

RED FLAG



NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY * WWW.ICWPREDFLAG.ORG



ICWP SUMMMER PROJECT BRINGS COMMUNIST IDEAS TO TRANSIT WORKERS

LOS ANGELES, CA--“Why are the sheriffs here?” an MTA driver asked a *Red Flag* seller in today’s early morning hours. “Because they’re afraid of you workers getting this literature,” she answered. To this the driver said, “That’s because management knows that they drove Paul to his death. It’s their fault he died and they don’t want the truth out!”

This is the mass sentiment conveyed to *Red Flag* sellers as they went to eight MTA divisions with a communist analysis of Paul’s death. (See *Red Flag*, 7/7/11) With ‘thumbs up,’ ‘fist of supports,’ “Thanks for being here,” and “What you’re doing is very important, keep it up!” hundreds of MTA workers welcomed our communist newspapers and leaflets. Many took extra papers and leaflets for their friends. Some donated money.

Equally massive was the disbelief and anger of workers when they read our leaflet exposing MTA management’s threats to discipline 50 to 60 drivers from Division 15 for attending Paul’s funeral.

These drivers took off from work to pay their last respects, to honor their friend and co-worker, and show solidarity with his family. This is the humane, honorable and working class thing to do: to always be there for one’s family, friends and co-workers.

MTA’s rules forced these drivers to take off from work without permission

If they had asked for permission, it would have been definitely denied. Having been denied and going without permission would have meant a mandatory two-day suspension without pay. Besides, depending on each driver’s record, it could also have meant a 30 day suspension or firing.

The drivers’ plan was to avoid any reprisal from management by submitting that absence as a sick day, to which they are entitled. Management, however, did the unprecedented: three of them attended the funeral. Thus, they were killing two birds with one stone: appear as though they “cared” for Paul and write down the names of all the drivers present to prevent them from using sickness as an excuse for being absent that day.

MTA has criminalized these workers for going to the funeral and wants to make them pay dearly for it. MTA’s reign of terror is making life unbearable for all MTA workers because they want to fire them or force them to

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BOEING BOSSES RELY ON THEIR MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE; BOEING WORKERS MUST RELY ON COMMUNIST-INSPIRED MOBILIZATIONS

SEATTLE, WA — “He’s just a black man trying to keep his job,” said one of the few African-American engineers at Boeing, in a half-hearted attempt to defend Obama. Thousands of his co-workers were furious with the president for siding with the company’s attempt to install a cheap labor regime in aerospace.

All along Boeing’s biggest union, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) has been praising Obama for “leading by example and staying out of it.”

“It” refers to the complaint the union brought to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The suit charges that Boeing illegally moved production of three 787 Dreamliners per month to South Carolina to punish workers for exercising their “right to strike.”

“This is not a matter for politicians to be throwing their weight around on,” said Frank Larkin, a spokesman for the union. “This is an enforcement issue, and there is a process for handling enforcement issues.”

Of course, Obama had no intention of “staying out of it.” The *Seattle Weekly* reported that Obama sent his “cabinet-pick lackey to take sides in the Boeing/NLRB fight (6/22).”

Commerce Secretary nominee John Bryson, formerly of the Boeing Board of Directors, told a congressional hearing that the NLRB’s decision to move forward with the complaint “was not the right decision.”

Boeing officials were “doing the right thing for the country by keeping [low-paid!] jobs in the U.S.,” he continued.

Lest anyone have any doubts, Obama followed up at a press conference saying, “companies need to have the freedom to relocate.”

“We can’t afford to have labor **See BOEING, page 2**

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS MOBILIZE TO FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST WORKERS' POWER

MTA from page 1 quit. The higher the workers' seniority, the better for them – it means less pensions and benefits to pay out! Besides, new hires get lower wages and fewer benefits. As usual, under capitalism money trumps workers' lives.

Capitalist ethics versus working class communist ethics

The bosses would love for us to have their ethics of dog-eat-dog, every person for themselves. They have no honor among themselves, and their love of money and power is above anything and everything. Workers' lives for them are worthless. For them, we are nothing but expendable machines whose sole purpose is to produce their profits.

These drivers' actions showed different ethics. They showed working class solidarity: appreciation, respect and commitment to our class. When coupled with the understanding that we need to destroy the system that is destroying us and replace it with a communist society, it becomes communist solidarity. This is what the bosses fear most. This is why the sheriffs show up to harass *Red Flag* sellers.

Workers and students everywhere must support these drivers

All workers at MTA, and workers and students everywhere, should support these workers and not allow the MTA bosses to get away with this vicious anti-working class attack. We must nourish and strengthen every attempt by workers to organize ourselves into the communist-conscious class we must become to destroy the bosses' murderous system and build a communist world where workers lives, needs and interests will be society's only concern.

Let's be ready to support these workers with a political strike that exposes the dog-eat-dog nature of capitalism's ethics and puts forwards the

working class ethics of one for all and all for one. Let's organize a political strike that puts the blame for Paul's murder on capitalism and helps build, nationally and internationally, the communist class consciousness we need to bury capitalism-imperialism with a communist revolution.

The MTA bosses are trying to break these drivers' fighting spirit and class solidarity, the beginning of that communist consciousness we need.

Worker-boss life and death struggle must be decided in our favor

As Paul's case shows, we are in a life and death struggle with the capitalists-imperialists who rule over us. Every day it is becoming more obvious: it is either them or us. Let's guarantee our survival and their extermination.

We can't count on their treacherous union hacks to organize this fight. Only the rank and file can do it. It must be led by ICWP members, *Red Flag* readers, and friends at MTA. Get in touch with them. Contact us. Join us and help organize our political response to the bosses' fascist attacks, their perpetual racism, sexism, exploitation and wars for profits.

An injury to one is an injury to all! Fight for communism. Power to the working class!



Taking Red Flag To Transit Workers

My first time distributing and selling *Red Flag* to transit workers at the MTA in Los Angeles was both surprising and encouraging because this was my first time doing this type of work for ICWP.

I was unsure if people would be interested in taking a paper, but to my surprise more people wanted to read it than turned it down. When I tried to give a paper to one bus driver, after showing him the article on the MTA worker who died from stress brought on by the capitalist bosses, his response was "No, I can't afford to strike right now."

This discussion led to his co-worker, who did take a paper, saying that a strike was needed since they haven't had a contract in two years. I also learned from that same MTA worker that many of them work 8 to 15 hour days, and they are not paid for that same amount of hours.

When one of the MTA workers asked me why this mattered to me as a high school student, my response was that although I am a student, I am a part of the collective working class which believes in a world where we the working class should be in charge.

Also, many times these injustices go unsaid, and the bosses always come out on top. This has to end.

This experience has encouraged me to continue my efforts, along with others in the ICWP, to mobilize the masses for a communist revolution so there won't be a system where unequal work and exploitation exist.

--Red High School Student

BOEING from page 1

and management fighting all the time, at a time when we're competing against Germany and China and other countries that want to sell goods all around the world."

In other words, sacrifice your livelihood, pensions and medical for the profits of U.S. bosses. If that doesn't save their system, you can send your sons and daughters off to war to destroy the bosses' competition.

The Legal Process Is The Problem, Not The Solution

The merits of the case are clear. In a videotaped interview with the *Seattle Times*, Boeing vice president in charge of commercial production Jim Albaugh, said: "The overriding factor [for the move] was...that we can't afford to have a work stoppage every three years. We can't afford to continue the rate of escalation of wages as we have in the past."

The facts are clear: relying on the legal process was the fatal mistake. In fact, the legal process is right now leading us into a no-strike trap.

Everyone from the president on down is pushing for secret negotiations. The outline of a deal has already been spread across the pages of every

local and national newspaper.

In exchange for some vague promise of Washington State jobs many years in the future, the union is offering a no-strike pledge for a decade or more. Ironically, it may become harder to strike at the unionized plants than at the non-union plants!

Law always provides a political cover for the bosses' exploitive system. We can't win in that arena.

Communist Mobilizations Are The Solution

We can win if we concentrate on building mobilizations inspired by communist ideas.

These mobilizations are not only for the future, but can help us avoid the bosses' traps in our present-day struggles.

When we hold state power there will be no presidents to enforce the bosses' right to exploit us. We will eliminate the bosses and their government.

Workers will no longer be pitted against each other, always undercutting each other for the few crumbs the bosses throw our way. The working class will lead masses to produce for our collective security. Jets will be produced for our collective need, not the bosses' profit.

Communist mobilizations, like a political

strike in the 2012 contract battle, point the way to a system that relies on a working class aware of its historical role. Communism will not just be a society of better laws or more vigorous enforcement. The historical role of the working class -- must be to make communist principles--like production for collective need and share-and-share-alike the property of the masses.

Nobody's Fool

The Boeing engineer was nobody's fool. For example, he could cite, chapter and verse, the bosses' plans to take away his family's medical care.

"Yeah, Obama is trying to save his job," agreed our comrade, "and he's going to cut your medical care to do it!"

"We'll have to go to communism," he admitted after some thought. "The pendulum will have to swing that way."

Millions are taking to the streets every week all around the world because they can no longer stand the bosses' attacks. Now is the time to build for this new society, not to trust in the "swing of a pendulum."

He agreed to help with our August summer project. Now he -- and many others -- have to join our Party. This is the struggle of our lifetimes!



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EVER ASK: WHY ARE WE FIGHTING THESE IMPERIALIST WARS?

“We do not negotiate with terrorists. We put them out of business.” So said George W. Bush’s Press Secretary in 2006. Yet recent Fox News headlines read “Karzai: Afghanistan, U.S. negotiating with Taliban.”

WHAT?!

Clearly the U.S. is losing the Afghanistan war. Workers and soldiers are realizing that there is no good reason for soldiers and marines to fight and die in the Middle East.

The working class never benefits from these wars. Ordinary workers are increasingly unsettled that the US is still in Afghanistan.

The ruling class makes war for its own gain. They hoped that Iraq and Afghanistan would solidify their empire. They now realize that they’ve lost these wars. They’re trying to get out of them to prepare for bigger wars, maybe in Iran, but for sure, long term, with China.

Soldiers and sailors are caught in the middle, killing and dying in the process. Negotiations with the Taliban, who used to be the “sworn enemy,” should help soldiers and marines realize that they are just pawns in the deadly game.

Why Do We Just Follow Orders? Should We Question Them?

Whenever high school students show interest in joining the military, I always tell them, speaking as a veteran, that it is a great experience.

But I then always state the truth: Soldiers have a mind of their own, so don’t ever think that you

cannot criticize your own government. In fact, you have the power to overthrow that government in a revolutionary communist movement dedicated to fulfill the needs of the entire working class.

In every war, the command cynically endangers the the lives of enlisted personnel. In the Korean War, many US/UN soldiers died in the Battle of Pork Chop Hill during the peace negotiations that then gave away the hill.

In the 1969 Battle for Hamburger Hill, during the Vietnam War, US brass wasted the lives of military personnel on a direct assault on a hill that the US then abandoned. Hamburger Hill and dozens of battles like it motivated soldiers in Vietnam to turn the guns around on their officers.

A GI (enlisted soldier) underground newspaper in Vietnam publicly offered a \$10,000 bounty on the officer who ordered the attack on Hamburger Hill. He survived several attempts on his life to live out his tour.

But the Army itself admitted that 209 other officers were killed by “their own men” in 1970 alone. At least two soldier rebellions (mutinies) rocked Vietnam every week during the summer of 1971. Entire companies refused to fight.

Hundreds of resistance newspapers appeared. There were rebellions in every stockade, and mutinies on the Navy ships Kitty Hawk and Constellation, among others. Eventually the US had to withdraw from Vietnam, because soldiers and marines refused to fight.

But it’s not enough to simply refuse orders. We should go even further.

During World

War I, Russian soldiers joined together with workers and successfully overthrew the capitalist Russian government. It was the first real crack at building a workers’ state.

A Fight Worth Living and Dying For: Communist Revolution

Men and women in uniform have a critical role in the revolutionary movement. The government supplies us with weapons, and relies on orders for us to kill and die for their profits. Capitalism treats workers and soldiers like old clothes, to be worn out and thrown away.

The U.S. has a long history of doing this to us, and we must break that cycle now.

We must know that the real reason for fighting imperialist wars is for the benefit of capitalists. This is the first step.

Then we organize the working class and soldiers to fight for our own class interest. Soldiers around the world should give and follow orders that place the working class in power.

We must fight for a communist society, where society is organized for the benefit of all.

How will we sustain our revolution? Women and men with military experience will help teach basic survival skills and specialized skills to everyone. They will train the masses to combat the enemies of the revolution.

They will work with other workers who know the local situation and terrain. They won’t be he soldiers in our Red Army will not be limited to only one job. In addition, they will work side by side with other workers in the factories and fields, always ready to do whatever is needed and to go wherever the party and the working class need them most. When we mobilize the masses for communism, everything we fight for will absolutely be worthwhile.



MILITARY DRAFT IN EL SALVADOR: DANGER & OPPORTUNITY

SAN SALVADOR—A law has just been passed approving compulsory military service, which will allow the army to draft youth in poor neighborhoods under the pretext of fighting violence in El Salvador. This has been called reactionary and a crime against human rights. Compulsory military service has been passed based on the belief that it can eliminate rising crime. This is a serious problem throughout Central America, but this is just an excuse to implement the military draft.

There will be about 5000 youth who will be recruited here. These are those who are “at risk” of joining the gangs due to their condition of poverty. It is said that this is obedience training without weapons. In reality, they are preparing these thousands of youth to fight in a war on a worldwide scale.

But it isn’t only the law or reform that encourages military service, but also hunger and unem-

ployment. Making all the students wear uniforms in all the schools in the country, and the soldiers in the streets are all related to preparing the population for military service. It seems that they are preparing things so that the youth will be willing to go to war.

The ground is being prepared for coming World War III. Imperialist powers like the United States are seeing the importance of their allies in the coming war. These youth here must be won to communist ideas so that can see that they shouldn’t use their weapons in a war between bosses but instead turn their guns against them. And it’s our duty as members of ICWP to organize these youth and soldiers.

This new law shows once more that this government of the FMLN has never been nor will ever be on the side of the working class and that the elections aren’t the solution for the workers. These

laws and reforms of a fascist nature expose those who push elections and show that the only solution is communist revolution under the leadership of our *Red Flag*.

In this situation, we can’t sit with our arms folded. This is an opportunity to build a base for communist consciousness in one of the most repressive armies of the 20th Century. This will be an enormous step for a communist revolution. Organizing these youth will help to turn the guns around against the bosses.

World War III is on the horizon and we’re seeing the imperialist powers preparing the ground for it. This situation calls on us to sharpen the struggle to achieve what the working class needs: a communist revolution. Distributing *Red Flag*, discussing its ideas in our study groups and with new friends, will help bring revolution closer under the leadership of our party, ICWP!!

Under Capitalism Racist Cops Get Away with Murder--Communist Revolution Will Execute Them

Two years ago, Los Angeles Deputy Sheriff Sergio Reyes shot and killed 16-year-old Avery Cody, Jr. in cold blood. Eyewitnesses contacted us. With their help we organized an angry protest rally and march in the neighborhood that included members of the Cody family. Many liked our leaflets that tied this racist murder to the capitalist system.

The Sheriff’s Department, with the help of the bosses’ mass media, scrambled to push the lie that Avery was a “dangerous gangbanger” as if that would justify his execution. Our small base in the neighborhood was not enough to overcome this vicious campaign.

However, a number of people in the neighborhood are now *Red Flag* readers. One of our friends distributes dozens of papers there.

The Sheriff’s Department concluded that Cop Reyes was “within policy.” He’s still on the streets.

In the two years since Reyes murdered Avery, literally hundreds more have been shot by LA cops and sheriffs, many fatally. Most are black and Latino youth.

Meanwhile, Avery’s parents filed a “wrongful death” suit against LA County. Videos taken by an eyewitness and a surveillance camera prove that Reyes’ story was a lie. When they surfaced, the judge shut down the “wrongful death” trial!

Now the parents are likely to receive a \$500,000 “settlement.” We’re glad that the truth has come out. But no amount of money is fair compensation for the murder of your child. It’s a sick capitalist system that puts a price tag on

the value of a human life.

Our protest two years ago wasn’t clear enough on why communism is the only answer to this deadly racist system. We didn’t explain that only a society without money and without bosses can value human lives in human terms. We didn’t even begin to discuss how workers would run society without the bosses’ repressive state (government).

Now *Red Flag* has started an important conversation about how the masses will carry out necessary social functions on the basis of communist consciousness and organization. Join this discussion by talking to friends, family and coworkers, and then writing up your ideas for the paper.

THREE YEARS MAKING FRIENDS AND ORGANIZING IN A GARMENT FACTORY

At the beginning, I made some mistakes in organizing only against the boss and not linking it to the whole capitalist system. We had a small work stoppage against the boss. I thought that we were organized and that we would win this struggle against the boss for a pay increase. My surprise was great when I discovered our lack of organization. We were friends, but we were all divided over this struggle.

Of course we lost this small struggle and the boss retaliated by cutting wages, and that meant that some of our co-workers left the job.

In some meetings with my club, we talked about my weaknesses and decided that I had to make the struggle broader—not only against the boss but against the whole capitalist system. We didn't show the connection between our boss and all the bosses and their capitalist system of exploitation. Time passed and I continued talking with some co-workers who are still my friends, giving them the paper. I'm also friends with some who left the factory. We've shared good times and bad. Two weeks ago they invited me and my wife to the wake of a worker who worked with us a while ago.

I was surprised by the kindness with which they greeted me, introducing me to all their friends. I saw that they didn't forget the friendship that they had with me in spite of the fact that some of them left the factory after the struggle that we had. We've planned a meeting with them.

One recent Saturday a new struggle began in the factory. We've had discussions about the weaknesses of the previous struggle and the

workers understood that our biggest mistake was in not organizing ourselves as a class in the struggle against the capitalists. Two friends recognized that it's important to organize ourselves. One of them openly confronted the boss in front of the other workers, having an argument with him on the shop floor. This inspired another worker. She confronted the boss because she's constantly hounded by him.

Last Tuesday when I came to work the co-worker told me what had happened Saturday and the way she confronted the boss. She explained to me that the boss had called her into the office to scold her because she supposedly had watched the TV for a couple of minutes. She said she was sorry, but the boss continued to reprimand her, saying that she couldn't ask for higher wages when she lost time looking at the television. She, knowing that he has humiliated other workers, answered that he was a piece of garbage and that she wouldn't let him humiliate her. He said that she couldn't use her cell phone because it kept her from producing enough. She answered that this didn't affect production and also that he paid

miserable wages anyway. We hope that next time the argument with the boss takes place in front of the rest of the workers. We hope that this struggle will help increase the readers of *Red Flag*.

This must inspire many workers in the garment factories to build study groups in their homes, with *Red Flag* as their guide. This boss is a tyrant. This capitalist system of wage slavery and profits needs and creates these tyrants to compete against other bosses. They need to maximize their profits by exploiting the workers more and more. That's why we shouldn't look for "good bosses" because they don't exist. Instead we need to build a system where we'll all produce and distribute what we need fairly to meet the needs of the whole working class. We workers will lead in all aspects of communist society, where the wellbeing, health and safety of the workers will be society's goal. There won't be any bosses, money or exploitation. Inspired by communist ideas, like these workers who took leadership against the boss, thousands and millions of workers will take leadership in the struggle against the bosses and for a communist world.



**Garment
workers in
struggle
around the
world**



LA Grocery Workers Should Check Out Communism

STRIKE AGAINST CAPITALISM, STRIKE FOR WORKERS' POWER

Los Angeles, June 28 – Hundreds of grocery workers and supporters marched today in Arcadia, Fullerton, and Compton, at supermarket corporate headquarters. About 62,000 grocery workers (UFCW 770) have worked for four months with a day-to-day contract. Negotiations are stalled. A strike authorization vote passed overwhelmingly in April.

A grocery workers' strike seven years ago lasted almost five months. It ended with major give-backs, including a two-tier system of wages and benefits.

Now the bosses are demanding more give-backs. Notably they want workers to pay 80% of all future increases in health costs.

"We don't want a strike, but we'll strike if we have to," many workers say.

Workers DO have to strike – but we need a political strike against the capitalist system itself. Such a strike could build the strength of the working-class and its revolutionary party ICWP.



What workers DON'T need is another discouraging economic strike that begs unsuccessfully to keep just a tiny fraction of the wealth we produce.

Many printed union placards reflected the workers' anti-capitalist anger. One read: "Millions for Wall Street, Nothing for Grocery Workers." Another: "\$5 Billion in Profits."

But the union channels this anger into the dead end of reformism with slogans like "Negotiate Now." It claims that rising health costs could be paid with just 3% of the companies' profits.

Every penny of those profits was sweated out of workers' labor. Profits are exactly the difference between the value workers produce and the value they receive in wages.

**A better slogan would be:
"Expropriate Now."**

Expropriation means the working class seizing control of all the means of production and distribution. This will require armed insurrection and communist revolution.

Many marchers were open to revolutionary ideas.

For example: An official chant was "What do we want? (Justice/a Contract)! When do we want it? Now!"

A comrade riffed "What do we want? (Power/No Bosses/End Capitalism)!"

"You should be up there leading the chants," someone told him.

One group had handmade signs with slogans like "People before Profits" but every single one of them was plastered with red-white-and-blue "USA" stickers. This pro-boss patriotism shows that their organization is not class-conscious in spite of the slogans. Workers worldwide are one class. Patriotism urges workers to identify with the bosses of "their" country instead of with the

international working class.

One comrade spoke to a union activist about a split in a different union. "It was probably about money," the union guy guessed.

"That's one of the problems with unions," the comrade replied, "They have adopted a capitalist way of thinking, all about money."

The union guy agreed.

"And in the present economic crisis, unions are totally on the defensive. Where's the offense?" the comrade continued. He shook his head.

Going on the offensive right now means mobilizing support for the grocery workers around communism.

In communist society, we'll all work hard but it won't be for the bosses or for money. There won't be bosses or money at all.

Instead, we'll work – and all help plan the work — to meet people's needs.

Nobody will do the same hard job all the time. Everyone will do many different kinds of work.

Some tasks that grocery workers do now will be gone altogether. Without money, we won't need cashiers, or price labels, or marketing.

Of course, organizing food distribution will still be a critical task! But it won't be cut up into "jobs" the way it is now, with some making decisions and others carrying them out.

It will be a political responsibility to make sure that all receive food according to their needs, as best we can. What a difference from the present system where those with money stuff themselves with delicacies while those without go to bed hungry!

Likewise, the same quality of health care will be freely available for all.

We invite all *Red Flag* readers in the Los Angeles area to help bring communist ideas to grocery workers, especially if there's a strike.

BRITISH STRIKERS STILL CHAINED BY UNION POLITICS

750,000 British public sector workers staged a one day strike on June 30th. Striking grade school teachers shut down 11,000 schools and partially closed thousands more. Two thirds of the Universities cancelled classes as their lecturers struck while other government offices throughout Britain were closed or disrupted. The strikers were protesting the “uncompromising stance of the government” in the negotiations about the overhaul of their pension plans.

The attack on pensions is part of the Conservative and Liberal Parties’ “austerity” program. This program has already cut 143,000 jobs, torn up the contract of 100,000 other workers and then re-instated it at lower pay, worse benefits, while imposing a two year wage freeze on nurses, teachers and city workers. In short, the government attack on state workers has already cut the contributions to their pension funds.

Pension Funds Help Bankers More Than Workers

Pension funds, though, are big business. They benefit capitalists and major banks far more than retired workers. In 1999, for example, pension funds around the world were estimated to have reached a value of \$13 trillion or almost half the value of all things produced in the world in 1999 which was about \$28 trillion!

These enormous funds are not run by committees of workers but by money managers from the major investment banks. They are therefore used in the banks’ strategic interests and not in the interest of workers, whose wages build them. In the US, for example, they have been used for takeover and mergers that end up laying off thousands

of workers, to expand housing bubbles that made hundreds of thousands homeless or invested in commodity markets that help raise the price of basic foods, creating starvation in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The *Telegraph*, a British newspaper, reports that the government attacks on public workers undermine the contributions to their pension fund, thereby threatening the government’s ability to buy its own bonds. Usually, private banks or sovereign debt funds buy these bonds, but the British economy is so weak it is finding it hard to attract enough private buyers and so is forced to buy its own bonds.

The reality, then, is that the British government wants to limit their public workers’ access to their retirement benefits so as to have more money to buy back its bonds and for the banks to invest. Cutting the benefits it pays retirees and raising the age of retirement are ways to bolster the fund’s size. For example, raising the age of retirement by one year adds some \$2 billion a year to the fund.

Capitalism or Communism

However, the problem facing the British workers is more political than financial. Although disagreeing on the details, all the institutions that shape or dominate their lives – the Conservative, Liberal and Labor Parties, the Unions, the press and media and the pension fund money managers – agree that capitalism must be saved at all cost.

For pensioners the “costs” are murderous. Three million already live in ‘fuel poverty.’ 25,000 die a year because they are unable to heat their homes adequately in winter. The life ex-

pectancy in greater Glasgow, a major city, is lower than Albania, a poor Balkan country. In Coventry (the Detroit of Britain) the local paper ran a headline last October: “Inner City Men Die Before Retirement.” The same is likely true of all major British cities. Headlines like that, of course, spell profits to the pension funds managers and their banks. Workers paying into these funds and dying before benefiting from them help grow the funds, not drain them!

Capitalism murders workers daily. Where it doesn’t murder them it controls them. It’s hard to think that, if given the choice, workers wouldn’t strike against the premeditated, wanton mass murder of retirees, rather than against the “government stance in pension negotiations.” That choice is a choice between capitalism and communism, between getting rid of the banking system and the money it hoards to use against us or saving it. At the moment that choice is academic because it has not been socially developed, and offered to the workers. “Ideas,” Karl Marx, one of the first communists, argued, “once grasped by the masses become a material force.”

It is the job of *Red Flag* and the ICWP to counter the influence of all capitalism’s institutions be they socialist, liberal, or conservative. It is the journey of a thousand miles and millions of relationships, debates and actions. It is a journey that is being spurred on in our Summer Projects and our production and distribution of *Red Flag*. It is a journey we want you to join. It will turn the idea of communist revolution into a material force.

Afghanistan Drawdown:

NO PEACE DIVIDEND IN IMPERIALIST WORLD

At a recent public meeting, a rank and file labor activist complimented the Mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa, for calling for a drawdown of U.S. troops in Afghanistan and Iraq. This activist thought Villaraigosa was honest when he claimed the resources devoted to two foreign wars would be redeployed to the peaceful infrastructure needs of U.S. cities, like Los Angeles. He believed Villaraigosa when he was widely quoted in the capitalist press saying, “That we would build bridges in Baghdad and Kandahar and not Baltimore and Kansas City absolutely boggles the mind.”

So, let us ask several questions to determine if the Mayor deserves any compliments or if he was just engaged in imperialist deception, selling future wars to the working class.

First, why did the Mayor of Los Angeles, who is a leader of the Democratic Party, break ten years of silence to finally criticize the U.S. government’s invasions and occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq?

Second, will any money saved by slowly extricating the U.S. military out of these occupations ever be spent on building bridges or anything else in U.S. cities?

The answer to these questions came from the *Financial Times*, several days after Villaraigosa’s sudden change of heart. According to their Washington, D.C. bureau chief, David MacGregor, the strategic reason why the Obama Admin-

istration favors slowly drawing down U.S. troops in Afghanistan and Iraq is to concentrate U.S. military power, including its ideology and finances, on Asia. In particular, Obama’s real goal is to expand the U.S. government’s naval presence around China’s sea lanes.

The *Financial Times* explains that this is necessary because China is the only superpower which could challenge U.S. global supremacy. The paper explains that even though the U.S. empire needs to control the oil, the oil pipeline and shipping routes, and the oil profits of the Middle East, “the road to maintain U.S. global supremacy no longer runs through Baghdad, Jerusalem, or Kabul.” What the *Financial Times* says was already revealed in the previous edition of *Red Flag* (Vol 2, #11, p. 2).

This means that Mayor Villaraigosa was hardly acting in a vacuum. His call for a slow reduction of U.S. troops in Afghanistan and Iraq preceded Obama’s speech by two days. Villaraigosa, who is a weather vane for the twists and turns of U.S. imperialism, simply presented the latest consensus of the U.S. ruling class: get ready for war with China, even if it means backing off on another imperialist priority, controlling the oil of the Middle East.

But, Villaraigosa, like the other hacks from the Democrats and Republicans, will never speak the truth. He is just one more voice supporting the deception exposed by the *Financial Times*; the

needs of U.S. imperialism, not domestic infrastructure, are behind Obama’s plan to reduce troops levels in Afghanistan.

The truth is that any money saved in the drawdown of U.S. troops in the Middle East will not be used to build bridges in Kansas City or Baltimore. It won’t be spent on U.S. cities period, except to beef up their police spying operation. But, it will be used to prepare for war, and when that time comes, you can count on Mayor Villaraigosa to support that war, as well as the domestic cutbacks to finance that war. After all, this is the same Mayor who has continually cut back LA’s civilian work force and such basic programs as maintaining streets and parks in order to support the Los Angeles Police Department.

Just as there was no peace dividend when the Cold War with the Soviet Union ended, there will be no peace dividend if or when the Afghanistan or Iraq war ends. Los Angeles, like Kansas City, Baltimore, and other U.S. cities will pay a steep price to prepare for war with China.

There won’t be any peace or peace dividend as long as capitalism-imperialism exists. Workers, soldiers and students need to take up the fight for communism to rid the world of profits and wars for profits and empire. Then and only then can we rebuild a society and an infrastructure to meet the needs of the international working class.

COMMUNISM from page 16

housing.

Just months later, though, Lenin declared that “War Communism was thrust upon us by war and ruin.” He called it a “mistake.” But the Bolsheviks’ mistake was lacking confidence that work-

ers could be mobilized for communism.

A Communist Party leader justified the NEP to the Comintern in 1921: “There was one principle which we had to maintain at all costs: the preservation of the dictatorship... We are making economic concessions in order to avoid making political concessions.”

But politics and economics can’t be separated. Fighting for “the dictatorship of the working class” without making a sustained fight to win the masses to communism was, and still is, a recipe for disaster. The sole purpose of Workers’ Power must be to engage millions upon millions in the conscious construction of a communist world.

Open Letter to Our Readers in Honduras

Recently in Honduras some people have begun to download *Red Flag* from the Internet. They report to us that it's a "very powerful paper," and that they like it a lot. Also they say that they share it with several friends.

Some of these friends, they tell us, are activists in the massive National Front of Popular Resistance (FRNP). This front is led by capitalist Manuel Zelaya, the ex-Honduran President brought down by a coup fostered by the Obama administration. They report to us that an activist of the FRNP has decided to stop risking his life fighting for the opportunist leaders of this organization. He said he didn't want to "serve as a stepping stone for anyone."

We share his way of thinking and applaud his political clarity in making this decision. The FRNP is an organization dominated by openly capitalist elements like Zelaya and by "national leaders" of city and farm workers who aspire to be high government officials to be able to steal from the workers. Let's not shed one tear or a drop of the blood of Honduran workers fighting for these enemies of our class.

However, the problem of the FNRP isn't only its leaders. Even more dangerous is its political line, which fights for "democracy" and a "New Constituent Assembly." None of these demands will get us out of the hell of capitalism, the cause

of all of our problems. In capitalist society, the government—whether chosen by the "people" in "free and democratic" elections or imposed with bayonets—represents the interests of the capitalists and exercises their dictatorship over the workers.

The Honduran workers—like workers throughout the whole world—don't need more capitalist dictators. The so-called capitalist "democracy" is a myth. This is the "freedom" that they give us to vote for which capitalist hangman will tighten the noose around our necks.

Nor do we need to fight for socialism, as Hugo Chavez and his followers advocate. History has shown—in Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc.—that socialism is state capitalism. The "leaders" who refuse to learn from history and follow this same old song are enemies of the working class, in another disguise.

We workers need to organize in the International Communist Workers' Party and fight for a communist revolution. Under communism, there won't be bosses, money, wage slavery, or privileges for anybody. We'll produce to meet the needs of the international working class.

We call on the activist mentioned above and those who download and read *Red*

Flag to join our Party and to continue struggling inside the FRNP, not as leaders risking their lives for these traitors, but as rank and file members, to win others to revolutionary communist ideas and to join our Party.

It would be a crime to leave hundreds of thousands of Honduran city workers, students and farm workers in the claws of the capitalist leaders of the FRNP. The collapse or the victory of our class will depend in large part on our actions. Our historic challenge is to help mobilize the masses for communism. Let's respond to this challenge by joining ICWP, spreading and writing for *Red Flag* and recruiting more city workers, farm workers, and students.

An ICWP Comrade



COMMUNISM, YES! CAPITALISM, NO!

The capitalists say that communism is a system that enslaves through terror and forced labor. Movies, radio, newspapers, conferences, magazines, and television talk badly about communism. But those who talk like that don't know what communism is. They're capitalists or simply mercenaries who serve capitalism.

Communism is a society where the people make a collective life, producing collectively what society needs. Under communism, we'll share abundance and scarcity. The international working class will own everything: the earth, the subsoil, the factories, transportation, etc. As workers, we deserve the best, therefore we need communism.

In order to produce in a communist society what we all need to live, we need two things: labor and the means of production. The means of production are the earth, the factories, machines, etc. And the labor is the labor power of workers, men and women, who make the means of production produce.

In a capitalist country like the US, the means of production are the private property of the bosses. But in communism all the means of production will belong to the workers. This is one of the big differences between the two systems.

Under capitalism, the bosses (as owners of the means of production) have the power that allows them not only to live well, without working, but to also determine the lives of those who have nothing and for that reason see that they're forced to work for them. That's how two classes of people are formed: the poor and the rich, the exploited and the exploiters, the oppressed and the

oppressors.

Since the exploited only have their labor power, they have to work for the owners of the land and factories to be able to survive. And, with the labor of these poor people, the rich get richer, more famous, and more powerful; while the poor never get out of being oppressed. This is capitalism.

Under communism, all will have what they need to live decently without the need to steal from anyone. The government — that is, the Communist Party— won't represent the rich, but only the workers. That's why the bosses don't like communism at all, because they would stop being bosses. But for the working people who have to pull together, communism is the best.

All the problems that we have under capitalism originate because of inequality in the distribution of wealth that the workers produce. In communism these problems will be resolved when we achieve equality in this distribution: that is, to each according to his or her need.

Let's make a small list of problems that we have under capitalism: poverty, corruption, unemployment, sellout union leaders, abuse of power, prostitution, bad education, drug addiction, and alcoholism. All of these bad things will disappear in a communist society.

Capitalist liberty means bosses' liberty to exploit us.

The rich say that under capitalism, there's a lot of liberty. They should ask the millions of black workers who live in the ghettos, or the millions of poor latinos, or the farm workers who work long shifts for the minimum wage and even less,

or the industrial workers in the garment industry and other industries, and the thousands of workers in the factories along the US-Mexican border and around the world.

The liberty that the capitalists defend so much is the liberty that they have to steal from the workers, to exploit them, to raise prices of the products and to do what they want with the workers.

There are workers who, since they don't know what communism is, get frightened because they believe the bosses' story that communism will take everything that they have away from them (as if they had so much).

Communism doesn't mean taking from the workers what has cost them their real labor (like an old house, a tooth brush and other consumer goods, an old car, and other bric-a-brac that we workers can afford to buy).

Communism means eliminating the private property of the means of production that are in the hands of the bosses. These have cost the bosses nothing, since everything they have has been acquired only by stealing from the workers.

No worker should believe the bosses' fables. It's the communists who have always struggled and who are struggling to end the oppression of capitalism for the whole working class of the world. There's only one way to put an end to this oppression for good: with a workers' revolution to bring capitalism down and to establish communism, that is, a society of equality without exploitation.

-- Veteran of the struggles in the fields of California

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Talking about Africa: Genocide and Revolution

I was talking to a high school student last week about the genocides in Africa.

We started talking about Darfur, and the International Criminal Court's (ICC) indictment of Sudanese President Bashir, supposedly for genocide in Darfur. "Why do you think that other African countries, like Kenya, Chad and Djibouti have invited Bashir to visit them, and not enforced the ICC's indictment? And why is he in China right now, being welcomed instead of being turned over to the ICC cops?" I asked.

"They don't care about the people," said my young friend. "China just wants Sudan's oil. Kenya, Chad, and Djibouti probably want oil or something from Sudan, as well."

"OK. It probably is about the oil. Do you think that the civil war between the north in Sudan, where Bashir's government is, and the south, where the oil is, might be about the oil, too? Probably ten times as many people have died there than in Darfur. What's interesting is that the *New York Times*, and George Clooney, and the US government are backing the South Sudan independence movement. Do you think that could be to get at the oil, too?"

"Hmmm...could be," my young friend answered.

"What about Libya? That's pretty sure to be about the oil, don't you think? And the fact that the ICC has also indicted Gaddafi, but the African Union has rejected the indictment might be important, too."

"Maybe Africans are tired of Europeans taking everything, and then pretending to be all honest and goody-goody. Maybe they want to control Africa themselves for once. What do you think?" asked my young friend.

"I'm sure a lot of Africans are tired of being exploited by foreigners, and by their own ruling class. Turns out that in the short run, the fight in Africa is between the US with their new military concentration called AFRICOM and their European NATO allies, on the one hand, and the BRICS countries, mostly China, on the other. African bosses are trying to figure out which group of bosses will give them a better deal. And these days, it seems that the Chinese bosses have more money, are making better deals, and aren't trying any of the 'we really care about the people' B.S. that the US and NATO use to try to get over."

"So what's the solution?" my young friend asked. "Looks like nobody cares about the people of Africa, and they're just going to get ripped off or killed no matter which side wins. And who are these 'bricks' countries you're talking about?"

"Well, the BRICS countries, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, are capitalist countries that are challenging the US and its allies, who have been ruling the world since the end of WWII.

Especially China is on the rise, and the US is on the decline. Sooner or later, this is going to lead to a 3rd World War. If workers are organized and see communism as their goal, that 3rd World War can be the opportunity to make revolution.

"And Africans aren't just victims of one imperialist or another. There is a long history of struggle against imperialism and against capitalism in Africa. Sudan, for example, had the largest Communist Party in the so-called Arab world. General strikes against the French in West Africa were led by Communists, as well.

We're doing our best to get *Red Flag* to workers throughout Africa. They can—and really need to—mobilize the masses for communism, too."

"That sounds better than just crying over the victims. I know a girl from Somalia. I'm going to see if she wants to talk to you about this stuff. OK?"

--Red reader

There's more wrong with religion than just hypocrisy

Our Summer Project group just had the first study session of four which will introduce people to Dialectical Materialism. In order to better understand what Dialectical Materialism is, we first had to discuss what the difference is between Idealism and Materialism.

The philosophy of Materialism was presented as a scientific method of looking at how things came to be. On the other hand, Idealism can be thought of as a more faith-driven method of how things came to be.

"Materialists believe that everything in the entire universe, including our thoughts and feelings, are made up of matter," said the presenter.

"Idealists argue that the only thing that really exists is one's mind – not in the physical sense, but in the mental – and that everything else is just a creation of the mind."

Materialists believe that humans along with everything else are just atoms that formed together to create us and in the end dismantle and go back into the universe. Idealists believe that a greater Deity created everything and either our minds are all created of It or IT just created one big single mind which we are all part of."

Another comrade said, "It's more dialectical to say that our thoughts and feelings are functions of material beings. Some plants photosynthesize and some animals, like people think."

Some of the comrades had grown up in a religious environment. They were all pretty disgusted with the hypocrisy of organized religion. But they hadn't thought much about the philosophy behind it.

It seemed that the comrades with religious backgrounds did not like the idea that the only thing "real" is their mind. They questioned the validity of idealism and struggled to understand its connection to the religion they'd been raised in.

Someone wondered why religions were ever created. After much discussion we came to the conclusion that it must have been created in order to keep the lower classes in check through the fear of God (or gods) and the hope of an afterlife.

One got a sense of anger from those with religious backgrounds as the discussion progressed.

One person said "Now I understand why we have to abolish organized religion in a Communist society."

Another commented, "We have discussed the hypocrisy of religion among ourselves many times, but this discussion took it to a whole different level."

Now that we have a better understanding we can spread the knowledge we gained and help others understand.

--Red Student



Transit Workers Embrace Communist Ideas of ICWP

The ICWP has been hitting MTA hard with *Red Flag* and leaflets as the Summer Project begins and the response has been very positive!

The workers tell us that MTA is exerting tremendous pressure on the drivers, mechanics, maintenance workers and others. We tell them that it is due, in part, to the enormous budget deficit that MTA has, which they can't eliminate because of the profound economic crisis and the war needs of the US bosses. That's why MTA has no choice but to squeeze its workers to the max.

One worker said that a manager claimed everyone is under stress—not just Paul (a driver whose death precipitated fascist tactics by MTA). "But," she said, "he said this while sitting behind his desk, not driving a bus like us!"

Workers have thanked us for bringing them *Red Flag* and taken extra papers. At one division, when management called the Sheriffs, a worker came up to a *Red Flag* seller and asked for the paper right in front of the Sheriff in a show of solidarity.

Workers are put on very tight schedules, in extremely unpredictable Los Angeles traffic, and service attendants are now getting the "white glove treatment" from MTA bosses. They told us that a boss will come over with a white glove to see what dirt they can find. The workers explained that it is impossible to get a bus so clean that no dirt would show up on any part of it! Drivers describe the tactics MTA uses to constantly pressure workers: cameras in drivers' faces, threats, write-ups, suspensions, firings, and so on.

It's no wonder then, that MTA workers are so open to discuss our communist politics. They eagerly take *Red Flag* and our leaflets, saying that they read and share them and agree with our ideas. They often donate money – a dollar here...two dollars there – to cover printing costs.

Also, they are so happy to see that our commitment to workers is strong, and that our paper talks about their struggle. We say, "Your struggles are the struggles of workers all around the world, because capitalism is a global system."

It's not enough that workers agree with our line and read *Red Flag* and give money though; they need to join the International Communist Workers' Party and help mobilize the masses for communism.

Some workers doubt that workers have the power to smash capitalism and to build a communist society, where workers will work collectively to produce for the needs of their class and not for the ruling class's profits. To this we answer, individuals cannot, but the International Communist Workers' Party, composed of millions – billions! – of the world's workers can and will because we fight to WIN! Join us!

Questions for *Red Flag* Study- Action Groups

The article "Class Rule and the State" (p. 16) says that communist society will not have a state. Our Party is debating the best way to implement the policy of mobilizing the masses to carry out whatever few functions of the state that will be needed. Will we have rules? Laws? How will we protect people from bad or unsafe behavior? Please send in your comments and questions about how the Party should lead the working class to rule itself and abolish the state under communism.

CLASS RULE AND THE STATE

“The state” in political philosophy doesn’t mean a country, like Mexico, or a subdivision of a country, like California. Instead, it is a group of social institutions that can force one class of people to obey policies or laws that are imposed on them by another class. These oppressive institutions include police, courts, judges, prisons, armies, legislatures, prosecutors, government bureaucracies, etc. Other organizations also work closely with the state to keep the ruling class in power through propaganda and deception. In capitalist society, these include newspapers, TV, schools, churches, unions, political parties, etc.

The state’s job is always to oppress a social class to maintain the rule of another class. To do this effectively, however, it must appear to be above classes, to be “representing everyone.” The most common way to do this in capitalist society is by elections. All the parties, all the candidates, and all the laws they make serve only the capitalists, but are advertised as defending “society as a whole.”

Why Ruling Classes Need States

Frederick Engels, one of the founders of Marxism, explained the key reason why the state is necessary in class society. One of the main features of the state, he wrote, is an armed force that is a small part of the population, and is able to carry out the policies of the ruling class, rather than the whole population.

To understand Engels’ point, it helps to under-

stand how rules are enforced in stateless societies, a few of which still exist on the margins of world capitalism. The majority of these stateless societies are primitive communist societies, where ‘primitive’ means ‘original’, not ‘inferior’. Under primitive communism, land and other resources are owned by everyone or by groups based on kinship. Production is primarily for use, not exchange, and is shared so that no-one can hoard while others go without. Leadership is informal and without privileges. Some production is carried out by the whole community, like the buffalo hunts of the Plains Indians.

Primitive communist societies have rules about things like marriage, personal property, rituals, selecting leaders, resolving disputes, war, etc., as well as against murder or rape. Whether these rules should be called laws or not is a matter of debate. Some people argue that a rule is only a law if it is backed up by a state. But there are no cops or courts to enforce these rules in primitive communism. Rules are enforced collectively when voluntary compliance and persuasion aren’t enough. Even under capitalism, workers can sometimes practice collective enforcement of their own rules by criticizing or refusing to socialize with people who make more work for others or act superior. This is the way people have lived for most of human history. Our species has existed for about 200,000 years, but the state has only been around about 10,000 years.

Without a state, people can only be forced to follow rules if many other people agree to do it. In societies that have classes and class rule, however, laws cannot be enforced collectively. Capitalists and the feudal lords and slave owners before them know that they cannot count on most people to help enforce laws that maintain the rule of the rich. Even if many people accept some of these laws, the rich can’t count on them to evict workers who can’t pay the rent, break strikes, shoot protestors, or let racist killer cops get away with murder. But a state, with its cops, courts, and prisons, can enforce laws without the agreement or participation of most people, even when most people are indifferent or actively opposed.

Abolishing the State

Since communism is a society without classes, it will not have a state. The few functions of the state that will be needed will be carried out by mass mobilization of the working class led by the party. Inside our party we are actively debating the best way to implement this policy. For example, some comrades argue that rules or laws are not necessary or helpful for the working class to rule itself. Others say that the working class should make rules to promote collective action and help protect people from bad or unsafe behavior. We invite *Red Flag* readers to send comments and questions about how the party should lead the working class to rule itself and abolish the state under communism.

WAS SOVIET “WAR COMMUNISM” REALLY COMMUNISM?

This is the last of a series. The previous article described how “War Communism” in the Soviet Union (1918-1920) was a command economy under Party leadership, responding to a wartime crisis.

Part III: What Went Wrong?

The appearance of “War Communism” hid its essence: social relations of production remained capitalist, even under the workers’ dictatorship.

Managers and officials ran factories. The masses were mobilized around production, not politics.

In communist society, workers will collectively plan and manage production. It’s not anarcho-syndicalism, where workers own factories as co-ops. Instead, communist leadership will struggle to mobilize the masses around the communist principle of serving the people.

Under “war communism,” workers were paid increasingly in goods, not cash. But they were still paid “according to work,” instead of “according to need.”

Workers still had to sell their labor power. In contrast, communism means mobilizing labor through political commitment, not compensation.

“Land to the peasants” made agricultural production into small-scale capitalism.

The Party correctly saw this as a problem. But for decades they had assumed that rural laborers were too “backward” to grasp even socialism.

The Party had a base among soldiers and workers of peasant origin. But they had no strat-

egy to mobilize this base to bring communist ideas back to the countryside.

Lenin fought for “accounting and control,” not communism.

The Party enlisted the masses to prevent corruption, theft and waste. They successfully mobilized them to defend the Soviet system (Workers’ Power) from internal and external enemies.

But the Party mobilized the masses for “state capitalism,” not communism. They thought this a necessary “stage” in transitioning from small-scale capitalism to socialism (and eventually communism).

The workers, Lenin wrote in 1918, “are not afraid of large-scale ‘state capitalism,’ they prize it as their proletarian weapon which their Soviet power will use against small proprietary disintegration and disorganization.”

The Party, like most workers and soldiers, many peasants, and some engineers and managers accepted “war communism” only as an emergency measure to address the wartime crisis.

A small opposition group of so-called “Left Bolsheviks” thought that hyperinflation would make “War Communism” evolve quickly into full-scale communism by rendering money worthless. They cried, “Honor to our printing presses!”

This political line was further to the right than Lenin’s. They did not understand – as he did – that the masses themselves must consciously make history.

“War Communism” Intensified Capitalist Contradictions

Communists led, but they organized a Soviet state, separate from the Party. This created an overlapping tangle of regional and industry-wide organizations. Leaders focused narrowly on getting their own jobs done.

This inevitably reproduced the anarchy of capitalist production. Its form was the contradiction between regional and industrial administrators, between localities and the center.

Industrial capacity was dangerously under-uti-

lized.

The Party responded by bringing in more officials. This sharpened contradictions between mental and manual laborers, rather than abolishing them as communism will do. The system relied on the expertise of engineers and technicians who were often cynical, politically unsympathetic, and who found bribery acceptable.

The situation continued to worsen. The Party then centralized planning, instituting the “shock system.” Enterprises considered “critical” got top priority in materials, energy, and workers’ rations. Others, even those supplying “shock” industries, were starved. Competition for “shock” designation encouraged a capitalist mindset in communist industrial leaders.

By 1920, workers’ distrust of the authorities exploded, fueled by reactionaries, into massive absenteeism, frequent strikes, and street demonstrations. Factory meetings passed resolutions opposing Soviet policy.

The Kronstadt sailors, a mainstay of the revolution, had been won to “workers’ power,” not communism. When the civil war ended, tsarist officers led them in an armed revolt for “Soviets without Communists and Commissars.”

The 10th Party Congress was adjourned to send leading comrades to Kronstadt in an unsuccessful attempt to win back the sailors. Finally, the Red Army suppressed the revolt.

When the Congress re-convened, it scrapped “war communism” and adopted, at Lenin’s urging, the “New Economic Policy” (NEP). The Bolsheviks returned to their original plan of capitalist development under communist rule.

Communism Requires Mobilizing the Masses for Communism

The 8th Party Congress (1919) had anticipated “widening the sphere of moneyless settlements” to “pave the way for the abolition of money.” In late 1920, charges were abolished for mail, telephone, and telegraph, railway travel, basic food rations, water and electricity, and even some

See COMMUNISM, page 13

