



The Main Political Report of Liberation Road/El Camino Para La Liberación

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SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTION

The following paper is the 2022 Main Political Report (MPR) of Liberation Road, a socialist organization, and offers our general assessment of current conditions. We welcome your thoughts and remarks about this document at info@roadtoliberation.org. Visit our website (roadtoliberation.org) to engage with a rich array of materials concerning our ideological basis, the political period, and our organizing tools and methodologies.

SECTION 2 - PURPOSE AND FOCUS OF THIS REPORT

In the political reports that Liberation Road prepares before each of our triennial congresses, we outline major societal contradictions and developments of a given moment, while trying not to get too bogged down in the particular. The 2021-22 Main Political Report seeks to analyze the major political developments which will have direct implications for Liberation Road's 2022-2025 strategic orientation, rather than attempting to address every significant development in today's global and domestic struggles.

The 2021-2022 MPR uses the United Front framework from 2016 and 2019 to update our understanding of shifts in the balance of forces and in key trends and alignments, mainly in the U.S. but also internationally. In general, there are four guidelines we find helpful in analyzing and building any strategic united front:

- Identify, develop and consolidate the advanced forces
- Identify and win over the intermediate forces
- Identify and tactically ally with, isolate, or neutralize the backward forces, and
- Identify and defeat enemy forces one by one

The main focus of this document is on our common enemy, the New Confederacy, its agenda, and the emerging united front against it. We will identify the characteristics of the three distinct sections (advanced, intermediate, and backward) of the united front, and sketch out the various forces that make up each section. We will examine how the New Confederacy has developed during the Trump presidency, the pandemic, and after the January 6th insurrection. We will look at how the people's forces have risen to meet this threat: who are the advanced elements, and how are they organizing to push beyond resistance to building power? Which groups have come together to battle the New Confederacy, and with what challenges and outcomes so far?

Finally, the purpose of this document for Liberation Road members is to provide general analysis on key developments within the U.S. and abroad that have direct strategic implications for Liberation Road's 2022-2025 Strategic Orientation.

SECTION 3 - SUMMARY OF GLOBAL TRENDS

3.1 The Pandemic, its Politics and Increased Global Polarization

Along with record-setting natural disasters related to climate change, 2020 was marked by a once in 100-year pandemic that exacerbated compounding economic and political crises, class contradictions, and contradictions between dominant and dominated nations. Widespread political realignment and mass demonstrations on the left and right arose in response. COVID19 isn't going anywhere anytime soon, and its impacts will reverberate for decades to come. Furthermore, there is a growing consensus that ongoing climate devastation will increase the likelihood of future epidemics and pandemics.

The response to COVID19 has been characterized by:

- A nationalism employed by some imperialist economic centers (e.g., the U.S. and the EU) to stockpile materials and resources (e.g., equipment, vaccines, etc.) while denying or severely limiting the access of nations and people of the Global South to those same materials and resources;
- The disastrous impacts of the privatizing and decentralizing features of neoliberalism, and the historical effects of imperialism in general, on healthcare systems, vaccine distribution, employment and living standards. .
- The politicization of everything concerning the pandemic and any measures to mitigate it, including: who is an essential worker and why; whether mask wearing and social distancing are lifesaving or an infringement on individual rights; who dies the most and why; which populations and nations get vaccinated first; the U.S. demonization of China, and so on.

3.2 The Deterioration of the Neoliberal Order

While neoliberalism maintains its dominance, the neoliberal order continues to break down. Among the factors undermining the neoliberal consensus are the failures of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars; the Latin American "pink tide" which challenged neoliberalism's devastation of that continent; the loss in legitimacy of the big three global institutions (World Trade Organization, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund) that were supposed to facilitate liberalization of economies across the world; the acceleration of extreme domestic and global economic inequality; the Arab Spring and Occupy movements; Brexit; and the Trump election.

Over the past year the pandemic has hastened the exposure of this dominant order's limits and decay. The collapsing consensus and associated crises have created openings for competing world views rooted in dominated and dominating classes and class fractions, including: attempts to revive neoliberalism; neo-Keynesian efforts to address rampant inequality and better accommodate capital accumulation; predominantly white right-wing populist movements that are anti-elite and scapegoat "the other" in their response to the steep decline of living conditions; progressive responses to the climate crisis and systemic racism/sexism; and, at least in the U.S., a persistent increase of interest in new "socialist" solutions to the ravages of neoliberalism.

3.3 Global Populist and Popular Trends

Right-wing populist currents and regimes remain the dominant global trend and have strengthened - and in many cases consolidated - with a growing neo-fascist tendency within them. However, there has also been a rise in left-wing popular movements, including the global movement against climate change; left leaning electoral movements in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico; and broad-based popular movements against police brutality and femicide. For trends on both the left and the right, a greater emphasis on the choice of democracy or anti-democracy is emerging as the crisis of political legitimacy grows. In many cases, the organized socialist Left within these popular movements remains relatively small and disunited. *Note: Much was said in Liberation Road's 2019 MPR about the conditions and characterizations of both right-wing populist movements and left-wing popular movements ([see sections 5, 6 and 7](#)).*

3.4 Intensifying Global Crises in the U.S. Context

For many years, The Road has held that the turmoil and volatility in our economy, the rapidly intensifying threats to our ecology, and the weakening of the U.S. empire and its political legitimacy are converging into a longer-term crisis of capitalist rule. In addition to these related crises, an ideological crisis is emerging as the neoliberal consensus collapses and competing ideas arise about the way forward for capital. As a result, we see the development of broad resistance movements and power-building efforts, on the left and the right, that are fortifying themselves with resources, infrastructure, and ideology.

Despite the depth and breadth of intersecting crises, we are far from a revolutionary period. We lack a popular bloc of millions organized and poised to create a sharp break with the capitalist way; we lack an organized nationwide left leadership capable of bringing such a bloc into being; and the ruling class is far from having lost its grip on the repressive, economic, and ideological apparatuses of the capitalist state.

However, opportunities for progressive advances exist today which have not for many years, and the stakes are high for the left and progressives to either capitalize on them or risk sliding into white authoritarian rule, or worse, neo-fascism.

The Crisis of Economy

In addition to some of the reasons cited in section 3.2, the decay of neoliberal consensus in the United States has been marked by a rising rejection from popular struggles of people of color across class and working people across race against core tenets of neoliberalism's logic such as hyper individualism and the conception of the state's main role as tending to the freedom of economic markets. In addition, young people across class, race and geography are breaking with traditional (conservative religious) values as they pertain to race, gender, and sexuality. Fueling these rejections have been the disproportionate impacts of the pandemic on working people in general and people of color in particular, the Black Lives Matter moment of racial reckoning spurred by the Black Freedom movement, and the rise of the right-wing populist movement.

Despite not being in a revolutionary period, we are in a period when a new consensus is possible within capitalism, a consensus which—depending on the progress of the class struggle and the left's (organized, self-conscious actors and forces opposed to capitalism) ability to take advantage of current openings—may be more democratic, more attentive to social welfare, and less repressive and reactionary than what we have experienced under neoliberalism. This is possible in part due to the growth of popular discontent with capitalism leading to a shift in the balance of forces in the class struggle; the effects of the pandemic's exposure of neoliberalism's limitations; the emergence of significant contradictions among capitalists; and the persistent and inevitable crises of capitalist overaccumulation and overproduction.

The Crisis of Ecology

The signs of impending climate disaster have continued to come in rapid succession and greater intensity over the past three years: raging wild fires across Australia and the American Southwest; successive storms crippling an already crumbling U.S. energy/utility infrastructure; early European heat waves 20 degrees above normal temperatures followed by extreme cold; a June heat wave producing 121-degree temperatures in British Columbia; coral reef die-offs; the expansion of the North Atlantic "cold blob" leading to detectable changes in the Gulf Stream; and the pandemic itself.

For some beyond the enviro/eco movements and the left, the pandemic has raised questions about the roles of industrial agriculture, destruction of natural habitat, urbanization, and climate-driven mass migrations in exposing humans to new infectious and deadly viruses. As the World Health Organization (WHO) has stated, "most emerging infectious diseases, and almost all recent pandemics, originate in wildlife, and there is evidence that increasing human pressure on the natural environment may drive disease emergence." Popular concern about the climate change threat has grown because of people's increasing experiences with disastrous weather phenomena, and political leaders like AOC and organizations such as Sunrise are mobilizing that concern and finally getting a hearing at many levels of government.

Although extractive capitalists are fighting tooth and nail to maintain their position as major players in the hegemonic capitalist bloc in the face of rising renewable energies and growing popular demands to phase out fossil fuels, the ecological crisis has caused large sectors of capital—including the auto industry and even extractive industries themselves—to finally take steps to reduce carbon emissions. Suffice to say their efforts are piecemeal and insufficient as they are still more concerned with fighting for market advantage and against falling profits.

The Crisis of Empire and Political Legitimacy

The crisis of empire is marked in this period by U.S. economic and political competition with China; Russia's open military and political challenges to the U.S. through proxy wars in the Middle East, the annexation of Crimea, and diplomatic gamesmanship such as that with vaccine distribution; Western imperial powers' perpetual war on terror and its impact in countries like Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan; and growing contradictions within an emergent transnational capitalist class and between that class and various national capitalist class fractions ([see Liberation Road's 2019 Main Political Report, section 9, for some initial thoughts on the emergent transnational capitalist class](#)). The U.S. decline in global status is part of a trend towards a multi-polar world where the United States is in more open competition for resources, trade partnerships among nation states, markets for consumer goods, and opportunities for investment. Many dominated nations are looking for, and in some cases finding, alternatives to U.S. political meddling and U.S.-controlled banking institutions and corporations.

U.S. - China Relations

Without a doubt one of the biggest developments in this period has been China's rise as an economic and political competitor and alternative to the United States (alternative as in different - more analysis is needed to determine in what ways it might be better or not). China has presented an alternative model of how global capitalism can be conducted and organized, marked by its use of science and empirical data to guide medium to long-term planning and the idea that state intervention at all levels of society can have positive results. This is not to assert that China is perfect or wade into the debate about the contradictions and shortfalls of the Chinese state and economy. A great deal of analysis has been done of China's integration into global capitalism and the development of a Chinese capitalist class fraction consisting of more billionaires than those in the U.S. and India combined; there is also a great deal of debate about the implications of these developments for China's socialist prospects.

At the same time, there are clear examples of China's presentation of an alternative to the Global North in general and the U.S. in particular. Once China acknowledged the dangers of COVID 19, the Chinese government began providing vaccines at scale and providing medical personnel and resources to address the pandemic to countries whose needs were ignored by the U.S., Britain, and Canada. China's deep investment in technological developments and acquisition of patents have gained international notice. Finally, China has established and now administers global

finance institutional alternatives to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that offer countries in the global South better terms relative to private U.S. lenders and the IMF.

All of the above, and more, shows the U.S. losing its grip on global hegemony. Clearly the U.S. is under pressure with a declining empire, and just as clearly it is fighting to maintain its dominance. These realities provide some insight into actions like the encirclement of China by “the Quad” (United States, Australia, India, and Japan) and the Biden administration’s retention of the China-centered foreign policies of Trump and Obama.

The crisis of political legitimacy (the domestic side of the crisis of empire) is marked by:

- The widespread perception that the Iraq and Afghanistan wars have been failures, thus limiting the U.S.’s ability to garner popular support for future military interventions.
- The U.S. capitalist state’s failure to adequately address rolling crises during the last 20 years; in particular, the widespread perception that the government has failed as a mechanism for a fair division of services and resources, failed to provide a social safety net, and failed to stem the tide of rampant economic inequality.
- The continuing exposures of police violence towards people of color, exhibiting for all to see the white supremacist foundations of the repressive apparatuses of the state.
- The direct domination and corruption of politics by capital; the right-wing takeover of the Supreme Court; the intensification of gerrymandering and voter suppression; the takeover of one of the two major capitalist parties by right-wing populism; and the general lack of accountability and transparency of political leaders, parties and institutions.
- The breakdown in political legitimacy, which contributes to the prominent role of social media as a democratic space whose overlords have been forced to recognize it as such. Thus social media has become a site of active contestation across many social blocs from national to local levels, and we can expect this feature of the period to intensify.

Finally, the January 6th insurrection was a major turning point in the U.S. crisis of political legitimacy, as it consolidated both an outlier section of the white authoritarian bloc and the bloc as a whole—all while putting on global display the fragility of the U.S. democratic electoral system.

The Crisis of Ideology

In ruling circles there is currently no dominant conception of the next phase of capital accumulation and a corresponding political order, no unified program to accomplish it, and no coherent ideological logic to facilitate it. The idea that neoliberal global financial institutions could supervise and enforce market discipline has been coming apart since 2008 under the pressure of mounting global and domestic contradictions. The pandemic has exposed and undermined the ideology of privatization, the decimation of the public sector, the extreme right-wing libertarianism spawned by neoliberalism’s rampant individualism, and the anti-democratic

tendencies of the free marketeers. Those exposures are now widely seen in the light of the Black Freedom Movement's attacks on the carceral state and Jim Crow voter suppression, and above all its uncompromising demand for the rooting out of systemic racism.

Ideological crisis is playing out in a key ideological apparatus of the state, one which has often been the site of popular democratic struggle: public education. A central part of today's struggle is whether to continue the one-dimensional and white-blind glorification of U.S. history or present a more multi-dimensional, textured and (above all) true representation of the historical processes that have shaped the U.S. The Black Lives Matter uprising's spotlight on systemic racism and white privilege has shone throughout the nation's schools, and the new confederates have responded with widespread propaganda and legislation aimed at purifying those institutions of "critical race theory" and returning them to the false narratives of American exceptionalism. These battles will pit many students, parents and teachers—especially those of color—as well as teacher unions against the right-wing ideologues.

The prominence of popular conversations about systemic racism, white privilege, and sexism represent exciting openings for the left. The popular understanding of these structural linchpins of U.S. capitalist rule is broader than it is deep, and most people naturally do not link these phenomena to the inherent structural inequalities and brutal history of U.S. capitalism. But that merely shows how much work the left has to do, including organizing itself to fully embrace these enormous opportunities.

SECTION 4 - CURRENT FACTORS IN THE U.S. POLITICAL CONTEXT

Before moving into an analysis of the enemy and the people's forces, we want to highlight some current political factors informing our assessments:

- Most of the New Confederacy and its primary political instrument, the Republican Party, have been reorganized under Trump's (and Trumpism's) leadership, thereby uniting seemingly unlikely bedfellows. The small sections within the party that oppose Trump lack a viable social base and compelling alternative to Trumpism.
- We are in the midst of a protracted struggle between the New Confederacy and the broad united front opposed to it. At the **federal** level, these two forces have entered a period of heightened contestation, with the broad united front enjoying a tenuous electoral advantage while the New Confederacy enjoys its lock on the Supreme Court, and with each front searching for ways to reach and stay on the offensive while putting the other on the defensive (Mao would have referred to this as a "stalemate"). However, at the **state** level, the New Confederacy remains on the offensive due to the unique U.S. political system of federalism.
- The U.S. is in a period of intense racial reckoning due in no small part to the strong narrative interventions of the Black Liberation Movement, the AAPI movements, the

Latinx movements, and the coalition of segments of other diverse gendered, cross-class, people of color movements.

- There is a steady rise in racist violence, directed especially against Asians and Pacific Islanders (AAPI), as the U.S.'s efforts to retain global hegemony increasingly include the vilification of China's growing global influence. Racist xenophobia also targets various immigrant groups, both Latinx and AAPI, for being super-spreaders of the COVID virus.
- There is an increase in anti-democratic mobilizations and violence, with the January 6th insurrection of 2021 far from the last.
- The neo-fascist trend is the most active and consolidated it has been since its emergence in the 1990s. Though it remains relatively disunited and without effective national leadership, many of its ideals and ambitions have been embraced by leading New Confederates such as Trump, Hawley, Cruz, and DeSantis.
- Significant sections of capital at least tepidly oppose Republican efforts to impose the most brazen restrictions on the political process as well as the outright anti-democratic acts of the neo-fascist right, as evidenced by withdrawals of financial backing from Republican candidates who endorsed or encouraged the January 6th attack (including those who voted against certifying the electoral college votes) and corporate denunciations of Republican attacks on voting rights.
- An acknowledgment of structural inequalities (based on race, class, and gender) is taking firmer root among the people as pandemic-driven social and economic hardships multiply for the many while the billionaire class amasses record wealth.
- The popularity of socialism (in a very broad sense) continues to grow as broader swaths of people—especially young people—become radicalized through deep and persistent crises, worsening living and working conditions, and spontaneous upsurges.
- Significant fault lines continue to emerge within the Democratic Party among the three broad, distinct coalitions (social democratic/progressive, Third Way/Neoliberal/Neo-Keynesian, and Blue Dog/Conservative).

SECTION 5 - LEVELS AND STAGES OF STRUGGLE

National Level

As mentioned earlier, at the federal level it appears the New Confederacy and the united front against it have entered a stalemate after a long period of defense on the part of the united front. This stalemate represents a pivotal moment in the U.S. class struggle, counterposing a bourgeois democracy in which people of color gain greater democratic rights to an increasing white authoritarianism. Some indications of an emerging stalemate include:

- the Republican loss of the presidency and Senate, despite the lopsided political advantages of the New Confederacy at the state level;

- the evidence of majority support for many early Democratic efforts to address the pandemic, climate change and infrastructure, despite the intense polarization of the moment;
- the general unpopularity of the January 6th insurrection, which consolidated a wing of the New Confederacy while also exposing fault lines within it;
- the initiation by the right of a program to narrow many facets of democracy, a program popular only among a minority white bloc seeking to revive and expand Jim Crow.

It is clear, however, that this federal stalemate is both fragile and extremely volatile. The 2022 elections may well offer the New Confederacy the chance to retake one or both legislative chambers, while the conservative Supreme Court majority, combined with right-wing dominance at the state level (on which more below) threatens the very possibility of free and fair federal elections moving forward. Whether this moment represents the beginning of a protracted period of stalemate at the federal level, or rather a brief interregnum between two periods of dominance by the New Confederacy, will be determined by the struggles of the coming years. Further, a federal stalemate should not be confused with *national* equilibrium—given the structural centrality of state-level government, a situation where the New Confederacy continues to dominate at the state level but is at a stalemate federally still translates into a net advantage for the New Confederacy.

State Level

In a large number of individual states, the right has the distinct advantage over our united front and is able to remain on the offensive, while we are mostly on the defensive in the realm of political power.

The state level is always critical given the nature of the U.S. federal system, but it is increasingly important in this period of gridlocked federal government. While this does not mean abandoning the national level work of messaging, campaigns, policies and programs, it is important to note that our united front's popular forces are most consistently active and have the most power at the state level (relative to their power at the federal level), even within our mostly defensive position against the New Confederacy. While state-level progressive popular forces remain quite uneven and relatively weak compared to the New Confederacy, their gains in several states have been impressive, and it may be possible over the next decade to fight the New Confederacy to a stalemate at the state level as well (depending partially on what happens at the national level).

The Sunbelt

The Sunbelt is a key area of our struggle to defeat the New Confederacy. The Sunbelt region is home to the oppressed Black and Chican@ nations, a large number of Indigenous tribes and nations, the largest number of Asian Pacific Islander peoples, and a very significant population of poor working class whites. The African American and Chican@ populations alone in the Sunbelt

total more than 50 million people. The critical historical events that have helped to shape this region and all of its important political and social institutions as instruments of white supremacy are the genocide and displacement of the Indigenous populations, the transfer of land ownership from Mexicanos to Anglos, enslavement of Africans and the development of the plantation economy.

Of particular importance, the annexation of Mexico's northern territories and the consolidation of those territories allowed for the vast expansion of the white settler population, acquisition of some of the most fertile agricultural lands in the world, access to enormous reserves of fossil fuels and a vast range of precious metals and minerals, shipping routes throughout the SW, and the creation of a port complex for critical trade with the Pacific Rim. Those new resources laid the basis for the US to become an imperialist superpower. It also ensured Mexico's status as a neo-colonial dependent nation and led to the eventual birth of the Chicano nation in the Southwest. With the "pivot to the Pacific" and the threat that the US will not remain the uncontested superpower, this region will grow in strategic importance in the coming years. It calls for a strategy that includes our Mexican counterparts.

Defining and focusing on a Sunbelt strategy has some renewed interest among sections of the organized and social movement left. Not surprisingly given its racially and nationally oppressive history, and the persistence of systemic racism and national oppression, the Sunbelt has been a strategic site of struggle for the past 50+ years due to major economic and political shifts within the region. This includes all forms of struggle – from armed movements, to labor struggles, to art and cultural resistance, and electoral and voting rights struggles. Our strategy sees organizing and uniting the social movements of the oppressed peoples of this region, along with their white allies, as critical for our efforts to defeat the reactionary agenda of the new confederacy, and critical for the future of the left progressive electoral movement and social movements--especially African American, Chicano, Indigenous, immigrant, women's and LGBTQ movements--whose targets are white supremacy, austerity, the further narrowing of democracy, anti-labor policies, and gender oppression. Given the growing size of the Latinx population, its sizeable youth population and their concentration in the SW, their voices and votes will also grow in significance.

Further, from WWI through the depression, the aftermath of WWII, and the last pandemic, the westward migration of formerly enslaved Africans, European immigrants, and their offspring significantly increased populations of many Sunbelt states. From post-WWII to the present, the Southeast and Southwest states saw major industry migration and growth (agribusiness, technology, military, aerospace, and manufacturing) based on promises of a more passive workforce in a union-hostile environment and the prospect of a profit haven with low or non-existent corporate taxation. This region, now at the forefront of movements to restrict and even eliminate voting rights, is home to the largest number of right-to-work states, the states with the weakest environmental and health and safety protections, the states leading the charge

against reproductive, gay and trans rights, and the country's largest concentration of military bases.

Approximately one third of the U.S. population now resides in the Sunbelt region and a majority of members of Congress are from this region. Since the 1970s large cities in these states have consistently seen growth outpacing cities in other regions. These demographic shifts have resulted in Latinx immigrant groups, Black people, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and progressive/liberal whites making important headway against the political domination of the Right, in states such as Virginia, Georgia, and Arizona. Independent political organizations and in some cases labor organizing are making headway against the hold of the right on governing power and capital's anti-union agenda. These are some of the reasons why the Sunbelt strategy continues to be an important component of our theoretical and political arsenal as we work to build Left and Socialist unity, and in our ongoing struggle to smash the New Confederacy.

SECTION 6 - BALANCE OF FORCES: THE NEW CONFEDERACY

6.1 The New Confederacy is still the main enemy of the people

A growing number of forces throughout our united front recognize the New Confederacy as the main enemy in this stage of struggle. Some of the catalysts for this developing awareness were Trump's response to the Black Lives Matter mass demonstrations in the summer of 2020; the emergence of a mass "white rights" movement identified with Confederate symbols and calling to "make America white again"; and the right's efforts to undermine confidence in the 2020 election culminating in the January 6th insurrection. While it is important for us on the left to understand that there are always multiple contradictions within U.S. racial settler capitalism, it is equally important to identify the principal contradiction at any particular stage, and we continue to identify the contradiction between the New Confederacy and the united front arrayed against it as the principal contradiction at this stage of class struggle in the U.S. The New Confederacy remains our main enemy because of their relative power, their levels of organization (ideological, political and cultural), and their thoroughly reactionary world view and political program. Therefore, we cannot afford to turn our attention away from the Neo-Confederates. *Note: Liberation Road has written several documents on our assessment of the New Confederacy as the main enemy; for example, see [Section 6 of our 2019 Main Political report](#).*

Though the New Confederacy was unable to maintain control of the Presidency and the Senate in the 2020 elections, they saw positive gains at the state level through both elected representation and the defeat of progressive-minded referendums. The Republicans gained two trifectas by flipping two previously divided governments, bringing their total to 23, and gained a triplex bringing their total to 20. Democrats managed to stay at 15 trifectas and gained a triplex, bringing their total to 18. Overall, this sets the right up to wage an assault on forces opposed to their agenda and further entrench austerity, racism, xenophobia, and sexism.

The New Confederate political agenda has seen a considerable shift to the right from a pro-austerity face to the open and aggressive defense of white privilege, which now drives a deeply anti-democratic agenda. Increasing anti-democratic efforts range from massive restrictions on the political process to outright bulldozing of bourgeois democratic institutions, norms, and practices. In addition to reactionary white supremacy and cisheteropatriarchy, other staples of their agenda include anti-labor dogma, a healthy dose of the denial of science and widely documented facts, and an embrace of conspiracy theories unsupported by facts.

6.2 Top Line Shifts and Developments in the Right's Coalition

Republican elites have largely accommodated themselves to the always-present but increasingly dominant right-wing populist section of the Republican Party. The supremely reactionary politics of conspiracy theorists, white supremacist militias, Christian fundamentalists, and outright fascists were once marginalized on the right, but the January 6th insurrection and the active reorganization of the New Confederacy under Trump and Trumpism have brought them front and center, largely consolidating Republicans around a right-wing populist base.

Traditional Republicans (aka “fiscal conservatives” and “deficit hawks”) share many concerns but lack unity among themselves about a future direction for the country and party and now find themselves as the minority social bloc within the New Confederacy. Their positions range from a desire to expand their social base to more people of color to a simple return to the policies which defined their brand of neoliberalism for the past 40+ years.

The January 6th insurrection demonstrated the coalescence of formerly disparate forces on the right (e.g., anti-vaxxers, white supremacist groups, former military and law enforcement, neo-fascists, predominantly white small business owners and independent contractors, evangelicals, a few corporate capitalists, etc.). Some of these forces have engaged in growing death threats aimed at both local and national elected officials. Coupled with the January 6th events, this has provoked key sections of the capitalist state to devote greater resources of the intelligence community to address “the enemy within.”

The opposition (however tepid) by dominant sections of capital to the insurrection indicates that currently no major segment of capital is advancing a strategy to terminate the democratic form of capitalist rule in the U.S.; their stance moving forward remains to be seen. It is significant that the New Confederacy has escalated its program of institutionalizing permanent white minority rule through hard and fast voter suppression which will further narrow and weaken bourgeois democracy.

Additionally, the events of January 6th demonstrated that the neo-fascist trend in particular remains a minority trend within the greater white authoritarian bloc. A central feature of fascism

has historically been a revolt of the petty bourgeoisie—and in the U.S. currently, the overwhelmingly white petty bourgeoisie. One factor that may make it harder for neofascism to fully emerge and come to power as an exceptional capitalist state in the U.S. is the history of social struggles (in particular national liberation, gender liberation, and environmental movements) which continue to play a profound role in shaping political and class consciousness. These movements' politics, their objective interest in challenging capitalism, and their broad mass appeal, coupled with the substantial size of the U.S. population of color, form a solid base for attacking the aggressively racist, xenophobic, antisemitic, anti-democratic, and patriarchal politics which are a core part of U.S. fascism's petty bourgeoisie in revolt.

Fascism's ascension to power relies, in part, on an alliance between middle strata and significant segments of capital which determine that they can't advance their objectives in the reorganization of the ruling bloc through normal bourgeois democratic means. As of now there is no evidence of such an alliance, but with the disintegration of the neoliberal consensus and the lack of a new ruling consensus, its possible development must be taken seriously.

The white evangelical movement has moved to the center of the New Confederacy electoral coalition, and leads the right on "cultural" attacks such as their anti-gay laws, attacks on oppressed gender people and abortion rights, and purge of materials from public education about white supremacy. Religious revivals and activism have been important components of social movements of the right and left in our country in the past and are playing that role again. (p.24, 6.2)

Aligning against the growing volume of the right-wing evangelicals. Some faith organizers have stepped up support for Black Lives Matter, outreach to immigrants ("the stranger in our midst"), and in some cases to the LGBTQ community as well. This is an important part of the United Front since it has a mass institutional base and can counter the right-wing evangelicals, especially since the evangelical youth are markedly less homophobic and anti-immigrant than their parents – and also believe that God would prefer we leave a living planet behind us for the next generation. The emptiness of corporate culture has also spurred spiritual search – if not formal religious affiliation—among some youth in all sectors of the population. P. 29-30)

6.3 The Renewed Jim Crow Era

Due to the stalemate at the federal level and without a majority in either chamber of Congress, the GOP is on familiar terrain where they've historically had great success: acting as the opposition party. They look to maintain their predominantly white, cross class alliance (where class is obscured for the sake of unity) through reliance on a tried-and-true combination of racism, xenophobia, attacks on gender and sexuality rights, anti-communism, anti-elitism (which often combines anti-intellectualism and attacks on science with antisemitism).

A centerpiece of their white authoritarian agenda is an updated version of “states’ rights” aimed at strengthening the power and scope of state government, including the use of preemption to restrict and control as they see fit. Their program incorporates further restrictions on the democratic process and the ability of people of color to participate in it; the decimation of abortion rights; the enforcement of the gender binary; increasing immigration restrictions; the buttressing of English language privilege; and the restructuring of education to undermine public schools and restore religion and American exceptionalism to the classroom.

The Renewed Jim Crow combines reactionary racism with conservative religious moralism in an assault on the multinational working class, oppressed nationalities, and oppressed genders, all in an effort to ensure white minority authoritarian rule. Characterized by a reactionary racism directly associated with original Jim Crow era-policies of widespread voter suppression, and borrowing from the “New” Jim Crow’s appeal to “law and order,” it is also distinct from the “New Jim Crow” which marked the expansion of the carceral state. What’s new, in addition to the creative and allegedly race-blind means of voter suppression, is the re-invigoration of conservative Christian ideologies (far from monolithic) which share a determination to use the state to intervene morally in our lives through laws enforcing the gender binary, eliminating the right to abortion, and restricting what can be taught in schools.

This Renewed Jim Crow effort is an expression of a revanchist bloc determined to reclaim “what’s rightfully theirs,” responding to the pandemic and the record-breaking turnout of oppressed nationalities and genders in the 2020 elections, and leveraging their advantage in states to reconstruct power and society in their own image. The impacts of their efforts at widespread disenfranchisement may first be felt on a mass scale in the 2022 midterms.

SECTION 7 - BALANCE OF FORCES: THE MULTI-RACIAL PRO-DEMOCRACY UNITED FRONT

7.1 SHIFTS IN THE UNITED FRONT

The united front against the New Confederacy is largely spontaneous and objective, with some significant advanced elements fighting to make it a more self-conscious force and contesting for united front leadership. Compared to three years ago, the united front has consolidated in its opposition to the rightwing agenda, mainly due to the intensification of contradictions and crises exacerbated by Trump, the pandemic, and the BLM uprising. The united front has also shifted leftwards as most if not all forces within it embrace some level—from moderate to systemic change—of democracy expansion, racial and gender equality, and greater economic fairness.

The leftward shift of the united front has exposed previously obscured rifts among the various social and class forces. Some positions of the advanced forces have become clarified:

- fighting for structural transformations of the economic and social relations of capitalism (e.g., more community ownership and control of land and housing, abolition of prisons/ICE, restructuring of police functions, a green new deal, etc.);
- fighting for the expansion of the public sphere (e.g., more public schools, public hospitals, etc.);
- fighting for the expansion of political democracy at all levels (e.g., automatic universal voter registration, immediate restoration of ex-felons' right to vote, lowering of the voting age, changes to the electoral college, etc.).

Likewise, positions of the backward forces within the united front have also sharpened:

- endorsing only surface level changes to the economic and social relations of capitalism (e.g., increasing opportunities for individuals to become entrepreneurs, increasing opportunities for more women and people of color to attain corporate leadership and join the ruling class, building up the personal behavior-focused diversity training industry, etc.);
- supporting the Democratic Party neoliberal holdover of public investment in the private sphere (e.g., continuing to subsidize fossil fuel companies, encouraging windfall profits for pharmaceutical companies producing the COVID vaccine, etc.);
- supporting only conditional expansion of political democracy (e.g., making it easier to register and vote while stopping short of automatic voter registration for all residents regardless of citizenship, incarceration, etc.).

The intermediate forces vacillate between the positions of the advanced and those of the backwards, depending on the issue (e.g., strongly supporting the right of everyone to vote but not necessarily concerned with the expansion of democracy throughout broad areas of society).

Examples of advanced forces include the Working Families Party, the Movement for Black Lives, Bargaining for the Common Good unions, the Progressive Democrats of America, the organized socialist Left, and “The Squad”. Intermediate forces include certain national union leaderships (SEIU, CWA, AFT, NEA, UNITE-HERE, etc.), the NAACP, the National Action Network, and the national AFL-CIO. Backwards elements include Third Way/Neoliberal Democrats, Neo-Keynesian Democrats, Blue Dog Democrats, Bill Gates, and military leaders such as Mark Milley.

The breadth and depth of the vision and political program for any united front is defined by its leading elements. In this period the leading elements remain some combination of backwards and intermediate forces including Third Way/Neoliberal/Neo-Keynesian Democrats, greenish capitalist firms like Amazon and Microsoft, and groupings like the Congressional Black Caucus. However, the battle for the vision and program of the pro-democracy front is far from settled and remains a subject of constant struggle.

A realignment is occurring among advanced and some intermediate forces as the advanced have defined an increasingly popular “people and planet over profits” agenda which includes policies such as the Green New Deal, the PRO Act, the Thrive Act, the Breathe Act, the For the People Act, etc. There is thus an opening for this realignment to play a decisive role in the battle to determine the scope and extent of the entire united front’s vision and program.

While it can be said that there are three distinct coalitions in the Democratic Party (social democratic progressives, Third Way neoliberals and neo-Keynesians; and Blue Dog conservatives), it is the first two which see the most activity and have the broadest social bases. While the progressive coalition (e.g., Jamie Raskin, the “Squad,” recently elected progressives and socialists) remains relatively small and weak in comparison to the dominant moderate coalition, it has grown in size and scope from the local to the national level with elements of a national platform (Green New Deal, etc.). It agitates and threatens the dominant Neoliberal/Third Way wing (Biden, Schumer, Pelosi, etc.), which responds with a variety of offensive and defensive tactics, ranging from blaming progressives for electoral losses to working directly with progressives and their bases to avoid being primaried). Policy meetings with social movement leaders as well as inclusion of the progressive coalition in major policy decisions and initiatives such as the Unity Task Force which preceded Biden’s presidency illustrate this shift. In addition, the tiny Democratic Party majority at the federal level allows the smaller blocs of both conservatives and progressives to have greater influence than they otherwise might.

The united front also now includes among its most backward forces some newer constituencies: those like the Lincoln Project Republicans and some white libertarians who can no longer identify with the program of the right due to its anti-democratic turn and abandonment of “traditional conservative values.”

Additionally, newer progressive and even left elements (e.g., some Black movement forces and sections of the organized left) have been activated in the united front. Prior to the 2020 election season, pandemic, and Black Lives Matter mass demonstrations, these forces had exhibited a range of ambivalence about engaging in the electoral arena, about the need to focus on defeating the right at this current stage of struggle, and about the need to sometimes unite with moderate Democrats in our drive to defeat the right. While these concerns may not have been settled once and for all, the high degree of participation and energy from many left-wing popular movement sectors in the 2020 elections and afterwards has been telling. It has opened up more space for discussion of the role of social movements which have previously limited themselves to “applying street heat” within the inside/outside political orientation.

It is likely there will continue to be rolling crises and heightened contradictions as the politics of the pandemic and the “new normal” continue to take shape through class struggle, and as the

question of what ultimately happens with neoliberalism and a potential alternative plays out. 2022 and 2024 will be major electoral years, as

- the New Confederacy angles to reassert itself at the federal level;
- the left progressive electoral movement builds its political sophistication;
- state-based and national networks and institutions assert leadership and organize to build mass engagement; and
- high levels of political activity and developing class consciousness inspire and strengthen a more progressive orientation to meeting the needs of people and the planet.

7.2 DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE ADVANCED AND INTERMEDIATE

The advanced and some intermediate elements are currently realigning around four interrelated areas:

- gravitating towards inside/outside electoral organizing and strategy that identifies some conception of the New Confederacy as the main enemy;
- centering the fight against white supremacy and white privilege;
- protecting and expanding certain key bourgeois democratic institutions and practices, while seeking to supersede others;
- addressing climate disaster with urgency through bold initiatives, investments, and projects.

It is entirely possible that the fight against the reassertion of U.S. hegemony will emerge as a fifth area. We have seen from recent events in Palestine the power that the Black Freedom Movement has had in refocusing popular attention on global liberation struggles and fomenting division within the Democratic Party, and there are self-conscious elements of the left already geared up about the fight against U.S. hegemony. Whether this emerges as a prominent consolidating factor will depend on international events, the evolution of U.S. imperialist policy, and the resolution of differences within the U.S. left.

Reasons for this developing realignment include Trump and his acolytes' brand of reactionary, semi-fascist politics, the overall anti-democratic thrust of the right, the pandemic politics which have brought avoidable levels of hurt and death, the BLM uprising and inspiring class struggles which converged on the 2020 elections and successfully injected a people-and-planet-first politics into the national dialogue.

The 2020 elections, in particular, represented a decisive moment in the advanced/intermediate realignment, with segments of movements that had been agnostic or even anti-electoral deciding to throw down on the elections for reasons cited above. And if the advanced forces have remained disadvantaged at the state level, they have been successful at placing mass-based transformative demands on the national stage.

The realignment that is taking place shows potential for greater strategic alignment and collaboration in the evolving race, class, gender, and ecological politics and projects. Working Families Party, for example, has played an important role in consolidating certain people of color-led social movement elements in the united front while also essentially serving as an IPO in many of the states where it has a presence, thus demonstrating a commitment to both building the inside/outside trend and partnering with the social movement left.

The array of forces that make up the advanced, and the intermediate forces aligned with them, generally agree on the need for some form of governing power. However, among the advanced, there is an open and contested question about whether state power is something to which progressives and the left should aspire. In fact, there is a left element of the front that is opposed not only to the capitalist state but to any form of state power.

Relative to the social movement left, the organized/ideological socialist Left is a junior partner in the ongoing realignment. This is not to minimize the significant developments on the socialist Left, including the rapid and welcome growth of DSA, and the growing attractiveness of “socialism” as a concept for various cohorts of activists (especially youth). Having an accurate assessment of the socialist Left’s relative position within the inside/outside trend allows us to better define our role within the trend and realistically assess ways to anchor it and provide leadership when possible.

At the mass level, the slogan “essential not expendable” is reshaping class consciousness and opening new avenues to build the kinds of multi-gendered cross-class cross-race alliances needed for an embryonic revolutionary bloc. This includes organizing those essential workers often excluded from national conversation as well as from state and federal government direct aid efforts - the undocumented and incarcerated. A related and important part of the reshaping of class consciousness is the Bargaining for the Common Good approach, inherently a rejection of the neoliberal order because at its core it resists austerity and would rebuild the commons. Bargaining for the Common Good also serves as one type of concrete project to (re)build class solidarity by building common cause among parts of POC community organizations and unions.

In addition, the pandemic has accelerated and in some cases shaped the ongoing reorganization of the economy. This acceleration and reorganization raise many questions for labor left activists—an important section of the advanced forces—including identification of which industries are becoming strategic sites of struggle for the labor movement. The following are some key criteria to aid in making that determination:

- It provides fertile ground for doing “common good” organizing and cohering an array of class and political forces against the New Confederacy (e.g., public sector, healthcare);

- It creates opportunities to engage with deeper and more diverse strata in the working class (e.g. immigrants, unemployed or underemployed people of color, etc.);
- It demonstrates an ability to impact the electoral arena in concert with other social forces (e.g., the work of Unite HERE in swing states like Arizona).

7.3 DEVELOPMENTS AMONG TACTICAL ALLIES (BACKWARDS FORCES)

The Biden administration’s domestic policy has surprised many on the left. In response to a) the disintegrating neoliberal consensus, b) the dire impacts of the pandemic which required drastic measures offensive to neoliberal logic, and c) the hard work, advances and infrastructure of popular movements, Biden has taken a turn towards the progressive center in some policy areas. His creation of the Gender Policy Council and public support of the Bessemer Amazon union drive are a “new look”. The American Recovery Act, pushed through without wasting time courting congressional Republicans, was the largest stimulus bill in U.S. history and a significant break from deficit-conscious neoliberal dogma. Further, the “American Jobs Plan,” a multi-trillion dollar infrastructure bill, has both a racial justice and (limited) green aspect.

The bill’s “green” tint, along with Biden’s selection of certain administrative personnel, indicate the foothold that fights against climate change are gaining, and hint at what can be won in coming years. In concert with the Biden Democrats, sections of Green Capital are more urgently calling for addressing the climate crisis. They represent blocs of capital with whom we may be able to tactically ally in the fight against ecological devastation. No one knows whether popular organized forces, domestically and abroad, can gain sufficient power quickly enough to take the necessary actions by 2030, but developments over the past three years have greatly increased opportunities to organize masses of people around the climate crisis and its intersections with the organization of our society and economy.

Meanwhile, the 2020 BLM protests exposed capitalists and pulled them into political fights on behalf of racial justice, and this has created the conditions for advanced and intermediate organizations to pull them into fights against the New Confederacy on issues of voter suppression and disenfranchisement, such as in Georgia and Texas. The White House and even Blue Dog Democratic coalitions now speak of “systemic racism,” and since the January 6th insurrection Biden’s administration appears committed to using the powers of the state to address the most egregious anti-democratic actors of the New Confederacy, directing the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to root out and prosecute white supremacist groups and individuals—a necessary task given the lack of a “people’s militia” to do it for us.

However, many fights remain with the backward forces who still dominate much of the fight against the New Confederacy. One of the major areas is foreign policy: the Biden administration’s aggressive stance towards China is a signal that the U.S. bourgeoisie remains relatively united on

the maintenance of a unipolar world, which is a dangerous dead end. So far, Biden's foreign policy has sought to re-assert U.S. global dominance and prestige with a less overtly chauvinistic and unilateral approach than Trump, advocating return to treaties and rule of law (except with regard to Israel and Palestine). The thrust has been to revitalize alliances while at the same time competing for decisive global superiority in key sectors: green innovation of fuels, production and transport, drugs/medical tech (vaccines), info tech, international currency (against market basket- and crypto-currency) and finance.

In this quest, the administration's primary objective is to contain China by limiting its access to Western capital and technology and to worldwide raw materials; by undermining its predominance in solar panel sales and its progress in 5G; by offsetting its threats to the dominance of the dollar through issuance of a digital yuan; by countering its expanding naval presence; and by challenging it ideologically. In addition to driving the increase in military spending and the shifting deployment of weapons and naval assets to the Far East and Pacific, the objective of restraining China affects much of U.S. foreign policy. China is the main trading partner of over 160 countries and a major trader with traditional U.S. allies like Germany and other EU countries. Therefore, the U.S. won't always have the support of these allies as it pushes for sanctions against China (or against Russia, a key source of the EU's oil, natural gas and other raw materials). It should be noted, however, that while this economic interconnectedness makes global military conflict undesirable for the bourgeoisies in all countries, increased tensions and the presence of rogue bad actors can set off war when such tensions are high.

Biden has pulled back from Trump's overtly demonizing and racist rhetoric such as calling Covid-19 "The China Virus" or "The Kung Flu." At the same time, his administration's constant emphasis on China as an expansive rival, the persistent legacy of anti-Asian racism, and the fact that U.S. workers have been fed a misplaced resentment of China for job loss over the past 40 years all fuel a cold war against China and more racist attacks on Asian Americans. Combating this is a key task of US leftists, as is stemming U.S. global hegemony.

The southern border represents another area of foreign policy struggle with deeply felt domestic impacts . We must be ready to engage this struggle for multiple reasons:

- Decades of U.S. meddling and outright interference in Latin America's affairs has decimated their economies and political institutions, causing many economic and political refugees to flee their homes for the U.S.;
- The ruling class coalitions of the Biden wing of the Democratic Party aren't inclined to take up initiatives that will fundamentally alter the U.S.'s foreign or domestic policy towards these countries or Latinx migrants;
- The impacts of the climate crisis are felt particularly intensely by Latinx people throughout Latin America, leading to increasing numbers of climate refugees; and

- The southern border serves as political fodder for the New Confederacy to continue their attacks on the Democratic Party and to continue racist and xenophobic attacks on Latinx people in the U.S.

To Biden's credit, he does talk about addressing the root causes of migration (though as Avi Chomsky pointed out in a Mexico Solidarity Bulletin, "aid" to Latin American countries usually has taken the form of military goods and services). Other positive foreign policy steps on Biden's part include his attempt to reign in the Saudi war in Yemen, the initiative to restart talks with Iran, and the significant decision to pack up and admit defeat in Afghanistan.

Our domestic battles with the Biden wing of the Democratic Party have yet to fully take shape, but we can expect many fights around the following:

- phasing out fossil fuels;
- increasing energy democracy especially for frontline communities;
- aggressively divesting from and limiting the role, scope, size, and scale of law enforcement;
- eliminating procedural barriers to the realization of progressive legislation;
- democratizing immigration policies as part of a democratic foreign policy;
- aggressively pushing the PRO Act and supercharging the ability to form and strengthen unions;
- addressing the right's capture of the courts, and many more policy issues.

We will undoubtedly do battle with state and national Democratic Party apparatuses as we "primary" centrists and Blue Dogs. All this is part of why we need independent political organizations at the state and municipal levels. And while we fight for leadership of the united front against the New Confederacy, we should respect Mao's wise policy on fighting the backwards forces in any united front: that we fight on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint. That's part of what being in a united front means.

SECTION 8 – GLOSSARY

Bargaining for the common good: In these campaigns, labor and community groups work with a broad group of stakeholders acting in their own interest to demand that corporations and the wealthy pay their fair share so that our communities have what they need to prosper. Unions that have the right to bargain use contract fights as an opportunity to organize with community partners around a set of demands that benefit not just the bargaining unit, but also the wider community as a whole. These are campaigns for investing in our communities, not just settling a union contract. (from the *Bargaining for the Common Good Network*)

Neo-fascism - Fascism is a radical movement for the elimination of capitalist democracy. Its mass component is based largely on the middle strata (sometimes referred to as the petty bourgeoisie)

in revolt), and in the U.S. the white middle strata in particular. Such movements emerge during periods of political, economic, and ideological crisis, though not all such periods necessarily result in the emergence of fascism. It is militaristic, racist, misogynistic, and xenophobic. It promotes a radical vision based on myths about the past and the path forward for the “chosen” or the “pure,” a vision which in the U.S. is rooted in white supremacy, xenophobia, and patriarchy.

In power, fascism suppresses all dissent and sees itself as above the rule of law. A reorganization of the hegemonic capitalist bloc may be facilitated through fascism when some capitalist class fractions feel blocked by the state bureaucracy and by other competing segments of capital.

Fascism in power is a form of exceptional capitalist state. There are other forms of exceptional capitalist states, such as military dictatorships, Bonapartist regimes, etc.—that is, not every capitalist dictatorship is fascist.

Neoliberalism: Neoliberalism is the air we’ve breathed for more than 40 years. In ideology and policy, neoliberalism gained strength in response to the global economic and political crises of the ‘60s and ‘70s, as the 40-year Keynesian capitalist consensus ran aground amid stagflation and worldwide national liberation struggles. It gained dominance through its economic policy implementation at the point of a gun in Chile; through the Thatcher years of “there is no society” and “there is no alternative” in the UK; through the Reagan attacks in the 80s on the public sector, the “welfare state,” “crime,” unions, the Black and Chicano Liberation struggles, and the independence of developing nations; through the crisis of socialism; and through the capture of the Democratic Party in the U.S. (Carter, Clinton) and Labor in Britain (Tony Blair).

Neoliberalism includes a deep ideological focus on individualism, individual liberty and competition; an economic focus on an unfettered market, privatization of the public sphere, and financialization (elimination of pensions in favor of individual 401Ks, expansion of student loan debt, expansion of credit, rent-seeking privatization); and a political focus on a state—whether democratic or authoritarian—in full service of the market, privatization, and international capital penetration.

In the U.S., the neoliberal project has meant:

- The decimation of unions;
- The decimation of the common good in ideology and the public sphere in policy;
- And—since white supremacy is our characteristic form of bourgeois rule—a restructuring of white privilege and national oppression (mainly in the form of the new Jim Crow and creation of the carceral state and privatized prison system) in response to the “second Reconstruction” of the civil rights movement and the Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian-American and Puerto Rican upsurges of the 1960s and 70s.

- It has also meant the growth of an authoritarian state characterized by intensified control over ever-greater spheres of social and economic life, combined with the decline of political democracy and the curtailing of basic liberties. Symptoms of this include Citizens United, rampant gerrymandering and voter suppression, militarization of police, endless wars and so on, all culminating in Trump and the capture of the Republican Party by Trumpism.

New Confederacy: the white united front which has grown over more than forty years into a powerful alliance of the most reactionary factions of capital, ardent white supremacists, nativists, right-wing populists, and neo-fascists, with a mass base white middle strata, white rural sectors, and some sections of the white working class. Its main aim is the preservation of the white republic, the Republican Party is its political instrument, and the foundation of its power lies in control of state governments--particularly, though not exclusively, in the South.

Sunbelt: There are many definitions of the Sunbelt, some of which include even parts of the Ohio Valley or the state of Virginia. The most common definition is the geographic region encompassing North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, southern Nevada and Southern California. The Sunbelt area includes or is near the territories of the African-American Nation in the South, and the Chicano Nation in the Southwest.

Preemption, Dillon's Rule, Home Rule, Trifecta, Triplex:

Preemption occurs when law at a higher level of government is used to overrule authority at a lower level.

Dillon's Rule states that local government powers are quite limited and only extend to those powers which are: 1) granted in express words; 2) necessarily implied or necessarily incident to the powers expressly granted; and 3) absolutely essential to the declared objects and purposes of the corporation – not simply convenient, but indispensable. The rule also states that any reasonable doubt by the court as to whether a power has been granted will be ruled against the local government.

Home Rule represents a counter-argument against this limited autonomy of local governments and state influence in local affairs. States began to amend their constitutions and state statutes to provide local governments more autonomy over local affairs. This occurred, and continues to be implemented, in different forms. One of the first steps in some states was to prohibit or limit issues on which the state legislature could pass special or local laws, which are laws affecting only a specific municipality. States also began to authorize home rule charters, essentially reversing Dillon's rule such that a municipality has a power unless it is expressly denied by state law. (Ballotpedia)

Trifecta: A state government trifecta describes single party government where one political party holds the governorship, a majority in the state senate, and a majority in the state house.

Triplex: A state government triplex exists when one political party holds the following three positions in a state's government: governor, attorney general, and secretary of state.

United Front: United front strategies and tactics enable us to narrow the target of struggle while engaging the broadest possible popular forces in alliance to accomplish a specific objective and defeat the main enemy at any given moment. For more information see [Our United Front Policy](#).