

RED FLAG

MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM



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



Teachers, Youth Rebel in Oaxaca, Mexico:

BUILD A MASS ICWP TO ADVANCE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

40th Anniversary of Soweto Uprising YOUNG COMRADES BRING COMMUNISM TO MASSES

“The International Communist Workers’ Party is growing in South Africa. People are getting more aware of communism. It is exciting to see the development.”

Seven youths and two workers from ICWP had a very successful mobilization at the 40th anniversary march in Soweto commemorating the 1976 uprising there.

On June 16, 1976, police killed hundreds of high school students who were protesting a new law to force students to study in Afrikaans. In response, black youth and workers across South Africa organized massive revolts against racist apartheid. Last week, youth marched also to protest today’s racist education system and other capitalist evils.

The comrades discussed their experiences:

A: “It really went well. That conversation with the girl from the youth work was the highlight of the day for me. It lasted about 15 or 20 minutes and was very productive. We exchanged numbers and there will be a follow-up meeting with her and her friends. (See box, page 3)

“To them the concept of communism was new. They had never heard anything like it. It seems as if they are looking for people like us.”

B: “They had never heard about communism, but they were really keen on hearing a lot more about it. Many people were keen on getting *Red*

Flag. We had to explain to them what communism was. They didn’t know such a party existed in South Africa or in the world in general.”

C: “Going there was a good idea to make them aware because some of them aren’t aware; some have wrong ideas because of capitalism.”

D: “I agree. Even ANC (African National Congress) members were interested. Some people are really misled. Some people in the ANC don’t know what it really is. We didn’t go there to recruit members on the spot but the fact that we distributed so many papers was impressive.

“Maybe some won’t read it, but some will be keen on it, will read it and know there is such a thing as communism. If we continue to distribute *Red Flag* at such gatherings, people will know about communism and we will get more members.”

A: “Comrade, this was the first time you went to the masses to distribute the *Red Flag*. At first, you don’t know what to expect, but as the day goes on, you feel more confident.”

E: “Yes, when I saw the reaction to *Red Flag* it was something.”

A: “People were more open. Some people asked me for the paper, instead of me asking them.

“This was the first time we went to coloured areas to distribute the paper. The response was so

See SOUTH AFRICA, page 3

OAXACA, MEXICO, June 22—Tens of thousands of teachers, on strike against Education Reform, together with thousands of sympathizers, have waged pitched battles against thousands of riot police. At least eleven class brothers have been killed and hundreds of our class brothers and sisters have been wounded.

In the battles to evict strikers from the roads and villages they occupy, the police have several times been forced to flee like rats. The masses, furious at the repression and fed up with the constant attacks of the capitalist system, have burned the cars, helmets and shields that cops abandoned in their flight.

Hundreds have shown solidarity by preparing food and collecting water and medicine for the demonstrators in different parts of the state and country. This workers’ solidarity shows the potential for communism.

These masses in struggle yearn for a better world. Only communism can achieve this world. That’s why the battle cry of the teachers, men and women, must be “Death to Capitalism! Power to

See MEXICO TEACHERS, page 4

INDIA: CLASS STRUGGLE AND IMPERIALISM PAGE 2

MTA TRANSPORTS WAGE SLAVES PAGES 3, 7

FRANCE: WIN REBELS TO COMMUNIST REVOLUTION PAGE 6

BREAKING NEWS: JUNE 22— The US government is beginning a mass deportation of migrants from Africa. As many as 100 men, mostly from Ghana and Nigeria, have been transferred to Krome Detention Center in Miami for deportation. More transfers have been reported from California, New Mexico and Alabama. “They are all crying,” a Ghanaian man told an immigrant-rights activist. Many face prison or worse if they are forced to return to the country they fled. Working people truly have no nation. In communism there will be no more borders and no deportees. Everyone will be welcome everywhere.

Capitalism's Global Water Crisis:

COMMUNISM WILL UNLEASH THE CREATIVE POTENTIAL OF THE MASSES TO MEET THE NEEDS OF ALL

INDIA —A Dalit worker in Mumbai shuts his eyes tight. He takes a deep breath and forces offensive-smelling dark-brown water down his throat. He struggles not to vomit as he tries to quench his thirst with foul-tasting water in 42° C heat (108° F). This water, contaminated with chemicals and harmful bacteria, is a reality for over 350 million workers in India who lack safe drinking water. Five hundred million more have to walk long distances to fetch a bucket of water.

Do the masses need to mobilize for communism just to get clean water? Yes! Communism will unleash the creative potential of the masses to design ways to meet the basic needs of all.

Some 100 km from Mumbai is one of the largest dams in India. The mighty river Narmada, which flowed freely and furiously for millions of years, was dammed at a cost of over US\$9 billion in spite of 15 years of mass protests. Thousands of workers, Dalits and others, built that dam and its huge reservoirs. They have no money. They have no water.

The water from the canals flows directly to where the money is. It fills the swimming pools of the rich and feeds large corporate farms. Hydroelectric power brings life to glitzy malls and feeds huge factories.

The Indian government borrowed the money to build the dam from private banks. That money must be repaid with interest wrung from the workers' sweat and tears. It does not fall from the sky. It comes from the profit capitalists make by employing the working class and paying for only part of their labor. In the case of Dalits, Muslims, other minority workers and women they steal even more.

Those who build the dams and highways, hospitals and homes, who produce food and build

cars, live in vast urban slums. They lack sanitation. They spend hours in overcrowded buses to get to jobs where they work over 14 hours a day.

No wonder that millions of workers in India and around the world are questioning the very existence of capitalism. In India, the emergence of a fascist movement and the unleashing of caste discrimination against Dalit people and religious discrimination against Muslim workers have created angry masses of Dalit, Muslim and Hindu workers of all castes.

Communism: The Only Solution to Deadly Capitalism

The International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP) is beginning to see unprecedented opportunities to organize masses of workers in India and around the world for communist revolution. Workers and students are joining ICWP. Many copies of *Red Flag* are distributed.

Masses are thinking about how communism will work and are helping to create a vision of future. We will end the system of wage slavery which enriches the few but creates a life of misery for those who produce the wealth. In communism, money, which makes profit possible, will no longer exist. No banks, no bosses, no cops, no castes, no discrimination based on "race" or religion or gender.

The end of wage slavery will truly unleash the creative potential of the masses. The mass communist party will organize collectively to channel this energy to build communist society dedicated to the needs of the working people.

We will not build dams to support the profits of capitalist factories or farms or to funnel interest to banks. In communism we will have to destroy all these deadly relics of capitalism that devastate the working class and the environment.



2013 protest against the damming of the Narmada River

The hundreds of millions who are denied water today will help design new ways of harnessing water for humanity.

Dalits were once called "untouchables." They were the most oppressed of all. For centuries they could be killed for trying to get a bucket of water. In communism they will lead the design and construction of waterways to fulfill the need of the working class.

Today's hungry and starving masses will help produce food and design systems of distribution for feeding humanity. People who are homeless today will help design homes to create a collective, communist culture of sharing. New transportation systems will be built based on the experience of those who today spend many hours walking, driving or riding buses.

In communist society each and every person will actively participate in building and consolidating collective ways of living. Already we see that with growing collectives we can achieve big results. As the comrades in South Africa loudly sing, "When we rule the world, the whole world will be communist." Join ICWP and help unleash the power of the working class!

Not-So-Strange Bedfellows:

MODI OF INDIA AND OBAMA OF THE US

India's Prime Minister Modi's visit to US President Obama and the US Congress on June 6-7, 2016, marks a turning-point in the development of global inter-imperialist rivalry. It should impel us to step up the fight for communism.

Modi is a fascist. For ten years he was denied visas to the US and other countries due to his role in orchestrating the massacre of thousands of Muslims in Gujarat in 2002. Modi's BJP is a Hindu nationalist party with open ambitions to turn India into a militarist Hindu power. The BJP has based its regime on racist attacks on the working class and privileges to the largest capitalists and multinational corporations.

So why is Obama treating fascist Modi like his new best friend? The reasons are very clear.

"A rising India offers one of the most substantial opportunities to advance American national interests over the next two decades," declared a November 2015 report sponsored by the US Council on Foreign Relations.

US war industries are selling dangerous nuclear reactor designs and other expensive weapons to Modi's government. While they reap

the profits, US imperialism is strengthening a potential ally against a historic mutual opponent, China.

China has strengthened ties with its longstanding ally Pakistan with a recent \$46 billion infrastructure and energy deal. Instead of competing with China for influence in Pakistan, the US imperialists have decided to strengthen ties with India.

India needs \$1 trillion to improve its infrastructure. The Indian rulers got less than they hoped for from Modi's visit. They are now hoping for huge investments from China, which offered to finance 30% of Indian infrastructure spending through loans.

For over 100 years, capitalism's interior logic of constant growth has forced capitalists to compete with other capitalists. Their frenzy for profit creates more cars, food, houses and other products than they can sell while leaving those who created them hungry and homeless.

As imperialists from the US, China, Europe, Japan and Russia and emerging imperialists like India and Brazil fight for profitable markets, they

relentlessly attack the working class. They try to mislead workers angry at capitalism by building racism and patriotism. In the world's 500 largest cities, the industrial working class is choked with toxic air, stalled in traffic, and forced into unbearable housing riddled with violent crime, drugs, sexism and racism.

The flirtation between US imperialism and fascist Modi is no coincidence. It is driven by global capitalism's search for new markets, cheap exploited labor and perennially indebted consumers. It reflects the rulers' deadly plans for World War III.

At the same time, India is being courted by Japan, Russia and even China, because they want India on their side in this coming war. The Shanghai Cooperation Association, led by Russia and China, is planning to induct India and Pakistan as full members at its Sept. 23rd meeting. We don't know what the final line-up will be, but imperialist world war is inevitable.

The only solution is to mobilize the masses everywhere for communism.



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MTA: Wage Slaves Transporting Wage Slaves

COMMUNISM WILL TRANSPORT FREE CREATIVE WORKERS

LOS ANGELES, USA--“My car was stolen. I took public transportation to get home after getting off work at 11 pm. I didn’t get home until 3:30 am. This after walking 8 blocks from the train stop,” explained Ramón.

Ramon is an immigrant worker. He works for the minimum wage as a parking-lot attendant in downtown Los Angeles. He lives in one of the many drug infested, gang riddled neighborhoods of the Los Angeles area.

This is one of the countless nightmares experienced daily by working people forced to use public transportation in Los Angeles. It should come as no surprise. It should motivate us to fight for a communist world.

Only communism—a society based on collectively planning, producing and distributing everything according to human need—can have mass transportation that indeed serves the needs of the working class.

Public or privately owned, capitalism’s mass transportation system’s main purpose is to serve the needs of the capitalist wage-slave masters. Their profit needs demand that masses of workers be transported daily from their homes to their worksites to be exploited.

If transporting them turns a profit, that’s even better. If not, the government subsidizes it. MTA is such a subsidized company. As a bus operator once told *Red Flag*:

“We MTA bus and rail operators are nothing but wage slaves transporting other wage slaves from their homes to the plantations and back to their homes.”

MTA’s main purpose is to transport daily and as cheaply as possible 1.2 million, mainly low paid wage slaves. This explains MTA’s callous treatment of their passengers and operators.

MTA bus and train operators ferry these workers from their home to the capitalists’ worksites where their racist superexploitation produces enormous profits for the capitalists.

These workers are part of the 5 million strong work force whose labor makes LA County, with a yearly GDP of \$664 billion, the second richest county in the country. Yet, over 800,000 workers make just the minimum wage, and 50% of the LA County population is one paycheck away from being homeless.

Los Angeles MTA’s budget for 2016 was \$5.6 billion. At the fare box MTA collects just 26% of its operating cost or about \$1.5 billion. The remaining \$4.1 billion is subsidized by the state government.

In reality, it is a disguised subsidy to the garment bosses and the owners of other low paid industries, high-rise buildings, hotels, restaurants and fast-food chains. These capitalists save billions by not paying these workers enough to enable them to buy, insure, or maintain a car—which can be then stolen like Ramón’s.

In communism, a society without money, there won’t be any need to steal anything. Words like steal, cost, price will disappear from our language. There also won’t be any need for private anything. Good, safe mass transportation will guarantee that everyone—except some persons with special needs—will only use mass trans-

portation—including bicycles.

Service will not be reduced or eliminated at night time or on weekends and holidays like capitalism does to save money. Communist mass transportation will be the same quality and the needed quantity, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

We can’t, however, have safe good mass transportation in unsafe cities. Eliminating the capitalists-imperialists—the biggest criminals in history—and their profit driven system, we will reduce and eventually eliminate all antisocial behavior.

Eliminating money will eliminate the incentive to peddle drugs. The capitalists push drugs to brutalize and imprison us to keep us away from revolution, while making billions of dollars off it.

Besides money, unemployment is a major contributor to antisocial behavior. Communism will have an abundance of creative socially rewarding work for everyone.

Sharing the fruits of our labor according to need will guarantee that no one is better off than others. With all our needs being met, there won’t be any need for petty “crimes.” Communism will have no police, courts or jails. Words like crime and criminals will disappear from our language. SWe will only have antisocial behavior, which we will deal with as collectively and humanely as possible.

To get there we must organize an armed revolution to overthrow the capitalists, destroy capitalism, and build a communist society based on human needs and humane communist production and social relations. Join us!

South Africa from page 1

overwhelming so this is something we should consider. I gave many coloured people *Red Flag*. I was surprised. We should do this more.”

B: “This shows that there are so many racial divisions. Sometimes we forget that the whole working class is being exploited regardless of their skin color or country. It was a great experience for me personally.”

F: “The most important thing is that we reached our goal. We distributed most of the *Red Flags*.”

E: “At first I felt shy, afraid, to approach people and tell them about *Red Flag* and communism, because I had never done it before. But as I went on telling people about this organization and *Red Flag*, it was great.”

G: “This was my first time. At first I was lost, nervous. But as the day went on, I felt I was presenting something I knew for a long time. I talked with people who were black, white, and coloured about *Red Flag*. It was a good day.”

C: “It was the first time I approached white and coloured people as well as black people. We were able to give these youths what they need. We distributed about 450 papers; that’s a lot. We should be very proud.”

A: “So what do we want to see from this development? What do you want to see happening now?”

D: “Keep mobilizing, keep going to events like this.”

C: “This experience gave you courage to mobilize more, to go further, to distribute more.”

B: “It also shows that we should keep studying dialectics because it’s helping. It empowers us to be able to explain communism with more clarity



Soweto, 1976; South Africa-2016
More pictures page 7



to the masses so they can trust and believe in it.

“Because many people, especially here, have been promised so many things and haven’t gotten any of

them, like by the ANC. So if we come as a new party, we offer communism, it’s hard for them to believe it’s possible. Studying dialectics teaches us that aspects of communism happened before and helps us show people that communism is real and is the way forward.”

To End War, Mobilize for Communism

A young woman and her friends were gathering 200,000 signatures to petition South African President Zuma to make engaging in wars illegal by international law. Supposedly, he will only consider it when they have 200,000 signatures. But what they fail to understand is that local, regional or world wars are actually not caused by human hatreds among people, like if we hate Zulus, or Americans or something.

I told them it’s deeper than that. In capitalism, there is always competition between capitalist countries, inter-imperialist rivalry. Sometimes the competition can get ugly. Sometimes there are direct wars and sometimes proxy wars. Like in Syria right now, there are 20 armies there.

These armies are not there in the interest of international peace, but to advance their national interests. None of them are there for the interest of the working class. They are not looking at the suffering and dying in Syria, but to advance their own interests and pushing racism to stop the migrants from flooding Europe. Those people are fleeing poverty and war in Syria. The working class was fed up with the Assad regime and they rebelled as Arab spring, even though it was based on wrong ideas.

I explained that it is a proxy war. The Syrian regime is supported by Russia, which has military bases there. Each country wants to expand their sphere of influence. If Syria were to fall, it means that Russia won’t have any military presence in the Middle East so it’s important for them to maintain the Assad regime. The US and its allies want to stop Russia. They all want to be perceived as humanitarian. But to end wars, we have to mobilize for communism.

—South Africa comrade

FRANCE: WIN REBELLIOUS MASSES TO COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

“You have to know how to end a strike,” said French Socialist president François Hollande. Angry French youth and workers obviously don’t agree.

On Tuesday, June 14, over a million took to the streets (100,000 in Paris) to once again demand the withdrawal of the disastrous El Khomri law, which the French parliament is debating. The law makes it easy for bosses to fire workers, lengthen the work day, and cut overtime rates. It finishes the job of the Macron law in making the labor code negotiable. In other words, it legalizes employers blackmailing workers into giving up what few “rights” they have left.

The demonstrations have lasted longer than expected and have spread to many more sections of society. Their determination is admirable. Unfortunately, they are not yet demanding a real solution – only a defence of the status quo.

Compare this to communism where there will be no labor laws. Workers will not work for wages. Instead of jobs, where workers are hired and fired, there will be meaningful work for everyone.

In communism, the party’s job will be to mobilize the masses to collectively control their own lives. Workers, motivated by communist ideas, will manage themselves in the interests of the world’s working class. There will be no layer of privileged bureaucracy alien to the working class and giving orders to it. Instead, there will be a mass communist party.

The communist struggle under the slogan “from each according to their commitment, to each according to their need” will be the order of the day.

This is hardly the first time French workers and youth have rebelled. In May of 1968, workers and students filled the street, and French President DeGaulle fled the country.

Not so many know about another uprising, in June of 1936. In May of that year a coalition of “radicals” and Socialists won the elections and Socialist Leon Blum took power. Workers thought their time had come and began striking and occupying factories. It started in northern

port city of LeHavre (which has been a stronghold of the current rebellion). The strike/sit-in wave soon spread across the country and literally millions took part. They demanded higher wages, union recognition, and paid vacations.

The 1936 rebellion freaked out the Socialists who immediately set out to squash it or buy it off. Unfortunately, it also freaked out the Communists. They were committed to an anti-fascist Popular Front with the Socialists and, if anything, had become more conservative than their partners. They decided that saving the supposedly anti-fascist Socialist government was more important than organizing workers’ rebellion.

Hollande Uses Words of Reformist Communist Party Leader

Hollande was actually quoting Thorez, the leader of the Communist Party during the 1936 rebellion, who was the first to say, “You have to know how to end a strike.” Socialist president Blum and Thorez eventually ended the rebellion but had to grant all the reform demands.

What a shame! The Communist Party traded in a chance to end capitalism for a few paid vacations.

We in the ICWP have to think carefully about what we would do in a similar situation. These situations are not uncommon. For example, a workers’ rebellion in Spain shortly afterwards set off the Spanish civil war. A few months later, in the US, the Flint sit-down strike helped build a wave of strikes and sit-ins.

In France itself, we can go back to the Paris Commune of 1871, the first attempt at a communist-led government. Or back to the uprising of 1848, that inspired the *Communist Manifesto*. Or the revolutions of 1830 and of course the big French Revolution of 1789. Revolutions and revolutionary situations are not rare.

So what do we do when a struggle over modest reforms mobilizes millions? Our goal is to win the rebellious masses to a revolution for commu-



1936 General strike in France

nism. Nobody else will do it. When you get past the rhetoric, all the other self-styled “leftist” or “Marxist” groups believe in socialism. They want to manage capitalism, not obliterate it.

Our party needs many more thousands of members to turn these rebellions toward communist revolutions. And when we have them, what concrete steps do we take to turn the rebellion into a revolution? Organize Soviets (councils) like the Bolsheviks did? Or branches of a mass communist party? Can we turn strikes to reform capitalism into political strikes that call for communist revolution?

It depends on what we do now. To prepare for them, we must wage a sharp struggle for communist revolution against the reformist ideology of the trade union leaders.

One thing is sure, we are going to need an armed force. We’ll get one primarily by winning over workers in the bosses’ armed forces—starting now.

In the meantime, we can learn something from French history: that opportunities for revolution come along regularly, no matter where you are. Communists used to believe that workers in “advanced” countries were too well off to rebel against capitalism. The events of 1936 and 1937 once again proved them wrong.

Whatever happens in the struggle against the El Khomri law, we can be sure that there will be other uprisings and other revolutionary opportunities. And to take advantage of these opportunities we need a strong ICWP. Join now!

MEXICO TEACHERS from page 1 fields.

the Workers! Let’s All Fight for Communism!”

To make this a reality, comrades from International Communist Workers’ Party (ICWP) have been distributing our communist literature in the strikers’ camps in Mexico City. We must extend these efforts to Oaxaca, Guerrero, and other states where the teachers are in struggle.

We call on these teachers and the masses of farmworkers, city workers and students who support them, to join ICWP and help mobilize the masses for communism.

Only communism, a society without money, can meet the needs of our class. Capitalist exploitation—its wage slavery—is the cause of all the evils that we suffer, including poverty, racism and sexism.

Our struggle must not be to repeal capitalist laws or improve capitalist education. We have to destroy them along with the capitalists and their system. Their education is designed to produce submissive wage slaves and to strengthen and perpetuate the ideologies that keep the capitalists in power.

Communist education will create communists, who will combine mental and manual labor, without privileges for anyone. All of us will do both. We will not have tests, grades, diplomas, or titles. We will study for life and we will all do farm work, industrial work, and also work in scientific

In this rebellion, the main task of our members is to bring communist ideas to the masses. It should be the main task of all teachers: distributing *Red Flag* to their co-workers and supporters in struggle. We must organize study groups and recruit to ICWP.

Reformism Holds Back Revolution

Trade union ideology and the capitalist electoral process are major obstacles that hold back the teachers and masses in struggle from seeing communist revolution as the only solution.

That’s why our message must be clear: Union reform struggles—no matter how mass or militant—give life to capitalism. The same is true when we participate in capitalist elections. Only communist revolution will eliminate capitalism.

The unions emerged as organs of workers’ defense. They are instruments to regulate our wage slavery, not to destroy it. That’s why union leaders end up as friends of the bosses and the union ends up being part of the State and sharing its capitalist ideology.

The teachers’ union (CNTE) is not free from this. It functions within the system, participates daily in capitalist politics like the national teachers’ union (SNTE) and runs its members for mid- or low-level deputies or officials in the state governments of Oaxaca, Guerrero and Michoacán.

They also support other politicians and their parties like MoReNa because “MoReNa has

pledged its support to the teachers.” Lopez Obrador, the top leader of MoReNa, promised that if they won, they would repeal education reform.

In 2010, asking teachers to vote for the PRI candidate Gabino Cue, he said that Cue had his “complete trust.” The state police, on orders of now-Governor Cue, are those who massacre our class brothers and sisters.

We are in a period of a deepening crisis of overproduction and sharpening competition for markets and sources of raw materials between the great powers. The bosses are forced to reduce wages, raise the retirement age, use our pension funds (even losing them in stock investments), eliminate labor contract protection, etc.

However, let’s not fight to “live better” under capitalism. Let’s fight to destroy it with communist revolution. For that, we need to convert ourselves into the COMMUNIST WORKING CLASS, that is, into a Party. That is ICWP’s goal. Education workers and all workers and students, JOIN ICWP!



Orlando Attack:**WORKERS RESPOND WITH SOLIDARITY
RULERS RESPOND WITH PATRIOTISM & FASCISM**

LOS ANGELES, USA, June 18—“What are the lessons of the mass shooting in Orlando?” asked a comrade in our study group of teachers and friends after a gunman killed fifty people in a gay nightclub in Florida. “What have people been saying—at school, and among your friends and family members?”

“I’ve noticed that it’s another excuse to build fascism,” said a retired teacher. “They’re using it to spread more racism against Muslims.”

“And the ruling class will use it to expand the ‘no-fly’ list, and to increase surveillance on all of us,” added a math teacher.

“It’s way more complicated than that,” said a recent college graduate. “It’s not just the racist types that are using this to their own advantage. Picture this: a ribbon in remembrance of the Orlando victims has been circulating on Facebook. It has the US flag on one side and the rainbow flag on the other. They’re using the deaths of gay men and women to build patriotism. It’s sick.”

“For sure,” added another young comrade. “The system condemns the LGBT community all the time, but now in this context, ‘it’s ok to be gay’ for political purposes. That’s so messed up.”

“It is,” said a middle-school teacher. “And compare the self-serving response of the ruling class with the heroic response of workers in Orlando. People from the neighborhood came out immediately and starting carrying victims down the street to the hospital. The next day people were lined up for blocks to give blood while oth-

ers brought them water. People are donating money to help the families of the victims however they can.”

“That always happens when there’s a disaster,” added the retired teacher. “In New York, years ago, when the electricity went out, people came out to help their neighbors—in New Orleans during Katrina as well. That’s how we know communism can work. Freed from capitalist wage slavery that pits us against each other in the fight for survival, we will cooperate to help each other.”

“People didn’t wait for the ‘experts’ either,” continued the middle-school teacher. “When the paramedics came, they told the people from the neighborhood to stand aside. Capitalism needs to take all initiative out of the hands of the working class, and tell us that we have to rely on the experts. Communism will rely on working-class solidarity—not a few ‘experts.’”

“One of the big lies about Orlando was when Obama said that is was the worst mass shooting in US history,” said a history teacher. “What about the murder of more than a hundred Native American men, women and children in Sand Creek Colorado by the Colorado militia in 1865? Or the killing of hundreds of black residents of Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919, and hundreds more African Americans in dozens of US towns and cities during the ‘Red Summer of 1919?’ Or the My Lai massacre of 500 civilians in Vietnam in 1970? That’s not to diminish in any way the hor-

rific nature of the murders in Orlando—every one of these deaths is a tragedy—but why overlook these others?”

“It’s their own assassins who killed all these people,” said a soccer coach. “Of course they’re not going to mention that.”

“And now they’re talking about the semi-automatic AR-15s,” said the history teacher. “Guns of the AR-15 class are civilian versions of the M-16 that was used in My Lai.”

“And by US imperialism and their puppets around the world,” added the soccer coach.

“When the ruling class murders people they call it an ‘appropriate use’ of the weapon. They don’t want it in civilian hands, but they are happy to have soldiers use M-16s and worse to kill our class brothers and sisters around the world,” continued the history teacher.

“When soldiers have communist ideas in their heads and guns in their hands,” said the soccer coach, “we can wipe out the bosses and build a communist society. I think that’s an ‘appropriate use’ of the weapon.”

We didn’t have all the answers in our study group. We went on to talk about how to deepen our understanding of dialectical materialism and how we can teach what we do understand. We should have tried to apply what we know about dialectical materialism to the murders in Orlando and the response by workers and rulers to it. We’ll discuss that the next time.

PASADENA, CA, USA, June 7 – A multi-racial crowd of hundreds rallied outside the courthouse where Black Lives Matter activist Jasmine Richards Abdullah was being sentenced to 90 days in jail for “attempted lynching.” This outrageous charge stemmed from an incident where Jasmine and others defended a young woman from racist cops. The loudest chants included “You can’t jail the revolution.” But organizers preached reliance on God, voting, and “American values.” Dozens of protesters, mostly young, took copies of the ICWP “End Racism by Mobilizing the Masses for Communism” pamphlets. We should have brought more!

**IN CAPITALIST CRISIS, MASSES CAN FORGE COMMUNIST COLLECTIVITY**

In the last 50 years capitalism has uprooted hundreds of millions of money-poor farmers. Taking them from remote villages, in continent after continent, it has channeled them into massive factories around mega-cities. In this way it has assembled gigantic armies of industrial workers. For the first time in history the majority of humankind depend on a wage (or salary) to survive. Capitalism as a world system is dynamic, triumphant and ... in trouble.

It is in trouble because according to the International Labor Organization (ILO) it has built a labor pool of 3 billion wage workers. Far from liberating them this wage system has trapped them. The vast majority (75%) work as casual, part-time, temporary or “off-the-books.” Over 200 million (and rising) are unemployed but to talk to the casual worker of pensions, sick leave



or unemployment benefits is to talk fantasy.

Capitalism is in trouble because these new, uprooted relations of pro-

duction have created a massive and expanding material basis for the central slogan of our fledgling Party: “Smash the wage system -Fight for Communism!” And by communism we mean that collective way of living where we rely on the skills and commitments of one another for our day-to-day survival rather than a (non-existent) bank account or a (way-too-small) paycheck.

Capitalism is in trouble because it is exactly that culture - the culture of cooperation - we are all learning. Of course, the way we do it varies from continent to continent. In China, you read stories of the bed the night shift sleeps on becoming the bed the day shift sleeps on. In the US, the car the day shift worker needs to get to work becomes the car the night shift worker needs to get to work. It takes different forms but it is the same co-operative culture being practiced day in day out by workers dealing with the crisis in the wage system the world over.

These are the cultural building blocks of communism. We are practicing them in small personal collectives. As yet they have not come together as a mass conscious political aim - Fight for Communism! -but when they do, capitalism will be in even deeper trouble. The movers and

shakers of the capitalist world- those whose personal fortunes top \$50 million - number just 123,800 or about one out of every fifty thousand people in the world. The odds are in our favor. We are the many; they are the few.

The odds might be in our favor but that doesn’t mean we’ll win because capitalism too has a material basis - even in the lives of those it exploits. Our deep seated sense of collectivity, for example, is always being limited. Capitalist forces limit this sense of collectivity to nationalism, using language, history, “race” or religion. Or they use more individual ideas like “family first and foremost.” Our biggest obstacle is reformism, trying to improve the conditions of our wage slavery rather than seeing ourselves as its gravediggers.

It is here that we can see the necessity for a revolutionary party based among the working class. Our job is to build a force that understands the commonality of our exploitation, its basis in the wage system and the need to build a movement that consciously champions a system of production that relies only on people and their needs, not wages and a system of profits. That is the movement the ICWP is building. Join us.

Wages Chain us to Exploitation

COMMUNIST REVOLUTION WILL ELIMINATE THEM

EL SALVADOR, June 20—Last week there was a march of workers supporting the request of the fmln government to raise the minimum wage to \$300 a month, an increase of \$50 a month. Currently a maquila worker is paid an average of \$250 a month. Farmworkers and construction workers are paid a lot less. According to the government, the basic food basket costs \$400.

At the beginning of June, the ANEP (National Association of Private Enterprise) and “workers’ representatives”—union leaders—voted in favor of an increase of \$0.40 cents per day, an average of \$12 a month.

The fmln government also participates in the National Wage Council. But bosses and union leaders were in the majority which rejected the proposal of the executive, and the ANEP won. What a surprise!

Here, as in the rest of the world, we workers produce EVERYTHING and we do not need the chains of wage slavery. We must build a communist world in which we will collectively organize production. All of us will have what is needed to live with dignity and will fight against the legacies of capitalism. We will all work for the common good and not to receive a wage that keeps us chained to exploitation. We will carry out different tasks, eliminating the barrier between men-

tal and manual labor.

Throughout history, the workers of El Salvador have organized to fight for wage increases, but this has only meant giving more life to capitalism.

One example was the teachers’ strike in 1993. The teachers’ union called a strike with the aim of fighting for a wage increase for teachers. The bosses froze the bank accounts of the teachers who were on strike and demanded immediate payment of loans that they had obtained years before. This caused the strike to fail and for the struggle to be led in another direction, of negotiating.

Sometimes it is seen as a victory when a wage increase is achieved, but nothing is further from reality. Contrary to what reform movements and the fmln think, there is no such thing as a “living wage.” The workers’ lives will not improve as long as wage slavery exists, and this will exist as long as capitalism or “21st Century socialism exist.”

When communist revolution is victorious, we will eliminate money and wages. This is not unattainable. The lessons of war communism in

Russia and the supply system of the Red Army in China show us that this is possible.

Our communist line should be solid against wage slavery. This requires work of politicizing the masses that a raise is not an “immediate solution” or a “step towards socialism.” The workers must be won to the idea of fighting for communism and building a society without money and without wage slaves.

We will not make the mistake of the old movement. Our party will advance directly to communism with full confidence in the masses. There are no short cuts to achieve the world that we workers deserve.



NO MORE HOMELESS LOST BOYS!

SEATTLE, USA —“When we’re back in South Sudan, we hear that America is a rich country,” said Bishop David Kuol to *Seattle Times* reporter Sarah Stuteville. “And we didn’t know that there were actually people who would ... be homeless.”

He and his interpreter Jok Nhial were visiting The Jungle, a homeless encampment that stretches for miles under the freeway from downtown to the southern end of the city.

“Those [Sudanese] under the bridge, most of them are ‘Lost Boys,’” said Nhial. He was referring to a generation of children who became refugees during the Sudanese Civil War in the 1980s through the early 2000s. He himself was once one of them.

“They couldn’t get a job, or if they could get a job, it was just minimum wage. And they were not able to afford to pay for an apartment and support their families back home,” he explained. “They ended up on the street, and there was no way to get help.”

A similar situation existed in Russia after the 1917 revolution. Thousands of children were orphaned by the devastation caused by invading imperialist armies. Fourteen capitalist govern-

ments tried to destroy the new socialist government — until the imperialists’ troops rebelled.

The revolution inspired many to organize based on a communist vision. The educator Anton Makarenko was one of them. He founded the Gorky colony.

The Gorky colony organized “street kids” to build collective housing, production and educational facilities. They didn’t have much, but with the help of sympathetic workers they built a model facility.

However, by the mid-1920s the New Economic Policy of concessions to capitalism had forced many revolutionary initiatives to be abandoned. Masses of workers, still working for wages and paying rent, were stuck in urban slums.

We must learn from the successes and errors of the communist movement that preceded us to fight for communism, nothing less

Changing Times

Stuteville began her report in the *Seattle Times* by describing how times have changed in the U.S.:

“When I first started traveling to poor countries as a young journalist, I was most shocked

by the slums. Tarp cities and shantytowns in Asia, Africa and Latin America, often butted up against wealthy neighborhoods and sleek high-rises, stood out as symbols of the distance between the United States and the “Developing World.”

“But that distance has shrunk... [We] are not immune to extreme poverty, or outrageous disparity of wealth.”

Communism must end all this. There can no longer be mansions and luxury condos for the few, while homeless camps stretch for miles. The housing you live in will not be determined by the money you have.

Indeed, there will be no money. Construction will no longer be based on making profits, but on the needs of our class.

Workers from anywhere will be welcomed everywhere. We’ll put the helping hands to good use.

We might not have much to begin with, but we’ll share what we have and the work to make more. The more hands that chip in the better.

Stuteville is right; the times have changed. Homelessness is an atrocity that spans the world. Now, more than ever, we have to build our party to prepare for communist revolution.

LETTERS

LETTERS

LETTERS

CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

Muhammad Ali: Anti-imperialist

The late Muhammad Ali’s antiwar activism in refusing U.S. military induction in 1967 is being whitewashed by the capitalist bosses’ media. Commentators say that Ali was for peace and against war. They cite President George W. Bush presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Ali in 2005 and calling him a “man of peace.”

Muhammad Ali was against empire. Weeks before he refused the military induction, he responded to a reporter at a fair housing protest: “My conscience won’t let me go shoot my brother, or some darker people, or some hungry people in the mud for big powerful America. And shoot them for what? They never called me nigger, they never lynched me, they didn’t put no dogs on me, they didn’t rob me of my

nationality, rape and kill my mother and father... Shoot them for what?... How can I shoot them poor people?”

He also said, “Why should they ask me to put on a uniform and go 10,000 miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on brown people in Vietnam while so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights? No. I’m not going 10,000 miles from home to help murder and burn another nation to continue the domination of white slave masters of the darker people the world over... The real enemy of my people is here.”

Muhammad Ali believed in solidarity with black, brown and poor people in the U.S., with the poor people of Viet Nam and those being killed in Viet Nam. He would not support a society that he viewed as uniquely brutal nor

would he support U.S. imperialism.

Whatever his weaknesses were, Ali knew the enemy. His refusal to fight on the side of U.S. imperialism against the oppressed masses in Vietnam is an example that we can bring up with students and soldiers today. It helps point out that our real enemies are not our class brothers and sisters in other countries, but the capitalists of all countries. Talking about this history helps us understand the need to turn the guns on the bosses and fight for communist revolution.

This is not the lesson the ruling-class media want us to take from Ali’s example. But we can’t let the bosses distort the memory of the young fighter who inspired millions.

—California comrades with long memories

LETTERS

LETTERS

LETTERS

CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

Sharing a T-Shirt and Building for Communism

Just next door to my house there's a lady who saw our T-shirt from my washing line. She invited me into her house and asked me about our revolution. I even offered her *Red Flags* and my T-shirt. You know, last week on Monday morning she went to work wearing the T-shirt and her work mates asked her about our revolution. Then they wanted more *Red Flags* which I did send them. Now they want us to visit other masses from their workplace.

—A comrade in South Africa

PHOTOGRAPHS ARE FROM THE PARTY'S
MOBILIZATION AT THE SOWETO MEMORIAL RALLY—
SEE PAGE 1



Importance of the Cultural Revolution in China

I think that the article in the last *Red Flag* about the Cultural Revolution (CR) in China was not very helpful in spelling out its lessons for our movement. Most of the article mentioned communist aspects of China's socialism that took place years earlier. I will try to point out a few specifics that help show the CR's historical importance for us.

Mao and his allies in the party leadership aimed to mobilize the masses of workers, peasants and students to overthrow the capitalist roaders "in authority," using force where necessary. What the Maoists did not count on was that the capitalist roaders could also mobilize masses of supporters, usually those who were comparatively well off and had the resources of local governments behind them.

In Shanghai in January, 1967, there was a bloody struggle between large opposing mass organizations of workers and students that resulted in the "overthrow" of the city's party structure. This was supposed to be replaced by a "Shanghai Commune" modeled on the Paris Commune of 1871. The Maoists in Beijing quickly replaced it with a "Revolutionary Committee" that included old cadres, the army and representatives of mass organizations. Across China, the members of Revolutionary Committees were mostly selected by back-room deals in Beijing and dominated by the military.

In many places the thinking of workers and students moved decisively to the left. In some, so-called "ultra-leftists" began a more general attack on China's socialist system. The most influential expression of such ideas was an essay by Yang Xiguang, a 19-year-old student member of the Shengwulian rebel group in Hunan.

Synthesizing ideas from various ultra-leftist groups, Yang advocated the revolutionary overthrow of the "red bourgeoisie" and the creation of a "People's Commune of China." He did not realize that socialism is hopeless, and

he disagreed with people who advocated "only one revolution" (fighting directly for communism). Still "ultra leftism" in the CR was a giant step forward for the communist movement.

The main thing that the huge mass struggles of CR have to teach us is that socialism can't be reformed into communism. Whether measured by either the standard of the Maoists or of communist revolution, the CR failed. It paved the way for the rule of Deng Xiaoping, the biggest capitalist-roader of them all.

Millions fought bloody battles, hoping to get rid of the capitalist bureaucrats that oppressed them. The "capitalist road," however, is inherent in socialism, which is itself a form of capitalism. Only a massive fight for communism can finally defeat capitalism.

—Comrade

Red Flag replies: Future articles in *Red Flag* will discuss the Cultural Revolution in more detail. We hope you will help write them. See page 8.

MTA: Covering it's back

I recently attended an all-day class and the emphasis was to get us to do something personally and individually about alleviating the excessive stress that comes with our job.

With regards to the passengers with disabilities we were told that we should be more forthcoming before the camera. We should make all the motions of the help we are offering so that the passenger can't claim he/she did not understand what we were saying. As usual, MTA's main concern with this issue is liability.

—Los Angeles MTA driver

MTA: Blaming the workers

In my class they went over the new TAP cards. But they also told us MTA made too much money last year at the fare box. They are blaming the operator for that which makes no sense. They claim they are not getting any government money because of it. They were supposed to have made only \$15 million but

they ended making \$23 million.

The issue is that they made over the expected amount. As usual the operators are the blame. We are not accountants. The issue is way above our pay scale. Anybody knows that the numbers and figures can be readjusted to fit the company's purposes. They are just mad it has been found out by the government accountants so they don't need the extra kick-backs they usually get, which just goes into the deep pockets of certain individuals and not to the operators' safety.

Then they told us that if we get into an accident we can get sued personally. Mainly they are going to tell the passengers to sue us. The only thing I got out of the class was that when anything goes wrong at MTA it is the operators' fault.

—Bus Driver, Los Angeles MTA

Making Things More Alike

"Would you like to take extra papers," a comrade asked a Los Angeles bus driver who regularly reads *Red Flag*, "maybe for younger people in your family?"

"They are all grown and I don't see them much," the driver replied.

"How about neighbors?" asked the comrade. "I hardly know the neighbors," he answered.

"That's a difference between here and South Africa," the comrade said. "But we can change things here by getting to know our neighbors."

"Well, give me two more papers," the driver said. "I have three neighbors but one of them is away a lot and I never see him."

Red Flag is a weapon in the class struggle that we can all use to defeat the alienation and cynicism of capitalist society. It can help us build relationships based on political struggle over communist ideas. These relationships will form the basis of the communist society we need.

—Los Angeles comrade

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Communist History

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

In 1949 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led the masses to victory over Japanese imperialism and China's capitalist rulers. It fought for land reform, collectivized agriculture and industrialization. Its program was first "New Democracy" (allying with some capitalists) and then Soviet-style Socialism, not Communism.

By 1960 the Soviet Union was openly restoring capitalism. Some CCP leaders supported this. In contrast, many grass-roots communists were influenced by the Red Army's wartime "supply system" and the 1950s Peo-

ple's Commune movement. They were impatient to achieve communism.

The struggle sharpened and turned into the Cultural Revolution. This was the first massive mobilization against a new capitalist ruling class who were hiding behind the socialist banner.

Eventually the communist revolutionaries were defeated. They had no party of their own that would mobilize directly for communism.

See our manifesto, *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* (icwpredflag.org/MMC/MMCE.pdf) and the articles in this series.

Chinese Cultural Revolution 1966: Power of Masses in Motion TO DEFEAT CAPITALIST-ROADERS, RED GUARDS SHOULD HAVE MOBILIZED FOR COMMUNISM

NOTE: Due to an editing error, the article in the last Red Flag about the Chinese Cultural Revolution misleadingly listed its dates as 1966-1976. This is the view of the Chinese government and most Western writers. But from the standpoint of the masses—especially the "ultra-left"—the real revolution was suppressed by 1968. This article—and others to follow—will draw lessons of this real revolution.

The Cultural Revolution opened on May 25, 1966 with Nie Yuanzi's big-character poster "Ignite the Cultural Revolution!" She accused Beijing University leaders of trying to suppress "the strong revolutionary desire of the vast number of faculty members and students" who wanted to "wipe out all ghosts and monsters and all Khrushchevian counter-revolutionary revisionists—and carry the socialist revolution through to the end."

Nie was carrying out the line of Mao's new Central Cultural Revolutionary Group. This body was charged with ridding the educational and cultural systems of right-wing ideology. Its work-group had visited her campus. Mao praised Nie's poster and got the national party newspaper to reprint it on its front-page. The masses were aroused.

Splits in CCP Leadership

Contradictions within the Chinese Communist Party leadership had been sharpening. All CCP leaders said the main goal was increasing production. But Liu Shaoqi's faction wanted more "individual responsibility" (capitalist incentives). Mao's faction wanted the "socialist road."

None recognized that socialist principles ("to each according to work") defined essentially capitalist social relations. None fought for com-

munist social relations ("to each according to need").

Both factions opposed the "bourgeois reactionary line" of the Soviet Union. Both aimed to root out the old regime's "ghosts and monsters." Actually, most of the old bourgeoisie had already fled to Taiwan, or the government had bought their property. Those working in industry and commerce were closely supervised by the CCP. They were hardly a problem.

No party leaders, including Mao, saw that socialism was transforming the CCP into a "red" bourgeoisie. But by 1966, the Party-led bureaucracy had squashed Mao's attempts to rid the Party of "rightist tendencies." He argued that mass transformation of culture and education alone could guarantee socialism's victory. He decided to mobilize the masses to criticize his opponents. But he did not mobilize them for communism.

The masses surged ahead of Mao, taking the struggle from the schools to the workers. Students organized themselves as Red Guards. Their first units mainly included offspring of party, army and government bureaucrats.

Liu's group tried to stop them. Its June 6 "Eight-Point Decision" stated that Party members should not publicly criticize other members. Wall posters, meetings and demonstrations should stay on campus and off the streets. They thought that their "work teams" could subvert the movement. This had worked to control previous "anti-Rightist" movements. Liu sacrificed some high education officials, trying to pacify the students.

Students soon tried to kick Liu's work teams off 39 Beijing campuses. These students were attacked as "disrupters, Rightists and counter-

revolutionaries." Work teams dug up dirt on them from extensive Party files and persecuted them. Some students crumbled under the pressure.

In late July Mao dissolved Liu's work teams. On August 5 he signed a big-character poster, "Bombard the Headquarters." A CCP Central Committee conference approved the "16-point Decision." This clarified that the Cultural Revolution should criticize "power holders in the party who follow the capitalist road." It was not aimed at "rightists" among the masses, no matter who called them "rightists."

Red Guards: One Divides into Two

More youths became Red Guards. New "revolutionary Red Guard" (or "rebel") units formed. Many new activists were industrial apprentices or part-time, second-class "contract" workers. Some had been industrial workers during the Great Leap (1958-60) who were laid off and forced back to the countryside. Others were small-scale merchants or peddlers. The CCP considered these strata "suspect."

The "rebels" expanded the attack to local and higher party committees. Party authorities mobilized original Red Guard units to attack the "rebel" Red Guards as "Rightist."

Since nobody was mobilized for communism, the fighting often seemed random. All shouted support for Mao. All denounced leading "capitalist roaders" like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

Mao cancelled fall classes. The Party allowed millions of students to travel free, all over China, to spread the Cultural Revolution. Mao welcomed millions in Tien An Min Square, making no distinction between competing Red Guard contingents.

"Rebel" groups tried to contact factory workers. Local party and trade-union officials set up the first workplace Red Guard units to protect themselves from the "rebels." By November, however, "rebels" had penetrated the factories and formed many new "Revolutionary Red Guard" units.

The "Rebels" sharpened the contradiction between the masses and the party. They demanded the destruction of the files used to condemn people for their background. In November, Mao supported them on this and other points. Most Red Guards thought he could do no wrong. They would pay dearly for this illusion.

Party and government organizations were losing influence. The revolutionary Red Guards were becoming stronger. The masses were moving far beyond what Mao had planned.

The next article in this series will describe the 1967 "January Storm."

