



RED FLAG

MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM

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

COMMUNIST MASSES WILL DEFEAT RISING FASCISM WORLDWIDE



Angry protests in Gujarat, India. See articles about building ICWP in India, page 5

Productive Mobilization for Communism: **MORE AND MORE WORKERS AND YOUTH JOIN ICWP**

SOUTH AFRICA, July 30—South African elections on August 3 will elect a new government. The capitalist system in South Africa is in serious crisis. The African National Congress (ANC) has governed since the end of apartheid. It has steadily consolidated Chinese imperialist investment in auto, infrastructure, mining and finance. This has reduced the influence of long-standing British, German and US capital. The election reflects the dog-fight among imperialists as South African capitalists attempt to take advantage of the crisis.

For the working class, no matter who wins the elections, there will be more racism, unemployment, grinding poverty, hunger and horrific living conditions in segregated townships.

President Zuma of South Africa went to Port Elizabeth to mislead the masses to participate in elections. Two clubs of our party offered the working class a communist alternative. The youth collective went inside the stadium

where the rally was held and the industrial collective distributed *Red Flag* outside.

In spite of heavy rain on a cold winter day, the day was productive in mobilizing for Communism. The youth collective had about 450 papers and they were gone in thirty minutes. The industrial collective distributed 300 papers outside.

The response was good and most comrades were enthusiastic. One new comrade was disappointed. Maybe he has things he thinks we should do better. We will find out more in our next meeting. Here are other comrades' comments:

"This is the first time I distributed the paper. I thought it was going to be embarrassing. But when I started distributing papers to people, they responded and the papers were gone in 15 to 20 minutes. So that was very intriguing."

"The response of people wanting to get the paper was good. Some were asking about communism. I was skeptical because most of the people there were African National

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Studying Communist Philosophy: **LEARNING HOW TO CHANGE THE WORLD**

EL SALVADOR—"I was in the war for survival, I had no choice," said one comrade referring to the armed struggle of the FMLN in which he participated. "But that experience taught us the need to fight for a more advanced line. That's why today I am in the International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP) in a process of better understanding what to fight for."

In a recent meeting, the central focus was to discuss dialectics and the struggle against reformism. Many shared lessons about the struggle for communism.

"We are exposed daily to capitalist ideas which can distract us from our goal of mobilizing the masses for communism. However, our task is a constant battle against these ideas and practices.

"Communist ideas must lead our life of struggle. We must discard the idea that we can live in peace, as the former commander and now president Sanchez Ceren says in the FMLN festivals of living well," said a comrade.

A friend said that some reforms had benefited many. This led to an important discussion. We concluded that reformism is a current that extends the life of capitalism. The working class needs Communism to end wage slavery.

The ICWP opposes the reformist ideas that it's impossible to destroy capitalism and that the ruling class can coexist with the working class. We have to fight directly for communism and train ourselves more, distributing *Red Flag* newspapers, participating in leafleting in marches and at factories, writing for the newspaper, and organizing communist study circles, among other activities.

Dialectics is the philosophy of change. That's why it is such a fundamental tool to understand the source of movement and development of things.

The study of dialectics teaches us the law of unity and struggle of opposites, which Lenin called the core of dialectical materialism. It says that things and phenomena of nature

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U.S. Elections:**WE DO HAVE A CHOICE: COMMUNIST REVOLUTION**

“I don’t want *Red Flag*,” said a Los Angeles bus driver. “I’m thinking about the elections.”

“Who are you for?” asked a comrade.

“I don’t like any of them,” he admitted.

“Lots of people say that,” replied the comrade. “Whoever wins in November, we’ll all be in trouble in January. That’s why we need to talk about communist revolution now.”

“You’ve got a point,” he said.

The stakes are high. The global crisis of capitalism is making it impossible for masses to live in the old way. The International Communist Workers’ Party will take advantage of this opportunity to grow significantly in the US and elsewhere. Many, like that bus driver, should join our ranks.

For that we must fight for communist ideas in a much bolder and more massive way.

With candidates like Clinton and Trump, the US rulers need us to believe that their capitalist political system is the best we can do. Even supposedly anti-capitalist forces push “lesser-evil” scare tactics or “third-party” diversions.

We do have a real choice in the US and everywhere: Communism.

Communist versus Capitalist Politics

“Big money” rules. This is the consequence of capitalism’s wage system. Governments in class societies exist precisely to help the rich get richer by exploiting and suppressing the masses.

The wage system means racist super-exploitation and police terror, nationalism and imperialist war. Elections help capitalists negotiate their disagreements while pretending that the masses have a say.

Communism means a classless society: no wealth, no exploitation. None will be better or worse off than others.

We’ll produce and share the things we need without money and markets. Instead we will connect with mutual respect and commitment to collectivity.

Communist politics means mobilizing masses to help make and implement all decisions that affect us. It means struggle against the racism, sexism and patriotism that the rulers use to divide our international working class. We must organize directly for the communist revolution that will end capitalism, their material basis.

Communist leaders aren’t a few “electeds.” Communism develops many leaders who win respect because of their dedication to serving the masses. They are principled in struggle and open to criticism because they want to learn and advance the cause.

Only Communism Can Defeat Fascism and Imperialist War

Fascist Trump emboldens his base to act on their worst racist and sexist impulses. He poses as a “strong man” who will

“save America.” He shamelessly embraces the “America First” slogan of US Nazis in the 1930s.

Could Trump win? His pal Putin won in Russia. Brexit won. Modi won in India and Netanyahu in Israel. It’s possible, but unlikely. Trump’s foreign-policy notions (like weakening NATO) and his strong ties to Russian oligarchs contradict the interests of the dominant US imperialists.

If the Republicans have become the party of open racism and bigotry, the Democrats have long been the party of imperialist war—and racism (see *Democrats: Racist Warmakers*, page 3).

Their convention featured military speakers like a former commander of NATO troops in Afghanistan. When some delegates chanted “No More War!” others shouted them down with “USA! USA!”

Yet “progressives” are filling social media with the dangerous old threat that failing to vote for Clinton as the “lesser evil” is “a vote for Trump” or even “white privilege.”

The choice at the ballot-box is war (Clinton) or fascism (Trump). But whichever you choose, you’ll get the other for free.

Choose communism instead.

Mobilize for Communism, Not for a “United Front”

We learn from the 20th century that only communist revolution can defeat fascism.

Communists responded to Hitler’s rise by mobilizing masses to fight Nazis in the streets of cities like Berlin. Many hoped that allying with Socialists would defeat fascism.

But the Socialist Party (SPD) government authorized, financed and equipped the “White Guards” that suppressed workers’ revolution in 1918-19. During the 1920s the SPD declared that “red [communist] equals brown [Nazi].” In 1931, the SPD-controlled Prussian government banned communist anti-fascist squads and May Day parades. Communists rightly called SPD leaders “social-fascists.”

This is Bernie Sanders’ “democratic socialist” tradition. These “democratic socialists” supported the German government’s declaration of World War I. It’s no surprise that Sanders now supports war-maker Clinton.

In 1934 the communists did an about-face and called for unity with the Socialists against fascism. But “disunity on the left” did not bring Hitler to power. German industrialists (and their US pals) decided they needed Hitler to destroy the communist-led workers’ movement and mobilize for another world war.

They got away with this because of the mistakes of the communist movement (see *Mobilize for Communist Revolution, Not for Elections*, page 3). Fascism can’t be defeated nor communism won at the ballot box. Communism can’t win by building anti-fascist “united fronts.” Unity with imperialists strengthens imperialism, not communism.

The Red Army and the Soviet masses stopped Hitler. What if they had mobilized for communism instead of “the Motherland”?

If European partisans had fought for communist power in 1945 instead of supporting capitalists like DeGaulle?

If the Chinese Red Army had spread its communist “supply system” instead of promoting capitalist “New Democracy”?

Today fascism is again rooted in the global capitalist crisis of overproduction and its inevitable drive toward world war. The only way forward is communism which will tear up this deadly system at its roots.

Collectively we know many thousands who, like the bus driver, are disenchanted with capitalist politics. We must boldly and sharply struggle to overcome their every political objection and obstacle.

We must find tactics and strategies, like communist political strikes against racist capitalist police murders, to mobilize them. We must engage them in discussion of *Red Flag, Mobilize the Masses for Communism*, ICWP pamphlets and communist philosophy (dialectical materialism). They — including you, our readers — must help us improve our line, our literature and our work.

All this must lead to the growth of Party collectives and *Red Flag* distribution networks in workplaces, schools and barracks.

Choose communism! Help build a mass International Communist Workers’ Party!



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COMMUNISM INSPIRES UNIVERSITY WORKERS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE

SEATTLE, USA, July 23—University of Washington campus workers took a step forward tonight. ICWP members and friends formed a collective to prepare for political job actions to answer racist killings by cops.

Communist solutions were discussed in detail. This group works in the health sciences department so we discussed communist healthcare. Of course, communist education and building a society without cops took center stage. Every job action, from petitions to political strikes, would aim for communist answers. Building for communist revolution must be our daily goal.

One worker was active in a campus union, the SEIU. She had been to a union-sponsored convention on \$15 per hour a year ago, forced to listen to Hillary Clinton's incremental change nonsense. At that time Clinton said \$15/hour was unrealistic.

On the one hand, our friend had clearly lost faith in trade unionism. She understood that the bosses' crisis of overproduction had rendered the unions even more powerless. On the other hand, she complained that campus workers expected the union to get them benefits and pay raises without a fight.

"It's frustrating," she said. "It so hard to get these workers to fight around these issues in the contract."

"Maybe we would get a better response if we organized a political group on the job to end racism with communist revolution," suggested a comrade.

She was open to the idea. She was most enthused about the glimpses of communist potential in her life struggles than anything else.

Taste of Communism Makes Big Impression

For example, her husband is a cook. He went to New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. He and his friend, a nurse, set up a clinic with neighbor-

hood people. As it turned out, it shared features with the Chinese revolutionary system of "barefoot doctors."

Barefoot doctors came from the work brigades in the rural areas, hundreds of thousands of them. They were trained for six months and then re-joined the workers from their villages. At first they provided basic healthcare, but soon began organizing mass campaigns to rid the countryside of plagues and disease. This process was repeated over a number of years.

The barefoot-doctor program stood in stark contrast to the hierarchies of bourgeois hospitals. Bosses' healthcare segregates doctors from nurses from paraprofessionals, janitorial staff and especially patients. Communist healthcare relies on mobilizing masses.

Similarly, her husband's clinic stood in stark contrast to the fancy facilities of non-governmental agencies (NGOs) like the Red Cross. The NGOs had hot-water showers and fully-stocked medical facilities. Unlike the clinic her husband was involved in, the NGO staff never went out in the neighborhood to ask if anybody needed help. In fact, the NGO facilities were used mostly by the NGO staff itself and the New Orleans cops. The same police force massacred unarmed black civilians on Danziger bridge, who were fleeing the flood six days after the storm hit.

Communist Vision Energizes Us

This friend and the others at the meeting were more excited about building for political actions against racist police killings and for communism than the reform

contract struggles of the union. Organizing groups on the job around the communist politics of the ICWP is a better way to go. They will create the passion we need. We must apply this lesson as we fight to build similar shop formations at Boeing and other worksites.

Our friends' stories of how their past struggles have moved them to the left inspired us all. They should write them up for *Red Flag*. Most importantly they should join the party and immediately aim to recruit their friends and family. They would bring with them invaluable experience.

While the aim is political strikes, on-the-job group discussions, for example, can advance the work. Maybe, next time these university workers can report on their progress and lead the discussion at our next social event.

Everyone took ICWP stickers, leaflets and newspapers to distribute as they left. "When's our next get-together?" asked new and old friends. Communism creates enthusiasm.



Barefoot doctors

Democrats: Racist Warmakers

US foreign policy, mainly under Democrats, has killed 20-30 million people since the end of WWII. Most were in Korea (Truman) and Vietnam (Kennedy/Johnson/Nixon).

The Bill Clinton administration expanded NATO to Russia's borders. It intensified mass misery around the world in the name of "open markets" and "democracy." That included military interventions in Somalia (1993), Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1995), Iraq (1998), Sudan (1998), Afghanistan (1998) and Kosovo/Serbia (1999).

Hillary Clinton said in 2008, "If I'm president, we will attack Iran. In the next 10 years ... we

would be able to totally obliterate them."

Secretary of State Clinton argued for increasing troops in Afghanistan (2009). She pushed for US military intervention in Syria. She supported the 2009 military coup in Honduras. She helped capitalists in Haiti to keep the minimum wage there at \$0.24/hour.

Bill Clinton's 1994 crime bill triggered the steep rise of mass incarceration of black workers and youth over the next two decades. (Sanders voted for it.)

Clinton's "welfare reform" helped double the number living in extreme poverty (less than \$2/person/day) in the US over the next 15 years.

Mobilize for Communist Revolution, Not for Elections

German communists, following Comintern policy, threw themselves into elections. Even in 1932 they nominated Ernst Thaelmann for president as the "red candidate of the German working classes." Some said "after Hitler, our turn." By 1933 they were casting their ballots from concentration camps.

Communists organized workers' International Brigades to fight Franco's fascists in Spain. But they mobilized as a "popular front" for democracy and the Spanish republic, not for communism. Later they mobilized to "defend the Soviet Union," not for communism.

By 1942 the Soviet Union allied with "lesser-evil" imperialists (Britain and the US) against Germany. In China it united with fascist Chiang Kai-Shek against Japanese imperialism –

until he massacred thousands of Chinese communists.

Hitler was scarcely buried when US imperialism dropped its genocidal atom bombs on Japan. The British imperialists' partition of India and Pakistan killed millions more. After World War II, these so-called "anti-fascists" became the biggest fascists of all.

So beware of calls for "anti-fascist unity" with the likes of Michael Bloomberg and Jeb Bush in support of Clinton. And beware of those who promote the Green Party to "advance the Sanders revolution."

The revolution we need is armed insurrection to replace capitalism with a global communist society where the masses organize ourselves directly to meet our needs.

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carry implicit internal contradictions that are the source of development. For example, life is a contradictory process in which cells within organisms are constantly dying and new ones are being born.

The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class, being the main contradiction

of capitalism, has to end with the destruction of capitalism and the triumph of the Communist system. But this will not happen by chance. It will only happen with the commitment and dedication that each worker organized in the International Communist Workers' Party brings to this effort.

It is important to identify what holds back the advance and growth of the party. If we don't, we

won't recognize that there is anything to correct. For example, do we devote time in our club meetings to do this?

The workers are mobilizing worldwide. This is an opportunity to win them to fight for communist ideas and a communist world.

The struggle for communism is primary. Get organized in the International Communist Workers' Party. Long live the working class!

SOUTH AFRICA: YOUTH STUDY DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Today we had the last day of our discussions on dialectics before the schools open. We discussed the fact that the internal contradictions within the party are essential. They determine how it grows. The political line of the party, its composition, its size and its leadership are what determine how it grows.

We discussed questions that the comrades raised. As we know, in this capitalist society that we live in, the so-called leaders are greedy. They don't serve the needs of the people. They like things for themselves, not for the people. So our comrades were asking how we know that in communism, communist leaders won't do the same thing. We struggled to come up with communist solutions and answers.

The main answer from the collective was that if a leader operates in isolation that's where corruption is going to arise. A leader has to be transparent and honest and operate within the collective. They won't be able to be dishonest.

If he or she has a problem or needs something, the collective will help the comrade acquire what they need, whether it's food, shoes, or whatever. We will struggle with them within the collective, as the collective.

The last thing to report is that a new comrade inside our collective is from Zimbabwe. This is his second meeting. So we decided to concentrate on his questions. He wants to share with you:

"I want to greet you comrades throughout the world. I'm from Zim-

babwe. It's my pleasure to be part of the movement. But I am just going to add another question. How are we going to connect leaders throughout the world, or will we have one paramount leader or connect them, or do what?"

So this is what we will discuss at our next meeting. We have been encouraging each other to ask more questions because there is no single formula that says this is how communism will work. We need these questions and the discussion about them to advance our political understanding about how communism will work.

What we learned today is how contradictions are resolved. It is about the unity and struggle of opposites. That's how contradictions work. Contradictions are resolved through struggle.

We as a collective have learned that we have to unite, have arguments and find solutions that work. We had an argument about how engines are manufactured, where and why. We found an answer to that as a collective. That shows we are uniting through struggle. Our discussions show that we are going forward. We are united.



MEXICO: YOUTH DISCUSS BUILDING A WORLD WITHOUT MONEY

"How will communism function without money?" asked a young student during a club meeting.

The meeting of comrades, *Red Flag* readers and friends focused on this question.

Comrades said that if humanity is capable of developing technology, science, and exploring the universe, is also capable of developing social relationships without the need for money.

In Communism, the working class won't need money because we will produce to meet the needs of humanity and not for profit.

Under capitalism money is indispensable as a means to produce profits. One comrade gave an example of the way factories function and the profits that the bosses take by exploiting the workers.

Another comrade mentioned how capitalist society is structured and its need for a lot of money for the bosses but not for the workers. Products rot in the stores and, even so, we cannot get access to them if we don't have money.

In this meeting, we continued the discussion about the document *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* and the current *Red Flag* editorial.

The majority of participants were young.

Also some asked about the differences between our Party and other parties of the "pseudo-left." Comrades said that such groups or parties continue proposing a change by stages as it was in the past, that is, first social-

ism and then communism. We say that we must fight directly for communism. Many of these groups advocate for reforms and consider money to be necessary. We say that the great revolutions have shown us the big mistakes that should not be repeated.

Another young student who spoke little during the meeting, commented at the end that he had listened carefully to the views of each person and visualized all of it in his mind, making historical comparisons with what we were saying, and that he liked our ideas.

There were contributions from old friends who know the Party who have been dispersed in their activities. However, the seed of communism that has remained in them makes them look for us and respond to our call. They said that they are not satisfied with the conditions of workers today and know that they will worsen as capitalism looks for its survival. Therefore, even though now they see their participation in the struggle as limited, they are willing to expand their limits.

All the participants got a warm welcome. This motivated the comrades to continue the political work. Even though we are absorbed in the daily struggle to survive, like our comrades and others workers around the world, the conditions to mobilize the masses for communism are a daily living reality.

We discussed theory and practice, and that's what we want, not just a small group of people who know our ideas. Today more than ever we must mobilize to achieve the liberation of our working class around the world, not only as theoretical knowledge, but as a necessity of putting it into practice.

SOUTH AFRICA MOBILIZATION from page 1

Congress (ANC) members."

"Some were very reluctant to take the paper."

"Because of the violence that happened during the week between the ANC, the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters, I was skeptical to go to the ANC stronghold and to distribute papers there. It took guts because we weren't on the outside of the stadium. We were inside. Those guys searched our bags twice."

"The good part is that they had questions and we answered them. It is very important to know what's going on when we go to these events. When you understand the political line, it becomes like second nature to explain how commu-

nism would actually work. You can explain how people need to live. All my anxieties about going inside were laid to rest by the response of the masses when we gave them the paper."

"At first I was afraid to go inside since it was the ANC thing, but compared to the experience we had on June 16, it was very good."

"We should go to more of these events. When the South African Communist Party (SACP) has their celebration, that's another opportunity for us to mobilize for communism."

"Yes, the SACP is the so-called communist party. If they are SACP members, it means that they acknowledge the problems of capitalism. But they lack the correct political line to fix it."

"People like the idea of communism and some

will strive to get more information about it because it is very relevant to their lives."

"If we are going to these gatherings, it helps us to know in advance. If we wouldn't have gone today, we wouldn't have known about the SACP event. Now we can plan in advance for it." (See photo, above, of *Red Flag* at the SACP event.)

We must have newspapers, and all that so that we can mobilize for communism.

Since the event over 80 people have called, wanting to know more about ICWP. We have made follow-up visits and phone calls to these new contacts. We have established a new collective in another working-class township with the help of the young lions. More and more workers and youth are joining ICWP.



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ICWP Grows in India

MASS MOVEMENT NEEDS TO BE COMMUNIST

Spring, 2016—ICWP has taken a huge step in advancing our line to fight for communism by organizing and recruiting new members and readers in India. We visited comrades in six large industrial cities. Our new members and supporters form a group of students, workers and professionals. They include Dalits, Muslims and others. Many comrades have experienced life under fascism and have seen horrific atrocities committed by capitalists. They are enthusiastic about building the revolutionary communist movement as advanced by our party because no other party offers a solution to the racist attacks taking place in India.

Our work to build a mass international party also requires huge financial resources. We couldn't visit supporters and members in eight other cities.

ICWP is spreading further. We are getting enthusiastic responses from Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan, where new comrades want to organize ICWP. We are organizing a group that will coordinate with each other and guarantee the distribution of RF and write articles and letters about building for communism.

Building ICWP is not without obstacles. The nationalist line that emerged in the old communist movement affects the working class. Relying on the so-called progressive capitalist is a fatal mistake that is being pushed in mass movements of Dalits and other super-exploited workers. However, the relentless attacks on the working class have motivated masses of angry workers and students to look for the alternative that only our party offers.

One of our comrades took a huge step of personal sacrifice as he rejected a very lucrative academic path and instead decided to organize for communist revolution. Comrades are in the process of translating our main document *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* into four different languages.

August 1—For the first time in the history of India, millions of Dalits and other workers have poured out in the street against increased violence against Dalits. Since the fascist Modi government came to power, the Dalits have faced more brutal violence, burning of homes, gang rapes and killings by police. What triggered this avalanche of angry masses to the streets of major cities in India was the merciless public beating of four boys by racists in Gujarat, Modi's home state.

The Dalits perform the most dehumanizing tasks like cleaning raw sewers and disposing of rotting cattle. They have faced caste discrimination by upper-caste rich Hindus who consider them untouchable. The anger of Dalits exploded last week with the news of the murder of a Dalit couple for not being able to pay a debt of 15 Rupees (less than 22 cents).

ICWP is building a mass communist party to bury capitalism once and for all and replace it with a communist society without caste, religion, money or borders. Only a communist society can guarantee the complete elimination of deep-rooted caste discrimination and the horrors of wage slavery. In communist society we will wage a relentless struggle to end the division of labor based on mental and manual labor. In a society without money, and based on need, difficult and dirty work will be shared. No one will have to spend all their life doing the same task.

However, to build a communist society we have to win the masses to reject nationalism and reform. A large number of Dalits and other workers are rejecting Modi's fascism. However; they are misled into a nationalist Dalit movement for reform based on the Buddhist religion. Members and friends of ICWP must vigorously struggle for a communist alterna-

tive to the nationalism and religion that will only prolong capitalism.

The bosses in India are locked in a deadly crisis of capitalism that is increasing unemployment by one million people every month. To compete with other capitalists in the world, the fascist government in India is increasing its attacks on the working class. In the northern state of Kashmir, the killing of a person the government called a terrorist brought over 200,000 people to his funeral on July 9. Millions followed in the streets.

In a state of 4 million people, the government has over 700,000 armed forces to control the masses. In the mass protests in Kashmir, the government opened fire on protesters with rubber-coated steel pellets designed to explode after penetrating the body. This has left thousands blind. The images of boys and girls as young as four years old with dozens of rubber bullets lodged in their skulls have created tremendous anger.

The masses are refusing to live in the same old way. Our party everywhere must intensify the ideological struggle to build a mass communist mass movement led by our party. This opportunity puts tremendous responsibility on the shoulders of our relatively new ICWP collectives in India. We will transform the angry masses into revolutionary communist leaders.



Angry youth in Gujarat and around the world need ICWP

GANDHI: RACIST AND FRIEND OF FASCIST DICTATORS

Modi, the fascist prime minister of India, recently said, "South Africa transformed Mohandas (Gandhi's first name) into Mahatma (the Great soul)."

In reality, the Gandhi who lived in South Africa a century ago was a racist young lawyer. His racism was rooted in orthodox Hinduism, which made the Dalits "untouchables." Dalits were not allowed in upper-caste Hindu neighborhoods.

Gandhi went to South Africa to do legal work for upper-caste Indians. One of his first assignments was to segregate the Indian population from black people. He described blacks as 'savages' and used the extremely insulting word 'Kaffirs' to describe them. He wrote, "Kaffirs as a rule are uncivilized – the convicts even more so. They are troublesome, very dirty and live almost like animals."

During the 1906 Zulu rebellion, Gandhi urged Indians to fight on behalf of the British army. He formed a volunteer Indian 'stretcher bearer' corps to treat wounded British soldiers. They would refuse treatment to landless Zulus and leave them to die on the battlefield.

When Gandhi arrived back in India in 1915, India (like South Africa) was in the midst of huge peasant rebellions against British rule and the devastating effects of World War I. Between 1902 and 1916 several violent strikes took place in textile mills, jute factories, and docks of Bombay and Calcutta. In addition, thousands of rural Punjabis who had emigrated to America started a weekly paper Ghadar (Rebellion) in 1913 to

support the rising working class in India.

Gandhi joined the Indian National Congress in 1915. He spent the next three decades building a mass movement based on nationalism. He was fearful of mass violence and rising revolutionary ideas in the working class. His devout Hindu beliefs, including caste segregation, formed the foundation of nationalist movement. While he rejected the practice of 'untouchability' of the Dalits, he supported the Hindu system of segregation.

The Bolshevik seizure of power in the Soviet Union in 1917 had a tremendous effect on the working class in India and worldwide. The Communist Party of India was formed in 1925. In less than a decade, it was leading massive rebellions of workers and peasants.

Gandhi tried to counter this revolutionary movement with the fanatical Hindu caste system. He wrote, "The object of the caste system is to prevent competition and class struggle and class war."

Gandhi's anti-communism took him to a personal meeting with the fascist Mussolini, who described him as "a genius and a saint." Gandhi was welcomed by fascist black-shirts in Rome. Gandhi in return hailed Mussolini for his "care of the poor... He seems to have done much for the peasant class."

Gandhi wrote, "Behind Mussolini's implacability is a desire to serve his people. Even behind his emphatic speeches there is a nucleus of sincerity and of passionate love for his people. It seems to me that the majority of the Italian people

love the iron government of Mussolini."

While Gandhi could not meet Hitler personally, he wrote to him in December of 1940: "We have no doubt about your bravery or devotion to your fatherland, nor do we believe that you are the monster described by your opponents."

No wonder Modi praises him!

Gandhi's fascist sympathies are not well known. The capitalists' history books portray him as a smiling saint who defeated British imperialism with non-violence. They never mention his vile racism toward Dalits, Muslims and black Africans.

The masses everywhere must reject Gandhi's anti-communism, pacifism and nationalism along with his racism. We must mobilize for the communist revolution that alone can end the horrors of capitalism.

Collectives of the International Communist Workers' Party and networks of *Red Flag* readers are growing in India, South Africa and elsewhere around the world. Comrades across continents are learning from each other. Many are helping to translate our Party's manifesto *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*. This will help to arm the working class with the revolutionary outlook needed to defeat the bosses and their racist system.

More information: Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (2015)

ZIMBABWE: WORKERS NEED COMMUNISM

July 29—A month-long crisis in Zimbabwe reflects the sharpening global crisis of capitalism overall. The corrupt dictatorship of Robert Mugabe has been in power since the 1980 overthrow of Ian Smith's racist post-colonial regime. It is threatened from without and within. Movements supported by rival imperialists could plunge the country into a civil war in which other regional powers—especially South Africa—are drawn in.

Veterans of the guerrilla struggle, long a pillar of power in Zimbabwe, are deserting Mugabe. Workers and youth are rebelling against food shortages, unemployment, unpaid wages, and corrupt violent police. They shut down Bulawayo and Harare on July 6. This “stay-away” was organized through a social media campaign called #ThisFlag, led by Pastor Evan Mawarire with Zimbabwe's flag draped around his neck.

Workers Have Only One Flag, the Red Flag!

The ICWP organizes in South Africa and around the world. We fight for communism. We will abolish capitalism, along with its money, wages, markets, and national flags and boundaries. We will mobilize the masses to build a new society, where we will work collectively to satisfy everyone's needs. We'll plan what we produce based on what people need. No one will live off of anyone else's labor. No one will live better than anyone else. Doing away with wage slavery and competition will allow us to finally wipe out racism, sexism and xenophobia.

Communist Revolution: Not National Liberation

Zimbabwe's masses fought a guerrilla war against Smith's white supremacist government for more than a decade! During the 1960s and 70s, the Soviet Union, and then China, backed rival guerrilla factions. In 1979, Mugabe's faction, backed by China, won out. Mugabe has been what China calls its “All-Weather Friend” ever since.

The guerrilla war ended with a settlement negotiated in London. It which guaranteed white capitalists (1% of the population) ten more years of control of Zimbabwe's land. Mugabe's party became the administrators of a capitalist state.

In 2000, guerrilla war veterans led a spontaneous movement to evict white land-owners. Mu-

gabe took over this movement. He seized land and parceled it out to his supporters. Capitalist land reform, combined with climate change, has led to mass hunger and a huge decline in agricultural production. The United States and European Union have condemned human rights violations in Zimbabwe and have imposed economic sanctions there.

Mugabe Looks East

Mugabe announced closer trade relations with China in 2003. In December 2015, Zimbabwe adopted the Chinese yuan as its primary international currency. Zimbabwe is an important part of China's New Silk Road strategy of trade and extraction relations throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Mugabe's dependence on Chinese support has meant that Chinese-owned diamond mines—up to now—have been exempt from the Zimbabwe's nationalization of major economic resources.

As the economic crisis deepened this spring, China announced that it would send Zimbabwe 200,000 tons of rice—a pittance compared to the super-profits Chinese capitalists make in Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, Obama increased the masses' suffering by announcing the continuation of sanctions while fomenting regime change.

Crisis and War

Crisis in Zimbabwe creates an opportunity for the US to back a “spontaneous” movement which could bring to power a more pliable ally. This, however, could lead to a proxy war between rival imperialist powers and pit worker against worker in bloody battle.

Rivalry between the US, the world's declining imperial power, and China, its rising competitor, is intensifying around the world. Both are expanding their military presence in Africa. China is building its first overseas military base in Djibouti, on the Horn of Africa, where the US also has a base.



South African soldier accepting *Red Flag* from comrades. Soldiers must fight for the international working class, not for any imperialist .

As the crisis sharpens, several scenarios are possible. China could quietly support one of Mugabe's lieutenants to takeover for the aged ruler, defusing the crisis while maintaining Zimbabwe's close ties to China.

On the other hand, the US and the EU seem to be supporting a movement that could plunge Zimbabwe into civil war. Mawarire has fled to South Africa, where he is organizing supporters, mostly from Zimbabwe, for a “peaceful revolution.”

The South African rulers are split. The governing African National Congress supports Mugabe, a former ally in the “liberation struggle.” The trade union federation is supporting the movement against Mugabe.

Workers have no stake in these wars. We need to fight for our own class! A civil war in Zimbabwe could overthrow Mugabe, but capitalism will remain. Zimbabwean and South African workers need communism, as do workers everywhere! This is possible only with a strong International Communist Workers' Party.

The comrades in South Africa are leading the way in building a mass ICWP. They have already recruited a new comrade from Zimbabwe. The betrayals of the guerrilla struggle, and the threat of imperialist war, are strong motivators to fight for communism. We urge *Red Flag* readers around the world to join us today!

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stone for the creation of “Greater Kurdistan,” a nation to be carved out of historically Kurdish areas of Syria, Iran and Iraq. This oil-rich area would serve as a US military and political base, as Israel has been.

For the Turkish ruling class, this is an existential threat. There are 20 million restive Kurds, treated as second-class citizens, in Turkey, a country of 73 million people. Insurgent groups in Turkey have fought for independence for decades. US planned “Greater Kurdistan” would intensify this conflict, blow it up into open civil war and break up Turkey.

Turkey's interest with regards to “Greater Kurdistan” are aligned with those of Russia's and Iran's. They all oppose US attempts to militantly carve out a “second geopolitical Israel” of Kurdistan. That explains Turkey's softened stance on Syrian ruler Assad.

A strengthened Turkish-Russian alliance would help Moscow's efforts to prop up the Syrian regime. It also promises to revive the stalled Turkish Stream gas pipeline project (the \$15 billion project to transport Russian gas via Turkey to southern Europe). This project, when paired with China's complementary Balkan Silk Road high-speed rail project from Budapest to Piraeus,

is perhaps the most ambitious multipolar outreach to Europe that has ever been attempted.

The US, on the other hand, plans to establish a permanent NATO presence in the Black Sea, in line with their strategy to encircle Russia. Without Turkey's cooperation, they couldn't do it. The US bosses would have to build a powerful Rumanian navy from scratch to counter-balance Russia on the Black Sea.

In question now will be Western access to the Incirlik air base on the Mediterranean near the Syrian border where NATO forces are located and 90 percent of US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe are stored.

While Putin called Erdogan after the coup to wish him success in restoring order, US civilian and military officials have condemned the crack-down. And the US at least had some knowledge of the coup beforehand. Two F-16 aircraft and two tankers to provide them mid-air refueling that were used in the coup attempt actually took



off from Incirlik.

The workers, soldiers and youth of Turkey, the US, Russia, Iran, and the rest of the world have nothing to gain and everything to lose by supporting any of these capitalist imperialist butchers! They all perpetuate their murderous exploitation of the working class. Our fight must be for a communist world where we will mobilize to collectively to fight for and meet the needs of workers everywhere. Join us!

LETTERS

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CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

Jobs, No! Occupy the Factories for Communism, Yes!

The world economy is slowing down. Mainstream analysts predict a slump or worse within a year or two. A strategist at a major European bank, Société Generale, warned, "The financial crisis will reawaken. It will be every bit as bad as in 2008-09 and it will turn very ugly indeed."

The moment the crisis breaks out millions will lose "their" jobs. But these jobs are not ours! Why does our work end up being owned by the few, the capitalists? Who needs private ownership of anything? Today 62 billionaires own more wealth than 50% of the world's population. Who benefits from "private ownership of property?" Not us, the masses!

As crisis looms, fascist, nationalist and socialist movements call for jobs—government jobs, part-time jobs, citizens-only jobs. The call for jobs looks backwards at the wage-slavery of the past, rather than forward to the communist world we need. We must call for "Jobs, No! Occupy the Factories for Communism, Yes!"

The JOBS demand leaves the capitalist in command. We have to apply for the job and if we get it we have to comply with it. And if it no longer enriches the capitalist, we will be out of it. The JOBS demand keeps us as pawns in their game.

"Occupy the Factories for Communism!" puts us on the offensive, creating things we need. At the height of the May 1968 worker-student uprising in France, for example, printers took over the daily newspapers, making sure the stories supported and did not undercut the uprising. Occupying the factories enriches the strategy of a political strike for communism. It makes mobilizing the masses for communism a concrete daily task.

—Veteran red

Communist Education

The articles and support letters about the Mexican teachers' strike were inspiring. They gave us an opportunity to present a concise explanation of what exactly is communist education.

I noticed the advertisement for the communist education pamphlet, but I think we should have included something like the following:

"Communist education teaches communism, not capitalism. It is based, like communism itself, on mutual aid rather than competition. Students learn collectively under the guidance of teachers. No one fails.

The same applies to teachers: they will collectively work to make sure everyone learns. There will be criticism and self-criticism but no ranking and certainly no firings or layoffs.

Communist learning is based on doing. Work (productive labor) is integrated with studying at all levels and continues throughout everyone's lifetime. Traditional lectures and classrooms will be secondary. Most learning will be in laboratories and workshops for group projects.

There will be exercises and competency tests (e.g. for driving or cooking or performing surgery) but no exams, grades or degrees. There will be no prizes, awards, or medals for doing well, nor shaming for having problems.

Actions will still have consequences. For example, someone whose behavior is disruptive may have to leave the lab. But there will be no pure punishments (and no rewards).

Communist education will abolish all forms of segregation, including by race, sex and age. It will also blur (but not completely erase) distinc-

tions that capitalism makes very sharp. In particular, there will be no rigid distinction between 'teacher' and 'student'. Some people who are dedicated to teaching will be given formal training. But they will not have a monopoly on teaching. Students will also do some teaching as will workers.

Communist education will prepare students to be workers in a communist society where everybody helps everybody and everybody learns from everybody."

—Canadian Teacher

"End Racist Cop Terror by Mobilizing Masses for Communism!"

We made a mistake with the front page headline in the last issue. It called for "Political strikes against racist cop terror and for communism." This might lead readers to think that see those as two separate stages in a process. That's what some of us used to think when we were immersed in reformist politics. The ICWP doesn't call for ending racist cop terror now and fighting for communism later. We know that the only way to end racist cop terror and all the other forms of racism is to put an end to capitalist wage slavery—which needs racism and terror to survive.

The headline should have read, "Political Strike! End Racist Cop Terror by Mobilizing Masses for Communism!" We should all put this into practice.

—**Red Flag** collective

Young Lions Roar with Red Flag

The chilly wet weather did not dampen our spirits today. The young lions were roaring at the 95th anniversary of the South African Communist Party (SACP). We were the only ones who brought something to read. Almost everybody at this event clutched a copy of the **Red Flag**. (See photo above.) No other reading material was on display.

The **Red Flag** made its way filling up the hall up to the podium where the misleaders were seated. We also spent time doing walk-about in the vicinity and enjoyed some good chats with other comrades.

There was also a very young comrade from Despache, an area near Uitenhage. He shared some very interesting stories about his experiences of distributing Red Flag, which were similar to those of the comrades in a Boeing factory in the US. He used his own money to come and mobilize in Port Elizabeth, which is encouraging: the act of sacrifice and dedication.

I am writing this report out of excitement. You will surely get sober reports from other comrades. I am just ecstatic.

--Comrade in South Africa

Greetings, Dear Comrades

I am a comrade from South Africa. I am writing to confirm that we South African comrades are very grateful for every effort that you have made in order to make it possible for us to mobilize in order to win against the capitalist system. Comrades, please be aware that we appreciate every contribution you make for our revolution to go forward.

Comrades, we will not relax our efforts until we win against the capitalist system. The resources that you comrades are making available to us are being put to good use.

We have had enough of the bosses' system. Comrades, this is our time to win our revolution. We have been used by the bosses' system for

quite a long time. Now we have reached the point whereby we are saying "enough is enough." We need to show the bosses' system that we are not going to take it any longer.

I am a member of ICWP. Just before I became a member of this party, I was a member of the ANC. I used to exploit the rights of the working class, thinking that it was the right thing to do. But then I realized and acknowledged that there is no transparency within the party. I decided to leave the ANC. Then I joined ICWP.

—A Comrade in South Africa

Learn from History in a Dialectical Way

Reducing the vision of reality to two opposing principles, especially good and evil, is called Manichaeism. Dialectics is the opposite of Manichaeism.

We have a better understanding of communism, because we fight based on the successes and mistakes of the Communists who preceded us. We take pride in their achievements and do not intend to belittle them when we recognize their mistakes and weaknesses.

Sometimes we express their performance badly. Did those communists overthrow the capitalists in Russia and China? Yes, but they advocated "overthrowing the Tsar" and a democratic revolution in Russia and something similar in China.

Second, they mechanically resolved the question of the gradualness of the revolution. They learned from Marx that it is only ONE revolution with obstacles and retreats, which, however, should not be "interrupted."

Every process is both gradual and has leaps. Russian Communists claimed that their revolution was communist. What Russians call socialism, Marx called the first, or lower, phase of communism.

Through objective obstacles but mainly through political mistakes, they negatively resolved the gradualness of development, although they courageously promoted "skipping stages." After the overthrow of czarism in February 1917, Lenin proposed in April moving from the democratic stage of the revolution to the socialist stage. However, Lenin himself declared in 1918 that the nationalization of land and other measures taken by his government could not be considered as "communist".

Neither in Russia nor in China were they able to end wage labor. The State paid wages "according to work" as Marx planned and it was decreed that the "lower phase of communism" would cover "a whole historical epoch." condemning workers to remain wage slaves.

If they were not Communists, we would not have to admire their achievements, nor would they be our point of reference. We would not consider ourselves "standing on their shoulders." They believed they were making their best effort for the working class. They followed Marx's belief that communism could not start with the distribution of "to each according to their need" or that commodity exchange would be eliminated immediately after the capitalists were overthrown and the means of production expropriated.

Great communist leaders ultimately became their opposite. But to think that their story was all evil would be Manichaeism. We want to be dialectical. In **Red Flag** we make an effort to unravel the path towards the emancipation of humanity.

—A comrade in Mexico

History of the Cultural Revolution in China:

THE ROLE OF THE ARMY AND THE "WUHAN INCIDENT"

The last article discussed the "January Storm," in 1967 in Shanghai, where a large workers' movement seized the local party headquarters and created the short-lived "Shanghai Commune."

The right-wingers in the Communist Party central committee reacted immediately to the power seizure in Shanghai and what it might mean about their power in the government. Zhang Chunqiao, Chen Boda and other Cultural Revolution (CR) leaders were called on the carpet in a leadership meeting in Beijing in early February.

People's Liberation Army (PLA) Marshal Ye Jianying, a senior party leader, was particularly outraged by the Shanghai Commune, since he knew that the Paris Commune had abolished the army. According to Mao Zedong's ground rules for the CR, the PLA was supposed to play a limited role. Mao responded to the uproar by ordering the Shanghai Commune to be replaced by a "three-in-one" Revolutionary Committee that included the army, "good" party leaders, and people from rebel organizations.

Mao ordered the PLA to support leftist rebels, but Marshal Ye OKed mass arrests of rebels by the PLA all over China. Hundreds were shot dead by the army and about one million were arrested in a campaign of repression later called the "February Counter-current."

A key incident of PLA repression took place in Wuhan in the spring and summer of 1967. In Wuhan, an industrial city in central China, rebel workers and students organized groups that totaled in the hundreds of thousands of members. They were headed by the Workers' Headquarters, a large group led by steel workers. Unlike Shanghai, where there were many more rebel workers than defenders of the party leaders, the Workers Headquarters and their student allies were opposed by a much larger group.

That group was the "Million Heroes," organized with the help of the city government and PLA General Chen Zaidao, commander of the local military district. The Million Heroes members were government employees, party bureaucrats, militia and factory management, but also quite a few workers. In Wuhan and elsewhere, skilled workers tended to support the existing power structure, while contract and temporary workers, worker-students, unskilled workers, workers in small factories and apprentices typically supported the rebels. This is a clear example of how the wage system divides workers under socialism.

The Wuhan authorities banned the Workers Headquarters, which fought back with demonstrations and hunger strikes. They were violently attacked by the Million Heroes, which took over factories and neighborhoods. In May and June 1967, there were hundreds of violent clashes involving about 70,000 fighters. Hundreds died and thousands were injuring. On June 23 the headquarters of the Workers Headquarters was captured and 25 were killed. When Beijing learned that the rebels were about to be defeated, it ordered General Chen to prevent further attacks.

Beijing sent its representatives to Wuhan to resolve the crisis. These representatives said the army was in the wrong and demanded self-criticisms from commanders. When word spread of this, soldiers supporting the Million Heroes kidnapped Wang Li, one of the Beijing representatives and beat him up. Huge demonstrations across China repudiated the "Wuhan reactionaries" who did this. Threats from PLA troops loyal to Beijing forced General Chen to give in and go to Beijing. Now supported by some army units, rebel forces attacked the Million Heroes. Fighting lasted several months and killed about 600, with thousands of casualties.

In July, CR leader Jiang Qing (Mao's wife)

called for rebels to be armed, to "defend with weapons and attack with words." The PLA did let rebels seize some arms, but provided better weapons to rightist organizations. The result was large-scale armed struggle in many places, without a clear winner.

By the end of 1967, "3-in-1 Revolutionary Committees" had been set up in most places. They were dominated by PLA officers, establishing a kind of military rule. The bright spot in this picture, however, was the spread of "ultraleft" ideas among workers and students. *This development will be discussed in a future article.*



Poster from Wuhan by "Steel Workers Assembly Red Formation."
Text says "Kill Chen Zaidao's Cursed Head, Make a Memorial for the Spirits of Our Brave Martyrs!"

WORKERS IN TURKEY AND EVERYWHERE NEED TO REJECT NATIONALISM AND FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM

On July 15, parts of the Turkish military attempted a coup to overthrow the government of President Recep Erdogan. By the next day, with over 300 people killed, more than 1000 wounded, and thousands jailed, the coup had been squashed. Since the coup, there has been a massive purge of the military. Journalists have been arrested. Tens of thousands have lost their jobs and passports.

Erdogan accuses the US bosses of plotting the coup. He demands extradition of Fetullah Gulen, the billionaire Islamist preacher living in the US, as its presumed mastermind. While it's hard to know for sure if the US was behind the coup, US imperialism was certainly behind the coup in Libya, and many more during the Cold War. And US imperialism would have benefited most if it had succeeded.

Prior to the coup, the dominant wing of the Turkish ruling class, represented by Erdogan, was reversing its position in the Syrian civil war and its relationship with Russia. On July 1, Erdogan apologized to Russia for shooting down a Russian plane last November. The pilots who shot down the plane have been arrested as coup plotters. A meeting between Erdogan and Russian President Putin, already planned before the coup, has been moved up to next month.

This threatens US imperialist interests and re-

flects the rise of competing Russian and Chinese imperialist influence. The US, more isolated, is more intent on creating disruption to hinder the growth of rival imperialists. This makes the world more dangerous and the need to build ICWP and mobilize for communism worldwide more urgent.

While workers worldwide are bombarded with patriotism, the imperialists are viciously attacking workers everywhere as they move closer to war. The workers, soldiers and students of the world must unite to organize a communist revolution for a world without capitalists, nations, money, wage slavery and imperialist wars. In a communist world, workers will not compete but collectively plan, produce and distribute the fruits of nature and our labor according to need.



July 28—Thousands of Turkish protesters filled the streets outside the US military base at Incirlik, Turkey, burning US flags, chanting "Death the US" and calling for the government to close the base. To end deadly imperialist war and capitalist competition, these angry protesters should carry the red communist flag of the international working class, not the flag of the Turkish or any other bosses.

Turkish Rulers' and US Imperialists' Interest Were on Collision Course Before the Attempted Coup

Unable to overthrow Assad, US strategy in Syria has changed. The US and France have established military bases in northern Syria with the support of Kurdish forces. This is a stepping
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