

RALLY, COMRADES!

THE VOICE OF THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARIES FOR A NEW AMERICA

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After the Elections: Which Way Forward?

It's over. But it's not. When the election campaigns began more than a year ago, over half of the people said they thought the country was going in the wrong direction. Today seventy-five per cent of the people say the country is going in the wrong direction. This election has been the stage upon which we have seen an intensification of the political polarization that has been building in American society for years.

American workers are angry, confused and deeply divided about what the problem is and how to go forward. Donald Trump won the electoral vote and is the president-elect, but Hillary Clinton won the popular vote. Thousands across the country are in the streets protesting against Trump; thousands would also have been in the streets if Clinton had won. Some have characterized the elections as a "cultural civil war." One observer said the elections were like a family going through a bitterly contested divorce, where the judge tells the child to choose which one she wants to live with, and the kid doesn't want to live with either one.

But this election has really been about direction: which way forward? That is why the real battleground is over consciousness, about winning over the hearts and minds of the American people. The reality is that every solution proposed by the candidates benefited the ruling class. To win the American people over to their program, the ruling class perpetuates the old ideas, drawing upon the worst aspects of American history, while at the same time testing just how far the people will go toward accepting a fascist political ideology. But these are new times and the battle is on for working class consciousness, a consciousness which understands the real cause of their dire circumstances and a path forward to solutions aligned with their actual interests. Revolutionaries play an indispensable role in winning the battle for the class to understand its common interests and itself as a class.

LIFE AND DEATH

What is at the bottom of all this? People entered into this process angry that their "lives are being wrecked" by the economy and demanding in one way or another that the government do something about it. What the people see every day on the ground is that the economy is not working for them. For many, there is increasingly no work at all. This is serious. This is life and death. If you don't have a job, how do you put food on the table for your children? How do you get health care for them when they are sick? How do you even provide a home for them?

This is why the people have been forced to turn to a government they hate to demand solutions to their plight. What they are coming to see, is the government serves the interests of a corporate ruling elite that has taken over the political system. Look at the options the campaigns for the presidency presented: a billionaire real estate speculator versus an open representative

of Wall Street and global capital.

From Ferguson to Flint to Standing Rock, we find the workers – those who are on the bottom, left out, excluded, passed over – fighting against the corporate takeover of every resource in society. How can we allow the privatization of water? It is a fundamental need for life itself. How can we allow the continuing violent attacks by a police force, especially directed at Black youth, who are an integral part of a new class rising up to demand that the basic needs of life be met? How can we allow the continuing attacks against our immigrant brothers and sisters?

THE REAL CAUSE

The need for livable wage jobs was the central demand put forth by American workers in this election. One has only to drive through the miles and miles of the rusted out mills and towns that were once the heart of the industrial Midwest to recognize that this gets to the very core of what is polarizing America. Or take a drive through Appalachia, where the extreme poverty is apparent in every shack alongside the roadway. Or look carefully at every center of our great cities to see the massive unemployment and its effects. Or travel through the heart of California and view the conditions of those who harvest the crops of the breadbasket of America.

But the ruling class and its politicians have been very skillful in steering the debate away from the real causes of this deep and ongoing economic crisis. Neither of the two candidates spoke about the real cause being the new technology based in electronics that no longer requires human labor. Go to any auto plant in America, or around the globe and you will see more robots than you do humans. Or go into any UPS or Amazon warehouse facility and you will see that human beings are hardly to be found. What is more, this process is accelerating exponentially. Today, driverless trucks are delivering beer in Colorado. The jobs of 3 million truck drivers are in peril. This electronic revolution is not going away and the jobs are not coming back. There is no way we can go back to a pre-electronic past.

How does American society deal with a broken economy brought on by laborless production? What is to become of a growing section of society which the capitalist class no longer needs? They are like the canary in the mine. Society as we have known it is being destroyed. Answering these questions is the real meaning of what these elections have been all about.

THE FIGHT FOR A COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

So how do we go forward? These times call for big solutions to big problems and people don't wage that kind of fight without hope. They can't win without a vision. The guiding



This is what this election was all about. The millions of workers who have been dispossessed, excluded and denied access to the necessities of life. These needs will only be met by creating a new cooperative society with distribution based on need. Photo by daymonjhartley.com

principle of the American dream is if you just work hard enough and don't give up, you can succeed. This principle has been dashed. The times now call for a political movement organized around a program that reflects the fight for the basic demands of this class, which is most imperiled by the current crisis.

Winning the battle for consciousness is decisive to the outcome. A class conscious of its interests and willing to act on those inter-

ests can politically turn the country in the direction of creating the new society, to solve the problems faced by the millions of workers who are displaced, dispossessed and excluded. This is the only option for our class – to be guided by the vision of a new cooperative society that is organized to distribute the abundance of society according to need. This is our cause, our fight and our vision for new America.

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The Fight for a New America is Underway

Inside Rally, Comrades!

“In this election, with this time, we’re going to have to pick one or the other. It’s kind of like picking chairs on the titanic. I’d rather have other options.”

“Neither one of them are watching out for us. They seem like they’re so involved in themselves. That we, as a people, don’t matter anymore.”

These statements made by laid off steelworkers in Ohio to a 60 Minutes interviewer right before the election capture the mood of Americans across the country. Millions were mobilized to vote for one or the other candidates, feeling as if they had been set adrift, unable to trust or believe in the candidates they were given, with nowhere else to turn. Faced with voting for one of the “twin evils” as one worker remarked, they either stayed home, threw their lot with a third party candidate, or held their noses and voted for one of the two main party candidates.

Yet these millions of disaffected workers, suffering from everything from permanent job loss to foreclosure, to massive college debt, know they are facing a different world. As one worker said, “The American Dream of a good job you have your whole life, a home, a family and kids, a pension, and retirement at a decent age” is all gone. After one of the most divisive campaigns in American history, the ruling class has made temporary progress toward its goal of insuring the working class does not unite against them. It fought to divide the class along color, gender, faith and national lines. It has measured how far the

American people will go toward accepting a fascist political ideology. In the coming weeks and months, the Trump administration will reveal its agenda, but as with his opponent, we can be sure it will not include redressing the grievances of the American working class.

Our cover “After the Elections: Which Way Forward?” shows how this election shined a light on the stark differences between the interests of our class and those of the ruling class. In an economy of robots, big data and smart technology, human labor is no longer needed. Yet those same advances offer the potential of a society that can provide everyone with all they need. The first step is to unify around our common class interests and to begin to act in those interests.

The remaining three articles in this issue are drawn from the August 2016 political report from the League of Revolutionaries for a New America, which analyze the elections and offer revolutionaries a perspective on the root cause of our problems, a vision of what’s possible and a strategy to get there.

“Political Crisis Today like No Other in American History,” shows how political parties have come and gone in America, reshaped and realigned to meet the needs of the economic system. Today, the new labor replacing technologies are changing the game, opening up the possibility of creating a society where everyone can have their needs met and no one has to go without. This is giving rise to a growing political crisis. The ruling class is fighting to maintain private property at all costs, while the working class in its desperate search to secure its means of survival can only obtain its ends through a complete transformation into a cooperative, communist society.

“The Rising Fascist Movement Makes Unity of the Class More Urgent,” shows us this rising fascist movement has to be viewed and understood within the lens of this new situation. Fascism is no longer based in an abstract ideology, but is based in the objective changes in the economy. The article examines how the so-called “left” and the “right” of the ruling class is objectively fascist. The State cannot disengage from the corporations and no one in the ruling class is advocating that. Their real target is the political system and the substitution of one State form of rule for another that will allow the full scope of private property interests to operate without restriction. This is so regardless of who is in the White House.

“Still Searching for Redress: Millions Seek New Vision,” shows that the millions of people who got involved in the elections in the hopes of resolving their problems are not going to go away simply because their candidate did not win. The American workers, even those who voted for Trump, will soon learn the bitter lessons of current realities.

The article further explains how the growing fight for the basic demands of life is challenging this fascist movement. Regardless of who they voted for, millions of workers are in fact fighting for a new society, where food, shelter, water, education, and a cultured existence does not depend on the ability to pay. Visionaries are already describing this new society. The advances of the new technology provide the means of achieving it.

The force of these unrealized demands is – and will continue – to exert relentless pressure on the political system. A practical, political fight for a new America is underway.

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EDITORIAL POLICY

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

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

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

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League of Revolutionaries for a New America

Tens of thousands of socially conscious people declare themselves revolutionaries in opposition to the degenerating social and economic conditions. The League’s mission is to unite these scattered revolutionaries on the basis of the demands of the new class, to educate and win them over to the cooperative, communist resolution of the problem.

The demands of this new impoverished class for food, housing, education, health care and an opportunity to contribute to society are summed up as the demand for a cooperative society. Such a society must be based on the public ownership of the socially necessary means of production and the distribution of the social product according to need.

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The *Rally, Comrades!* bilingual website provides online access to all issues of *Rally, Comrades!* It is a political resource for our readers, and provides up-to-date articles, statements and analysis of key questions of importance to revolutionaries.

Political Crisis Today Like No Other in American History

Today, the political party system is in crisis. A fundamental shift in the economy, brought on by technology that no longer requires human labor, has caused the elimination of millions of jobs, leaving the workers desperately searching for the necessities of life. Politically, there is a sense that the country has lost its way, and that it is headed in the wrong direction, with established political rulers either unable or unwilling to do anything about it. Ruptures in the prevailing political system are giving way to possible new third party attempts, as ruling class and the workers attempt to grapple with the profound political crisis.

At every stage of economic development in America, political parties have either been reshaped or realigned, or new parties have emerged to meet the changing needs of the economic system.

Today, qualitatively new means of production – labor replacing technology – have changed the game. The unprecedented instability and polarization created by this new technology is expressed in the electoral process today. Splits, shifting, and new political forms are inevitable, as the classes begin to struggle to shape society around their interests. The ruling class seeks a way to maintain private property at all costs, while the working class, in its desperate search to secure its means of survival, can only obtain their ends through the complete transformation of society on a new basis.

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

From the time of the founding of the American republic, from 1788 until the 1850s, the slave power dominated the political process. With the advent of the 19th century, there also came the introduction of a new technology, which had a profound effect upon the established agrarian economy. The steam-powered cotton gin provided the basis for an accelerated expansion of slavery and the production of cotton for a world market. In the North, steam-powered locomotives, printing presses, steamboats, and steam-powered factories transformed the means of production. The Erie Canal was built, along with new railroads that connected an industrializing East, with a rapidly expanding Midwest.

The economy based in industry stood in direct antagonism to a slave-based agrarian economy. That antagonism began to be expressed politically.

Prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, the two-party system began to fracture, and a variety of political parties emerged. The Republican Party arose not as a party of abolition, but it advocated a “free labor” economy built around the new technology representing Northern industry.

In 1859 John Brown, veteran of the battles over slave state or free in Kansas and Missouri, attacked the slave power at Harpers Ferry, demanding the abolition of slavery. The crisis in the economy and the resulting political crisis could not be resolved until there was that pole of clarity that expressed a new idea and a new cause. Harpers Ferry was that pole of clarity. The Civil War became inevi-

table, and in the course of the war abolition became its cause.

In 1860, the fractured political system allowed for the new third party, the Republican Party, to prevail. Abraham Lincoln was elected, followed by the secession of the Southern states and the outbreak of the Civil War. After the war, slavery was eventually abolished and the political system was realigned. However, by 1876 both political parties – the Republican Party and the Democratic Party – were dominated by Wall Street.

FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO TODAY

As the Civil War ended, followed by the overthrow of Reconstruction in the South, the shifting economic realignment necessitated a subsequent political realignment. Intertwined with the question of how the new laboring force in the South was to be controlled, was also the question of how the interests of Wall Street could best be served. Rule was returned to the planter class, but they became subordinate to Wall Street, and out of the debris of war emerged America’s first colony, the Black Belt South. Remaining an agrarian economy, the South tied the workers to the land through the development of the sharecropping system. The crop-lien system was the means by which colonial tribute was exacted from the Southern worker.

Populism arose during this period as a response to the stifling control imposed by finance and industrial capital in the North. The populist movement, developed in the South and throughout the Midwest, was a movement of sharecroppers, tenants and some workers, but it was also a movement of a dying class of small farmers. The Farmers Alliance was formed in the 1880s, including the Colored Alliance in the South.

Nationalization became a key element of the populist program. Nationalization of the monopolies and particularly the banks was intended, in order to preserve small business and the yeoman farmer. The ruling class used white supremacy to attack and control the populist movement by force, intimidation and terror. In this way, the ruling class was able to co-opt and defeat the populist movement, divide the workers, and pave the way for the creation of America’s first colony and a fascist State apparatus, which was kept in place for over 80 years.

In 1948 the U.S. was faced with becoming a global superpower and the question was how it was to expand its empire. This included how the direct colonies were to be dismantled and become new markets for U.S. capital and prevent these new markets from going over to the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union.

In this context, Harry Truman began to put forward policies that opposed segregationist rule. The U.S. could not appear on the world stage as a champion of national liberation movements, while at the same time Jim Crow segregation prevailed in the American South. Additionally, desegregation was necessary for the industrialization of the South. Truman ordered an end to racial discrimination in the military, created

the Fair Employment Practices Commission, proposed anti-lynching laws and supported the elimination of poll taxes. In response, Strom Thurmond formed the States Rights Democratic Party (Dixiecrats), to oppose desegregation.

In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed, immediately followed in 1965 by the Voting Rights Act. This was also when Barry Goldwater carried five Deep South states as a Republican – the first time since the overthrow of Reconstruction.

In 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party attended the Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City and demanded to be seated as the true representatives of the Democratic Party. They were finally seated at the 1968 convention in Chicago. At the same time, George Wallace ran as the candidate of the American Independent Party. During this period we see adjustments and shifting in both political parties. From Nixon to Reagan, the Republican Party launched a “southern strategy,” learning from the candidacy of George Wallace and came to be the dominant political party in the South. The Democratic Party was transformed as well. The old New Deal liberal party became the party of Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton.

LEAP TO A NEW SOCIETY

Ours is also a time of economic and political crisis. But this political crisis is like no other in American history. The changes in the political party system, from before the Civil War until now, represent adjustments

to the quantitative developments of a capitalist economy as it has passed through its various stages. The Civil War period reflected the profound shift that was occurring, which was changing from an agrarian and slave-labor economy to an industrial and wage-labor economy.

All of human history and society up until now can be seen as stages of different forms of property. What lies at the basis of the crisis today is a leap from one quality to another, from one form of private property to the abolition of private property altogether. The introduction of technology that requires no human labor displaces millions of workers permanently from production, which irreparably destroys wage-labor capitalism. This antagonism unleashes instability and disruption in its wake, heaping up untold wealth on the side of private property and untold deprivation and want on the side of a new class of workers created by electronics.

This fundamental struggle developing between the classes was not settled in the 2016 election, but the election did place on the agenda the urgent questions: Which way can we go forward, what are we to do, what is the solution? Ultimately, there are only two options. Either communism based on the robot, or fascism based on the robot.

Political Report of the Central Body of the LRNA, August 2016. Edited for publication, November 2016.

How Rally, Comrades! Explains Our Struggle A reader shares experiences

My best use of the *Rally* is giving individual articles to people when we are talking about politics. It means I have to study the articles and make “talking points.” For instance there are several general things that people discuss and if I know in the article where to make a link, I can take it out of my pocket and point right to it saying, “This article really helped me understand... here you can have it, I have another.”

I also give people *Rally* articles as they refer to discussions we have had in the past. For instance, my acupuncturist and I were talking and she wanted more information on the Civil War, what were the economic questions behind it and so forth. I was able to give her the article “Analysis of Forces” (January 2016), with advice that this gives more depth to our discussion. This article I still use a lot. So I gave another person I know the article “European Union and Social Democracy” (May 2016), when they asked me about the socialism of Western Europe. Another was interested in Black Lives Matter and I gave her “Fascism, the US Presidential Elections,” (which is also a very good article for many other questions). The articles on Flint (July 2016) are excellent for giving out after Flint, water or public health (single payer) meetings.

I try to carry a few *Rally*’s with me to give to the people I work with, who have more questions or want to discuss matters more thoroughly.

The *Rally* articles are very helpful to me. I frequently say to myself, “I am so lucky to have access to them.”

— League member, Baltimore, Maryland

The Rising Fascist Movement in the U.S. Makes

Today, our starting point has to be the qualitatively new conditions – a leap in the economy and the consequent dissolution of the economic system and its relations. The battle emerging today is who will control the State. The ruling class has to control the State if they are going to protect private property. The workers have to control the State if they are going to gain control of their lives. That struggle is not “fight the right.” That implies supporting one section of the capitalist class against another. We are dealing with the beginning stages of revolution.

The modern fascist movement is arising on the foundation of the antagonism between the qualitatively new means of production and the productive relations of capitalism. In the past, the political right and left expressed definite sections of the capitalist class. Today, there is no objective foundation for a split in the ruling class, as there was in past periods. Under the conditions of today, the struggle is between two hostile classes, rather than between two groups within the ruling class. The State cannot disengage from the corporations, and no one in the ruling class is advocating that. Objectively, both the “left” and the “right” of the ruling class are fascist.

Of course, there is an ideological right and people drift in and out as they choose. There are all kinds of ideas being put forward, and they are beginning to get into dangerous and sometimes violent motion. They are dangerous and must be fought. Be we do not confuse the “right wing” ideological groupings, with the stable fascist political groups that are based in the economy – Wall Street, the international banking and financial system, the transnational corporations, the military-industrial complex, the rising power of the technology corporations. As serious revolutionaries we must concentrate our fire at the fascist center of gravity, while participating in the “battle for the streets.”

The key thing is revolutionaries must develop different tactics to fight a fascism that is based in the economy than a fascism that is based on abstract ideology.

Fascism today seeks to facilitate a whole new world based on private property without capitalism. The real target of the conscious fascist core is the political system – the substitution of one State form for another, that will allow the full scope of private property interests to operate without restriction.

FASCIST POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The merger of the State and the corporations is the economic foundation for fascism as a political movement and for a fascist political revolution. As the economic base is transformed, the social and political superstructure that rests on and reflects that base must also be transformed. The growing economic crisis is bound to bring on a political crisis. The developing crisis is distinguished by the impossibility of maintaining the existing democratic structure, with the qualitatively new foundation that is being created. It will be in their fight to make the leap from a capitalist system that is dissolving to a new order still based in private property, that the ruling class

will fight for new political forms.

The process of revolution is a leap from one quality to another. It goes through stages of development and proceeds dialectically. First, there is an economic revolution based in qualitatively new means of production. The stages of the economic revolution are the basis and context for the development of the social revolution that is the polarization and destruction of the existing society. As it goes through its stages of development, the social revolution gives rise to a struggle to reorganize so-

“Fascism today seeks to facilitate a whole new world based on private property without capitalism. The real target of the conscious fascist core is the political system – the substitution of one State form for another, that will allow the full scope of private property interests to operate without restriction.”

ciety around the new means of production. The struggle is finally settled through political revolution – the overthrow of the existing order and the victors achieving the political power to reorganize society around the new means of production in their class interests.

These stages and the motion within them develop dialectically – introduction of the new quality, polarization, the separation and untangling of the tendencies that held the process together and the struggle to form new polarities.

History teaches us that a ruling class is capable of conforming to changing economic foundations to remain a ruling class. The feudal class in Europe transformed itself into the land-owning section of the ruling class. In Japan, they transformed themselves from feudal lords to become the industrial section of the ruling class. Their content was to remain a ruling class. We do not know what today’s ruling class will become, but they have to endorse change – and unite around that change – in order to remain a ruling class.

The ruling class is undergoing precisely this kind of transformation today, just as the U.S. and the entire world economy is undergoing transformation. The ruling class is transitioning from a ruling class that depends on the buying and selling of labor power to secure its surplus value, to a ruling class based in a system of private property without capitalism.

For example, during the Nazi era, the form of fascism was the total domination of the State by monopoly corporations, operating through the Hitler dictatorship. All bourgeois democratic legalities and formalities were abolished. The State power guaranteed markets for private corporations and generally stabilized the economy temporarily through conquest and war, during the extreme cyclical crisis of the 1930s.

What is different today is the content of fascism. In the 1930s the capitalist system remained untouched and even strengthened. Today the capitalist system is at its end. Automation is ending the buying and selling of labor power and making capitalist commodity circulation impossible. The economy cannot continue to function without widespread government intervention. This means ensuring fascist political control of the State and fascist repression of the working class movement.

ic or moral responsibility for the well-being of its people.

These ideas are providing the intellectual justification for fascism. But the ruling class must take another step and it must bring a section of the working class with it. In order to do this, the ruling class itself has to unite around fascism as a political solution – the need to overturn the system of democracy altogether and complete the erection of a fascist State. The ruling class has to develop some kind of “general line” that binds it together through a united recognition of the need for such changes. The elections revealed the beginnings of the subjective struggle for that kind of unity.

Many quantitative changes have taken place in the realm of the economy and society. The expansion of the powers of the State apparatus has laid the foundation for the leap to a fascist political revolution. It will take the introduction of something new to make this leap. The importance of the bitter battles taking place among the ruling class over how they will carry out their program is part of the struggle to coalesce a fascist movement that reflects these new conditions.

CRISIS IN PARTY SYSTEM

The Republican Party is not able to contain the ongoing polarization taking place within its ranks. The emergence of Trump left a section of Republican “conservatives,” including influential foreign policy neoconservatives, supporting Clinton. Some forces within the Tea Party backed Trump, others did not. The religious right is divided on whether to support Trump.

Trump’s chauvinistic, race-baiting and anti-globalization agitation assisted the ruling class in the short term to divide the workers and divert them from their real interests. However, in the long term the ruling class will not allow policies to continue that contradict their general class interests. The program of the ruling class is unrestricted access to markets around the world, not protectionism. This includes the inevitability of war as the means to enforce those interests and the complete control over the movement, and access to labor (not walls, or blanket policies based on color, religion, or nationality). It has to deal with a multi-national and multi-colored global ruling class. The U.S. ruling class operates in a world economy and cannot be seen as the leaders of a “white man’s America.” It has to give credence to U.S. claims that it is a country the rest of the world can trust and, more importantly, with whom they can conduct trade relations.

Clinton attracted some of the break-away forces in the Republican Party because she represented what they already agree with, or what they were already coming to agree with. She represented what is necessary for furthering the program of the ruling class – advancing the process of globalization; the dominance of speculative capital; the aggressive assertion of U.S. geopolitical interests in the struggle for economic and geopolitical dominance; and the use of armed intervention and war, all in the ef-

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Unity of the Class More Urgent

fort to protect the system of private property.

Time will tell whether these shifts in party affiliation will remain intact, or what form further changes might take, including the emergence of third parties. Regardless, the direction is clear. Polarization is eliminating the center. The ruling class has no choice but to continue to align itself to this process of polarization, and to change the political system, in order to protect private property and its position as a ruling class.

OVERTHROWING DEMOCRACY

The foundation of democracy in America has been the relatively wide scale ownership of property. This foundation is being destroyed, as polarization has created a mass of impoverished workers and concentrated most wealth and property in the hands of a few ultra-wealthy billionaires. Restrictions on democracy for this growing new class of workers, regardless of color, continue to seep throughout the political system.

Restrictions on and barriers to exercising the right to vote, the unrestricted influx of money to buy political positions, denying the right of communities to pass laws to protect themselves against corporations (emergency managers, minimum wage protections, fracking, TPP) are widespread. These can be added to the broader gutting of constitutional protections, the escalating violence and the expanded legal powers of the police, and their fusion with the State police forces and the military.

Throughout the capitalist world, democracy extended to one section of the world's working class always rested on the imposition of fascism on the other. In its fascist rule in the Black Belt South (the first US colony) and in the colonies and the neo-colonies, the ruling class gained extensive experience with how to rule through a fascist State. The intellectual foundation for this rule has been the use of genocide, racial violence, class exploitation and oppression. The ruling class is adjusting its ideology to the new conditions, feeling its way towards a more fully formed fascist political ideology, with new fascist forms of government and State power.

Stymied by a gridlocked Congress and an increasingly resistant American people, individual billionaires, such as Gates, Soros, Rockefeller, and the Koch Brothers and their like, work nationally and internationally to directly implement social, economic, and political policies. Numerous think tanks, foundations and NGOs have intervened openly or covertly to influence and subvert the economic and political life of other nations.

In the U.S., the example of Michigan is a harbinger of what we are describing. The Emergency Manager system established in Michigan provided a test case for the possibilities and consequences for the elimination of democracy. This included private meetings among big capitalists to determine how to grab the assets of Michigan cities, by overturning the constitutional principle of elected government. This was the step necessary to clear the way to privatize the public assets of the communities affected. This ruling class rejection of democracy also included ignoring

the political will of Michigan residents, who voted down the Emergency Manager Law using a statewide ballot referendum. Then the Michigan legislature simply passed a similar Emergency Manager Law by tweaking the original law and also making the new law repeal proof. The ruling class also went to great lengths to silence local leaders, such as Rev. Edward Pinkney, who remains incarcerated for voter fraud, despite the fact that no evidence of wrong-doing was ever presented.

Deepening distrust of the two political parties and of the government itself also helps to fuel the trend toward fascism. A Pew Survey Center survey conducted in 2015 found that only 19% of Americans trust the federal government most of the time, 74% think elected officials put their own interests first, and 55% believe that ordinary people could do the job better. The political rise of Donald Trump and the victory of Brexit were all warning signs for the ruling class. These movements assisted the ruling class in some of their goals by spreading disunity among the workers, creating a certain oscillation toward national unity, etc., but, if carried too far, they can damage ruling class interests overall. The ruling class cannot allow a growing class of propertyless workers to make decisions that affect either national or global interests of the ruling class.

“The scattered struggles for clean and affordable water, food, clothing, housing, healthcare and education is the fight taking place against fascism today. It needs a vision and a strategy. Revolutionaries can and must provide this.”

A MASS BASE FOR FASCISM

Trump's candidacy provided the ruling class with an opening to present fascism as a political solution to the American people. It also offered an opportunity to obscure the realities of fascism and disorient those who oppose fascism. The discussion divorced fascism from its economic foundations and its class nature. The solutions presented were to reform the capitalist system and strengthen bourgeois democracy. By presenting Trump as the “fascist” and Clinton as upholding bourgeois democracy, the ruling class was able to further mask the realities of the modern fascist movement.

The ruling class faces many contradictions in achieving its goals. It must achieve national unity among a section of the working class to carry out its program, while at the same time its program requires imposing greater austerity and suffering on the working class as a whole. It must maintain, in the minds of the workers, the idea of “individual responsibility” for their plight, while at the same time it is apparent that millions are in the same situation. It has to sustain the all-class

unity of “racial groups,” while the integration of these groups into their respective classes is now almost complete. It has to continually agitate along racial lines, while the inevitable “white backlash” hurts its standing in the world. It has to uphold the elite of the various identity groups, while these elites have separated themselves from the masses. It has to guarantee the capitalists' continued access to immigrant labor, while it continues its attacks against immigrants, particularly the undocumented. It promotes all-class white unity to separate the white worker from the rest of the new class of workers, while the destruction of the bribery and social privileges once extended to white workers is showing the common equality of poverty shared by the entire class. It has to build a mass base for fascism out of these contradictions.

The ruling class understands – even if the workers do not – that the growing breadth of the equality of poverty is the objective basis for a previously divided class, to reach political unity now. It has to adjust to protect its class interests under the new conditions. The ruling class continues to use “color racism” to escalate its attacks on the Black masses, to isolate them and by so doing, divide and weaken the entire class. At the same time, it is developing a new form of racism, rooted in the worst of American history, but adapted to new conditions.

The ruling class makes use of every opportunity to guarantee this polarization takes place in its interests and in defense of its program. It strikes “where the iron is hot.” It takes advantage of every upsurge and every battle, to turn the thinking of the people in their direction. The ruling class is using the elections to agitate the working class along the lines of its program. It is propagandizing millions of people to accept its basic fascist tenets. It is using the elections to shore up belief in the capitalist system even beyond party lines and to garner support for the future society it envisions.

The Republican Party played an instrumental role in ideologically agitating the working class toward fascist solutions and further dividing the class through attacks on workers of all colors. Donald Trump's openly racist, nativist, chauvinist and anti-democratic views incited violence and hatred among white workers against workers of color and against workers of other countries. At the same time, his message crossed class, as well as color and national lines.

The Democratic Party also furthered a mass base for fascism, although in different ways. The Democratic Party pledged to protect the interests of Wall Street, the military industrial complex, and global capital. They stand on the notion of American Exceptionalism, an imperialist, chauvinist ideology. They have been able to get people to accept the unspeakable treatment of the undocumented, the expansion of the powers of the national political police, targeted assassinations, drone warfare and black sites, to name a few. The policy of uninterrupted war throughout the world has been created and supported by the Democrats and in many cases carried through by Clinton herself. These building blocks of a fascist State and society cannot be obscured by the continuing claims to “liberal” politics of toleration, American values and so forth.

While the ruling class is crafting all of this – a vast apparatus of control, disorientation and repression – it cannot stop the objective process that the qualitatively new means of production has set in motion, the process of polarization within society, and the objective striving of the class to overturn their conditions and set the world right.

SEEDS OF CLASS AWARENESS

More importantly for the future, we can see that a class-based position is emerging among the ranks of the new class, as the workers struggle for the basic necessities of life and on myriad fronts against the destruction of their lives. Revolutionaries must grab hold

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Join the Discussion!

LRNA political reports offer revolutionaries a fresh perspective! They offer analysis and vision, and outline a strategy to achieve that vision. Share them with your friends and other revolutionaries, get together and talk about the ideas. Spread the vision of a new world and the possibility of achieving it. Join us!

Still Searching for Redress: *Millions Seek New Vision*

As we have noted elsewhere, electronic production is replacing human labor and creating a new class of workers. The participation of broad sections of this new class in the 2016 Sanders Democratic Party primary election campaign created an important opportunity for the development of its consciousness. The class achieves its political independence in a series of partial and necessary stages. Its motion in and around the Sanders campaign expressed an undeniable impulse to break with the Democratic Party. The Sanders message drew in a wide range of political forces. In addition to dispossessed workers fighting for their immediate demands, union leaders, workers, business owners, bourgeois political operatives, leftists, and “left wing populists” of various stripes and tendencies were drawn to his message.

Revolutionaries always unite with these kinds of impulses and use propaganda to raise consciousness and influence political direction. Revolutionaries enter this motion the same way they enter any motion, on the basis of a fight for unity around the concrete demands of the class for jobs, housing, health care, and education.

NATIONALIZATION IN WHOSE INTERESTS?

In the current economy there is no way to ensure the basic needs of the people without a government takeover of the corporations and their transformation into public property. The demand for nationalization is nothing new in America. Populism has always included calls for nationalization, especially the movement around the People’s Party of the 1890s. The People’s Party explicitly called for nationalization of public necessities such as banks, transportation, and communications systems and an end to monopolization of land and natural resources for speculative purposes.

The populist movement of 120 years ago was essentially led by small farmers, who were doomed to elimination as a class. As a result, its demands for nationalization had no possibility of success. Capitalism as a system at that time still had the whole world to win. The situation today is different. With the introduction of electronic production, capitalism is approaching its demise. The new class of workers is growing by leaps and bounds. The battle over nationalizing under these conditions will be an especially heated front in the developing class struggle, not over whether to nationalize, but over in whose interest to nationalize.

On the one hand workers need nationalization of the socially necessary means of production in order to make and distribute the necessities of life. On the other hand, corporations need nationalization to guarantee increased profit in the face of declining demand, when workers are laid off as they are replaced by robots.

“Corporate nationalization” takes the form of government intervention like that of 2008-09, when it rescued the banking and auto industries before delivering them back into the hands of their investors and corporate owners. It also takes the form of Obamacare, where it guarantees the private insurance market, by requiring people to buy from it. Counter-

“Whether they turned their backs on the Democratic Party or sought third party alternatives, millions are playing a part in opening the way for the political independence from the ruling class, and with it, the first step toward achieving a lasting resolution to their problems.”

intuitively, “privatization” is also a form of nationalization. When government functions are turned over to private corporations, they become organized around demands of maximum profit instead of human needs. The government is reduced to the purchaser and becomes a guaranteed consumer.

Education, prisons, police, and even the military become part of a State apparatus controlled entirely by private companies. The Trans-Pacific Partnership would go even further, by not only handing over of public services to private monopolies, but also subjecting sovereign governments to private corporate tribunals empowered by the TPP.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SANDERS’ CAMPAIGN

While not diminishing the enormous significance of his primary campaign, it is important to note that in spite of Sanders’s self-description as a socialist, his program contained little of socialism at all. Real socialism would mean all socially necessary means of production and distribution are

made into public property by the government.

Sanders’s platform was generally one of incrementally increased government regulation and government programs, rather than an actual socialist transition. His calls to break up the banks, to eliminate “conflicts of interest” in the Fed and to expand government housing funds all fell short of real nationalization in the interests of the people. Sanders’s health care plan – the single payer Medicare-for-All proposal, was the closest to nationalization, since it would replace private insurers with a single government agency.

The significance of the Sanders campaign was not his platform, but his message and above all the response to that message. His stirring call for a political revolution mobilized millions of people. They are still searching for redress from their deteriorating economic and social situation. Whether they turned their backs on the Democratic Party or sought third party alternatives, they are furthering the polarization that is opening the way for the political independence of the class.

The significance of the Sanders campaign was that it opened up a schism in the Democratic Party that Clinton and the party cannot repair. Combined with the Republican polarization around Trump, the result is a destabilization of the two-party system, not seen since the nineteenth century.

DEMANDS OF THE NEW CLASS SHAPE THE FUTURE

There is no question that the driving force behind the Sanders campaign was the existence and growth of the new class of workers, even though its demands were not well reflected in his platform. A recent Gallup poll found that among workers aged 20 to 36 (the so-called Millennials), some 55% had a favorable opinion of Sanders, compared to 38% for Clinton and 22% for Trump. For many of these workers, their gravitation to Sanders stemmed to a significant extent, from their class position. These workers make up only 25% of the population, yet hold 40% of student debt, make up 40% of the unemployed, and 60% of workers earning minimum wage.

Thousands of people involved in this motion call themselves revolutionaries. Their demands are for food, housing, health care and education. They are without the means to pay for any of these things, which makes these revolutionary demands. If production is carried out without wages, then the means of life has to be distributed without money. These demands strike at the very heart of the capitalist system.

The impulse towards unity among these workers reflects the impulse toward class unity that arises out of the common interests rooted in the fight for the basic necessities. The ruling class is intent on breaking this up. Revolutionaries have to be equally intent on consolidating it through introducing consciousness of class interests, a vision of a cooperative communist society that can truly redress their grievances, a strategy to get there.

The new battles are being carried on by a new type of revolutionary, who is practical, not ideological. There is an objective foundation for people to unite. This is undermining all the old ideologies that have been used to divide the class. These new forces are very solid in what they understand and what they are doing. They lack a strategy that reflects the new situation and they fall prey to simply fighting the tactics of the enemy. They lack an ideology that reflects the new situation. Therefore they are in constant danger of falling victim to the ideology of the very people they are fighting. Revolutionaries must throw everything we can into this fight for the unity of the class.

The lesson is that the role of the revolutionaries is to participate in these processes, no matter what or where they turn out to be, and through every stage, keep in mind that the goal is the political formation of the new class. This means fighting everywhere for the next step in the practical battles for basic necessities and the political formations that will advance those battles at every stage.

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Rising Fascist Movement... (Continued from page 5)

of and develop these arising seeds of class awareness, no matter how contradictory and embryonic they are.

The resistance is spreading. It is increasingly a resistance directed against the State’s interference with the circulation of the necessities of life. The publicity around Flint Michigan has exposed the class to the realities of the political system and those who rule it. Deliberate decisions were made to advance the merger of the corporations and the government, despite the knowledge that these decisions would permanently disable and possibly kill the residents of Flint regardless of color. It has exposed the realities of the pilot project of the ruling class to eliminate democracy and the consequences of fascism.

The same process is taking place throughout America. The scattered struggles of the new class of workers for clean and affordable water, food, clothing, housing, healthcare and education all have a common cause. Combined, they are politically summed up as a program for nationalization in the interests of the people. Public access to clean and safe wa-

ter means the nationalization of the nation’s water supply, just as public control of quality healthcare and housing and free, quality public education require nationalization in the interests of society and not the private interests of the corporate few. While these struggles still need to coalesce, they are not as scattered anymore. Broader swathes of American people are being affected and they are beginning to demand the government solve their problems. This is the fight taking place against fascism today. It needs a vision and a strategy. Revolutionaries can and must provide this.

Such common cause allows our class to develop an identity as a class. In the fight for its most basic needs, our class can begin to see its self-interests as a class. These struggles allow for the breaking of the historical ties to the ruling class, freeing our class to put forward its independent political program that represents its class interests.