

## *Elections 2008:* Breaking the Ties that Bind

Today 82 per cent of the American people believe that the country is headed in the wrong direction, and they are looking for change. They want solutions. They want answers. And no wonder. The crisis at the very roots of American society is reflected in the growing polarization of wealth and poverty. Last year 482 billionaires for the first time could not all make it onto the Forbes' list of the 400 richest Americans. With a combined wealth of over \$1.54 trillion, they stand in stark contrast to the one in six American households who had zero or negative growth in 2004, or the one in three Americans who had less than \$10,000 net worth. And that was before the mortgage crisis hit.

Real inequality has not seen these levels since the 1920s. Between 1983 and 2004, the wealth of the top one per cent has grown by 78 per cent, while the bottom 40 per cent has fallen by 59 per cent. Since 1984 we have added 184 new billionaires. In 2007 half of the 45 new billionaires amassed their wealth in hedge funds and private equity. At the same time, five million more Americans fell below the poverty line, 47 million are without health insurance, and record numbers are losing their homes to foreclosures. The social consequences are astounding, as society literally seems to fall down around us. Society is forced to exist on a mountain of debt and when that bubble reaches its limit, trillions vanish in a single day on Wall Street.

Everything is being thrown into the air. The necessary unity of opposites – the capitalist and worker – is being torn asunder by a new kind of production, laborless production based upon the new electronic technology that no longer requires workers. Manufacturing shrinks, jobs are permanently lost, and corporations without borders roam the globe in search of the cheapest labor, just as workers who have been impoverished by globalization migrate in a desperate search for survival. Great wealth is amassed by the capitalist class, and millions of workers fall into destitution, because they cannot compete with

the robot, which lowers the value of all human labor.

It is within this context that the elections of 2008 are taking place. In this time of social destruction, when the two poles of capital and labor are becoming objectively antagonistic, the most critical question facing the twin parties of capital is – can the center hold? Can the unity of opposites that composes American society be maintained?

The crisis in society is a reflection of the revolution in its economic base, but the solution has to be fought out in the realm of ideas. People with a vision and a program make change. The elections themselves are a forum where the battle for the mind of America is being fought out. The question is: Will the ruling ideas prevail and allow the ruling class to preserve all-class unity – unity across the classes – and maintain their rule?

Or is it possible to introduce new ideas, ideas that reflect the objective interests of the new class of poor and workers who are arising from the destruction brought on by the revolution in the economic base? Will the workers remain ideologically tied to the ruling class, or can a new consciousness, the ideology of the new proletariat, begin to emerge?

### IDEAS OF THE RULING CLASS

Asking why the workers vote against their own interests is really the same thing as asking why the workers are not class-conscious.

In 1968 Martin Luther King strove to transform the movement for equality in the South to a national class-conscious movement of the "legion of the deprived" to restructure the very architecture of American society. The fundamental issue at the heart of the Civil Rights revolution had all along been poverty: the inequality of class that would not be wiped out by the elimination of color discrimination. While over half of all black families were locked into poverty, they comprised only 22% of the poor as a whole. Millions of white poor, "derivative victims of the slave system," but constrained by the ideology of white supremacy joined with

their own oppressors. King now called upon them to join a united movement of the poor across color lines that would contend for a radical redistribution of political and economic power.

That did not happen. The pull of all-class white unity prevailed, as white workers, still benefitting from an expanding economy, were persuaded to view the movement of blacks for equality as a threat. The passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act meant that white supremacy no longer defined the Southern political order, but every subsequent election has seen its version of a "Southern strategy" as the key to electoral victory.

The ideological ties that bind the workers, all workers, to the ruling class are the ideologies of the ruling class – individualism, patriotism, religion, and the work ethic among others. The ideological tie of white supremacy comprises but one thread of this ideological matrix, which the ruling class employs to bind the workers in one form or another of all-class unity. The ruling class is capable of, on the one hand, basing its strength in white supremacy, while at the same time, offering the minorities enough to strengthen all-class unity de-

spite white supremacy.

The elections are a forum wherein the people are solicited to unite behind one variant or another of the program of the ruling class. The workers enter the electoral arena on the basis of their daily struggles for survival, but no one speaks for them. The only options open to them are one version or another of all-class unity.

### THE ELECTIONS AND THE BATTLE FOR THE MIND OF AMERICA

The ideologies of all-class unity are not simply displayed every four years during the Presidential elections. They have been ingrained in the public psyche for generations. Perhaps chief among them is the philosophical assertion that lies at the heart of the case made for American exceptionalism, i.e. that we are essentially a classless society because American society is founded upon the primacy of the individual. Hence the role of government is simply to provide the "opportunity" for each individual to become all they can be. So

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Nothing can be accomplished unless the American people hold a vision of where they want to go.

# Revolutionary Times Demand an Organization of Revolutionaries

**T**hese are revolutionary times. Our economy is undergoing radical change that is ripping apart our society. Millions of people face destruction and despair. Our country is beginning to polarize – morally, over right and wrong and, politically, over which direction to go. Both the best and the worst in the American people will come out. People on both sides will get involved with greater passion. This moment is pregnant with both danger and opportunity.

Revolutionary times demand and give birth to revolutionaries. Who are these revolutionaries? The person who cannot turn her or his back on the homeless lady at the street corner asking for a

dollar to eat. The person who is not convinced that her undocumented immigrant neighbor is a terrorist or is taking jobs from American workers. It is all of us who have witnessed people on rooftops shouting for help or being pushed into buses and into the Super Dome after Hurricane Katrina – and have wondered, is this all our government can do?

These revolutionaries are taking to the streets to voice their demands, demands that the economic system cannot meet and the political system will not consider: stop foreclosures, legalization for all undocumented immigrants, health care for the sick, and homes for the homeless. They step up to the pulpit, march, and organize to politically shake up the masses and coalesce their discontent into a movement for a society that will put human needs first – ahead of the mighty dollar and the profits of the corporations.

These new revolutionaries form new organizations on specific issues and demands. Immigrant rights organizations sprout up almost in every major city. Domestic workers across the country organize into a coalition to attain at least minimum wages. In towns where the public infrastructures are under-funded, privatized, and destroyed by corporations, groups demand homes and health care – even basic necessities, like water. Those against the wall on the U.S.-Mexico border join forces. Those who survived Hurricane Katrina demand homes for those who need them.

The process of forming new organizations is a key element of a movement in formation. Old organizations often lack vision; they cease to reflect new interests and demands, or they do not integrate into their ranks those who are affected economically and morally by this stage of capitalism. Just as new situations call for new organizations to fight the battles of the day, so, too, this moment calls for new organizations of revolutionaries.

Some years back a small core of revolutionaries grouped themselves together as the League of Revolutionaries for a New America. We had a sense of politics and organization and a commitment to being scientific about the process of revolution. We need to continually broaden and deepen our own individual understanding to be ready for the fight at hand. We formed the League as a place for revolutionaries to learn and plan together how to carry out our responsibilities.

We are active revolutionaries – fighting every battle at every step of the way. But we also need a space where we can discuss the long-term direction of the revolution and the actual resolution of

these crucial problems. We formed the League as a place where we revolutionaries can plan how to educate and politicize the millions.

The League's starting point is the demands of the most destitute and defenseless sector of society. As we engage in battles on all fronts, our motto has been "this time it's all of us or none of us." Every public hospital that closes, every employer who robs people of their wages and benefits, every home foreclosure swells the ranks of the destitute and defenseless – and draws more people into battle.

While we fight alongside others waging the battles of the day, our premise is that the needs of hungry children, homeless vets, and families without medical

care stand above the profits of the corporations. As we engage in the battles of the day, we also prepare for the actual resolution of those battles – for the abolition of private property – that is, the abolition of the right of those who own the means to exploit and make profit, the abolition of the laws that protect and expand that property at the expense of the general welfare of society.

This abolition of private property has a name. Communism is the common, public ownership of the means of production – with everyone contributing to society what he or she is able to contribute and everyone taking from society what he or she needs. Today, when computers and robots increasingly replace human labor in supplying goods and services, communism is the way to reorganize society to get food to the hungry, homes to the homeless, health care to the sick. It is the way to save Mother Earth from the corporations and to unleash the full potential of humanity.

Overthrowing old property relations is not a new thing. Revolutions that overthrow old and outmoded property relations have happened over and over in history. Revolution is not an idea to win people over to. It is what is happening today, and it is a very natural process. Society reacts to the problems posed by a revolution in the economy.

The process goes through stages, but ultimately, it resolves the disruption of society.

But there is no guarantee about the direction that resolution will take. Just saying "revolution" doesn't prepare people to fight for their actual interests. Whether that resolution to the problems tearing up society is in the interests of the corporations or of humanity is up to the revolutionaries.

As revolutionaries, we are immersed in the groundwork of ideas and aspirations, despair and awakening. We push the ideas and awakenings forward, along the line that connects them to a consciousness of the resolution to the problems that are tearing apart people's lives and crushing their aspirations. We set our sights on winning the war.

In the course of our work, we've met many of you who are doing this in your own way. You are passionate and committed revolutionaries struggling to right the wrongs of society. Our spirits brighten when we see you; we see the faces of comrades. As we've worked together and gotten to know you, we've found out that our starting point is your starting point and vice versa.

You feel the same urgency that we feel and have stepped up to the responsibility to fight against the capitalist dogs of wars and stop their carnage.

The League calls on the revolutionaries of today to weld our energies together into an organization of thinking, creative, committed people dedicated to hope, solutions, and strategy. We invite you to work with us, to join with us – so together we can all educate ourselves and strategize to keep the revolutionary movement going forward and on course.

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FOR THE LEAGUE'S PROGRAM,  
SEE PAGE 6.

## EDITORIAL POLICY

**R a l l y**  
to bring back together and put in  
a state of order, as retreating  
troops [to return to attack]

**C o m • r a d e**  
a person with whom one is allied  
in a struggle  
or cause

**I**n 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 to the conscious revolutionaries, 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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the workers find themselves pitted against one another in the market place competing for fewer and fewer low-wage jobs. It is every man and woman for themselves, and if they don't succeed, then it must be because they made bad choices.

The ideology of individual and personal responsibility means that you don't begrudge the success of the rich and you are opposed to anything resembling a handout from the government. Entitlements mean something for nothing, and in a time when jobs are disappearing, the ethic of hard work is upheld. So the individual is to be unfettered by downsized government and reduced taxes on the rich.

In these uncertain times the people see the decline of their culture and find their families in peril. They experience the erosion of "traditional" values; they look out of their windows and it looks like the end of the world; they look to their faith for moral absolutes, for guidance and personal salvation.

Appeals to patriotism and national unity are another expression of all-class unity. But in time of war and global in-

stability, pride of country gets translated as a justification for empire, and even immigrants are scapegoated as a threat to the American way of life. Reinforced with the steady drumbeat of fear, all are called upon to unite in defense of the "homeland."

As the deteriorating economic conditions undercut their foundation, there are signs that the entire complex of ruling class ideologies is beginning to lose its grip. Within the evangelical communities of faith, for example, there is an emerging concern about the plight of the poor, the environment and human rights. Individual workers, no matter

how hard they toil, see their lives and their families destroyed due to no fault of their own as they are swept up in the race to the bottom. Government does

not answer their needs. Persuaded to put their faith in corporate solutions, they find these too fail to deliver.

None of the solutions offered within the electoral arena offer any real answers to the millions of Americans

People with a vision and a program make change. The elections themselves are a forum where the battle for the mind of America is being fought out. The question is: Will the workers remain ideologically tied to the ruling class, or can a new consciousness, the ideology of the new proletariat, begin to emerge?

who are engaged in a search for solutions to their plight. The people want change, but the only options they are offered are one or another version of all-class unity. Indeed, when the content of our time is polarization, antagonism,

and social destruction, the ideological complex of all-class unity can ultimately only be a call for a fascist solution to the crisis.

## REVOLUTIONARIES' TASKS

This brings to the fore the urgent tasks of the revolutionaries in these times. The objective polarity today is between absolute wealth and absolute poverty. The ideological polarity is between the ideologies of capital and the ideology of the new proletariat. In the battle for the mind of America, we strike a blow at the middle. The ties of all-class unity will finally be broken only when the new proletariat becomes conscious of itself as a class, and politically independent, begins to move in its own interests. This new proletariat is engaged in the daily battle for its very survival, and for the survival of all of humanity. We cannot concede the field in the battle for new ideas.

# Editorial: The Revolutionary Role of the Human Mind

*"I freed a thousand slaves. I could have freed a thousand more if only they knew they were slaves."*

- Harriet Tubman, abolitionist and a conductor on the underground railroad.

The historical truth of Harriet Tubman's words applies, not only to those held in human bondage, but also, to the indispensable role of the human mind in human liberation. She and the other abolitionists who fought to end slavery knew that as long as white Americans believed in, or complacently accepted, the existence of human slavery the country would never be able to free itself from the tyrannical and immoral sway of the slave power. They took every instance of injustice and cruelty and forced America to look not only at the barbarity of human bondage, but to look at itself, to judge itself against the ideals it espoused to the world. They forced whites to see that none could be free while millions remained in bondage. In so doing, they played the role of revolutionaries throughout history - freeing the mind to envision a different world, making possible the creation of something new.

Society today is undergoing a great and perilous transition, or leap, one far more profound and far reaching than the transition to industry which began the break up of the slave order. The article "Capitalism" examines the inner workings of capitalism and explores this shift and its meaning for revolutionaries. Electronic production has introduced a radically new means of production into the economy that is destroying capitalism - the current stage of private property. As the report of the LRNA Standing Committee "Private Property or Communism?" shows this revolutionary new technology wreaks havoc wherever it is introduced, tearing up the old order, and creating the possibility of a break in the continuity of private property itself. A new society will have to be built. But what will that society be and in whose interests will it be constructed?

The American people will not be able to resolve this question in their favor unless they hold a vision of where they want to go and what they want to be. Revolutionaries are like the abolitionists of old, called to unshackle the mind, disseminate a vision of what is possible, and a strategy for its realization.

As conditions grow worse, and they

see their futures slipping away the American people are becoming more discontented, more restive. Yet, the American people still yearn to believe, are still tied by a million threads to the capitalists, are still vulnerable to their hope that their lives will be salvaged somehow and all will be as it was, or even how it was promised.

As long as the American people believe what the capitalists believe, still see their salvation in their proposals, still seek to be saved from their suffering by these so-called "betters", it will be the capitalists' solutions that will prevail. These ideas, these expectations, are deep in the American psyche. "Election 2008: Break the Ideological Ties that Bind" explores these ideas and the ways they chain the workers to the capitalists. It poses the question to revolutionaries: Will the workers remain ideologically tied to the ruling class or can a new consciousness, the ideology of the proletariat, emerge?

But how is that done? What must be put forward? How do revolutionaries take every occurrence of injustice to teach the class its interests, and by so doing, help to forge a force capable of achieving the goal of a cooperative

world? How do revolutionaries take advantage of the broad experience of the thousands fighting under the new conditions of today, while at the same time resting on the historical continuity of past revolutionary experience?

"Revolutionary Times Demand an Organization of Revolutionaries" explores these questions. There must be an understanding of the ultimate goal and a strategy to get there. We revolutionaries must have an understanding of the ultimate goal and a strategy to get there. We must have the means to sum up the strivings of the workers, to give those strivings back in the form of solutions that move the battle along the path to the ultimate goal. In this, revolutionaries teach the workers, struggle with them, and learn from them, together forging a message that gives voice to the real process underway, and the real possibilities of these times. Such specific tasks require a specific organization.

The League of Revolutionaries for a New America is such an organization. We call on all revolutionaries to join with us and together we can secure the future that, finally, fulfills its promise to the generations.

# On the Edge of History

*Political Report of the Standing Committee of the League of Revolutionaries for a New America, June 2008*

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, 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 2000 years. Electronic production has introduced a radically new means of production into the economy, not only destroying the current stage of private property, "capitalism," but, creating the possibility of a break in the continuity of private property itself.

As one society crumbles, another must be made anew. In whose interest will the new society be constructed? This is the essential problem of all historical "moments" of transition. All manner of forces emerge in the battle for resolution. History shows that the class that understands its independent interests, that has a vision of the desired outcome, and that organizes its forces to achieve the political means to enforce those interests in favor of that outcome creates the means to politically enforce its class interests. Preparing the class of growing dispossessed to take on this historic role constitutes revolutionaries' work in this time of epochal transition.

## **CAPITALISM, A STAGE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY**

The economy is the base of society. The economy is made up of two aspects - production and distribution. Upon this base arises a superstructure that expresses the nature of the base, and that in turn acts back on to that base. Capitalism arose on the basis of industrial production, and the mode of exchange is buying and selling of labor power, with workers constituting the market for the commodities they produce. The source of all value under capitalism - the exchange relation between things - is human labor. A superstructure arose that expresses this relationship, and the state exists to defend and protect and facilitate these productive relations.

As the means of production develop and change, it becomes necessary to adjust the social relations in order conform to the needs of the economy. The demand for reform arises within the clash of the new productive forces and the existing productive relations. Quantitative changes in the means of production bring about the motion for social reform; qualitative changes in the means of production give rise to a motion toward revolution. The outcome is determined, on the one hand, within the

parameters of the level of development of the means of production, and, on the other, from the clash of wills of the combatants, their consciousness of class interests, and their ability to organize to enforce their will against those of their adversaries. Society has moved through its different stages in this way both within stages (quantitative) and between stages and epochs (qualitative).

Regardless of the economic content or the political form, these changes in their general application constituted stages in the development of private property, one stage growing out of and connected to the previous one. Private property is an epoch of history, punctuated by different stages of development. Capitalism is one of these stages, as was feudalism. In each stage of development, a superstructure - including state forms - were developed that protected the productive relations and with it, the dominance of one class over another. In each of these stages, advances in technologies made human labor more productive, but did not eliminate its place in production.

Today, electronics is eliminating human labor, destroying the source of all value, and ending that which makes capitalism what it is: a system of buying and selling based on the exploitation of human labor power, and the expropriation of the profit from the surplus value created from that labor power. Without the exploitation of labor power, profit cannot be realized, and without profit, capitalism cannot survive as a system. In this sense, capitalism no longer exists as it once was, and something new is struggling to be born.

## **A WORLD OF CONTRADICTION**

The capitalist class must preserve what they have, but at the same time if they don't move forward and adapt to the new situation, they will die. They must find new markets, new consumers, and they have to change all of society to do it. They must develop new governing forms, new relations between people, and between nations. They must introduce new ideas to explain and justify what must be done in their interests, and what must be done to those who oppose them. Their efforts give rise to endless impossible contradictions. These contra-

dictions interact with and shape one another, serving only to create more instability and less maneuvering room, to exacerbate and deepen the polarization, and to push the process toward inevitable crisis.

The capitalist class must come to grips with a new means of production that no longer requires labor. That the workers cannot buy back the products they produce creates a fundamental irresolvable contradiction. But this is not

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the capitalists' only problem. The worker is no longer producing solely for the home market, but for markets around the world, intensifying the competition for those markets. The more the market shrinks, the greater is the competition, the more rapidly the means of production are developed, leading to ever greater competition, and inevitably, to war and greater de-

struction and instability.

The capitalists turned to speculation to bolster the falling rate of profit, reaping multi-trillions of dollars and creating billionaires in unprecedented numbers, fueling the expansion of the international financial system and facilitating the development of the world economy. These trillions are circulated and re-circulated in the financial markets of the world. But despite all the bubbles, derivatives and hedge funds, and the world's economies held ransom to debt and instability, speculation is still insufficient to absorb this glut of money. It has to be invested somewhere, anywhere, in the desperate search to make a profit.

Trillions are ploughed back into speculation, but trillions search the globe for investment, regardless of whether there is a return or not. The character of the qualitatively new means of production means that no matter how much or where they invest, the capitalists cannot get themselves out of the hole they are in, which only causes them to speculate even more.

The capitalists are desperate to open up new markets and create new consumers. Africa is one of several potential candidates that they are looking to recycle from among those nations and continents they destroyed through imperialist exploitation. Massive infrastructural projects would be needed, roads and railroads would have to be built, and airports upgraded or rebuilt. They

would need modern power suppliers, the extraction and refining capabilities to run them, and ports dug and managed. The sky would be the limit on what could be made from these projects alone.

The pursuit of money on such a scale requires huge conglomerates, mega-corporations, state and cross state involvement, managing a bewildering array of local governments, and protecting projects against widespread violence and warfare. Great networks of financial institutions must be mobilized and trillions of dollars invested. Mechanisms are needed to coordinate the various aspects, navigating and negotiating the overall process, protecting the interests of all involved politically, as well as, militarily, not only nationally, but globally.

In order to politically facilitate the bringing of the rest of the world into these new efforts, the U.S. cannot be seen as "white man's America." The black bourgeoisie that is developing - a bourgeoisie that is really an American bourgeoisie that happens to be black - is represented in such leading figures as Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice and Barak Obama and gives credence to U.S. claims that it is a good and decent country that the rest of the world can trust, and more importantly, with whom they can conduct trade relations. A white backlash is the worst thing that could happen to U.S. foreign policy. The ruling class can use Barak Obama as the icon of the physical coming together of white and black in America. At the same time, there is a historically evolved, objective impulse toward that white backlash.

Yet even as they fight to bring more consumers into the market, where will those consumers come from? Africa is wracked by poverty, disease and war brought on by the legacies of imperialism. Even in those countries that are growing and creating a "middle class" and where markets - such as India and China - give rise to the capitalists' dreams of billions of consumers, the populations are so poor that they cannot sustain the avalanche of goods being produced.

Yet, the objective laws of capitalism drive the capitalists forward. It is enough that there is money to be made in buying up or in building infrastructure in Africa or Latin America, in the promise or belief that they can produce enough jobs to keep the pump primed just enough, to keep the money circulating just enough, while at the same time, looting public treasuries or squeezing broader swaths of the world's workers for more and ever more money. Capitalism has no logic other than maximum profit, and every decision flows from that, regardless of its impact on the lives of the world's people, or even other capitalists.

## STRADDLING TWO WORLDS

Capitalism cannot exploit in the same old way, and so it can't function in the same old way. Something new is developing on the basis of private property. It has certain elements of the old capitalism, both in terms of the exploitation of labor-power, as well as, the forms in which that takes place. At the same time, we are seeing something new develop, something still rooted in capitalist productive relations, but needing to extricate itself from those relations in order to preserve private property.

In times of transition from one quality to another the state grows increasingly unstable, forced as it is to straddle both the old and the new. The state today is trying to construct a form of production based on private property, but without the producing class of the past. The dissolution of the base of capitalist productive relations is underway, but the new is still ambiguous, unformed. The state is bound by law, custom, and history to defend and protect the existing relations of capitalism. Yet, the new cannot be ignored, and the state must still guarantee private property in whatever guise it may appear. It is this double contradiction that makes the situation so unstable; the state must protect what is surely dissolving, while at the same time it must protect the historical continuity of which it is a part - private property. Its instability arises from the transition itself.

The growing economic crisis is bound to bring on political crisis - the clash of two antagonistic processes, with one forced to destroy the other to survive. The developing crisis is the impossibility of maintaining the bourgeois democratic superstructure with the qualitatively new economic foundation that is being created.

The capitalists cannot remain where they are, yet they cannot go forward. It will be in their fight to make the leap from a capitalism that is dissolving to a new order still based on private property that they will fight for new political forms.

## NEW POLITICAL FORMS ARISE IN TRANSITION

Revolution requires no subjective commitment to humanity's wellbeing, but grows out of an objective demand for change. Marx understood this when he wrote in the Communist Manifesto of the bourgeoisie as revolutionaries of their time. On the basis of the shift from manufacturing to big industry, the bourgeoisie seized power, tore up the old world and remade it in their own image. They were not attacking private property and neither did they care about the millions of people whose labor they exploited around the world to underwrite their power as a class. But in the moment of transition from agriculture to

industry, in every country, they put forward a program to solve the problems of this transition and fought to attain the political power to implement that program.

Similarly, fascism arose as a revolutionary political resolution to the problems of societies, indeed a world, in transition and crisis. In Germany, for example, the Weimar government, wracked by the world economic depression, and developing toward political

base of support for Nazi war and conquest.

Fascism under today's qualitatively new conditions represents the bourgeoisie's struggle (a class which is itself being transformed) to align the superstructure with the changing nature of private property relations. Fascism today seeks to facilitate a whole new world order based on private property without capitalism.

Communism is arising, Marx wrote,

The state is bound by law, custom, and history to defend and protect the existing relations of capitalism. Yet, the new cannot be ignored, and the state must still guarantee private property in whatever guise it may appear. It is this contradiction that makes the world situation so unstable.

crisis, could not contain both the communist and the fascist elements. One or the other side had to be crushed.

The fascist movement was not monolithic. All kinds of forces came toward them, not the same, but more alike than not, with the fascists at the core. Although they made use of these forces, Hitler and his fascists did not seek to return to Bismarckian Germany, or the restoration of principalities and their petty monarchs, or to stabilize the Weimar government. They sought to tear up the old world order and create something new - Germany at the head of a great world empire - starting first with Europe and Russia to the East and the British Isles to the west - in which millions of peoples would toil for the profit and pleasure of the great German master race. Bourgeois democracy was replaced with the new fascist state under which the German people would benefit only so long as they remained a

not as "an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself, but the real movement which abolishes the present state of things," aligning society with the promise of the new means of production. Communism seeks to facilitate a whole new world based on the public ownership of the socially necessary means of production and the distribution of the social product according to need. The productive relations of communism are not developing, and will not develop, in the midst of the dissolving relations of capitalism, or in opposition to those relations, and must be consciously fought for.

## AFTER THE ELECTIONS

A deepening economic crisis; an intensifying competition for markets; an increasingly unstable geopolitical world order in which the U.S. is fighting to remain dominant; the further unraveling

of the old political party alignments; and a growing clash within the institutions of government and society are all interacting with one another, and pushing and pulling on one another. The next president will be charged to manage this developing chaos, caught on the horns of the dilemma of epochal transition.

The resolution of this dilemma will have to take a political form. As capitalism as an economic system continues to disintegrate, and the political system of rule becomes increasingly unable to solve the problems of either the workers or the capitalists, the various tendencies are going to separate and come out with their own programs. Up to this point, we have only had conservative (such as, right-wing republicans) or reactionary (such as, the Ku Klux Klan) motions in the U.S. We will need to sharpen our ability to recognize the nature of these programs from those of the fascists and not be deceived by misconceptions or old categories of the past.

History plays no favorites. The objective conditions create the possibility, but it will take political revolution - a subjective act - to determine the outcome. The League's mission, strategy and tactics aim to achieve the first necessary stage in the line of march toward the final outcome - uniting the scattered revolutionaries on the basis of the demands of the new class, to educate them and win them over to the cooperative, communist resolution of the problem.

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# Capitalism

Capitalism is not simply trading goods and services (which was widespread prior to the origin of capitalism), but rather an economic and social system where trade is embedded within class domination and exploitation. Workers sell their ability to work, and this ability then becomes the property of the capitalist who uses any and all techniques to maximize profits in production. Wages, or the price of labor power, reflect the cost of sustaining the worker, whereas the proceeds of labor belong to the capitalist. Workers themselves do not realize the benefits of their labor, yet must work or face homelessness and hunger. Capitalism as a social system is one in which one class enriches itself at the expense of another class, and where workers get only what they collectively are able to fight for.

Capitalist relations of production consist of a labor force with no means of support other than their ability to work, and capitalists who own land, raw materials, tools and technology. The capitalist class buys labor power and owns what is produced for sale. The principle law of capitalism is the law of maximum profit, which compels each capitalist to lower costs of production or risk being taken over by another capitalist.

The capitalist class and working class had their beginnings in pre-capitalist

merchant trading and small-scale artisan production, and in the violent destruction of pre-capitalist societies and peoples. The rising capitalist class stole land and labor. With their growing political power, the emerging British capitalist class succeeded in privatizing communal Irish lands and driving formerly self-sufficient peasants into the city as a starving labor force. They stole the land of the native American peoples. They enslaved the people of the African continent. The African slave trade and slavery in the New World became the foundation on which all of early capitalism rested, and was essential to the expansion of industrial capitalism in Europe and the New World.

Technical innovations during the 1790s, most notably improvements in steam engine technology, transformed capitalism from its early manufacturing beginnings into industrial capitalism. Industrialization was centered in Britain and characterized by mechanically animated means of production that allowed for rapid increases in labor productivity and profitability. Industrialization was a gigantic lever in the hands of the capitalist class to create unparalleled productive power, and thereby ignited a global scramble for wealth. The law of maximum profit dragged the entire world into a maelstrom of world trade, world wars, and imperialist intrigue.

The British Empire was eventually brought down by national liberation movements and the slaughter of its young men in imperialist war, and by the superior economic power of the United States. Today, using a combination of military, economic, and political means, the U.S. is the world's sole superpower.

Today, another technological revolution marks the final stage of capitalism. Developments in computers, biotechnology, robotics, and related technologies are now animating the means of production with relatively little labor. In the hands of the capitalists, these tools are used to maximize profits, and the consequence is displacement of the industrial proletariat. A new social class is arising that is economically superfluous to production. This new class cannot buy and sell the means of life, and, as it develops, becomes compelled to fight for a society that distributes the means of life on the basis of human need.

The inevitable development of a communist class within capitalism spells the end of capitalism. The communist class is developing in the abandoned industrial towns of the American Midwest, and in the lives of its sons and daughters who must choose between indebtedness, jail, or the armed forces. In the East, it is developing in China's 300 million plus agricultural workers, who

are superfluous to modern agriculture, yet cannot be absorbed by industry which downsized at least 15 million workers between the middle 1990s and 2002 due to rapid productivity increases and the curtailment of state supported employment. The communist class is international and must organize itself as such.

As the economy moves toward laborless production, the industrial phase of capitalism comes to a close. While some workers continue to work, others lose their ability to work, and join the communist class. Capitalist competition is not just killing capitalists, it's creating its own antithesis. Laborless production demands a new social system where the means of life are distributed not on the basis of buying and selling, but on the basis of human need. Capitalism was born out of the expropriation of small, scattered private property, and its conversion into capitalist private property. The capitalists are ruthless and will stop at nothing to hold on, but they cannot stop the inevitable flow of history. We are moving toward a day when the means of production will be controlled by the class that will use it not for private accumulation, but rather for the benefit of the human race and our planet.

## The 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 an 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.

Just as the steam engine created an industrial working class that replaced the existing manufacturing class, electronic production is creating a new class of workers. This new class consists of employed and unemployed sectors. The employed sector – the part-time, contin-

gency, below minimum wage workers – is already over a third of the work force. This employed sector of the class is constantly drawn into the growing unemployed sector that ranges from the structurally unemployed to the absolute 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.

Wage-less 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, is arising to oppose this motion. Society must take over these corporations or these corporations will 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 co-operative, 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 co-operative 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 ef-

fort 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 ecology, 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 that imperiled future.