

Class Warrior

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*No support for Clinton or Trump!
No Support for Stein or the Capitalist Green Party!*

*Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties of Capital!
Build a Class Struggle Workers/Labor Party!*

Election that Never Was: Votes We'll Never Cast



As racist police terror continues, none of the socialist election campaigns are raising class struggle defense of the black community.

CWG says: For labor, black and brown self-defense guards and labor political strikes against racist police terror!

Kick the cops and prison guards out of the labor unions and labor federations!

There is every reason for the working class to break with their ostensible leaderships and devote a few hours to other, real needs on election day, withholding our votes. In the circumstance of 2016, when we are witnessing a Wall Street coronation, the Communist Workers Group has maintained that this is Hillary Clinton's election to lose; it is like no election at all but a big donor contest that she won in 2015. In formal logic, our position will seem contradictory then, when we say 'vote socialist' with a small s. We call on advanced, class conscious workers to go to the polls for such candidates as represent working class political independence and are on the ballot or can be write-ins in your state. We say to do so despite their shortcomings, whether by our lights or in your own estimation. This will accomplish, on a minimal level, a de facto socialist electoral unity, something so many call for, but in united front fashion, in a principled way from below.

Based not only on theory but on the objective experience during the Obama administration, as well as those that came before, we restate our view that 'capitalist democracy' is in actuality the sales pitch of the front man hiding the dictatorship of the capitalist class from the collective consciousness of the masses. While that may seem obvious to many of our regular readers, we need to restate this fact in this election cycle.

In this issue we will not dwell upon the Clinton v Trump face-off. Except to say that most of the biggest bourgeoisie, Republican and Democrat, including former President George Bush Sr. and scores of retired Republican ambassadors all have endorsed Hillary Clinton. For this social layer the two party system has always been the one bourgeois party. The president of the United States is the chief executive officer of the U.S. capitalist class; (s)he is responsive to their collective will on all national and international policy. The collective task of the working class is to smash the state they guide and mobilize the international proletariat to overthrow them, their regime and expropriate the class they serve.

It is not in the interest of the working class to limit its struggle to winning minor concessions at the negotiating table. The sole interest of the working class is to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class. Any concessions won along the way we attribute to the combined effect of the pressure exerted by the masses in their struggles to survive and the fear of the ruling class that if concessions are not made at this particular time for this particular demand, uprisings may generalize and threaten their class rule.

Since the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the Paris Commune, which was militarily defeated by the German Army in alliance with the native French bourgeoisie, Marx and Marxists have understood the importance of a revolutionary workers party as **necessary** to overthrow the capitalist class. Marx and Engels had already understood after 1848 that the workers would be the grave diggers of capitalism but 1870-71 convinced them that capitalism had to be buried as well. Convincing the workers to bury capitalism has ever since been the historic task of the revolutionary workers party.

The nature of that workers party and the struggle for its method and program have been the task of the vanguard of the working class. In the United States the electoral cycle provides space for propaganda and debate. In this issue we look at the various political parties which claim they represent the interests of workers and oppressed peoples.

We will not concern ourselves with the American Communist Party and other so-called socialists who support Hillary in their cross-class attempt to stop Trump. Or with the Spartacist League, which states it will never run for executive office on principle. In typical sectarian fashion, they forgo the responsibility and opportunity to make propaganda in any space provided by the cracks in the capitalist dictatorship. They have rejected Lenin on electoral tactics generally and his specific calls for Communists to support and vote for the then-Socialist Party candidate Eugene V. Debs. They say they will never endorse a candidate for the Executive and reject the critical support tactic as outright political support.

We see this position as a rejection of dialectics and of Trotsky's dedication to the study of the development of class-political consciousness. For Communists, use of every platform for the popularization of the revolutionary program of the working class and publicizing of the workers' historic tasks is obligatory. Furthermore, we categorically oppose bourgeois ballot measures that increase the indebtedness of the masses or eclipse their democratic rights, while we have a duty to approve the occasional measure that increases the ability of the masses to exercise their democratic rights, such as increasing the minimum wage, extending organizing rights to domestic workers, overtime protections to farm and domestic workers or the decriminalization of possession of marijuana, for example. We do so however limited these concessions may be.

Green Party

We do not disdain to proclaim our views. We call any vote for the Green Party impermissible and betrayal of the working class. The Green Party is a bourgeois party. However many disappointed nominal and even actual, long-time socialists it has sucked in, its project is the survival of capitalism and its excrescence, the federal government. This is not opinion but explicit language on the pages of their program, and corresponds to their record in governments both local and international.

Everything about this party is class-collaboration, and it is exactly the cynics and the snobs who this year try to retail a dialectical development of a labor party with a revolutionary program in some years to come from within the growth of the Greens THIS year. These snobs have little use for or patience

with the real working class and abandon what was once supposed to be their principle for class political independence. While the cynics either never believed in the revolutionary potential of the working class or adopt the political morals of the "objectivists," who see this potential philosophically, i.e., someday operating on class society maybe centuries from now. This permits the cynics to do anything they please politically in the meantime, and they trumpet the reforms in the Greens' program as possible if the masses vote for them. Did the snobs and cynics ever oppose popular fronts, i.e., class collaboration governments? That's not the record of the Green Parties! When we charge erstwhile socialists supporting the Green Party with supporting a party that is itself a popular front, they deny it but their argumentation goes nowhere near any facts. We patiently point to the anti-communist Greens on the ballot who fight to keep socialists OFF THE BALLOT.

Anti-communist and anti-socialist Illinois Senatorial Green Party Congressional candidate Rob Sherman challenged the Socialist Party being on the ballot by filing objections, both in 2012 and 2016. We quote how his 2016 objection "*is that of a Capitalist who strongly opposes the scourge and plague of communism and socialism, which would surely destroy our country if it were to infect our nation on a wide-spread basis.*" The national Green Party issued a 'cover our ass' statement about this, yet they still went on to promote Sherman as a candidate on their website and this anti-communist is still their Illinois standard-bearer after their August convention. Like the Green's choice of Nader, their backing for Sherman is an anti-union and anti-worker position and reveals their true class nature.

The Stein campaign pretends it is something new, that it has an alternative social program, but it doesn't wash. They retail a 'small is beautiful' mantra that does not correspond to the machine production era. At the same time they seek to head off and pre-empt the political independence of the working class and scare the prospective voter with the idea that there is an axiomatic link between class independence and the Stalin model of bureaucratic party dictatorship over the masses.

As Russian Revolutionary V.I. Lenin stated over a century ago:

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement then the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology." - [V.I. Lenin: No "Third" Ideology \(What is to Be Done\)](#)

Then there is the minor, but nevertheless somewhat mass phenomenon of the disappointed Bernie Sanders supporters who have been conned into believing the Green Party represents Bernie's 'democratic socialism.' Of course they can be forgiven SOME of their naiveté. It is not widely known in these circles how there is no democracy in the Green Party so far as its unelected, permanent top leadership is concerned.

Neither will anyone but a very few real socialists (ourselves and...whom!!?) tell them that Bernie's Rooseveltian program of reforms are not possible to wring from U.S. imperialism in decline, which is the real situation of our ruling capitalist class. Contrary to what the 'underconsumptionists' of the "Chicago Socialists" and many in the recent "Socialist Convergence" have told them, the capitalist class is not only not making "record profits," but is finding it more and more difficult to make profits on anything but speculative bubbles. These profits have a fictitious characteristic, in that they are only 'made' by driving up the prices of existing values, not by generating any new ones. Likewise, the real history of such reforms as have been won from the capitalist system is a history of militant movements in the streets, not one of placing our hopes in parliamentary windbags who spend their lives toadying for the elite's campaign donations. Therefore the purely electoral Green Party project is a philosophically idealist fraud.

On international questions the U.S. Greens are much like the 'left' they leech off, only worse. They do not oppose U.S. imperialism, per se, and only call for reducing the military budget 50%, i.e., to something over \$300 Billion. We haven't seen word one from the Greens opposing the trillions Congress has agreed with Obama to spend on renovation of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Nowhere do they recognize the rise of the China/Russia imperialist alliance, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (the S.C.O) or the frictions between the S.C.O. and the U.S.-led imperialist bloc, which are increasing in both frequency and severity.

Stein plays to the World Social Forum (WSF) idea that Putin is an anti-imperialist and not the chief of the Russian imperialists. Here we see the world view down inside the rabbit hole. Meanwhile the real world is getting real scary. The onus is on the Green Party to show how they are different than other bourgeois parties that are for global nuclear disarmament. Like the Democrats and Republicans, she goes on record for disarmament, but we have been hearing their various cynical plans since 1945. So how does the Green proposal to separate the warheads from the missiles sound compared to the program of their standard bearer? Stein has another, or a different plan, calling for reductions to 1000 nuclear weapons for each power, a 'realpolitik' proposal (??!!) with 1000 warheads for whom, exactly? For Israel, for India? For Pakistan?

Instead the Greens mimic the Putin/Trump 'bromance,' with Jill Stein meeting Putin to plan more effective support for the fascist Bashar al-Assad, the butcher of Syria. Like Trump the Greens do not object to Russian/S.C.O. air and naval bases appearing on the rim of the Mediterranean Sea, a geopolitical provocation in the long run. We tell all the 2016 conjunctural Greens that for humanity to live, imperialism must die!

The Socialist Party (SP)

In many places the Socialist Party will be the only expression



Early American socialist Eugene V. Debs shakes hands with Seymour Stedman, vice-presidential running mate. Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, 1920. Photo Indiana State University

of working class political independence to be found on the ballot, and in this situation only we call for a protest vote for the SP this year. This independence is its distinguishing superiority over the Greens and more or less its one redeeming virtue, notwithstanding many perfectly supportable and correct demands in its program.

The great flaw in this program, which we call a "minimum/maximum program," where the maximum demands are reserved for holiday and election stump speeches, is a peculiar pacifism that renders this party helpless when inter-imperialist war approaches, as it has begun to approach again today. The Socialist Party maintains there is only one remaining superpower

in the world. See no evil, hear no evil, etc. It could be argued that the SP raises 'transitional demands,' i.e., demands that pose the question 'which class will rule?' But the SP program has no logical system of these demands that lead the working class inexorably over the bridge from the consciousness of the present to the seizure of all political power.

Certainly in its heyday the SP produced great leaders who led militant actions against war and went to jail for doing so and even ran for President from a prison cell. But these leaders lost control of the party to the Gompers jingoists, and the SP-USA majority, like all but the Bolshevik party and handfuls of others internationally, supported 'our own' capitalists and made U.S. World War I participation possible.

The 2nd International, the SP's parent international body, made a second such trap for itself in the 1930s joining international Stalinism in various "People's Fronts," leading workers first to defeat where revolutionary victories were eminently possible and then into a repeat of their great pro-capitalist betrayal of 1914. In the U.S.A. the pacifism of Norman Thomas, the many-times SP presidential candidate, erased all mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the armed militias of the workers and oppressed on which this power must naturally be based, and the post-1848 orthodoxy of Marx and Engels that the bourgeois state cannot serve the workers and must be smashed.

Look through their detailed program and you will find nothing calling for a break with bourgeois parliamentarism, even if you could charitably argue that it does call for self-organized expressions of workers' power. There is no accident of history involved in these omissions and failures. The Soltyk campaign may look and sound more 'revolutionary' than the Bernie phenomenon ever was, but in the end it wears the straightjacket of the past where Kautsky and Bernstein in Europe, Allende in South America and Gompers and Hillman, et. al. in the U.S. denatured the SP's socialism in service to 'their own' ruling classes. Where the SP is the only nominal workers party on the ballot, we say hold your nose and toggle the lever, to trust little in this ticket and more in your own workday experiences.

Peace and Freedom Party (P&FP)

A minimum/maximum program is not unique to the Socialist Party. In California, the Peace and Freedom Party (P&FP), under the banner reading “Not by Elections Alone,” has run on such a ‘minimum/maximum program’ for many years, telling workers that a vote for the P&FP presidential candidates cannot spoil the Democratic Party presidential chances because California is a “safe state”. Proof of this two-faced strategy is their refusal to run congressional candidates in places like Oakland (a strong P&FP base) where such votes will not spoil the races for the ‘good Democrats’ like Barbara Lee.

When workers ask who they should vote for President we tell them that the way the system works, no matter who you vote for the Ruling Capitalist Class is going to win. So what to do with the franchise? We say use it as a poll of anti-capitalist sentiment. To that end we have considered the various “left” and socialist parties programs. We weigh them in contrast to the historic task of the working class to save humanity and civilization from the lemming-like charge toward the abyss of global economic crisis, inter-imperialist war and runaway environmental collapse.

Socialist Equality Party

The Socialist Equality Party (SEP) led by David North, which is the successor of the Worker’s League, the American Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, are fielding candidates as usual. Despite the claims the SEP Statement of Principles, their election statement is not a transitional program, building the bridge to the socialist revolution, but based on three sets of demands, to “*Oppose US militarism! Stop the drive to World War III!*”, “*Put an end to poverty and [SEP] social inequality!*”, and “*Defend democratic rights! No to government spying and police violence!*”, along with a call for a “*political party [SEP] for the working class*” and for an “*internationalist and socialist program for the working class*”. The SEP can sound like orthodox Trotskyists when they want to, and certainly to the left of most other socialist campaigns.

The SEP election website also links to the SEP formal political program, which is far more orthodox than their campaign leaflet. The Spartacist League labels the North tendency as “political bandits” who will opportunistically say anything based on their needs of the moment. The World Socialist Website (WSWS) is filled with articles that read like a left news source thoroughly lacking in political program. It is very difficult to pin down their actual politics without sifting through a massive amount of material on their site. The election is no exception. They have their campaign literature and then they have their formal program that does raise demands like a sliding scale of hours and wages and expropriation of the capitalist class. But most are not likely to read the long 144 point SEP political program.

In their election campaign literature, the SEP calls for “*a radical redistribution of wealth, the seizure of the ill-gotten gains of the financial aristocracy, and the nationalization of the major banks and corporations,*” but they sidestep the question of expropriation of industry (i.e. nationalization with **no** compensation to the major shareholders) and notably stop at any corporation below

\$10 billion dollars. The SEP’s election program for jobs is not the historic sliding scale of wages and hours, 30 hour workweek at 40 hours pay, but stops at “*a multitrillion-dollar public works program to rebuild infrastructure throughout the country.*”

They do call for workers control of “*publicly owned enterprises.*” However, such a demand could constitute anything from the Workers’ Self-Directed Enterprises that Richard Wolff advocates, the decentralized “eco-socialism” of the Greens, classic social-democratic nationalized industries to actual workers’ expropriation.

A workers’ government **is** needed to carry through the socialist tasks, to abolish capitalism; the expropriation of major industry and finance, the suppression of Capital as a class and the building of a sane, rational, centralized planned collectivized economy managed and run through democratic workers’ councils with production for human needs. The SEP election leaflet calls for a workers’ government but fails to mention the core of working class power, a workers’ militia and workers’ councils.

As far as the SEP’s position on war, they fail to recognize Russia or China as imperialist powers and if not outright supporting Assad, alongside the Russia Today (RT) socialists, implicitly that is where they stand, as they oppose the Syrian Revolution. They claim to be fighting for “*a mass anti-war movement of the international working class.*” They “*call for the dismantling of the massive Pentagon war machine, the CIA, the NSA and other covert operations of American imperialism, and the reallocation of the trillion-dollars-plus spent annually on the military, nuclear arms and war debt-servicing, for peaceful and socially useful needs*”. Only their own sectarian practice separates their “mass anti-war movement of the international working class” from that of the WSF-inspired United National Antiwar Coalition or the anti-war speeches of Stein, all of whom support Assad and oppose the Syrian revolution. The Marxist method of opposing imperialist wars is to organize class struggle against one’s “own” ruling class, through labor political strikes, labor boycotts of military goods and fighting to turn the imperialist war into a civil war at home against Capital. What they call for is a parliamentary program of legal and budget changes, as if these could be accomplished without overthrowing the capitalist rulers.

One would think that given the war by the ruling class’ racist cops against the black population that any socialist platform would make the question of black oppression a major centerpiece of their campaign. The SEP in their election platform bizarrely states that the “*fight against racial and identity politics is a component part of the SEP’s fight to unify the international working class*”.

This is not surprising considering that SEP Presidential Candidate Jerry White in 2012 stated that the “*killing of Trayvon Martin is not fundamentally about race*”. This is divorced from social reality in the United States and is little better than the sewer socialists of the Socialist Party in the early 20th Century who had “*nothing special to offer the Negro*” this side of socialism. It is the failure of the workers’ movement in America to fight in a significant way against racist oppression of the black population that has kept the working class divided and weak. The struggle for the democratic rights of the oppressed **is the tradition** of the

Third International, the Trotskyist movement and Leninism. It is the duty of a socialist party to be the “*tribune of the people, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation*”.

The CWG proudly calls for militant, determined, disciplined and trained labor, black and brown self-defense guards be organized to defend the oppressed black, brown and immigrant communities against the racist cops, vigilantes and fascists. Every killing at the hands of the police should be met with worker tribunals and labor political strikes. “They shoot us down, we shut them down!” It is also necessary to build a fight to expel the police and prison guards from the unions and labor federations.

Of course the SEP is not going to lead that fight. Their predecessor, the Workers’ League supported a police strike in the 1970’s and were famous for saying that cops were workers (just like Kshama Sawant’s Socialist Alternative party does even now.) Today the SEP writes of the trade unions as capitalist institutions, even actually advising workers in 2007, “*should the UAW come to their plant, to vote to keep it out.*” Unable to distinguish a workers’ organization from the pro-capitalist, sellout union leadership, the sectarian SEP during the Verizon strike called for rank and file committees whose main action was to petition the union bureaucrats to be nice and democratic with the contract vote.

Socialist Action

In the classical style of Barnesism without Barnes, Socialist Action is running a campaign not very different from the P&FP and the Greens. Barnesism is a historical turn away from Trotsky’s revolutionary program in favor of a sectoral program for single issue organizations of oppressed minorities joining together to fight for “revolutionary” democratic demands. In practice, Barnesism invests democratic demands with transitional-to-socialism content and even envisions socialism as achievable by Constitutional Amendments, an idea traceable to James P. Cannon on the stand in his Smith Act trial and re-vivified by the Barnes gang during Watergate. Socialist Action in recent years drove out the members who support the Syrian revolution and say they’ll support one when it comes along, but meanwhile support Assad against imperialism. They have no conception of Chinese and Russian imperialism, never mind the activities of their alliance, the S.C.O., the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

The Socialist Action candidate, Jeff Mackler, defends every act of Barnesism up to the moment when his tendency was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party. And meanwhile the Jack Barnes SWP has departed for the greener pastures of Castroist apologetics, even as the Castros restore capitalism in Cuba. The SWP tells workers they need a leadership akin to that of Fidel. The irony of the SWP position, which is actually to the left of the position of Socialist Action, is that they call on Syrian workers to overthrow Assad while Castro and the Bolivarians embrace him! Where Socialist Action or any of the other pro-Assad sects and the SWP are on the ballot, we suggest votes for the SWP on this basis. This was a hard call for us to make, given the SWP’s

betrayal of the Palestinians and the Barnes gang’s denunciation of the BDS movement and Palestinian student militants as “Jew Haters.” Only their objectively pro-Syrian-revolutionary position outweighs this betrayal, ever so slightly and only in the present and in its context.

The classical, 1971-program Barnesism wobbles on in Socialist Action, here as sectarian abstentionism, there as opportunism, and frequently as wrong as can be on the biggest questions of the day as well as caving in in front of the objectivists. As late as the summer of 1993 Socialist Action considered the former U.S.S.R. a degenerated workers state on account of the survival of the economic plan. This despite the triumph of the Yeltsin gang of ‘shock therapists’ and their program of capitalist restoration almost two years earlier.

Mackler himself could have mobilized Socialist Action’s antiwar coalition to picket the 2009 fund-raising breakfast the San Francisco Labor Council held for Nancy Pelosi. Instead, S.A. broke with the united front and their own vote within it and refused to picket, bowing to pressure from Alan Benjamin, Labor Council honcho and leading Lambertist of the Socialist Organizer tendency, the champion objectivists of the U.S. left. (Link)

Socialist Action raises a familiar version of the [minimum/maximum program](#) without a bridge for how to get from here (the reforms they advocate like tax the rich, fight for \$15 as a step to a higher minimum wage, a steeply graduated income tax, top union wages for all, cops out of the black and brown communities, etc.) to there (the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy to be run under democratic workers control and a workers government.) Like many of the branches of those who lay claim to the lineage of revolutionary Marxism, these erstwhile Trotskyists say nothing in either their 10-point program or their Full Draft Program about how workers can seize power. Treading lightly around the edge of transitional demands, about to swing for the fences, indeed while looking at the bleachers as some far off destination after gazing at the pitch, their program balks and takes the walk.

Let’s be very clear here. Not unlike the P&FP, the Greens and others, SA rips a page out of the [Transitional Program](#) of the Fourth International written by Leon Trotsky but leave the rest for the workers to discover themselves. For them the bridge from minimum to maximum does not have to be constructed, sharpened, and propagandized for. Their programs remain Kautskyian, a caricature of Marxism and anti-Trotskyist because in their conception the transition can be alluded to and does not need to be spelled out. “Far be it from us” to be so presumptuous as to offer the clock with its spring fully wound (or in this day and age with a new battery). Theirs is the case of the tick without the tock.

In face of capitalist terrorization of the workers, students and black and brown communities, Socialist Action astutely demands cops out of the schools and out of the black and brown communities, something we will march for side by side with the masses 7 days a week. However, in classical reformist fashion they do not tell the workers or the oppressed who can and ultimately who will get the cops out of the schools and who will defend the black and brown communities from the vigilantes,

cops and neo-fascists. Nor does their program mention the role of the cops in shutting down picket lines, smashing strikes and herding scabs for the bosses. Had Socialist Action or the other reformist outfits ripped a few more pages from their faded copies of the Transitional Program they would have found the revolutionary program of self-defense:

"Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands.

The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory – and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.

A new upsurge of the mass movement should serve not only to increase the number of these units but also to unite them according to neighborhoods, cities, regions. It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a workers' militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press." - Leon Trotsky, [Transitional Program](#)

Like other reformists or min/max ‘socialists’ the SA calls for a massive public workers’ program and a reduction of the work hours by 25% with no reduction of wages. Again pieces of the Transitional Program which sound radical by themselves, can be easily embraced by the masses and cannot be fully implemented by the capitalist class. But again the abbreviated version of the program leaves the workers without their own agency taking the workers from seizing control to self-management of the economic plan.

"The struggle against unemployment is not to be considered without the calling for a broad and bold organization of public works. But public works can have a continuous and progressive significance for society, as for the unemployed themselves, only when they are made part of a general plan worked out to cover a considerable number of years. Within the framework of this plan, the workers would demand resumption, as public utilities, of work in private businesses closed as a result of the crisis. Workers' control



Socialist revolution is the only answer for capitalist exploitation, poverty, racism climate change and war.

Photo Credit: Philadelphia Coalition for Real Justice

in such case: would be replaced by direct workers' management.

The working out of even the most elementary economic plan – from the point of view of the exploited, not the exploiters – is impossible without workers' control, that is, without the penetration of the workers' eye into all open and concealed springs of capitalist economy. Committees representing individual business enterprises should meet at conference to choose corresponding committees of trusts, whole branches of industry, economic regions and finally, of national industry as a whole. Thus, workers' control becomes a school for planned economy. On the basis of the experience of control, the proletariat will prepare itself for direct management of nationalized industry when the hour for that eventuality strikes.” - Leon Trotsky, [Transitional Program](#)

And like all [min/max programs](#) there is the reduction of Marx’s materialism to idealism by making the obligatory demand in their point #9 ***“For a democratically-planned socialist economy where the banks, basic industries and all natural resources are the collective property of working people – the 99 percent – and democratically operated for human betterment not the individual profits of the one percent.”*** With the goal so eloquently laid out it is amazing to see them miss the mark. Not unlike where first year baseball little leaguers’ batters have the ball set upon a stand for them to swing at, the audience is amazed when they strike out! SA follows this statement of purpose with a set of democratic demands which condemn the batter to strike out every time. This is how their socialist candidates see the transition to socialism:

“Tax the rich and their corporations, not working people! End corporate bailouts! [Note: \$32 trillion in corporate bailouts was granted to corporate America in the years immediately following the 2008 economic crash. See Project Censored Report. For every dollar paid in taxes by U.S. corporations \$27 is granted back in government subsidies. See: 2016 Oxfam Report.]

- *Close all tax loopholes for the rich. Nationalize all illegally “offshored” corporate profits.*
- *For a steeply-graduated progressive income tax!*
- *100% tax on all incomes over \$300,000. Zero percent tax on all incomes under \$50,000.*
- *Low interest, long-term government loans to protect small farmers gouged by banks and food trusts.*
- *End all military and military-related spending: Use the money saved towards a massive public works program and to fulfill the demands above.”*

In contrast we consider the Transitional Program, obviously long forgotten, despite being sold in the used books section of the SA, SWP and others' bookstores.

"The socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination, should in no case during the present transitional period hinder us from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie. Thus, in answer to the pathetic jeremiads of the gentlemen democrats anent the dictatorship of the "60 Families" of the United States or the "200 Families" of France, we counterpose the demand for the expropriation of those 60 or 200 feudalistic capitalist overlords.

In precisely the same way, we demand the expropriation of the corporations holding monopolies on war industries, railroads, the most important sources of raw materials, etc.

The difference between these demands and the muddleheaded reformist slogan of "nationalization" lies in the following: (1) we reject indemnification; (2) we warn the masses against demagogues of the People's Front who, giving lip service to nationalization, remain in reality agents of capital; (3) we call upon the masses to rely only upon their own revolutionary strength; (4) we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers.

The necessity of advancing the slogan of expropriation in the course of daily agitation in partial form, and not only in our propaganda in its more comprehensive aspects, is dictated by the fact that different branches of industry are on different levels of development, occupy a different place in the life of society, and pass through different stages of the class struggle. Only a general revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat can place the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie on the order of the day. The task of transitional demands is to prepare the proletariat to solve this problem." - Leon Trotsky, [Transitional Program](#)

While some may call us harpies finding fault with everyone but ourselves, we are resolved to fight for the historic program of the working class. Our class' program is more than a string of democratic demands linked to maximum socialist demands. The dialectical method embodied in the 1938 Transitional Program cannot be reduced to abject sloganeering. It requires its advocates to paint the picture of how to get from here, the current backward state of the workers' consciousness and lack of self-confidence and a generalized lack of awareness of being a class in itself, to the conscious expression of the tasks of the class for itself by expressing the means of getting from here to there. This requires the championing of the organs of the democratic self-organization



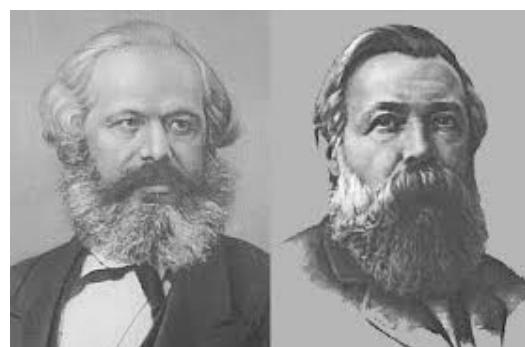
Lenin and Trotsky at the First Comintern Congress.

Build a new revolutionary workers international, the world party of socialist revolution!

and oppressed own self-defense (workers' militia) that disarms the police and expropriates the capitalist class.

To fight for such a program the working class requires its own fighting revolutionary party in each nation which is linked in a democratic centralist international committed to the world revolution, that advances the permanent revolution to complete the national democratic revolution and which unites the workers of the world in the fight against their own bourgeoisie as the imperialists of the US/EU bloc and the China/Russia bloc drive us closer and closer to inter-imperialist war and ecological meltdown.

The CWG charts the degeneration of the socialist left and their lemming like fall into the abyss. Despite themselves and with this article we advocate a critical vote for the class independent outfits on a ballot in your polling place, not as an endorsement of these parties but as a protest against the capitalists and as a poll of the desire of the class for its own revolutionary workers' party. We advocate that militant workers challenge these degenerated socialists with a revolutionary program and only advocate a vote for these candidates with a copy of the Transitional Program in one hand and a copy of State and Revolution in the other.



What we Fight For

We fight to overthrow Capitalism

Historically, capitalism expanded world-wide to free much of humanity from the bonds of feudal or tribal society, and developed the economy, society and culture to a new higher level. But it could only do this by exploiting the labour of the productive classes to make its profits. To survive, capitalism became increasingly destructive of "nature" and humanity. In the early 20th century it entered the epoch of imperialism in which successive crises unleashed wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Today we fight to end capitalism's wars, famine, oppression and injustice, by mobilising workers to overthrow their own ruling classes and bring to an end the rotten, exploitative and oppressive society that has exceeded its use-by date.

We fight for Socialism.

By the 20th century, capitalism had created the pre-conditions for socialism –a world-wide working class and modern industry capable of meeting all our basic needs. The potential to eliminate poverty, starvation, disease and war has long existed. The October Revolution proved this to be true, bringing peace, bread and land to millions. But it became the victim of the combined assault of imperialism and Stalinism. After 1924 the USSR , along with its deformed offspring in Europe, degenerated back towards capitalism. In the absence of a workers political revolution, capitalism was restored between 1990 and 1992. Vietnam and China then followed. In the 21st century only North Korea survives as a degenerated workers state. We unconditionally defend the DPRK against capitalism and fight for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy as part of a world socialist revolution.

We fight to defend Marxism

While the economic conditions for socialism exist today, standing between the working class and socialism are political, social and cultural barriers. They are the capitalist state and bourgeois ideology and its agents. These agents claim that Marxism is dead and capitalism need not be exploitative. We say that Marxism is a living science that explains both capitalism's continued exploitation and its attempts to hide class exploitation behind the appearance of individual "freedom" and "equality". It reveals how and why the reformist, Stalinist and centrist misleaders of the working class tie workers to bourgeois ideas of nationalism, racism, sexism and equality. Such false beliefs will be exploded when the struggle against the inequality, injustice, anarchy and barbarism of capitalism in crisis, led by a revolutionary Marxist party, produces a revolutionary class-consciousness.

We fight for a Revolutionary Party

The bourgeoisie and its agents condemn the Marxist party as totalitarian. We say that without a democratic and a centrally organised party there can be no revolution. We base our beliefs on the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and Trotskyism. Such a party, armed with a transitional program, forms a bridge that joins the daily fight to defend all the past and present gains won from capitalism to the victorious socialist revolution. Defensive struggles for bourgeois rights and freedoms, for decent wages and conditions, will link up the struggles of workers of all nationalities, genders, ethnicities and sexual orientations, bringing about movements for workers control, political strikes and the arming of the working class, as necessary steps to workers' power and the smashing of the bourgeois state. Along the way, workers will learn that each new step is one of many in a long march to revolutionize every barrier put in the path to their victorious revolution.

We fight for Communism.

Communism stands for the creation of a classless, stateless society beyond socialism that is capable of meeting all human needs. Against the ruling class lies that capitalism can be made "fair" for all, that nature can be "conserved", that socialism and communism are "dead", we raise the red flag of communism to keep alive the revolutionary tradition of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution, the Third Communist International until 1924, and the revolutionary Fourth International up to its collapse into centrism, with the closing of the International Center. We fight to build a new Communist International, as a world party of socialism capable of leading workers to a victorious struggle for socialism.

Join us:

Where overthrowing capitalism is all in a days work !!!

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Integrating the RWG (Zim), CWG (A/NZ), RWG (BR), CWG (USA)

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