

Independent Politics in the Fall Elections

The U.S. economy continues to teeter on the edge, as we enter the fall election campaign. The transition to automation and robotic production has made the capitalist organization of economic life fundamentally unsustainable. As employment shrinks and wages decline, the working class is unable to purchase the social product, depressing the market. Corporations increasingly refuse to pay taxes to fund services for workers they no longer need, advocating austerity policies that depress the market further. Almost every policy argument in this election season will revolve around how fast, and how hard, to push the austerity measures that both Republicans and Democrats wholeheartedly support in principle.

Although unemployment dropped to 6.1% in June, the lowest level since 2008, a closer look reveals deep underlying instability. The “labor participation rate” of adults, either working or looking for work, remained at a 35-year low. The sharp 2.9% GDP decline in the first quarter was blamed on “bad weather” by economic cheerleaders, but in fact represented dismal year-end consumer sales in 2013 and declining exports due to overseas stagnation.

Federal Reserve “quantitative easing” (QE) and a lot of smoke and mirrors have created the illusion of a degree of economic stability. But every recession since the Reagan era has demonstrated you can only drive down working class income so far, before people default on their loans, and the entire banking system begins to unravel. The multi-trillion dollar QE has bailed out the banks and offset most of their 2008 toxic assets, but is in turn creating a precarious new bubble in the unregulated global banking sector. Projected 2015 Federal Reserve interest rate increases and renewed government austerity may be all that is needed to push the banks over the edge.

As the economy hovers between anemia and collapse, the ruling class is clearly preparing for either option. Another 2008-style collapse would unleash a new wave of bailouts, nationalizations in the interest of the corporations, social movements, fascist measures, and war dangers.

ELECTIONS SHOW DEEPENING POLARIZATION

The recent results in the May 25 European Parliament elections are an expression of the deepening social polarization already taking place. In all countries the austerity parties, including pro-austerity social-democrats, lost votes to both the left and right. The biggest left gains were in Southern Europe, where unemployment remains at near or above 20%. The independent Syriza Party gained 26.5% of the vote and became the largest party in Greece. The “indignado”-inspired Podemos in Spain, which was only organized this year, won 8% of the vote nationwide and 11% in Madrid. The left also made gains in Ireland,

Italy, and Portugal. Right-wing parties and even Nazis made gains in some of these countries and also in Hungary, Poland, France, and the UK. In the Ukraine the polarization led to a fascist coup and open warfare that threatens to engulf all of Europe.

In the U.S. the ruling class has attempted to slow down, defuse, and contain political polarization as much as possible, most notably with the December 2013 bipartisan budget deal that postponed more sequester cuts until 2015, after the election. But splits have nevertheless emerged, with major primary challenges against Republican incumbents in Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Colorado. In the main, the “establishment” Republicans defeated “Tea Party” opponents as the party closes ranks in an effort to win a Senate majority in November. Even the much-publicized Tea Party defeat of House majority leader Eric Cantor was blunted by the rapid rise of his close ally Rep. Kevin McCarthy to step in and take his place.

The battle for control of the U.S. Senate will shape and influence every other election across the country. Democrats are using it as a test run to try out their approach to the 2016 presidential election: in particular, whether Obama-Clinton-style “centrism” or Elizabeth Warren-style “economic populism” will carry the day. Warren is testing her populism by campaigning for Democratic senatorial candidates in Kentucky and West Virginia.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MANEUVERS

The De Blasio victory in New York City last year was a clear signal that a major section of the Democratic Party sees the need to maneuver, in an attempt to capture the masses that gravitated toward the Occupy Wall Street movement. This is a move that Democrats have perfected over the decades since the nineteenth century. What is different today is that the “permanent stagnation” economy makes it impossible to enact actual populist policies without directly attacking the profits of the corporations – something the Democrats cannot and will not do. The ruling class demands austerity and ongoing environmental destruction. The rise of De Blasio and Warren Democrats does not represent a genuine or lasting political shift. On the contrary, by strengthening the Democratic Party, it only tightens the ruling class grip on the workers.

The stakes in the 2014 elections are high. Republican victory in the Senate would very likely lead to enactment of the draconian so-called “Ryan budget,” a sweeping plan to dismantle Medicaid, Federal housing assistance, and welfare programs. The Ryan budget has been around for several years, but never adopted due to opposition from the Democratic-controlled Senate. However, while a Democratic victory in the Senate may continue to stall the Ryan budget, it would only be temporary. According to the sequester schedule adopted in 2011 by both Democrats and

Republicans, destruction of the safety net will continue incrementally in 2015.

The elections will also be shaped by the intensifying battles for democracy and human rights in Michigan, North Carolina, and elsewhere. The climate crisis is provoking the largest climate march in history in New York City in September, protesting lack of action by both parties to protect the earth and its inhabitants. The continuing unfolding of the voting rights battle will not only be a key issue in the election, but will in some areas materially affect the outcome.

THIRD PARTY POLITICAL GAINS

The 2014 primary results showed important results for third party politics. In California, Green Party candidates for Governor, Treasurer, and Controller ran credible campaigns with visionary platforms, and some won the highest vote totals in statewide elections in Green Party history. Green Party signature campaigns were successful in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and a major signature drive in Illinois was completed and is now fighting a legal challenge by Democrats. In many areas, increasing numbers of working people of all colors are getting involved and winning elections to city and county third party committees, and people are building parties at neighborhood levels. People who position themselves now in some of the various third parties can play a major role in shaping them as more people gravitate toward independent politics over the next two years.

REVOLUTIONARIES’ ROLE

For revolutionaries, the real significance of all this growing social motion has to do with how we respond to it. The first step is to disperse into every aspect of this motion. What we call the “third party movement” is the broad political response to the objective attack on the living standards and quality of life of the American people. This response is developing both inside and outside the various existing third parties as well as in the Democratic Party itself.

Independent political impulses can be developed even in the populist Democratic campaigns, if we rely on the spontaneous objective movement that lies beneath them, and the fact that the Democratic Party has no

choice but to betray it.

The second step is to ground our “third party politics” in the immediate demands of the impoverished class for food, water, housing, education, health care, and an opportunity to contribute to society. The danger of the Ryan budget will inevitably cause a powerful call to “unite to defeat the right.” However, if the last six years have proved anything, it is that Democratic victory offers little relief to the working class in its battles for the necessities of life. What is needed is to unite around these immediate demands, and seek out and help build the political formations willing to fight for them. The third parties have to move beyond good ideas and take up the concrete work of giving political expression to the most basic economic and environmental demands – and identify next steps in how to do it.

The third step is to get out widespread propaganda. Revolutionaries participate in all these early efforts of the workers to fight for independent political expression. Within these motions we tirelessly disseminate ideas and educate the leaders around the next steps in the movement and why. The line of march is from scattered economic battles to united political struggle. Building independent political parties is an indispensable step along that line. By raising the consciousness of the leaders and the key sectors around them, we build the core of such parties. Building such a core in no way conflicts with the work of broad political organizing. In fact, it is indispensable to making it happen.

A key element of widespread propaganda is to organize and educate a section of the leaders to build an independent, revolutionary press and mass media, write for it, produce it, support it financially, and distribute it. Media can and should be instrumental in integrating the political movements and immediate struggles around the country and moving them forward.

We also need to step up and expand our educational work. America is perishing for lack of vision. Revolutionaries are called to educate our people around the ideals and the practical possibility of a cooperative society. All that stands in its way is the system of private property that has now outlived its usefulness to humanity. It is time to bring revolutionary ideas to the movement for independent politics. This is the only way to consolidate the core of leaders necessary to guide it through its next stages.

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Inside: The Future is Up to Us

Unconsciously or consciously, in small or big ways, history is the record of human activity. We make our own history. Not in just any old way, but as part of a whole, in the thoughts and actions of all. Often, in just the small acts of daily living and then, at times, in outstanding heroics.

Rally, Comrades! speaks to and for the tens of thousands of exceptional people of our time, those who call themselves revolutionaries in a revolutionary time. People make history under certain conditions, of which the economic foundation of society is ultimately the decisive, though by no means the only, determining factor. Culture, political life, and the ideas that shape human understanding all play a role in times of revolutionary change, and especially the ideas that guide peoples' activity.

Revolutionary ideas are pivotal in a time when the economic foundation of society is undergoing epochal revolutionary change. Using scientific methodology, revolutionaries

study, analyze, sum up, and share their knowledge of the underlying causes of the epochal change, and what is needed to achieve humanity's vision.

In June, 2014, such revolutionaries came together for the 8th National Convention of the League of Revolutionaries for a New America. The Political Resolution and Program approved by this Convention, and published in this issue of *Rally, Comrades!*, are most importantly a battle plan, outlining LRNA's goal. They map out the terrain and forces at play and how to accomplish the necessary tasks.

The LRNA Program sums up the epochal economic revolution underlying everything human society is experiencing. Embracing the whole movement, it lays out the political direction and immediate political tasks, and identifies the forces that can bring a new society into being. For the first time in history, an objective communist class is forming that will become the foundation of communist political movement. The overriding task

of revolutionaries is to create and imbue this class with a vision of a cooperative society. The LRNA aims to bring together revolutionaries into an organization to unite around the practical demands of the new class, and accomplish this goal.

The LRNA Political Resolution describes the world as it is in all its complexity, identifies the critical changes taking place, gives an estimate of the relationship of the forces in the country, and details the overriding tasks for all revolutionaries at this stage of the revolutionary process.

The other two articles in this issue, while not documents of the National Convention, show the skillful application of the perspective and analysis they provide. "Independent Politics in the Fall Elections", describes the environment for carrying out political work.

Many who care about the future of the globe realize that the Democratic and Republican parties serve only the interests of the wealthy and corporations, and are striving for political organizations independent of these

two parties. Revolutionaries are called to educate them around the ideals and the practical possibility of a cooperative society. It is time to bring revolutionary ideas to the movement for independent politics.

With the passing of General Gordon Baker Jr. the world lost a hero of the people, an exceptional man. The article "General Gordon Baker, Jr.: The Evolution of a Revolutionary" is the first part of a two part series describing his life and contribution to the revolutionary movement. General constantly strived to understand the world, and what the revolutionary process needed from him at each stage of his life's development. He understood that the struggle needs revolutionary leadership, and he dedicated his life to developing the organizations that could provide that. His life and contribution show, armed with a vision of the future, and an understanding of our times, each and every one of us can contribute to making a better world for all.

Program of the League of Revolutionaries for a New America

The United States of America — indeed the entire world — is in the throes of epochal economic revolution. Transformation from electro-mechanical industry requiring human labor to operate gigantic means of industrial production to digitally controlled production requiring little or no human labor is the determining content of our time.

The qualitatively more efficient means of electronic production greatly lowers the cost of production of the basic necessities of life. This makes possible a sustainable economic paradise of abundance for all. Under capitalism, however, it leads to the falling price of labor power and fastens the chain of poverty, exploitation, and stultifying toil ever more tightly upon the worker.

The steam engine created an industrial working class that replaced the existing manufacturing class. A new class of workers is being created by electronic production. This new class consists of employed and unemployed sectors. The part-time, contingent, minimum wage, below minimum wage workers within the employed sector are already over a third of the workforce. This employed sector of the class is constantly drawn into the growing unemployed sector that ranges from the structurally unemployed to the absolutely destitute, homeless workers.

The new class cannot solve its economic problems without the public ownership of the socially necessary means of production and the distribution of the social product according to need. For the first time an objective communist economic class is forming to become the foundation for a communist political movement.

Globalization creates this new class

everywhere. Global unity is the condition of its national emancipation. The League extends its hand of comradeship around the globe.

Wageless electronic production is antagonistic to capitalism, which is based on the buying and selling of labor power. This antagonism is economically, socially and politically polarizing society, making social and political revolution inevitable. A new fascist state form, the naked rule of corporate power, has arisen to oppose this motion. Society must take over these corporations or these corporations will continue to take over society.

Tens of thousands of socially conscious people declare themselves revolutionaries in opposition to the degenerating social and economic conditions. The League's mission is to unite these 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 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.

The new class must have political power to achieve these goals. In the effort to achieve this political power the League supports all political organizations and sections of society that fight against the growing poverty, social and ecological destruction, fascism and war.

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.

Destruction of the environment, the growing threat of nuclear war and looming pandemics are calling the very existence of the human race into question. The battle is class struggle. The war is for the existence

of humanity. We in the League face the future with confidence. We call upon all revolutionaries to abandon sectarian differences, to unite around the practical demands of the new class and to secure humanity's imperiled future.

EDITORIAL POLICY

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.

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General Gordon Baker Jr.: Evolution of a Revolutionary

General Gordon Baker Jr. of Detroit is one of the most significant 20th century revolutionaries. On Sunday May 18, 2014 he passed away. As a founding member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Communist Labor Party, and the League of Revolutionaries for a New America, General was loved and respected across the ideological spectrum. An intellectual of immense gravity, General understood the practical demands of the fighting section of the working class. His life covered 60 years of activity. General inspired a generation of revolutionaries in his advocacy for social and political revolution.

General is remembered as a family man with a broad grin, witty sense of humor, and an electrifying personality. As a propagandist he had the ability to unravel and describe the social process in a logical and universally understandable manner, describing historical events in colorful, thought-provoking imagery.

He worked 40 years in the auto industry, took part in the survival movement of the 1990s and was at the forefront of the water wars beginning in the early 2000s. General was a powerful orator and acknowledged pillar of the international working class movement. Filled with legendary patience, he pushed for greater organization of the fighting section of the masses and offered them the promise and vision of a better tomorrow.

IN HISTORY'S HANDS

General was born on September 6, 1941 shortly after his family moved from Augusta, Georgia to Detroit, Michigan. His family was part of the last wave of migrants from America's agricultural South to the industrial North. The first migration began in 1863, when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Hundreds of thousands of slaves fled the plantations. The next migration (1910-1930), numbered about 1.6 million people.

The last migration (1940-1970) was the result of the tractor and the mechanical cotton picker, which replaced human labor in agricultural production, eventually kicking eleven million laborers off the land. Upon entering WWII, northern industries received government contracts to produce for the war effort. Labor was needed for the war effort, including Black labor.

General was delivered into this world by Dr. Ossian Sweet. Sweet was acquitted by an all-white jury of murder charges in what came to be known as the Sweet Trials. In 1925, Sweet (a Black man) purchased a home in a white neighborhood, and shot and killed a member of an angry white mob that attempted to force him out of his home. Defended by the famed attorney, Clarence Darrow, Dr. Sweet, his family and friends who had helped defend his home (eleven in total), were acquitted on April 19, 1926 of all murder charges. To be guided into this world by such a man was a portent of General's life to come.

HISTORY SHAPES THE MAN

The Baker family settled into Detroit's "Black Bottom" on the lower east side and later moved into a home in southwest Detroit. General's father worked for Midland-Ross Steel in the 1940s, and later took a job with Chrysler. General grew up in a household whose morality was church based, and founded on the concept of the equality of humanity. General graduated from Southwestern High School in 1958 at the age of 16. He would later attend Highland Park Junior College and Wayne State University, developing the learning ethic of academia. General was profoundly disturbed by the exclusion of Black people from American history. His pursuit of history would lead him to study world history and social revolution.

As a teenager, General lived in a political environment dominated by anti-communism and McCarthyism. During the 1950s, the world was on fire with anti-colonial revolts, revolutions, and wars for national liberation. WWII had weakened Europe's imperial powers and shattered the direct colonial system. Countries of Asia, Africa, and South America fought for their liberation from imperialism. Black people in America were a part of this worldwide anti-imperial revolt. Fighting against segregation and for anti-lynching laws, the civil rights movement reached a turning point August 28, 1955, with the brutal murder of Emmett Till. On December 4th, the Montgomery, Alabama boycott became the beginning of a mass movement. General's earliest act of protest was several years later in 1959, when he picketed a Woolworth's store on Detroit's Woodward and West Grand Boulevard for their refusal to serve Negroes.

General became involved with the NAACP youth section, and frequented the Nation of Islam and the United Negro Improvement Association meetings. In 1963, the Civil Rights Movement marched under the banner "Free by '63," the one hundred year anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The July 5, 1963 police murder of Cynthia Scott of Detroit became a rallying point of protest. On August 8, 1963 Martin Luther King Jr. gave his famous, "I Have A Dream" speech in Washington DC. As if in retaliation of King's plea for justice, the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama was bombed September 15, killing four little black girls. This murder of children outraged America. Malcolm X's November speech in Detroit, "Message to the Grass Roots", further radicalized General. On November 22, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. The whole country was being radicalized.

In 1964, General travelled to Cuba. Cuba had won its independence from U.S. imperialism in January 1959, and had become a safe haven for revolutionaries. The Cuban government granted Robert F. Williams political asylum. Robert F. Williams was author of *Negroes with Guns*, and hosted a radio program, "Radio Free Dixie." The American government imposed a travel ban and embargo against Cuba. Defying the government ban,

General and 83 other American citizens went to Cuba. The four Black students from Detroit, Charles Simmons, Luke Tripp, Charles "Mao" Johnson and General sought a meeting with Robert F. Williams, pledging to build support for his case against the American government. The meeting between General, Robert Williams and Mabel (his wife) became an enduring friendship between two families. While in Cuba, these young men played ball with Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. During lengthy discussions with Che Guevara, General was won over to a vision of socialism and began pursuing a communist-socialist orientation.

Detroit of the 1960s was a hotbed of political activism, influenced by political activists and writers James and Grace Boggs, Martin Glaberman, and the historian and theoretician C.L.R. James. Detroit's concentration of black industrial workers made it a center of the Civil Rights Movement, a focal point of radical politics, and the epicenter of a vibrant anti-capitalist ideological movement. Radical activity occurred daily with newly formed black radical organizations, meetings at Detroit's Debs (Eugene Debs) Hall, and a proliferation of Black Nationalist, anti-racist, anti-war groups and study circles. General attended various study groups, which included those studying the revolutionary doctrines of Lenin on organization and insurrection, and the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

General's evolution took further shape during the August 9, 1966, Kercheval Street mini-revolt. The Kercheval incident was police instigated for the purpose of arresting Revolution Action Movement (RAM) and East Side Voice of Independent Detroit (ESVID) members who congregated on street corners, spreading propaganda. General, Glanton Dowdell and Rufus Griffin (a local activist) were "picked up" by the police, charged with carrying concealed weapons, convicted and placed on a five-year probation. Glanton Dowdell was the famed painter of Detroit's Black Madonna. General held the ladder used by Glanton during this painting.

THE MAN SHAPES HISTORY

General was the first person to publicly defy the draft during the Vietnam War. He received his draft notice June 1965 and protested, penning an open letter to the U.S. government and organizing the September 10 movement, to protest against his induction. General's letter to the draft board, "My Fight Is for Freedom," remains a powerful indictment against Yankee (North American) imperialism.

The 1965 Watts Rebellion and the 1967 Detroit rebellion changed politics in America.

On July 23, 1967 the largest uprising since the Civil War took place in Detroit. A day later, on July 24, Baker's apartment was invaded by the police. He was not home. Once located, General was arrested, put on a bus with a shotgun placed to his head and driven to Michigan's Jackson State

Penitentiary, the largest walled prison in the world. Also arrested and jailed was Glanton Dowdell. He and General were later released on a \$50,000 bond. Detroit after 1967 was a changed city.

Following the Great Rebellion, General was one of a core group of people (John Williams, John Watson and Mike Hamlin) to publish the newspaper *The Inner City Voice* beginning in September 1967. This effort was supported by a segment of Detroit's radical community including Dan Georgakas, who would later author the book, *Detroit, I Do Mind Dying*.

General entered the auto industry in the early 1960s, first with Ford Motor Company and in 1965 at Chrysler's Hamtramck Assembly — Dodge Main. On May 2, 1968 a walkout of 4,000 occurred at the Dodge Main plant. The walkout was over speed-up of the assembly line. No one could keep up. Seven picketers were fired — five whites and two Blacks. The five white workers were eventually brought back to work and the two Black workers (General Baker and another striker Bennie Tate) were permanently discharged. The response to this injustice was organized as the response of Black labor and crowned with forming DRUM — Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, formed to do battle against discrimination and segregation within the company and union. DRUM was the foundation for forming the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW) in 1969.

The LRBW was a federation of organizations and individuals fighting to shape a desegregated Detroit based on various socialist and communal visions of a society of equal individuals.

The 1968 Dodge Main strike began America's last industrial strike wave. This strike wave peaked in 1973, with strikes at three Chrysler plants. In 1971, during the increasing tempo of the strike wave, the LRBW split into warring factions and dissolved. The faction led by General and John Williams joined the Communist League. Shortly thereafter, Detroit's Motor City Labor League became part of the Communist League's initiated efforts to form a new political party. The Communist Labor Party (CLP) was founded in Chicago, Illinois September 1974, the year Detroit's first Black mayor, Coleman A. Young, took office.

In 1976, the CLP launched its "Vote Communist Campaign," fielding General Baker Jr. as its candidate for Michigan State Representative. In 1978, he challenged the Democratic Party candidate in the Michigan Democratic Party primary for State representative. By the 1980s the advance of the electronic revolution began changing social relations in America. General changed in correspondence to this new world. At every phase of the social process General further evolved into the revolutionary he would become.

Part two of this article will be published in the November/December 2014 issue of *Rally, Comrades!*

Political Resolution: League of Revolutionaries

INTRODUCTION

We are living in rapidly changing, dangerous times. Instead of wringing our hands and stumbling along behind events, we in the League have kept up and maintained our orientation. Why? Because we early on understood that the leap from electro-mechanical production to robotics would necessarily bring about a leap from one social order to another. The foundation of all our social and economic relations, culture, and sense of identity has entered the process of change — destruction and re-birth. During such an epochal moment, no theory or ideology can serve as a revolutionary guide. Only a philosophy arising from science and illuminating change can serve to guide us. That first stage of change, the introduction of antagonism and polarization, has penetrated every aspect 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.

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.

Revolutionaries cannot understand this moment and simply go on as before.

CAPITALISM AT ITS END

The financial crisis brought on by the expanding use of electronics in production is continuing to tighten its grip both internationally and nationally. The cyclical crisis of underconsumption is developing. Automated production drives labor-produced commodities off the market. In this process, wages are dragged down to the cost of automated production. All production by labor, including the production of the workers themselves, becomes superfluous. Unprecedented production and unprecedented want describe our time. The electronic revolution in production combined with the cyclical crisis brings about an unprecedented crash of the capitalist system.

As electronics replaces labor, money — instead of production — is used to make money. The greater the use of electronics, the more valueless money becomes. As money ceases to express exchange value, it more and more becomes an instrument for speculation rather than investment in production. Less and less of this money is used for wages. The result is an unprecedented polarization of wealth and poverty. Hundred-million dollar mansions and trillions of dollars in national debt express the destruction of money as an expression of value.

How is production and exchange to continue under such conditions? The capitalist class has proven itself incapable of ruling. The death knell of capitalism has sounded.

FASCISM

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. 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 an objective reflection of this 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.

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. 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.

This process has distinct, yet interrelated, aspects. The objective foundation of fascism developed first. These economic aspects of fascism are evidenced in the merger of the corporations and the State, and are now in place. Myriad laws have been and are being passed to contain the upsurges of the masses. These laws are transforming the legal structure to protect the interests of the corporations and the ruling class to the exclusion of the American people.

The growth of a new class of proletarians threatens private property. The ruling class cannot allow them to have a say in society's direction. Even the limited bourgeois democracy we have had is forced to give way to the dictatorship of the corporations.

The ruling class can neither reverse the technology nor save the capitalist system. The world is now on a perpetual war footing. The economies and societies of the world are being militarized. Nuclear war is an ever-present danger. Ecological catastrophe is destroying the planet. The ruling class is forced to deal with the social results of profound inequality. The polarization of wealth and poverty has reached obscene proportions. Eighty-five people own as much wealth as the bottom half of the world's population — 3.5 billion people. To control the growing upsurges taking place throughout the world, including the U.S., their tactics must be to go on the offensive against the people. They have to secure the ways and means of controlling them.

People are being beaten to death by the police, tanks are patrolling the streets, and the government is moving against those who are speaking out. We are seeing the creation of an environment in which the lives of a growing section of the American people are considered worthless.

This offensive — what we call the social face of fascism — is an admission of their weakness, not evidence of their strength. It shows us that the ruling class is so weak that it has to turn to naked and open violence in order to enforce some element of social cohesion.

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

its historic role will depend on it achieving consciousness of itself as a class and of its historic mission.

The world is in constant motion. Revolutionary politics conform to change. Change in the economy creates shifts in the center of political gravity. Revolutionaries concentrate on the current center of gravity and shift with it. As the new class created by electronics was first being formed, the downgraded and newly unemployed represented that center of gravity.

The progression of electronics has now hit the center of American politics. This bribed sector of the industrial working class and a section of the intelligentsia bound the mass to the capitalist class. The destruction of this middle is of the greatest political importance. This recently dispossessed section of the new class is educated, socially conscious and used to organization. They are the current center of gravity. Our program is the program of the new class. Our current point of concentration is the newly dispossessed.

The ruler's goal is to stop the revolution from proceeding on a class basis. Their aim is to guarantee that the new class does not unite. They use every divisive ideology history has handed them. At the same time, the hitherto unknown breadth of equality of poverty is creating the basis for real class unity.

Restrained by ideology, the political Left in America is confused concerning the changing role of race. Changes in the economy present the problem to the ruling class of maintaining working class disunity.

Race is a political not a scientific concept. It is used for identification and can be used in any manner that suits the political needs of the ruling class. Irreversible changes in the world economy, expressed as globalization, are incompatible with race as color. Color as racial identification still exists, but is being replaced by identification based on culture and class differences.

NEW STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

Experiencing 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. 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.

The rise of third parties is inevitable given these conditions. These parties will not simply be one or another of the individual third party formations in existence today, but will reflect the broad social motion as it develops.

The demands of this rising movement are objective; the people cannot give up and go home. They need housing, food, health care and other basic necessities of life. Their demands are coming into conflict with the State,

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 real democracy and access to the necessities of life is to fight forward into a cooperative society.

NEW CLASS AND THE DISPOSSESSED

Every step the ruling class takes only makes the situation worse. They have to keep developing the technology and producing more with less and less labor. In turn, less and less value is being created and more and more money is being created throughout the whole world. Globalization is undercutting the system of social bribery everywhere.

New means of production are creating a new class of proletarians. It is a new section of the working class, a new quality within it. The majority are contingent, minimum wage, below-minimum wage, and part-time workers — over a third of the workforce. This employed sector of the class is constantly drawn into the growing unemployed sector that ranges from the structurally unemployed to the absolutely destitute, homeless workers.

Increasingly driven out of the relationship between worker and capitalist, the new class is 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 communist program is in the interest of the whole of society.

The historic role of the new class is to unite all those who can be united and lead society toward a new world. The ability to fulfill

aries for a New America

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 to itself in order to feed, clothe, house and care for itself.

The ruling class is daily proving that it can no longer manage the gigantic productive forces created by qualitatively new technologies. To protect private property, the State has to take over control of the economy, that is, nationalize it. The final battle of the revolutionary process will be fought over the control of the State, in no small part because of its control of the economy. Nationalization prepares the ground for the eventual battle to be concentrated against the State rather than directed at thousands of scattered capitalists. Nationalization raises the issue of which class the State serves, and nationalization becomes a battlefield where class consciousness can be taught.

It is in the process of the movement's realization that the State will not redress its grievances, that demands for new solutions will arise. Revolutionaries work within this process to 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 offers a vision of what's possible and a strategy of how to get there.

DEFEAT THE ENEMY'S STRATEGY

Any approach to planning, whether it is within a corporation, a military unit, or an organization, has to start off with an estimate of the entire situation. We look at the relationship of forces, the strategy and tactics of the enemy, their weaknesses and strengths, as well as our own. Once we understand the situation we are facing, then we are able to talk in terms of what we must do and how. This approach allows revolutionaries to think strategically about what the ruling class is doing, and to use the objective processes that are underway to defeat them.

Whether in military war or in political war, it is not possible to defeat an enemy without defeating that enemy's strategy. Simply attacking the enemy's tactics cannot win the war. Fighting back without putting forward a vision of what is possible today only disarms our class.

What is the strategic goal of the ruling class today? It is to protect private property. It is not to defend capitalism. Whether they want to or not they are going to have to let the capitalist system go. This is because objective factors are absolutely putting an end to the capitalist system. The ruling class understands that they cannot go on in the same way. They know they cannot continue to create money and not create any social worth, where the people of the world are becoming poorer and poorer as the world becomes awash with money.

If we look at the history of the world for the last thousands of years, we can see that the letting go of one system, and fighting to rebuild another, has happened over and over.

Slavery, feudalism, and capitalism are quantitative stages in the development of private property. But they themselves were not strategic. The strategic goal was private property. If the capitalists have to change the form in order to maintain that content, they have proven they will do that. They are doing that now. While they attack the rights and standard of living of the masses, they are evolving, step by step, this new system based on private property.

TASKS OF THE LEAGUE

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.

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.

Communism is no alien proposition, but an expression of the deepest strivings of the people: independence from the chains of exploitation, the guaranteed ability of every person to contribute to society, freedom from want and an expectation of a better life.

Americans have fought for this vision, but it could only be partially realized. At one time, Americans worshipped King George. Conditions changed, and they fought a revolution to break away from monarchy and English domination. At one time, the American people embraced slavery. Conditions changed. They came to understand they had to end slavery, and they fought a war to do so. Today conditions are changing once again. New technologies make possible the realization of the vision for which generations of Americans have fought.

It is only through widespread propaganda that we can get this vision over. We must reach into the life of the workers. We must bring the message that private property can be brought to an end. We must show a cooperative society is not only possible, but is the only practical solution to the problems

they face.

Causality is the philosophical foundation of our organization. Our understanding, that the events of today are the basis for the events of tomorrow, demands 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.

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.

Nothing has been done in America except in small groups, but it has been small groups relying on gigantic processes that are underway. If we can grasp that dialectic we can do something important in history.

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