, and are given the funds and liquidity to become even bigger. Under the banner of "austerity," legal contracts are broken, cities cut essential services, and public workers lose their pensions. The regime of austerity is reshaping society in the U.S., Greece, Ukraine, and around the world.

MEANING OF LEGAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES

Adjustments to the legal and political superstructure are cementing the bonds of the merger between the armed force of the State and the economic power of the corporations. The consolidation of the economic, political, and legal framework of fascism is well underway.

These are not subjective choices, nor policies that can be chosen or repealed. They are the attempts of the ruling class to protect its interests in the face of the objective forces that are destroying a system based on labor and value.

Out of this process is evolving a new system of private property — a system where money makes money, where wealth and exchange become ever more detached from labor and the production of value. No new system springs fully developed from someone's mind. It takes place step by step, as the ruling class uses its political power to solve specific problems.

The ruling class has to try to ensure the continuity of private property. They cannot forever preserve a system of exchange based on labor when labor is being replaced and value is being destroyed.

In this objective sense the ruling class is on the strategic defensive. There is no economic solution. The only route to protecting private property is political force. They have political power, but political laws cannot overcome economic laws. They cannot ensure the continuity of a system of exchange in an economy that is increasingly separated from value.

But they have to try. As destructive and far-reaching these political and legal adjustments are, their offensive can only be a tactical one. The beginning of the end of value based on labor sets the objective basis for the abolition of private property.

PROFOUND REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

Despite its dangers the current political moment also holds tremendous revolutionary potential. As it is for the ruling class, so too is it for the working class. The subjective, conscious aspect of the process is decisive.

Each political step awakens more people and brings them into awareness and struggle. Now is the moment to meet the anti-capitalist awareness and anti-fascist sentiment and politicize it with widespread propaganda.

With the political power of the State so openly in the hands of the corporate exploiters and appropriators, with these private interests so nakedly assaulting the public, there arises the potential for a break in the continuity of political thought. It is urgent that revolutionaries take advantage of the objectivity of this political moment to politicize the growing sense of the injustice of these laws and develop class consciousness.

The conscious aspect of the revolutionary process is more than the awakening and response of people to the disruption in society. It may start there. But more decisive is the stages of the consciousness of the need and possibility to reconstruct society on a new founda-

tion. Consciousness is not just more and better struggle within the system and against its effects. Consciousness is indispensable to the struggle to rid society of the cause of injustice and inequality — the struggle for the political power to reconstruct society.

Will the abundant physical and cultural wealth, scientific understanding and productive capacity, that are the results of thousands of years of human knowledge and production, continue to be subjugated to private profit? Or will humanity transcend the world governed by the laws of private property to achieve a new level of its development? The future is up to revolutionaries who feel deeper and see farther — and who organize themselves to unite the consciousness of the solution with those who are struggling against the problems.

Study Guide

Historical Shifts and the Danger of War

Questions & Discussion Points

Paragraph 1

1. What is the “overwhelming aspect in the world situation”?
2. Why is it difficult to establish that aspect?

Shifting Economic Power in World History

1. “...mighty nations, powerful nations, develop along trade routes.”
Please discuss the three examples that are developed.
2. Discuss the foundations of “wealth creation, trading and a consequent shift of power.”

China and U.S. Geo-Strategy

1. Explain how the electronic revolution has changed everything.
2. Please describe China’s development, its basis and the results.
3. Please discuss the relations between China and the U.S.
4. What is the “crescent-shape ring of encirclement?”
What does it represent?
5. Please point out all the expressions of the rising volatility and instability.

Militarization of U.S. Economy and Society

1. Please describe the process of the militarization of the U.S. economy. What is the military-industrial complex? Please give examples of its accelerated growth and influence.
2. Explain the ongoing and escalating militarization of American society.
3. How is it escalating? Give organizational, economic, commercial, political and cultural examples of the militarization of U.S. society. Give local examples.
4. How is the ruling class's never ending, relentless propaganda campaign instrumental to the process of militarization?
5. How must we rely on the LRNA Program and propaganda?

Third Party: Breaking the Ties That Bind

Discussion Questions and Points

1. Please discuss the epoch of social revolution and the content of the times.
2. Please discuss polarization and the beginning of real transformation.
3. Please discuss the League's estimate of the current situation and how the environment shapes the tasks of revolutionaries.
4. How do revolutionaries deal with the nature of third party movements and the period of change that we are in?
5. Here's our situation:

There are no organized political forces representing anything but the ruling class. A large number of people in the U.S. are moving into political activity in order to restructure or reform the capitalist system. Some are doing it so it doesn't destroy itself. Revolutionaries are a part of this motion; we must be part of this social motion.

In this context, please discuss:

Our propaganda is based on fighting for the program of the new class and maintaining our identity as a communist organization.

Solving the Riddle of History

Questions & Discussion Points

Introduction

1. Under capitalism labor power is subject to the same laws that govern production and distribution of all commodities. What does that mean to labor, classes and society?
2. What is the basis of all wealth and property?

Polarization and the Revolutionary Process

1. Why is production without human labor a leap from the old economic base?
2. What is capitalism? Why is laborless, wage-less electronic production antagonistic to it?
3. Discuss the factors in creating a new society once the revolution in the economic base has set the conditions for it.
4. Please discuss the relationship and inter-penetration of the poles and the social and economic graduations within them. Give examples.
5. What is polarization?
6. What role does qualitative change play in polarization?
7. Why is the “middle” conceptually and concretely at the heart of our strategy and tactics?

Webster’s dictionary defines revolution as: a sudden, radical, or complete change. The content of the last great epoch of revolution was the qualitative transformation from manual agricultural labor to industrial mechanical labor. “The short span of 35 years from 1830 to 1865 saw revolution sweep the earth. From the upheavals in France to the United States Civil War, the long way around, those years were an epoch of revolution.”

8. Describe this epoch of revolution; its economic base; the contending forces, ideologies and programs.

9. What is our immediate challenge?
10. What steps will you take to study, understand and act on it?

The Role of Revolutionaries and the Unity of the New Class

1. Please describe the objective quality of the new class and the fight for power.
2. Why is the introduction of something new the catalyst for the transformation of thinking that's needed by the class?
3. How is this the basis of all of the League's work.?
4. How is the class beset on all sides by the ideas of their class enemy?
5. Only propaganda can unite the new class with it's cause. How does your work express this?
6. "Unity isn't automatic. It has to be fought for by conscious people."

How does this define the League's work?

Programmatic Contention

1. What is the program of the new class?
2. How will planning force League collectives to make League propaganda part of the "contention"?
3. What do we mean by program?
4. In all of the examples that are given, can you give specific expressions from your city or area?
5. Some say there are upward of 30 political parties in the US, and hundreds more political organizations. Can you give examples of "program" from your area or your work?

The Way Forward

1. Summarize the factors that give the new class the possibility of leading the working class in passing from the defensive to the offense in the struggle.
2. “The capitalist system in the process of its own destruction, a section of the working class whose actual interests are objectively opposed to the capitalist class, a government that is inseparably intertwined and intermingled with the corporations, and all sections of society drawn into the debate and struggle. The polarization of wealth and the emerging social struggle call on revolutionaries to stand on a scientific foundation in order to accomplish the political development of this new class and the strategic thinking of the revolutionaries.”

This is the moment we face. How will we put ourselves in a position to answer the questions raised here?

3. How will we rely on the motion and position of the new class?
4. How will we influence its direction along the line of march?
5. How will we marshal our energy and our forces to simultaneously study the theoretical and source material and plan our activity accordingly?
6. How will we harness the energy of every comrade, potential recruit, political contact and friend along these lines?

Strategy, Mission and the Way Forward

Questions & Discussion Points

Finding the Center of Gravity

1. Please discuss:

“Out of these characteristics a certain center of gravity develops, the hub of all power and movement, on which everything depends. That is the point against which all our energies should be directed. There ‘is no higher and simpler law of strategy’ Clausewitz wrote ‘than to focus military force on the most vulnerable part of your enemy’s defense’, dubbed the center of gravity.”

2. What does the concept of “center of gravity” mean to the League?

3. How does the League use this concept? Have you used this in planning your League work.

The Dispossessed and LRNA Strategy

1. What is the new class?

2. What do we mean by the dispossessed? Who are the dispossessed?

3. How does the deteriorating economic conditions of the dispossessed change everything about their motion and activity?

4. What does it mean to League strategy? What does it mean to League work?

5. Please discuss:

“In order to be effective, revolutionary organizations must constantly step back, assess and examine the environment and conditions within which they work. From this examination, they must develop a strategic overview that directs them in the overall class struggle to achieve the goal of a cooperative, communist society. This means revolutionary organizations must always be asking: How do we get from where we are to where we need to be? How do we accomplish our tasks? What kind of organization is needed for this stage of history?”

Michigan is Harbinger

1. Please describe and discuss the situation in Michigan. Please use other articles from *Rally, Comrades!* and other papers to discuss this. What does it mean “that the ruling class is shutting the door on reform, on even the most incremental amelioration of the misery of the people.”?
2. Please give other examples nationally and internationally of similar situations. Perhaps the most important thing to discuss are local examples. How do we use “matters of strategy and identifying the political center of gravity” to clarify our thinking and what we are doing?

Strategy and Leadership

1. What do we base our work on in this time of transition? Why?
2. What is the strategy of the ruling class? What is the League's strategy?
3. What is the only solution for the new class?
4. How are the leaders of this revolutionary class going to be developed as strategic thinkers?
How does this determine what kind of organization the League strives to become?

Widespread propaganda

1. “Every struggle becomes a battle over actual interests and a school for revolutionary ideas.”

What does this mean? How does it impact the decisions and work of the League?

2. What is the aim of League propaganda?

3. How does your work reflect the following:

“The presses and their interrelationship, each playing a particular role, provide the basis for casting the net wide, but at the same time, particularly through *Rally, Comrades!* and other forms of propaganda, and through education, the League is able to present to the leaders of the dispossessed an understanding of the problems they face and a strategy for victory.”

4. How will we make sure we have a thorough and ongoing discussion, application and conduct of the concept of “widespread propaganda” and not let it become a catchphrase or category in our work?

Elections 2012: Austerity, Third Parties, and the Global Economy and Latino and Black Unity

Questions & Discussion Points

1. What is the “central objective link that is pulling all the events in a certain direction at this particular moment”?
How is that link connected to revolutionary strategy?
2. What is the importance of expansion to the capitalist class?
Why is capitalist expansion coming to an end?
3. What are the reasons the report concludes that “All that the capitalists have left to them is war”? At what level of generality is this statement accurate?
What is the importance of war to the maintenance of capitalism?
What are some reasons the United States has for labeling Russia and China as “enemies”?
4. Why has austerity become a necessity for the capitalist class?
5. In what ways was nationalization victorious in the 2012 elections?
6. Why wasn’t the victory for nationalization a victory for working people?
How does the trend toward nationalization offer new possibilities for political struggle?
7. How did the 2012 elections reflect the “central objective link” that is “pulling all events in a certain direction at this time”?
How does Thomas Edsall’s analysis (“Is Rush Limbaugh’s Country Gone”?) reveal a line of march for third party development in the wake of the election?

8. Why is the report optimistic about the development of a third political party in the United States?
How is third party development in the present period different from prior periods of third party formation, and what are the elements of polarity currently creating prospects for a third party?
9. Why is it no longer possible for the two party system to contain the class struggle?
10. What is the difference in past third party movements and those developing today?
How does the example of Greece illustrate the possibilities of this moment in the United States and elsewhere?
11. How does the capitalist class use the concept of “the middle class” to derail class unity?
12. How does the report anticipate the contradictory character of third party development?
What is the correct revolutionary strategy within this development?
13. How is the trend towards nationalization tied to an opening for a third party?
14. How is attitude toward government critical to the development of class consciousness?
15. What will be the revolutionaries’ fundamental task in the building of a third party movement?
16. Why is class consciousness necessary to successful revolution?

Polarization Accelerates as Economic Power Shifts

Questions & Discussion Points

1. “The world has entered the beginning stage of a vast social revolution brought on by the transfer of social production from electro-mechanical production to electronics. The outstanding feature of this stage is irresolvable overproduction. Automated production within the wage labor value system polarizes society with unheard of wealth at one pole and unheard of poverty at the other. This antagonism is irresolvable within the capitalist system and the struggle inevitably moves from the economic level to the political revolutionary level. For revolutionaries, this reality must guide any discussion on our assessment and our tasks.”

What is the wage labor system?

Capitalism is a specific form of economic production. How has labor power changed during the development of capitalism, from start to finish (antagonism)? Why is this significant today?

2. “A global economic crisis is shattering and transforming all existing social and political institutions and relationships. The fundamental antagonism that is destroying the very basis of modern society lies at the heart of the economic and political crisis that is engulfing the globe.

“The U.S. is struggling to dominate the world. It has militarized its economy and turned to war in its attempt to maintain its control. At the same time, its dominance is being challenged. A profound shift in economic power is taking place — from the U.S. to Asia. As we assess the current situation in the U.S., we recognize that a process of political restructuring is taking place, including how that situation is playing out in the elections as well as in the motion toward a third party, as the ruling class strains to accommodate itself to the new economy. But the struggle to control that process is taking place on a world scale, not just at home.”

Who has the world's largest economy? Who has the world's largest manufacturing output? What percent of the US workforce is involved in the industrial manufacturing? Who will

the U.S. dominate the world? Can you describe the political content of this motion? Please give examples.

3. “Though the politicians keep pointing out that national security is first about economics, the struggle to obtain and maintain supremacy inevitably comes down to political and particularly military solutions. The empire is in crisis, and the U.S. State has placed permanent war on the agenda.

“The deepening global crisis and the competition for shrinking markets means that no country can back down without courting economic ruin. The U.S. ruling class cannot implement all the changes necessary to carry on this fight without unifying at least a section of the American people around its goals. President Obama is attempting to use the populist message of the 99% to mobilize a section of the American people behind his program.

“Objectively the U.S. has no way out. Every path leads to greater polarization, discontent and the further development of the new proletariat. At the same time, fascism grows out of the process to implement whatever solution the U.S. pursues to protect and maintain its position in the world. Inevitably, any solution the U.S. pursues will force it to crack down further at home as it moves to more aggressively impose its will on the world stage.”

Can you give examples of the fight for markets pushing the world toward war? What does intensifying polarization mean for the work of the League? Please give local examples.

Threat of World War

1. “Globalization — capitalism in the age of electronics — defines the economic motion of our time. The political motion is toward empire. By globalization, we mean the opening up of the world to expand and advance investment in a period of electronic labor replacing technology. Globalization can take place under a political system of allies and equal states or it can take place under a system of vassal states, such as with empire. By empire we mean the indirect control of the process by one nation.

“For the U.S., this means that all strategic competitor countries must be brought under its domination. The contradiction the U.S. faces however, as do all countries of the world, is the problem of the market in a time of labor-less production. On the one hand,

the world economy cannot develop without a market. On the other hand, the world market is shrinking due to production with labor-replacing technology and the resulting inability of people to consume. Since profit can only take place through the sale of commodities, the contention is over access to and control of the market that is left. Today, China is outselling the U.S. Something has to give.

“The U.S is preparing for war against China. Installing friendly regimes in the Middle East, along with the military encirclement of Russia and China, is a strategic step in this direction.”

Can you describe “empire” during the stages of the mechanical industrial economy? How has this changed?

2. “The entire planet is divided up into geographic Combatant Commands under the control of the Pentagon”, writes Michel Chossudovsky. “The Pentagon’s military road-map consists of a sequence of war theaters. The five-year campaign plan includes... a total of seven countries, beginning with Iraq, then ‘Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Somalia and Sudan.’”

In an interview this year, Middle East scholar Ibrahim Aoude described the back and forth of this process, and the adjustments that are made to achieve the overall strategic goal. “Thus far, Iraq and Libya have been destroyed. Egypt and Syria are in progress. Preparations are underway to separate Iran from Syria. Then they can hit the resistance in both Lebanon and Palestine. What delayed the move against Russia and China was the resistance in both Iraq and Afghanistan; the U.S. didn’t succeed and was compelled to withdraw from the first and is about to do so from the second.”

“As powerful as the U.S. military is, it can no longer get everything it wants when it wants. This doesn’t mean it won’t sabotage, assassinate leaders, foment “uprisings” and drive the world to the brink of nuclear war to accomplish its strategic goal. It does mean that irreversible polarization has begun. Today, the U.S. is threatening Russia’s and China’s national interests. As a result, Russia and China are forced closer together. Polarization means the breaking of the monolithic character of a process. Struggle becomes the dominant relationship.

“The U.S. is in the process of encircling China militarily, establishing bases in Australia in addition to Iraq and Afghanistan and Central Asia, docking Navy ships in Singapore, and is building up troops in the southern Philippines to assist in the

fight against “terror” there. The so-called “Pivot toward Asia” with its increased focus on air and sea power is directly related to preparing for war with China.”

How does the economic revolution change the foundation and consequences of the struggle for markets? What is the significance of the process of the U.S. encircling China? What key driving force is pushing the world toward war?

3. “U.S. attempts to destabilize Syria and overthrow the government there has a direct impact on Russian geopolitical interests. Relations between Syria and Russia go back many decades. This cooperation has included military arms supply, the training of Syrian officers, and the construction of military facilities. The Syrian port of Tartus has served as an additional warm water port for Russia for many years and gives it greater access to the Mediterranean and the Suez. Russia has plans to modernize its major naval facility there to insure that Tartus can accommodate all Russian Navy vessels, including aircraft carriers, large warships, and missile cruisers. Russia and China cannot just step back and simply submit to the U.S. They have their own national interests. Wars always become inevitable when one country feels its national existence is at stake. Over the past twenty years, there have been numerous small wars around the world but the national existence of the bigger and more powerful countries have not been threatened. Today, however, the world is moving into a situation where the national existence of Russia and China is being threatened.

“Clearly the world situation is extremely unstable. Even as the U.S. attempts to unite a world bourgeoisie under a U.S. dominated empire behind a façade of democracy and human rights, every step it takes only heightens the antagonisms.”

Are the interests of the major “combatants” the same in this developing situation? What is the strategic aim of the US in this situation? Please describe the US tactics in furthering their strategy aim.

Tasks of Revolutionaries

1. “The ruling class is masterful at strategic thinking. Our thorough-going understanding of the real processes underway must shape our strategic thinking. The strategic tasks of revolutionaries

flow from the content of the time — the irreparable antagonism between the productive forces and productive relations. Our starting point as revolutionaries is to describe as accurately as possible the situation faced by our class at every stage of its development and to use that information to constantly examine and reexamine our political conclusions, and the strategy and tactics that flow from those conclusions. The answers to the questions revolutionaries face are not the purview of this or that person, or this or that organization. They are questions of the revolution, and as such involve all who seek to end the destruction around us and build a new world.”

How do these changes impact the transformation of classes today? How do they impact the new class? How important is the strategic thinking to our work? How does it form the foundation of our approach to propaganda?

2. “Humanity is moving through a world historical process of transition and change. The League of Revolutionaries for a New America looks at the world from this immense and broad perspective. There are tens of thousands of revolutionaries ready to join an organization of revolutionaries. They are ready to become part of a strategic thinking organization that can articulate the next step toward that end point of change.

“The future of humanity is at stake. The qualitatively new class—that is arising globally— is the key. It must be educated about communism. Understanding cause and effect in human history helps us to map the line of march forward through all of the destruction and instability to the only solution for humankind — a global cooperative, communist society based on distribution according to need. It is the only solution that will end war and bring peace. The task of revolutionaries is to build the political force that can move history in that direction.”

What is the mission of the League? How important is understanding the program of the new section of the new class (being created by the replacement of human labor with automated production) to what we do as an organization of revolutionaries? Do you see this as the work of you collective(s)?

U.S. Political Realignments Rooted in Global Transformation

Discussion Questions and Points

Paragraph 1

1. The United States has always aimed to dominate the world. How is today different? Please give examples (WWII, the Cold War etc.) What appeals have they used in the past? Why?

Global Economy and Perpetual War

1. Discuss and explain: “War is politics by other means.” What causes buying and selling to break down? Historically what is the relationship between capitalism and labor power as a commodity?

All-American Unity Impossible

1. How do new classes arise alongside and within existing classes. Discuss how “uniting in their class interests” is different today than during the Depression, or the during earlier large social movements in the U.S.
2. Please discuss the central question of strategy and reserves — for the bourgeoisie and for the revolutionaries.

Economic and Political Realignments

1. What is antagonism and how does it economically, socially and politically polarize society and make social and political revolution inevitable? Does this affect the political base of bourgeois politics?

2. What is the relationship and the contradiction between participating in the elections in motions and organizations that are favorable for revolutionaries and using “the developing social motion for a third party to lay the foundation for a workers party that can represent the independent political interests of our class”?

3. Please discuss:

In spite of worsening economic conditions, nothing can be accomplished until the American people hold a vision of where they want to go and what they want to be. Creating and imbuing them with such vision is the overriding task of revolutionaries and the foundation of our organization.

War and the Current Situation in Asia and Korea: Key Link in Encirclement of China

Questions & Discussion Points

War and the Current Situation in Asia

1. What conditions have made Asia a threat to U.S. economic and political control?
What is the strategy and goal of the U.S.?
2. What makes South Asia and Southeast Asia key to U.S. supremacy?
3. How have electronics changed the role of China in the 21st Century?
4. Please discuss the foundations of instability and pushing the world toward war.
“...where is the war danger emanating from and by whom?”
Please describe the emphasis of U. S. propaganda on this.
5. What is the difference in U.S. and China foreign policy?
6. Why do revolutionaries need to understand this difference and how it manifests itself in military strategy and propaganda?
7. Discuss: We have to raise class-consciousness so that the American workers stop being complicit with the U.S. capitalist class as it “terrorizes” the world to achieve its Empire.

Korea: Key Link in Encirclement of China

1. What are the key considerations that have always shaped U.S. imperialist goals regarding Korea?
2. At the end of World War II, how did U.S. goals affect conditions in Korea and throughout Southeast Asia?
3. Why does the U.S. remain poised at the brink of war with Korea?

Note:

In addition to discussing the questions above, please assign one person to sum up the key points from “Historical Shifts and the Danger of War” on page 7.

The Changing Situation and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

Questions & Discussion Points

1. What does the League mean by polarization?* Why is this concept so important?
What do we mean by “social upheaval” and “the destruction of society”?
2. During the 20th century what was the base and content of fascism?
What is its base and content today?
3. Please discuss: “Myriad laws have been and are being passed that are directed toward not only containing the upsurges of the masses..”
4. Please give examples of how the legal structure of the U.S. is being transformed, and to what purpose. How is this happening locally?
5. Please discuss the “stage of the social expression of fascism” and the “rise of a new stage of the spontaneous movement”.
6. What is the content and foundation of the third party motion we see today?
How do we describe League work in this motion?
What is the independent role of the League?
7. What is our north star? Please discuss why.
8. Discuss the reality that gives rise to the demand for new solutions. How is this the foundation for the growth of the League at this time?
9. “It is not possible to deal with qualitative change without adjusting thinking and activity with each quantitative stage of development. It is important that we constantly evaluate the situation and as circumstance demands...”

What does this mean to the work of the League, and to all work in your city?

10. How do we summarize the League's general line?
11. Why is dialectics so important to the work of revolutionaries? How does your collective and your League Area discuss the application of our "dialectical knowledge"?
12. At this moment, what is the League's outlook on a communist party for the objective communist movement?

*** Dictionary definitions of "polarize"**

polarize *verb* (DIVIDE OPINIONS) to cause people in a group to have opposing positions:

The property tax issue polarized the city council.

(Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary ©Cambridge University Press)

polarize *verb* to cause something, especially something that contains different people or opinions, to divide into two completely opposing groups:

The debate is becoming polarized and there seems to be no middle ground.

The polarization of society into rich and poor can clearly be seen in urban areas.

*(Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary & Thesaurus
©Cambridge University Press)*

From League writings on the concept of polarization:

Polarization is the process of separating the opposing or contradictory elements that make up an entity. Social science deals with the movement of opposing classes. When society moves in a direction, we look for changes in the economy that explain social motion. These categories could not exist without the opposites not only existing side by side, but also separating and struggling. Polarization, the process of one aspect going almost entirely in one direction and the other going in the other direction, must take place before there is motion. Once polarization begins, a struggle between the two poles begins. This is evident in a society when all the wealth goes to one class and all the poverty goes to another class. As this process takes place the opposing classes begin to fight each other.

Fascism Today and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

Questions & Discussion Points

The Objectivity of Fascism Today

1. Why do we say that fascism is objective today?
2. If fascism is objective, what are the implications for the League's strategy and tactics?
3. Why do we say that the question of nationalization becomes the battlefield where class consciousness can be taught?

The Culture of Fascism and the Role of History

1. Discuss the historical roots of fascism in the US and how it impacts the culture today.
2. Discuss the key fascist ideas that are utilized by the ruling class today to disorient the people.
3. Discuss the alternative to a fascist culture and the role of the revolutionaries.

Edging Toward a New Stage of Consciousness

1. “The sole role of the revolutionaries is propaganda - the raising of the political consciousness of the working class.” How do we shape that propaganda?
2. What did Lenin mean by “flashes of consciousness”? What do we mean by a new stage of consciousness? Can you give examples? Local examples?
3. Please discuss:
“...workers are beginning to discern the different class interests. ... workers are beginning to put forward programs in their interest.”

How is this something fundamentally new in the revolution in America? What does it mean to the work of revolutionaries?

Reconstruct Society on a New Basis

Questions & Discussion Points

New Motive Force

“Qualitatively new means of production are in deepening antagonism with private, capitalist ownership of socially necessary means of subsistence.

“Permanent, structural unemployment is pervasive and growing. Increasing numbers of proletarians cannot sell their only commodity — labor power. Production with high technology is forcing industrial production (i.e. human labor coupled with electromechanics) off the market. The economy — based on the buying and selling of labor power — is being irreversibly destroyed. The destruction of the economy will force society to reorganize. This reorganization will change the forms of ownership of socially necessary property from private to public. Only then will the economy conform to the productive capacity of robots and computers.”

— “Entering an Epoch of Social Revolution” by Nelson Peery

1. Why is the capitalist economy incompatible with electronic production?
2. Please discuss how the economy is being irreversibly destroyed. Can you give examples?

Private Property and the State

“Historical materialism, the application of dialectical materialism to history, shows that the method of securing the means of subsistence determines the character of a social system. People organize (create productive relations) around their tools and the knowledge of using them (the productive forces) for the production of their food, clothing and housing. The dialectical development of the struggle between the constantly developing productive forces and the static productive relations is the motive force for the quantitative development of social systems. Qualitative change (negation) in the motive force used in production is the basis of qualitative changes between economic formations.

“The sum total of the productive relations constitutes the economic structure of society. The basis of the productive relations of capitalism is that the working class has to sell its labor power to the capitalist class in order to live. This fundamental relationship is static. Society, however, is much more complex.

“The relationships among the workers, among the capitalists, and between the workers and capitalists are all part of these definite indispensable relations that shape not simply the society but the individual. For example, the special oppression of black people is part of the productive relations, as is the position of the proletarian woman. The struggle for reform is precisely a struggle to reform the productive relations. In this country, there have been the legal reforms of Social Security, civil rights and women’s rights, to name a few. Capitalism’s basic law of private appropriation of socially produced commodities needs to be reformed. Since it cannot be reformed, the use of robotics, production and distribution control by computers disrupts that law. The sale of labor power and the labor process become incompatible with the mode of distribution. With no reforms left, society turns toward revolution.”

— “Entering an Epoch of Social Revolution” by Nelson Peery

1. How would you describe the character of the social system in 1900? Also, since the mid 1970s?
2. Please describe and discuss private property and property relations.
3. What is the relationship between the capitalists and the workers?

Legal and Political Changes Shape Society

“A state is an instrument of the ruling class to maintain its position as the dominant class. Any change in the form or function of the state machine undertaken by the ruling class is made in accordance with its changing needs and always with reference to strengthening and extending its position as the ruling class. Today, the principal needs of the ruling class involve adjusting to the changes in private property.”

— “The Changing Form Of The State: The Merger of Government and the Corporations,” *Rally, Comrades!*, June 2006 Volume 16, Edition 4

1. How is the ruling class changing the form and function of the state in order to protect their political power and private property? What examples can you give of the change in form of the state from your city?

Meaning of Legal and Political Changes

“Strategically, the enemy is on the defensive. The entire world has been pulled into the capitalist system. Qualitatively new means of production are destroying that system. Capitalism can only exist as long as it can expand. Capitalism has reached the limits of its expansion. Tactically, the ruling class is on the offensive. The purpose of this offensive is to prevent the workers from uniting around a common cause.

“Strategically, our class is on the offensive. This is so because qualitatively new means of production are destroying the capitalist system and creating the foundation for a world without private property. Tactically, our class is on the defensive. It is preoccupied with defending what it had, because it does not understand what is possible.

“Revolutionaries recognize that to win, our class must move from the defensive - defending the capitalist system and what they once had - to the offensive - fighting for a cooperative society that is possible.”

— LRNA Political Resolution

1. Why do we say that the ruling class is on the strategic defensive even though it has political power? What does the League do to guarantee our class understands what is possible and fights forward on that basis?

Profound Revolutionary Potential

“The last trench of the ruling class is the defense of private property. Therefore, it is here that we must orient all our tactics. Sections of the intelligentsia are already questioning capitalism. Revolutionaries do not have to make that our line of attack, but we can take advantage of that opening to go on the offensive with our tactics. We want to add what others cannot.

“We attack the system of private property. We point out the necessity, this time, of overthrowing private property and transferring these gigantic means of production into public property.

“The attack against private property cannot succeed without vision. The goal of all of our work today is to give the American people a vision of what is possible. It is a vision of a world where no one has to fight another for the daily bread of existence. It is a vision where cooperation and fulfilling the needs of humanity are the guiding principles. It is a vision that satisfies the deepest yearnings of the people for peace.

“Revolutionaries face real difficulties: the established foundation of fascism and its growing political and social features, and the rise of an anti-fascist movement that does not have the slightest possibility of success without a recognition that communism is the solution. Yet these realities must outline our tactics.

“The first step is that the American people have to be won over to the reality that private property can be brought to an end. We can take inspiration from the famous statement by the former slave and abolitionist Harriet Tubman when she said, “I freed a thousand slaves. I could have freed a thousand more if only they knew they were slaves.” The workers do not understand they are slaves. The first thing in liberating the slaves is to make them understand their slavery.

“That can only be done if revolutionaries have an answer. In the past, it was sectarian to say that what we need is communism. Today, proposing communism is not sectarian, but the practical solution to the problems the workers face. Communism is the public ownership of the socially necessary means of production and the distribution of the social product according to need.”

— LRNA Political Resolution

1. How does the revolutionary process open up the possibility to transform society?
2. What role does consciousness play in the fight to reconstruct society and overturn private property? How does this establish the role and content of the League? How would you describe our tasks as an organization of propagandists?

Background Readings

The readings listed below provide more background for the concepts presented in this pamphlet. They will be helpful as you study and hold the classes that are included in this pamphlet. If you are unable to find these readings, please contact the LRNA at info@lrna.org or LRNA, P.O. Box 477113, Chicago, IL.

Entering an Epoch of Social Revolution

By Nelson Peery

[http://www.speakersforanewamerica.com/](http://www.speakersforanewamerica.com/EnteringAnEpochOfSocialRevolution2.pdf)

[EnteringAnEpochOfSocialRevolution2.pdf](http://www.speakersforanewamerica.com/EnteringAnEpochOfSocialRevolution2.pdf)

Political Report of the 6th Party Congress

Rally, Comrades! Volume 12, No. 1 January 1993

The New Class: A definition

Rally, Comrades!, Volume 16, Edition 1, January/February 2006

<http://www.lrna.org/2-pt/articles/v16ed1art5.html>

Revolutionary History and Our Tasks

Rally, Comrades!, Volume 17, Edition 2, March 2007

<http://www.lrna.org/2-pt/articles/v17ed2art2.html>

On the Edge of History

Political Report of the Standing Committee of the

League of Revolutionaries for a New America, June 2008

Rally, Comrades!, Volume 18, Edition 4, July/August 2008

Illuminate the Line of March Within the Key Fronts of Struggle

Rally, Comrades!, Volume 18, Edition 6,

November/December 2008

<http://www.lrna.org/2-pt/articles/v18ed6art4.html>

International Polarization Accelerates as the World

Experiences Unprecedented Destruction of Wealth

Political Report of the LRNA Standing Committee,

September 2008

Rally, Comrades!, Volume 18, Edition 6,

November/December 2008

<http://www.lrna.org/2-pt/articles/v18ed6art1.html>

Demands of Dispossessed Only Basis for Unity
Political Report of the Standing Committee of the
League of Revolutionaries for a New America, September 2009
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 19, Edition 6,
November/December 2009
<http://www.lrna.org/2-pt/articles/v19ed6art2.html>

Seizing the Future: LRNA Holds 7th National Convention
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 21, Edition 3, June/July 2011
<http://rallycomrades.lrna.org/2012/05/seizing-the-future-lrna-holds-7th-national-convention/>

Causality and Human Will
Rally, Comrades!, March/April 2012, Volume 22 Ed. 2.
<http://rallycomrades.lrna.org/2012/05/causality-and-human-will/>

Consciousness of Society's Ills Fuels U.S. Upsurges
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 22, Edition 1, January/February 2012
<http://rallycomrades.lrna.org/2012/05/consciousness-of-societys-ills-fuels-u-s-upsurges/>

New Form of Racism Emerging
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 22, Edition 2, March/April 2012
<http://www.lrna.org/2-pt/articles/v22ed2art5.html>

The Meaning of Trayvon Martin
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 22, Edition 3, May/June 2012
<http://rallycomrades.lrna.org/2012/05/the-meaning-of-trayvon-martin-1041/>

After the Elections: Class Interests to the Fore
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 22, Edition 6,
November/December 2012
<http://rallycomrades.lrna.org/2012/11/after-the-elections-class-interest/>

A New Stage of a Powerful Social Movement Arises
Rally, Comrades!, Volume 23, Edition 5, September/October 2013
<http://rallycomrades.lrna.org/2013/08/a-new-stage-of-a-powerful-social-movement-arises-2/>

League of Revolutionaries for a New America

Society is undergoing a leap from one base - production with human labor - to another - production without human labor. Leaps have always occurred in history, and are the means by which qualitative change occurs. Yet the leap today is epochal in its nature. It is more akin to the leap from a classless society, an epoch that lasted tens of thousands of years, to private property, a period which has lasted over 2,000 years. Electronic production has introduced a radically new means of production into the economy. It is destroying the current stage of private property, "capitalism," and at the same time, creating the possibility of a break in the continuity of private property itself.

As one society crumbles, another must be made anew.

A new class of workers is being created by electronic production. This new class consists of structurally and permanently unemployed or under-employed workers. The new class cannot solve its economic problems apart from the struggle for a new, cooperative system provides for a cultured, peaceful existence with the ending of distribution of the necessities of life based on how much money one may have.

Humanity stands at its historic juncture. Those who understand what is happening today are able to visualize tomorrow with enough clarity to accept the historic responsibilities of visionaries and revolutionaries. Humanity has never failed to make reality from the possibilities created by each great advance in the means of production. This time, there is no alternative to stepping across that line and seizing tomorrow.

The League of Revolutionaries for a New America is throwing everything into uniting the revolutionaries on the basis of the demands of the new class, to educate and win them over to the cooperative, communist resolution of the problem. The demands of this new impoverished class for food, housing, education, health care and an opportunity to contribute to society are summed up as the demand for a cooperative society. Such a

society must be based on the public ownership of the socially necessary means of production and the distribution of the social product according to need.

Individuals are limited in their efforts and can contribute so much more when they are part of an organization. Building an organization to guarantee that the struggle will be in the interests of the common people is a huge and historic task. The League of Revolutionaries for a New America was formed to take up these tasks. Join us.

How to Reach Us

League of Revolutionaries for a New America

P.O. Box 477113, Chicago, IL 60647
773-486-0028 • lra.org

Rally, Comrades!

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RALLY, COMRADES!

VOICE OF THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARIES FOR A NEW AMERICA

Rally: to bring back together and put in a state of order, as retreating troops [to return to attack]

Comrade: a person with whom one is allied in a struggle or cause

Rally, Comrades! is the political paper of the League of Revolutionaries for a New America. In this period of growing motion and developing polarization, *Rally, Comrades!* provides a strategic outlook for the revolutionaries by indicating and illuminating the line of march of the revolutionary process. It presents a pole of scientific clarity, examines and analyzes the real problems of the revolutionary movement, and draws political conclusions for the tasks of revolutionaries at each stage of development in order to prepare for future stages. It is a vehicle to reach out and communicate with revolutionaries both within the League and outside of the League, to engage them in debate and discussion, and to provide a forum for these discussions. Articles represent the position and policies of the League of Revolutionaries for a New America.

Web site: www.rallycomrades.lrna.org

Email: rally@lrna.org

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Speakers

League of Revolutionaries for a New America

Speakers from the League of Revolutionaries for a New America bring clarity to a changing world. Speakers address the changing world economy, the beginning of political struggle in the U.S., the developing fascist movement, the demands of the dispossessed as the only basis for unity, the path to victory, and why an organization of revolutionaries is so necessary today.

Call today for more information about our speakers.

**Call 773-486-0028 or email
lrnaspeakers@lrna.org
for more information.**