

# 2015-16 Main Political Report

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution...To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies.

—Mao, Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society

- 1.1. This document provides the NEC's national-level analysis of who the friends and enemies of the people are at this moment in time in the US. It's purpose is to provide a shared understanding and basis for political action as well as to provide clear tools for comrades to make analyses of the balance of forces in their state and local areas at the district level. Once discussed and refined it will serve as the basis for discussion of national and district plans, including the organizational three-year plan that will be decided on by the congress.
- 1.2. Using the framework of the united front, we identify the New Confederacy—composed of the most reactionary faction of capital and middle strata, right-wing racists, united in the Republican Party—as the main enemy. We use this term to emphasize the fact that the Right in this country is rooted in a racist program and strategy, and that the bases of its power lie at the state level, particularly in the South. It is our view that the New Confederacy is both the main enemy and the dominant force shaping the US political, though its dominance is being increasingly challenged.
- 1.3. In response to the power of the New Confederacy, in this document we call for the construction of a broad united front—a Third Reconstruction—as a protracted strategy to defeat the New Confederacy. The general tactics for building and employing this front are:
  - a. develop the progressive forces
  - b. win over the middle forces
  - c. combat the diehards, and
  - d. defeat enemy forces one by one.
- 1.4. We identify as the progressive forces those groups fighting back against both racial/national oppression and austerity. Workers' centers and

community organizations, the direct action groups like Not1More and #Black Lives Matter, as well as the progressive public sector, service sector, and nurses unions that make the connections between these two fights are all political expressions of these progressive social bases.

- 1.5. We identify the intermediate forces as those who unite with the progressive forces against the New Confederacy on either fighting the race-centered reactionary social program of the Right or those who unite with the progressive forces to fight back against austerity. What makes them intermediate, however, is that they tend to have a firm commitment to fighting only one or the other aspect of the New Confederacy's program—either the reactionary social project or austerity, but not both. The NAACP, trial lawyer associations, mainstream women's rights, environmental, and LGBT organizations, etc. are examples of the political expression of these intermediate forces.
- 1.6. We identify as the diehard section of the united front as those forces who have a strong interest in one aspect of the New Confederacy program and a strong opposition to the other. This leads them to having a dual policy, sometimes uniting with progressive forces, and other times uniting with the program of the enemy. Their political expression is the neoliberal Democratic leadership and politicians as well as the blue dog Democrats. They want to defeat the Republicans, but they want to maintain austerity and keep down the progressive forces.
- 1.7. We should not fall into the mistaken idea that power is about 50% +1 majorities. History has repeatedly shown that "the harder the core, the broader the front." A small, highly organized set of social forces, acting strategically, can influence and move larger forces who, because of their contradictory situation, are less able to move a strategy.
- 1.8. We should be clear that in an imperialist country built on white supremacy a united front policy for progressive forces will not be a united front of the overwhelming majority of the population. It will be a clash between perhaps equally sized blocs, distributed unevenly across the political territory of the US. The analogy for this period is not the united front of the national liberation movements of the global South, but the united front of the US civil war.
- 1.9. Rather than calling for a monolithic implementation of strategy, we suggest that each state of the US operates in specific conditions. Thus, while the main enemy nationally is the same for us all, the tasks of the Left in states ruled by the New Confederacy will be quite different from those in states dominated by corporate Democrats.

- 1.10. As it stands, the country is divided into three general categories:
  - a. The Republican Strongholds: states in which the right-wing social base for the Republican Party is strong and where there is not a basis for progressive forces to win over a majority of the population;
  - b. The Democrat Strongholds: states where the social base for progressive and middle forces is strong, where progressive organization is relatively built up, but where generally it is the die-hards in the Democratic Party which control the major levers of political power;
  - c. The Contested States: states where the social base exists for both progressive and right-wing politics. The governments of these states may be mixed or captured by one or the other party, but their situation is unstable and subject to change.
- 1.11. In general, we believe that the Left can have its greatest impact in those states where there is a heated fight over the leadership of workers and oppressed people (e.g. Ohio and other Rustbelt states as well as the Southern states of Virginia, Florida, and N. Carolina). However, there are tasks for the Left and our membership in all of the states where we have bases.
- 1.12. In Democratic strongholds, the task of the Left is to build the power of the progressive forces to lead and to combat the die-hard neoliberal Democrats.
- 1.13. In Republican strongholds, the task of the Left is to ruthlessly expose the racism, class interests, and brutality of the New Confederacy as the Civil Right Movement did to the Jim Crow rule of the Dixiecrats, making it increasingly impossible for them to make allies nationally and eroding as much of their base locally as possible.
- 1.14. Of course the development of specific tactics for each state requires a level of detail that isn't possible for this document. The point, however, is to acknowledge that a national strategy must calibrate tactics for each state.
- 1.15. Section 2 of the document provides an overview of the current political moment. Sections 3 & 4 drill down beneath the immediate political expressions and conscious organizations (the subjective factor) in order to explain the roots of these political trends in the class structure of US society. This kind of deep structural analysis will help us to make sense of and, to a degree, help us to anticipate the behavior of different political forces in the field, and identify the bases that we should be organizing. Section 3 of the

document, then, is dedicated to outlining the basic class structure of US society, followed by section 4 which describes the way that white supremacy intersects with and shapes class in the US.

- 1.16. After laying out this basic structure, section 5 returns to the current political situation by analyzing the major racial/nationality segments of each major class in US in relation to the struggle with the main enemy and its program of austerity and white supremacy. As the largest oppressed nationalities in the US, African Americans and Chicanos/Mexicans will be the ones pulled out explicitly. Because each nationality or national minority has a different relationship to class and white supremacy, it is not useful to lump them all in the same category.
- 1.17. A final note before beginning: in many ways the analysis in this document is a synthesis of a great deal of thinking from Leftists both within and beyond our organization. The most profound influences on the united front have been from the thinking and writings of Bob Wing<sup>1</sup> and Bill Fletcher, Jr.<sup>2</sup>, both in terms of their writings on the current moment and the nature of the US political terrain. Their ideas permeate the document. Another set of influences flow from the comrades who participated in the development of the Revolutionary Theses document. While the third section of that paper—focused on the analysis of US society—was never published, discussion of it in many ways prefigured the writing on class analysis that is found below. The document also draws from the organization’s study of the financial crisis and the work of the theorists around the Monthly Review journal and their thinking on monopoly finance capital.

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<sup>1</sup> Bob Wing [“Towards a Social Justice Electoral Strategy”](#) and [“Can We Defeat the Racist Southern Strategy”](#).

<sup>2</sup> Bill Fletcher, Jr. & Danny Glover, [“Visualizing a Neo-Rainbow”](#)

## 2. THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

2.1. The current moment is characterized by the following:

- a. While the New Confederacy remains the dominant political force in the US, its 30 year dominance of US politics by the New Confederacy is increasingly being contested.
- b. The threefold crisis of economy, ecology, and empire has created conditions in the US such that the vast majority of people are seeing their quality of life and their wealth and income decline. This undermining of the majority's conditions has brought into question the legitimacy of the current state of affairs for large sections of people in the US.
- c. As a result US society is increasingly polarized between the New Confederacy, which developed as the leading force for neoliberalism in the US, and the forces who could potentially make up a Third Reconstruction that have been developing powerfully at least since the 2008 financial crisis. This polarization can be seen in the appeal of Donald Trump's candidacy for the Republican nomination and of Bernie Sanders for the Dems. This is in contrast to the previous period (the Reagan/Clinton/Bush era) during which US society moved to the Right, isolating the Left and progressive forces.
- d. Between these two forces lies a large intermediate group of forces who, in the face of increased economic instability and political polarization, are splitting both economically and politically. Economically a small sector connected to the booming sectors of the economy is being enriched. The majority, however, are seeing the situations deteriorate. Politically the intermediate group of forces is also polarizing behind either the New Confederacy, with its right-wing populist rhetoric, or the emerging progressive politics of the Third Reconstruction.
- e. In this struggle, the New Confederacy has maintained the upper hand, with its highly funded and organized infrastructure and control of the majority of political territory in the state through its political instrument, the Republican Party.
- f. However, as a result of the economic crisis, austerity, and high-profile struggles around police violence and deportations the mood of the forces who could make up a Third Reconstruction is increasingly militant and radical. In the absence of a coherent political leadership

and vehicle, however, these forces have struggled to cohere into a bloc. They tend to be loosely allied with one another and to operate under the continued political leadership of the centrist/neoliberal Democratic party leadership.

- g. As society polarizes, the diehard neoliberal Democratic Party leadership increasingly finds itself in a contradictory situation: on the one hand it must appeal to and mobilize its progressive base in order to defeat the New Confederacy, on the other hand, it is committed to the economic policy of austerity and neoliberalism.

### The Dominance of the New Confederacy

- 2.2. Beginning with Reagan and continuing for the past three decades it has imposed its racist and imperialist program of austerity, the restriction of democracy, and the growth of repression and war. It is this social force which leads the most aggressive assaults on the strength, organization, rights, and living conditions of the people of the world from attacks on unions, affirmative action, reproductive rights, and immigrant rights to war mongering, vicious cuts to the public sector, and criminal aggravation and denial of the ecological crisis.
- 2.3. Like the first confederacy, the new confederacy is rooted in the most reactionary, racist, imperialist, and anti-democratic forces in the country. Both confederacies fought to maintain the conditions for brutal exploitation and provided white privilege as the reward for less wealthy whites who joined its white united front. Both confederacies faced changing political conditions nationally and internationally that threatened their power and reacted to capture political power as the key to ensuring that their privileges were maintained.
- 2.4. The parallel extends further, as both confederacies, unable to control the federal government, have used their control of states to impose its rule locally while holding the federal government hostage. The New Confederacy heavily relies on a reactionary southern political strategy and state opposition to the federal government, and it is the main prop holding up a system of low wage work, state violence, and the gutting of democracy and public institutions.
- 2.5. What is the strategic aim of the New Confederacy? It is our view that, in the face of the shrinking white portion of the population and electorate and the growing economic crisis, the program of the New Confederacy is a drastic restriction of democracy and the imposition of a more

authoritarian dictatorship within the borders of the US. Their aim is not to broaden the ruling class alliance in the US, but instead to restrict it and to construct a militant white racist base, an increasingly repressive state, and a restricted voting franchise in order to maintain minority rule. This is the internal expression of what Samir Amin has called “apartheid on a world scale,” and the extension of a racial dictatorship.

- 2.6. The New Confederacy is the contemporary white united front—the basic form of the US ruling class bloc since the founding of racial slavery—which rallies the white middle strata and white workers around the leadership of the white ruling class.<sup>3</sup>
- 2.7. The New Confederacy has its roots in the Dixiecrats and defenders of Jim Crow and monopoly capital’s search for the political means with which to defeat the popular advances of the New Deal and Great Society eras. It was the alliance of these forces that formed the basis of the New Right and the political power that brought neoliberalism into power in the US.<sup>4</sup> Together these forces transformed the Republican Party as the instrument of the New Confederacy, expanding its base, increasing its funding, and spreading its power.<sup>5</sup>
- 2.8. Within the Republican Party, there are contradictions between the right-wing base rooted in the precarious and resentful white middle strata (petit bourgeoisie)<sup>6</sup> and the moderate Republicans who represent the interests of monopoly capital. This contradiction is expressed by Tea Party attacks on moderates, challenging them in primaries and characterizing them as “Republicans in Name Only” (RINO’s) and not conservative enough.<sup>7</sup>
- 2.9. Since the election of Obama the right-wing populist wing of the party/alliance has taken the initiative and has captured the party. But while there are concerns from Republican moderates and the capitalist interests they represent, they still see Republican control as preferable to

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<sup>3</sup> We have taken the essential concept of the white united front from Linda Burnham & Bob Wing’s *Towards A Communist Analysis of Black Oppression & Liberation*, especially “Section II: Theoretical & Historical Framework”.

<sup>4</sup> On the Dixiecrat roots of the New Confederacy see Joseph Lowndes *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race & the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism*. For the business elements of the alliance see Kim Phillips-Fein’s *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan*. as well as his *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* are also excellent treatments of how these forces captured other forces in the Northeast and Rustbelt.

<sup>5</sup> See Thomas Edsall “The Republican Party”, *The New Politics of Inequality*, ch. 2

<sup>6</sup> There is a myth that the right-wing populists come mainly from the white working class. However, research has shown that in fact the Tea Party and similar movements draw their bases from more affluent, suburban white people. See Paul Street & Anthony DiMaggio’s [What Populist Uprising?](#) which analyses poll data on Tea Partiers.

<sup>7</sup> Carl Davidson’s [“Strategic Thinking on the US Six Party System”](#) refers to the two “parties” within the Republican Party as the “Republican Multinationals” or “Country Club Republicans” on the one hand, and the “Tea Party” on the other.

Democrats given Republican willingness to lower taxes, reduce regulation, and smash unions and worker's rights.<sup>8</sup>

- 2.10. From its base in the states of the South and Mountains, the New Confederacy has kept both houses of Congress under its control from 1995-2000, and control over at least the House since 1995, with only a four year break (2007-2011) in the first Obama presidency.<sup>9</sup> It is this Republican congress, along with its counterparts in the states under New Confederate control, which has opposed any positive action on the ecological crisis, attacked unemployment insurance, and continues to press for war with Iran. It constitutes a massive right-ward pull on the presidency and the Democratic Party, which already leans Right, given its corporate leadership.
- 2.11. New Confederacy control of congress and the presidency under Reagan and the two Bush's allowed this alliance to appoint the majority of sitting Supreme Court justices, making possible the Citizens United decision that open the gates further for corporate money in elections and the decision to strike down the heart of the Voting Rights Act.
- 2.12. With the 2014 midterm elections, Republicans captured control of both houses of the legislature and the governorship in 23 states—creating single-party rule in more states than at any time in Republican history and rivaling the power that Democrats held during the New Deal era. Democrats, on the other hand, have this level of single party control in only seven states.<sup>10</sup>

### The Crisis of Empire, Ecology, & Economy

- 2.13. In response to the political and economic crises of the 70's, capital launched a major offensive, breaking the power of labor and national liberation movements and establishing neoliberal austerity as the reigning policy of the period.
- 2.14. We believe that US imperialism and its hegemony at the international and national level are increasingly unstable. The major forces undermining the hegemony of US imperialism are the struggles of the global South, the deepening ecological crisis, and the economic contradictions of monopoly capital and financialization.

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<sup>8</sup> See Lerer & McCormick "Why Business Doesn't Trust the Tea Party" *Bloomberg BusinessWeek* 13 October 2010 and Mullins & Bendavis "Tea Party's Rise Gives Business Pause" *Wall Street Journal* 17 Sept 2010.

<sup>9</sup> Wikipedia "[Party Divisions of US Congresses](#)".

<sup>10</sup> David Byler, "[The Other GOP Wave: State Legislatures](#)" 11 Nov 2014; Caldwell "[Red Dawn: The GOP's Growing Monopoly on State Government](#)" *Mother Jones* 14 October 2014.



- 2.15. Because the countries of the global North (and the US in particular) are dependent on the super profits of imperialism and control of the natural resources of the global South, changes in the balance of power between US imperialism and the states of the South and/or between popular and ruling classes within the global South, has a profound effect on the ability of the US to reproduce itself as it has in the past. This shifting balance of forces will increasingly require the restructuring of the imperialist countries themselves. For these reasons we see the struggle of the global South as the major factor in determining the vulnerability of US dominance.<sup>11</sup>
- 2.16. Another issue, the growing scarcity and costs of fossil fuel, has the potential to make the far-flung system of globalized production increasingly expensive, possibly forcing a re-localization of production (and struggles) and is already leading the expansion into more dangerous forms of energy extraction and production (coal, nuclear, fracking, tar sands, mountain top removal, etc.) which have the potential to generate powerful oppositional movements.<sup>12</sup> And, of course, it is the struggle over fossil fuels that has embroiled the US in the ongoing, taxing, and brutal occupations, proxy wars, and imperialist adventures in the Middle East.
- 2.17. In terms of the economy, the current financial crisis is an expression of an economy whose normal state is crisis and whose tendencies towards stagnation must be counteracted in order to keep it alive. In the era of monopoly capitalism the main problem for capital is the slowing down of “growth”, that is the narrowing opportunities for profitable re-investment of its enormous and growing surplus. Financial speculation has become the primary mechanism for keeping the system functioning despite this fundamental problem. However, the finance sector is unstable and speculative bubbles predictably burst, with devastating effects that bring the financial sector back to the underlying state of economic crisis.
- 2.18. As these crises of empire, ecology, and economy deepen many of the material benefits of the Keynesian/New Deal era—based on imperialism, the absence of economic rivals to the US, and access to cheap fossil fuels—are rapidly eroding. Thus, the material basis that once tied large sections of the US working class to the leadership of US capital is also disappearing. The result has been a decline in working class standards of

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<sup>11</sup> See Samir Amin’s recent articles “The South Challenges Globalization” and “The Trajectory of Historical Capitalism & the Tricontinental Vision of Marxism”.

<sup>12</sup> For example, 101 of the 151 proposed coal plants proposed in Bush’s 2000 energy plan have been stopped or delayed, mostly as a result of grassroots organizing. For more on examples of other successful struggles see the “Open Letter to 1Sky from the Grassroots”

living and a sharp polarization of US society, spurring new layers of people into motion and opening the possibilities for higher levels of struggle.

- 2.19. Finally, one of the most important factors to note is that people of color are becoming a larger and larger proportion of the US population, especially its workforce and, over time, its electorate. This is the basis for the numerous conversations about the “Rising American Electorate” and the “New Majority”—all of which point to the fact that less and less of the white population is necessary to constitute a ruling bloc.<sup>13</sup> Latin@s constitute the fastest growing sector of communities of color.

### The Developing Progressive Forces

- 2.20. The development of the progressive forces in this period can be illustrated by looking at a number of the key mass movements of the past years: the eviction blockade movement, the Dreamers & Not1More, Black Lives Matter, Fight for \$15, the Chicago Teacher’s Union strike, and the battle in Wisconsin.
- 2.21. In response to the foreclosure crisis, the anti-eviction movement burst onto the scene, bringing new layers of people into direct confrontation with the state and with capital through all kinds of actions, including blockades and putting people back into their homes after eviction. Across the country people who did not see themselves as revolutionaries or even as activists, found themselves facing down police and corporations in order to stay in their homes. Cheated by the banks and outraged at the giveaway bailouts to banks but not to homeowners, this movement was an important expression of the emerging discontent and willingness of more people to directly confront the system around their immediate interests, and from this basis, to begin questioning capitalism and the state.
- 2.22. The immigrant rights movement has also been at the fore. The question of immigration lies at the heart of US economy. It is essentially the question of how much coercion/abuse workers can be subjected to. Undocumented immigrants, coming largely from Mexico and Latin America, have been leading powerful struggles for decades. From the massive marches of the early 2000’s to the direct action of the Dreamers and the Not1More movement, the immigrant rights movement has been key to challenging system of exploitation. Immigration has also been at the heart of the struggle against the New Confederacy, as nativism and anti-immigrant

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<sup>13</sup> Center for American Progress “[State of Diversity in Today’s Workforce](#)” July 2012 as well “[States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project](#)”

racism have been a core part of the right-wing's ideological agenda, especially in the southwest and southeast. The battles around Arizona's SB1070 to border militarization to 287g are all examples of this ongoing battlefield. While immigrant workers have not been a large voting block, their direct action and broader Latino solidarity have been key forces in mass politics.

- 2.23. The Black Liberation movement, at a low ebb for many years, suddenly burst into the limelight with the Black Lives Matter movement. The criminalization of Black people has been at the heart of the transformation of the Dixiecrats into the New Right. Crime became the new language of race.<sup>14</sup> Of course, this came at the same time that monopoly capital was in need of more control of the reserve army of labor as corporate restructuring of the economy had eliminated living wages and created the high unemployment and poverty wage service sector. While Black workers have been at the heart of many union struggles, with the emergence of BLM, the specificity of Black oppression and liberation has been re-centered, as have militant, direct action tactics. The inclusion and leadership of young people, poor people, and women has been particularly notable.
- 2.24. Meanwhile, sections of organized labor have moved more and more into a social justice unionism politic. The struggle in Wisconsin, with its militant occupation tactic and its broad mobilization was a breakthrough, even if it was eventually beaten. The successful strike of the teacher's union in Chicago, built on the alliance of the workers with the community (largely ON), was another major advance. And, of course, the Fight for \$15 is among the more visible and powerful campaigns mobilizing workers of color in the lowest paying jobs.
- 2.25. Across the spectrum we see organizations fighting for racial and immigrant justice as well as social justice unionism at the militant forefront of the struggle against austerity and white supremacy. These forces are increasingly using confrontational tactics and bringing into motion large groups of people.
- 2.26. The organizing of the National Domestic Workers Alliance stands out as an important intersection of these different progressive social bases. Centered in the struggles of working class, mostly immigrant women, the Alliance has built labor organizing structures engaging low-wage women and, around this base, has engaged labor unions and other progressive

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<sup>14</sup> See Michelle Alexander "The Rebirth of Caste" *The New Jim Crow*, ch. 1.

forces to fight for domestic worker bills of rights as well as healthcare for the elderly and a path to citizenship. We highlight this work because it demonstrates how women of color have built broad coalitions and fighting organizations center among the most progressive forces but also reaching out to lead broader forces.

- 2.27. The Moral Monday movement in North Carolina as well as Minnesotans for a Fair Economy are other examples of the efforts being made among progressive and intermediate forces to build broader coalitions.

### The Contested Forces

- 2.28. The Occupy and Tea Party movements are both political expressions of the polarization of US society. Groups that previously expected economic stability and upward mobility—or at least for their children to do as well or better than themselves—were rudely awakened to the reality of austerity.
- 2.29. In response to these circumstances, some forces became radicalized in a Left direction. The critique of inequality and the obscene wealth and power of the 1% by Occupy was the largest example of this. Students, young people, and professionals—many, but not all of whom were white—began to make deep critiques of the economic and political system and began building ties with organized labor and organized communities of color.
- 2.30. On the other hand, other forces became radicalized in a Right direction. Their anger was directed not at the corporations and the 1%, but rather at “big government” and Obama. The emergence of the Tea Party with their pseudo populism, defending the “common” (white) man from the oppression of liberal government, is a stark example of this trend.

### The Contradictions of the Diehards

- 2.31. When the Republican Party moved the political center of gravity to the Right, a new breed of Democrats emerged—the Democratic Leadership Conference—with the Clinton machine at its center. These forces within the party defeated and marginalized the New Deal Democrats and pushed the party to abandon its 60's/70's policy positions in favor of neoliberalism as well as the tough on crime (i.e. racist) policies of the New Confederacy.
- 2.32. In state after state and city after city these neoliberal Dems implemented some of the deepest cuts to social programs and some of the worst policies around incarceration. Their goal was to appeal to the white

“swing” voters who had gone over to the Republican party. The result, of course, was the movement of the party into the program and ideology of the New Confederacy.

- 2.33. With the increased polarization of society, however, these neoliberal Dems are confronted with the situation that their political program has not been substantively different from that of the New Confederacy. In order to engage the Democratic Party base they find it increasingly necessary to make economic populist and racial justice appeals. However, these appeals are not consistent with their actual program.
- 2.34. As a result, there has begun to emerge a new layer of progressive Democrats, to the Left of the neoliberals. These are the Elizabeth Warrens, De Blasios and Bernie Sanders. It isn't that these forces never existed before. Rather, it's that they have more social support in the current context. And as they gain influence, the diehards are increasingly forced to tack Left (at least rhetorically) in order to keep their leadership of the party base.
- 2.35. In order to defeat the New Confederacy electorally the Dem leadership has to speak to the Left. But this does not mean that they govern from a progressive position. In office they are different from New Confederates in that their political and social base includes progressives, but it also reflects their deep ties to the capitalist class. The behavior of the Obama administration reflects these contradictions on everything from the wars in the Middle East to healthcare reform to the bank bailouts.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

- 3.1. This document provides a national overview that is a starting point and a framework for developing state and local plans. However, in each state it will be necessary for comrades to conduct their own investigation and analysis as the basis for constructing the united front in their conditions.
- 3.2. Further, while we have more developed thinking on the enemy and the progressive forces, we still need more investigation—both gathering data and doing social investigation—to better understand the intermediate and diehard forces. In particular, it is critical that we develop a more nuanced understanding of the distinctions among the white middle classes and working class. It is on the basis of such information that it becomes possible for us to develop tactics for either neutralizing, winning, isolating, or defeating them.
- 3.3. Building a successful Third Reconstruction will require a sophisticated coordination of tactics and skillful political practice in the arenas of grassroots organizing, direct action, and that of elections tailored to the conditions of each state. It will require using an inside/outside orientation to the Democratic Party. It will require learning to act with independence and initiative within broader fronts, often in relation to forces with whom we have great contradictions.
- 3.4. This document challenges our organization, and the Left more broadly, to strengthen our theory and practice of the united front, and calls for political projects that confront the New Confederacy as the main representative of the politics of racism and austerity. It asserts that only in the context of this broad united front does it become possible to unite the various progressive social forces, unify and strengthen the Left, deal decisive blows to the ruling class and to capitalism, and lay the foundations for socialism.