

Liberation Road's United Front Policy

Our United Front Policy

The united front is a method and a strategic principle that allows communists to organize and mobilize the broadest forces of people against the narrowest target at any given time. By bringing large numbers of people into motion, it not only changes the balance of forces, but creates the greatest conditions for the people to learn, through practice and struggle, who are the true fighters for freedom, who are the exploiters, and who are partial or sometimes allies. At any given moment communists are a minority of the people, but, through the united front, communists can both contribute to, learn from, and work to earn leadership of truly mass struggles. In this way communists steadily expand the political consciousness of the people.

In order to be successful, our united front practice must be guided by a correct political line. Our organization's united front policy is to:

1. Develop the strategic alliance of the working class and oppressed nationality movements
2. Uphold the political leadership of ON and women workers
3. Win over progressive allies among the middle strata
4. Take advantage of splits among the capitalists in order to isolate, expose and defeat them

At any given time, we distinguish between our immediate enemy—the worst among the capitalists and white supremacist forces—and our strategic enemy—the imperialist or monopoly capitalists as a whole. This allows us to mobilize the largest numbers of people in struggles that simultaneously defeat an isolated enemy, strengthen the strategic alliance, and expose the true interests of the capitalists.

1. Develop the Strategic Alliance of the Working Class & Oppressed Nationalities

Two forces in the United States have an interest in the overthrow of racial capitalism: the working class and oppressed nationalities. Without the overthrow of white supremacy, it will be impossible for the working class to form itself into an independent class capable of defeating capitalism and governing a socialist society. Without the overthrow of capitalism, it will be impossible for oppressed nationalities to uproot white supremacy, a political system whose

material basis is in capitalism's need for politically coerced groups of people who can be brutally exploited or excluded from the economy at will.

All deep social transformations in the US have been the result of the coming together of the workers' and oppressed nationality struggles. However, because of the effect of white supremacy and white privilege among white workers and because of the class interests of the middle strata among oppressed nationalities, these two powerful social forces have only sometimes come together and all too often have been pitted against one another. For this reason the strategic alliance is something that has to be *built* and consciously developed by communists. Building this alliance is the foundation on which all other work must develop.

Within workers' organizations and movements we fight for the interests and leadership of ON and women workers to be at the center. Within the ON movements we fight for the interests and leadership of workers and women to be at the center. In all our work we strive to create independent spaces for women to self-organize and develop their leadership.

Because of their interest in defeating white supremacy, the ON sections of the middle strata, can be won to the strategic alliance as part of the ON movements. Because of their interest in defeating capitalism, white workers can be won to the strategic alliance as part of the movements of the multi-national working class. But the greatest possibility for this is under conditions where ON workers lead both the working class and the ON movements.

2. Uphold the Political Leadership of ON and Women Workers

Upholding the *political* leadership of ON and women workers means developing a political organization that is rooted in the most advanced fighters from these social bases and expresses their political interests.

The ON sections of the working-class—specifically the Black, Latino and immigrant sections of the working-class—are the forces in US society with the greatest interest in the defeat of both capitalism and white supremacy. They are the social base for the leadership of the strategic alliance because they connect both the worker's struggle and the struggle against white supremacy. In order for the strategic alliance to be realized, we must develop the capacity of these people to lead their organizations and communities. No other group can fulfill this task.

Similarly, ON women and working-class women are a tremendous force within ON and worker communities. Time and time again history has shown that women are both the ones who bear the brunt of national oppression and class exploitation and they are the most likely to organize

and fight for the community as a whole. However, patriarchy within these communities and inside movement organizations puts breaks and shackles on the tremendous power of women.

In order to weld the ON movements and movements of the working class into the strategic alliance it is necessary for the most advanced members of these forces to form an independent political organization or party.

3. Win Over Progressive Allies Among the Middle Strata

The middle strata refers to three different groups whose positions and interests place them between the working class and the capitalist class: the professional class, the managerial class and the small business owners. Professionals are people who exercise considerable autonomy over their own labor process and are often organized in professional associations that set the rules for their industry, both restricting entry from the working class and defending the profession from capitalists. Managers are the people responsible for implementing the plans decided on by the capitalist owners. Small business owners are people who generally run companies of less than 20 people and work alongside their employees.

The dynamics of capitalism, especially in crisis, tends to put a squeeze on large sections of the middle strata. While a small section of these classes is upwardly mobile, debt piled up from school loans, competition from corporate chains, and rising taxes and costs of living threaten many in these classes with downward mobility. The middle strata tend to be a relatively unstable and insecure group and in this period of crisis are polarizing in two directions.

The progressive middle strata hate the banks and the big corporations. They are angry about their debt and see the political system as corrupt and favoring the wealthy. They want to see a redistribution of wealth and political power downward and they want to protect their investments in their education/professions, homes, etc. These people are a decisive force that is skilled at spreading revolutionary ideas and developing organizing skills. Often college students—living on low wages, highly exploited, and exposed to wide ranges of political ideas—are the most progressive section of the middle strata and have always been a main source of revolutionary energy. Our task is to win them over to seeing that only when the strategic alliance is powerful and organized will it be possible for the middle strata to prosper.

The reactionary middle strata, on the other hand see government (controlled by “liberals”), unions, Black people, immigrants, and the poor as their enemies. They are fiercely protective of their privileges and want to see power and resources taken away from government and the forces of the strategic alliance. They are sometimes also anti-corporate or anti-bank, seeing

these as big forces colluding with government against the “common man”. These forces are social bases for the enemy.

Because US capitalism is *racial capitalism*, the middle strata is racialized. The middle strata are disproportionately white and ON middle strata tend to be more unstable members of these classes. Both their instability and the forces of white supremacy can push ON middle strata in the direction of the strategic alliance.

4. Take Advantage of Splits Among the Capitalists

Capitalism is a system of cutthroat competition, not only between the capitalists and workers, but also among the capitalist class. The fossil fuel companies struggle against the renewable energy companies, retail companies struggle to take customers from each other, fast food chains struggle to lower the prices from tomato sellers while those sellers try to raise them, etc. Their battles with one another happen in both the economic arena, where they compete over customers and prices, and it occurs in the arena of politics, where they fight for laws that advantage them over their rivals. In times of crisis these contradictions take on an even sharper quality.

In the realm of politics these competing capitalists form alliances and blocs with one another, with the effect that at any given time one section or alliance of capitalists is the dominant force in politics and the other is subordinate. In their political struggles with one another different sections of the capitalist class often try to win sections of the middle strata, workers, and oppressed nationalities to their alliance. This situation creates conditions in which it is possible to take advantage of conflicts among the capitalist class and its political blocs. However, in the absence of the organized struggle of the strategic alliance, it is entirely possible for the contradictions among capitalists to be overcome.

Without looking beneath the surface to see the material basis of conflict among our enemies it isn't possible to understand and take advantage of their contradictions. Without this kind of class analysis of the economy and politics we would be unable to identify who the *immediate* enemy is, we wouldn't know how to direct the class struggle from one period to the next.

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. Its 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. **We identify the New Confederacy** as the main enemy in this period. The New Confederacy is composed of the most reactionary factions of capital allied with racist/nativist, right-wing populists. The Republican Party is the political expression of this alliance. We use the term "New Confederacy" to emphasize the fact that this right-wing political force is rooted in an explicitly racist program and strategy, and that the foundation of its power lies in control of state governments, 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 terrain in this moment, even though its dominance is being increasingly challenged.
- 1.3. This document calls for the organization of a united front in this period to carry out a protracted struggle to isolate and defeat the New Confederacy. We call this united front the "Third Reconstruction". The general tactics for building and employing it are:
 - a. Developing the strategic alliance of the working class and oppressed nationality movements
 - b. Upholding the political leadership of ON and women workers
 - c. Winning over progressive allies from the middle strata and conservative workers
 - d. Unity and struggle with tactical allies from the Centrist section of capital in order to isolate and destroy the power of our main enemy, the New Confederacy
- 1.4. **We identify the strategic alliance** as the united forces of the working class and oppressed nationality movements fighting back against both racial/national oppression and neoliberal 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 examples. The social bases for the strategic alliance are oppressed nationality (ON) communities and working class people.
- 1.5. **We identify progressive allies** as those who unite with the forces of the strategic alliance in either fighting the reactionary political program of the New Confederacy or to fight back against austerity. These groups tend to have a firm commitment to fighting only one or the other aspect of the New Confederacy's program—either the reactionary political project *or* austerity, but not both. The NAACP, some building trade unions, trial lawyer associations, mainstream women's rights, environmental, and LGBT organizations, etc. are examples of the political expression of these forces. The middle strata—professionals, small business

people, etc.—are a major social base for these forces. But some of the more conservative worker organizations are also an important group and their social base tends to be among more privileged sections of the working class, often white and male.

- 1.6. ***We identify tactical allies*** as forces that are against the New Confederacy but for austerity. This leads these forces to having a dual policy, sometimes uniting with the strategic alliance and progressive forces, and other times uniting with the enemy around austerity. 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. The social base for these forces is the moderate wing of the capitalist class.
- 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 that, 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 our united front policy for progressive forces may not be a united front of the overwhelming majority of the population as it has often been in national liberation movements. It will likely be a clash between perhaps equally sized, antagonistic blocs, distributed unevenly across the political territory of the US and divided along lines of race and class. 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.