



# RED FLAG

**MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM**

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY \* [WWW.ICWPREDFLAG.ORG](http://WWW.ICWPREDFLAG.ORG)



Masses protest attacks on Dalit workers in Gujarat, India

**India:**

**UNPRECEDENTED MASS MOVEMENT NEEDS UNPRECEDENTED COMMUNIST RESPONSE**

August 21—Masses recently poured into the streets of Gujarat, fascist Modi's home state, in outrage at horrific violence against Dalit youth. Hindu vigilantes tied four youths to an SUV, stripped and mercilessly beat them with iron rods for 30 minutes. A video went viral, seen by an estimated 750 million people.

Such violence, and worse, takes place every day. Gang rapes, home burnings, and murders by police and other fascist thugs are part of daily Dalit life. Dalits are the most super-exploited and oppressed workers under the Hindu caste system.

With this attack the simmering anger boiled over. Two million protested in Ahmedabad, Gujarat's largest city. Many other cities followed. In Mumbai, defiantly angry masses brought traffic to a standstill, despite pouring rain.

The pro-Dalit mass movement in Gujarat is attracting millions: Dalits, Hindus, Muslims and others. A large march is gathering momentum as it crisscrosses villages and cities where masses of Dalits publicly pledge not to do jobs traditionally assigned to them, like removing dead cattle and cleaning sewers.

Our relatively few comrades of the Interna-

tional Communist Workers' Party (ICWP) in India might easily feel overwhelmed. Sometimes communism seems remote and difficult. But we are intensifying the struggle to mobilize the angry masses for communism. Only communism can destroy the brutality and exploitation of capitalism and, with it, racism, sexism and the caste system.

**From Kashmir to Manipur: Masses Must Reject Pacifism and Nationalism**

In the northern state of Kashmir, every village and city erupted in violent protests after soldiers killed a 22-year-old. Hospitals are filled with the seriously wounded. Many have multiple rubber-bullet wounds. The bullets are designed to explode after penetration. Health care workers are overwhelmed. As in Gaza, the police and the military attack ambulances carrying the injured and dead.

The masses are defying this state-sponsored violence in relentless street battles, many led by women. Funeral marches after police kill a Kashmiri attract fifty thousand or more. The state government, run by Modi's party with a local political ally, has become completely ineffective and hides behind the army.

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**Milwaukee Burning!**

**COMMUNIST REVOLUTION WILL END RACIST POLICE TERROR!**

USA—Following the police shooting of Sylville Smith in Milwaukee, WI, by a black cop on August 12, hundreds of people took to the streets, burning buildings and police cars. This mass anger reflects the revolutionary potential of black workers. It also reveals why the bosses won't end police terror. They are deathly afraid of that revolutionary potential.

Milwaukee has a long history of institutionalized racism. Students pushed out of substandard schools, high unemployment, racist police terror—welcome to any black or Latino working-class community in the USA. It's all the same. Just fill in the blank. Baltimore? East Los Angeles? Baton Rouge?

Racism is worldwide and so are the rebellions. Millions of Dalits and others marching in the industrial cities of India, the ongoing rebellions in Rio de Janeiro, frequent uprisings in the townships of South Africa all have a lot in common with Milwaukee.

The uprising in Milwaukee, and uprisings in Baltimore in 2015, Los Angeles in 1992, and Detroit, Newark and Milwaukee itself, all in 1967, reflect mass anger at racist capitalism. But burning buildings is an act of desperation. Workers

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## COMMUNISM: WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS NEEDS TODAY

Nothing remains the same in the universe or in society. There are universal laws of change that apply to both. The science and philosophy of change is dialectical materialism.

When masses of workers grasp dialectical materialism they will understand how to overthrow capitalism and build the communist society we desperately need.

Today we live in capitalism. A few bosses control factories, banks and natural resources. They profit from the labour of workers worldwide. Capitalists maintain this profit system with their military and racist police.

The most important way capitalists control the working class is ideological. Bosses spend enormous amounts of money to spread individualism, racism, sexism and other anti-communist ideas. They do this in their schools and in popular culture, including arts, fashion and sports. They need us to believe that capitalism will last forever.

**Communism is the opposite of capitalism.** In communism the working class will control and build production centers, communities and homes to meet our needs. Communism will eliminate money. Building on this new foundation, the masses will smash racism, sexism, nationalism and all other vestiges of capitalism.

Our vision of communism grows from thousands of years of class struggle. The most important historical changes took place when the working class and armed forces in Russia, organized by communists, smashed capitalism. An even bigger revolution led by the Chinese communists soon followed.

Read the International Communist Workers' Party document *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*, available at ([icwpredflag.org/MMC/MMCnewE.html](http://icwpredflag.org/MMC/MMCnewE.html)) It explains that Soviet and Chinese communists did not believe that masses could be won to communism. Following Marx, they thought that some kind of capitalism controlled by a workers' state was a necessary step toward communism. They called this socialism.

From these enormous revolutions, from their successes and failures, we can see the future more clearly. We reject the idea of building socialism. Practice has shown that it brings a new form of capitalism. We can win the masses to communist revolution.

### Communism Today

We are winning masses to communism now. Over 7000 *Red Flag* newspapers have been downloaded in India. Comrades in South Africa are distributing thousands and they want more. They are studying dialectical materialism and put-



ting it into practice (see pages 5 and 6). From Seattle to El Salvador, *Red Flag* builds confidence that we can win the masses to communism.

Comrades in Afghanistan are

translating *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* into Dari. Comrades in India are translating it into four different languages.

Comrades in Nepal, Lebanon, Gaza, Turkey, Qatar, Indonesia and Spain are actively discussing communism. There are *Red Flag* readers in over forty countries. Workers worldwide are more alike than different. What we do in one area affects our work everywhere.

Dialectical materialism helps us understand uneven development. Our party can grow more quickly in some areas, like South Africa. In India, where masses are rejecting fascism with violent uprisings, we must win thousands to communism (see page 1).

**Correct ideas come mainly from practice.** Advancing our practice advances our revolutionary theory.

A communist strike against racist police killings, led by our forces in Los Angeles MTA (transit workers) could inspire many thousands around the world.

Rebellions against hunger led by comrades in South Africa, seizing and distributing food based on need, could galvanize workers internationally.

Comrades who are bringing communist ideas into the Dalit protests in India give us confidence that communism is advancing.

Our party can grow very rapidly in this period of deepening capitalist crisis. Comrades in South Africa are thinking big. The youth club meets several times a week. They reach out to the masses, they struggle relentlessly for communism. This confidence and this practice can be replicated around the world.

Whether you are a new reader of *Red Flag* or a "regular," whether or not you are already a party member, you are part of a historic struggle. We need you to continue to read, distribute, criticize, question and write for *Red Flag*. We need whatever financial support you can give.

**When communist ideas are grasped by the masses, they become a material force for communist revolution.** A comrade in India summed this up: "*Red Flag* is not only a piece of paper. It is a symbol of the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world. Thus we love *Red Flag* more than our lives."

Fight for communism! We need you – tens of thousands of you – to join the ICWP.

## The Study of Dialectics Helps Us Change Our Practice

LOS ANGELES, August 20—"Yes, I want to be a member of ICWP," said a new comrade, during the conclusion of a recent communist Dialectical Materialism conference. A high school student and a teacher also joined the Party.

The conference was about the communist philosophy of contradictions and change. During the workshops, questions and suggestions emerged for changing our communist practice.

One discussion focused on the truth that to resolve the main contradiction in the world, the workers against the bosses, we need a communist revolution. To see this change, we ourselves must actively participate in building the Party. Three women workers agreed to participate in study groups to learn about communist ideas and practice. They want to know what communism really is.

Similar questions arose in another workshop led by three youth. The discussion showed that one of the keys to recruit new members to the party is to understand that internal contradictions are primary. To be able to recruit someone else, we have to understand their internal contradictions that hold them back.

Near the end of the meeting, a comrade explained the contradictions within a group of youth with whom he works politically. The collective saw as primary the internal ideological struggle with the members of the group, while the young comrade thought communist practice was primary. After the discussion, the young comrade agreed to sharpen this contradiction by struggling politically with his group.

### What holds us back from recruiting more active members to ICWP?

"I used to think that if I just kept doing the same thing over and over, like distributing the paper, that qualitative change would happen. Thinking more dialectically, sometimes we have to change what we do," said a comrade with a lot of experience. He asked the group to help him figure out what he should do differently to recruit a co-worker to the Party. Another participant who is a *Red Flag* reader asked, "What does it mean to be a member of the party?" After a lively discussion, he and another youth decided to join ICWP.

There was struggle for members and *Red Flag* readers to get more involved in producing and distributing the paper, and that each Party member must be in a collective.

Very importantly, several youth and adult women took leadership for the first time in such an event. Some of the workshops were led by young comrades who prepared through meetings to discuss dialectical materialism. There was uneven development during the conference, but both the youth and the adult women comrades began a process that is continuing, taking more communist leadership in the Party.

### Thinking about Qualitative Change After the Conference

"How do we convince workers of the importance of dialectical materialism?" asked an MTA worker. His plan is to begin study groups about dialectics with co-workers, and to discuss and sharpen the contradictions of nationalism and racism within the working class.

For years we have distributed over 200 *Red Flags* each edition at an LA garment factory. But we haven't yet won workers from there to participate in our activities. Dialectically, today we see the need to write articles or leaflets about particular questions and problems relating to these workers. We will look for ways to have a more direct dialogue with them. The qualitative change isn't just to keep going to the factory, but to constantly seek new ways to get the workers involved with communist ideas.



**JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY (ICWP)**  
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## Los Angeles Transit: Jobs Shifted to Low-Pay Companies

### COMMUNISM WILL GUARANTEE USEFUL, CREATIVE WORK FOR EVERYONE

LOS ANGELES, USA, August 22—The Board of the LA County Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) is transferring two bus lines to Foothill Transit. This public-private company pays drivers less than half the wages of MTA bus operators.

**Red Flag** distributors took a communist leaflet to transit workers about this latest attack.

“I’ve been telling people that MTA is going to contract out all the bus lines and just concentrate on rail,” said a **Red Flag** reader. “The union won’t do anything.”

“You’re right. Capitalism and its unions cannot guarantee us jobs for life. That’s why we need communism. It will guarantee all workers useful, creative work always—meeting the needs of our class,” said the **Red Flag** distributor.

“Well, we sure need some kind of big change,” said the operator, taking another **Red Flag**.

Workers have no economic security in capitalism. The capitalists only hire us if they can make a profit off our labor. The ruling class, a fraction of 1% of the world’s population, condemns millions of our class to an early grave each year, and billions more to a life of deprivation and want.

Capitalism never has full employment. The capitalists always keep a “reserve army of the unemployed.” Job insecurity is a permanent lethal weapon against our class. “If you don’t like it here, there are many willing to take your place for less,” they bark.

Nothing short of communist revolution can end this scourge.

That’s why MTA workers and all workers need to join the International Communist Workers’ Party and fight for communism. In a communist world, we workers will make all the decisions concerning our lives, especially everything pertaining to our work.

Work makes us human and defines our very

existence.

In communism, no one will ever lack useful, creative, collective work. No one will ever be fired. We will work to meet everyone’s needs, without money getting in the way.

We will all contribute to society according to our abilities and commitment. We will all receive according to our needs – no matter how little or how much we contribute, or even if we can’t or refuse to contribute. However, we will struggle collectively to develop everyone’s lifelong political commitment to contribute to society as best they can.

#### Unions, Politicians and Courts Cannot Stop Layoffs and Pay Cuts

The fight for communism requires that workers shed their illusions about trade unionism.

Some MTA workers argue that the union will protect our jobs from layoffs. But Andrew Gonzales, the director of public relations for SMART (the bus operators’ union), admits that LACMTA is subcontracting these lines to save money. He said layoffs are an end result the union is trying to avoid. For now, the operators affected will go to other divisions or to rail. However, Gonzales added, “Ultimately, that [layoffs] is what we are afraid will happen.”

More subcontracting looms. Gonzales states: “LACMTA has been looking into further bus

service eliminations and transfers [to]...focus much more of its attention on light rail.”

His claims that the union is “trying to protect the work of the operators” are hollow. SMART General Chairman Marco Gudino admits that the union “has no legal or contractual authority to stop the elimination of MTA bus lines.”

Gudino also acknowledged that none of the capitalist politicians the union supports financially opposed the transfer, much less could stop it. A proposed “legal battle” to delay the transfer was just as useless. This proves again that the courts and the law exist to protect the capitalists and oppress the working class.

As usual, these union traitors try to cover their betrayal by claiming victory out of a resounding defeat. They call the crumbs that LACMTA threw them a “ground-breaking” agreement that Gudino “forced” on LACMTA. Operators assigned to the affected lines will get five days’ pay. “LACMTA also promises to reinvest much of the money it will save to create more jobs and a subcontracting moratorium for 5 years.”

Don’t hold your breath waiting for LACMTA bosses to keep their promises – or for unions to put up a real fight.

Only communist revolution will bring the big change we need. Break some ground by helping spread **Red Flag** and joining ICWP.



## INDIA from page 1

The northeastern state of Manipur, along the Chinese border, has a rebellious anti-Indian population. The Indian army has occupied Manipur. It rules with ruthless violence, including mass killings and rape.

Sixteen years ago, the activist Irom Sharmila started a hunger strike against this state repression. She was locked in a hospital and force-fed, becoming a symbol of defiance. Many hailed her courage and sacrifice. A mass movement grew around her, attracting millions.

An ICWP comrade admitted that he became emotionally attached to Sharmila’s plight. He wanted to support her mass movement. Another comrade then researched the reactionary line of the hunger strike. He found that Sharmila is supported by Human Rights Watch, funded by the US State Department with CIA ties.

Now Sharmila has broken her fast. This Indian nationalist and super-Gandhian is running to be

governor of the hungry and angry masses. This detailed information, along with a very direct attack on the danger of the reformist political movement, helped convince our comrade that organizing for ICWP and communism is the only solution.

At first the comrade was angry, but later he was thankful for the direct and honest struggle. He understands that the masses can be won to communism. He said that lack of confidence in the masses leads one to flirt with reform. He promised to move forward with translating **Mobilize the Masses for Communism**. Distribution of this document will help enormously.

Unity and conflict, friendship and principled struggle: this is how respect and confidence in the party, grow. **Red Flag** circulation in India has reached over 800. We can win tens of thousands to communism and ICWP there. The seeds we have planted have begun to sprout. This should give us all, comrades and **Red Flag** readers everywhere, more confidence to advance the work.

A Dalit worker in India writes, saying that he is “a dedicated communist” and wants to join us. Dalit workers are among the most oppressed sections of the working class worldwide. He says:

*Comrades, I am very excited to meet you. My family is dedicated to Communism. My brother and my son are both dedicated. We are struggling here. We have organized various fights against injustice.*

*Recently we are trying to establish solidarity of Dalit and Muslim communities in Gujarat because the capitalists use both of them for riots against each other.*

*I have gone through the ICWP website. I think it is great. I will send my reports from the field. Kindly try to include them.*

This comrade says that Gujarat is a model of fascist exploitation of workers, including women, Dalit, Adivasi and minorities.

*We are fighting against it here. And we will bring it down. Red and revolutionary salute to the comrades!*



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## The New Slavery, Same Old Masters

# COMMUNIST REVOLUTION WILL END PRISON SLAVERY AND ALL WAGE SLAVERY

August 21—Prisoners across the US are planning strikes against slavery inside the industrial-prison complex. They're set to start on September 9, the anniversary of the 1971 Attica prison uprising.

When communists urge us to rise up and cast off our chains, we know that they are talking about wage slavery. And for many of our brothers and sisters prison slavery is a brutal reality. Let's support their strike with actions calling for communist revolution to end slavery in all its forms.

In the decades after the '60s Civil Rights struggles and rebellions, both Democrats and Republicans started to criminalize protest movements. Their calls for "law and order" were thinly-disguised efforts to mobilize white voters around racism to hold black and latino/a workers back.

In the 80s, US capitalists' drive for maximum profits made many blue collar jobs disappear from large inner cities. Rather than meeting the needs of those most affected by job loss and drug use, the Reagan administration created the "War on Drugs."

Casual drug users suddenly faced maximum sentences. The sentencing for powder cocaine, mainly used by whites, was much less than sentencing for crack cocaine. The legal and political system had found a way to carry out racist attacks without one mention of race!

The Clinton administration followed the same line with its "Southern strategy." Its 1994 Omnibus Crime Bill was the main cause of skyrocketing mass incarceration in decades that followed.

Both the Reagan and Clinton administrations used the welfare system to divide the poorest classes. Politicians used catch-phrases like "welfare queens" and "super-predators" to scare and separate white blue-collar workers (many of whom had been unionized) from workers of color. It also divided black from latino/a workers and young from old. This helped them bust

unions and lower the standard of living for all workers.

New prisons were built five times faster than ever before. A new "underclass" was created. Formerly incarcerated black and latino/a men and women often left prison with no hope for jobs or housing. They often faced this legal system without attorneys, or with public defenders whose caseloads barely allowed them to know the family.

### Prison Labor: Modern "Convict Leasing"

In the late-19th and early 20th centuries, "chain gangs" and "convict leasing" became new forms of slavery. Counties openly sold prison labor to farms and factories.

During the "Coal Creek War" of 1891-92, armed miners freed convict laborers and sent them home.

In the 1920s, communists in North Carolina and elsewhere led fights to end convict leasing. They won some reforms and many think that convict labor has disappeared. Just the opposite is true.

It's good business to pay workers as little as possible. By using prison labor, corporations are maximizing profits on their investment in privatized prisons. In states such as Colorado, Arizona, and Texas, prisoners are used to produce luxury goods and services such as goat cheese, farmed fish and training and grooming dogs. Prisoners, working for a few dollars a day, produce these items for pricey specialty stores in more affluent areas.

The greedy investors claim that prisoners are learning skills, getting out of their cells, exercising, and being given a chance to earn wages. In reality these corporations are simply taking advantage of a vulnerable population. Prisoners can't access education, training, exercise and paid work, except by the will of their jailers.

Private prisons are filling up with black and brown people. Many have been convicted of



Attica, New York, 1971

minor crimes. Others are "guilty" of being in the US without full immigration status.

It's easy to get away with evil when it's so terrible that many people don't believe what is actually happening. We have to face evil straight on, and create a better future for everyone! This won't happen under the present system. Whether the leaders are Democrat or Republican, they have the same corporate masters!

We need to rid ourselves of corporate exploiters. Let's create a better society, one that treats all people equally, that produces only what is actually needed and that gives everyone food, housing and time to develop close family ties!

Such a society will not need prisons. Nobody will be enslaved. Work will not be motivated by violence and the threat of starvation. Instead we will work because of our commitment to serve the masses. Power to the Workers!

## MILWAUKEE BURNING from page 1

are furious and frustrated. They've lost hope that capitalism can bring them a better future. Communists bring a plan to these struggles. It's based on what we've learned from history. It centers around the vision of a communist future—something worth fighting for.

Only communist revolution can eliminate the material basis of racism: the desperate competition for a survival wage. It will allow us to build a communist society where we live and work together and look out for each other. Eliminating private property, we'll eliminate the need for cops. Period. The main job of the cops is to protect private property. They make sure that if you don't have money to buy food you starve. They make sure that the bosses can keep the astronomical profits they steal from our labor.

Communism will free us from the need to slave to pay the bills. We'll collectively plan, produce and share for need. Planning and working collectively we'll build working-class solidarity. With no private property, no profits and no price tags on food, we won't need cops. We'll solve social problems by looking out for each other—not by calling the cops.

### It's a set-up

In black and latino working-class communities people are unemployed, underemployed, marginalized, and desperate. The rulers in their insatiable thirst for profits continuously shift jobs to

areas where extreme racism forces workers to work for starvation wages. Jobs have moved from the US to Mexico, from Mexico to Honduras, from South Africa to Botswana, from China to Bangladesh. By smashing borders and ending wage slavery we can destroy the material basis of racism.

Capitalism makes survival itself a crime. Drug-dealing, the war on drugs, the prison-industrial complex, make up the ruling class's plan to contain the revolutionary potential of black workers—revealed in the uprisings of the 1960s and 70s.

Cops, the media and politicians try to get us to blame the victim. As they did with 12-year-old Tamir Rice in Cleveland. As they do with every Dalit killed in India and every Palestinian killed in Israel. In the case of Sylville Smith and 14-year old Jesse Romero in East Los Angeles, the police will justify shooting a suspect by evidence of a gun which may or may not have been on the scene. People know it's the cop's word against that of the suspect—whose voice has been forever silenced.

Anger at racist structures and racist police terror must lead to a mass mobilization for communism. We can't just burn down a beauty salon or



a gas station and then go home. We have to have a plan. We must build networks of **Red Flag** readers in the factories, schools and barracks to organize a political response to every police murder and to build for a communist revolution.

Our plan involves political strikes of bus drivers and garment workers, aerospace and auto workers from Seattle to Port Elizabeth. Workers have the power to shut it all down. Bus drivers can build class solidarity by showing what communist society would look like—refusing to collect fares as they take workers where they need to go. High school and college students can walk out of class and bring workers and soldiers the message of revolution to end racist police terror and mobilizing for communism—a world worth fighting for.



## MORE COMMUNISM, CONFIDENCE IN WORKING CLASS: ANTIDOTE TO BOSSES' ELECTION LIES

SEATTLE, US—"When I bring up communism with my neighbor there is that fear factor," said a Boeing *Red Flag* reader.

"So how do we change that [the anti-communism]?" asked the comrade whom he was talking to during the afternoon break.

"First you need a movement, then commitment and dedication," our friend answered.

"More than a movement, we need a mass communist party," suggested our comrade. "The party needs media that talk about what communism really is. To be dedicated you need enthusiasm. To be enthusiastic you have to know how communism works."

"Yeah, that's why Sanders didn't win. He identified problems, but he didn't have a solution."

"Part of the solution is if workers like you join the party. Contribute what you can. Commitment and dedication will come from political work on-the-job."

Our friend became curious. "Do you have meetings of members from different cities?" he asked.

"Sure we do. We have International Committee meetings a few times each year. We discuss our practice and line."

"I mean in the U.S."

"Of course we do. I just came back from one."

"Good, I was just wondering how the party worked."

"Come to the next meeting. You can see for yourself what communists talk about."

"You haven't forgotten about October?" he asked. We had already talked about bringing both our extended families together to distribute communist ICWP literature at a big demonstration organized by forces loyal to the Democratic party. He wanted to firm up our plans and schedule a dinner afterward to evaluate our efforts.

Our friend used to be heavy into the union and elections. No longer! Now he thinks about communism and the party. He's talking to his neighbors and fellow workers about communism.

Is he the only one? Hardly! That's why the *New York Times* is calling on the Democratic party to emphasize anti-communism and anti-working class ideas during the presidential election.

The newspaper reprinted a particularly vicious anti-communist part of Obama's convention speech four days running. He lumped together "Fascists and communists, jihadists and home-grown demagogues." A few days later, Vice President Biden was widely quoted as saying that Trump "would have loved Stalin."

Make no mistake about it, when the bosses equate communism with fascism, they do more than lie. They aim to create fear of

communism.

**The best answer to anti-communism is more communism.**

Our paper and party must double-down on showing what communism really is. From Boeing workers to new recruits and thousands of *Red Flag* readers in India and South Africa, there is a real thirst for this knowledge.

If you overcome the bosses' anti-communist propaganda and want to mobilize for communism, whom can you turn to? Certainly not angry workers, according to the media.

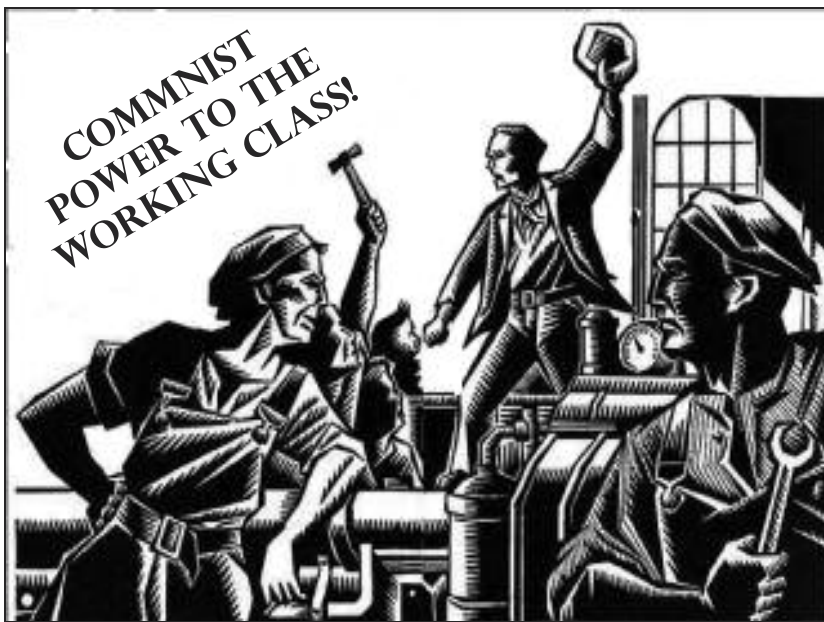
The *New York Times* purposely posted a video cataloging racist, xenophobic outbursts from "uneducated workers" at Trump rallies. The rest of the bosses' media followed suit. They create the impression that rebelling workers can only move in a rightwing, fascist direction.

They want political activists (and potential communists) to turn away from the working class. This anti-worker sentiment can affect even workers in the factories. Another Boeing *Red Flag* reader said he didn't know whom to trust in the shop after seeing a TV news report from a Trump rally. His friends assured him he could trust them.

Comrades suggested we expand *Red Flag* networks. *Red Flag* reports on the mass revolts in the streets everywhere in the world since the capitalist economic crisis began in 2008. Hundreds of millions are looking for answers. *Red Flag* shows how communism is that answer.

The ruling class responds to worker unrest by building anti-communism and fear of workers. We bring communist enthusiasm to these revolts and our daily lives.

The bosses are worried and they should be! We, on the other hand, have a world to win. Join us!



## PUTTING DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM IN PRACTICE GIVES US CONFIDENCE TO MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM

SOUTH AFRICA—I first met comrade Sam about three years ago. I don't want to lie to you. I was never a fan of the African National Congress. I was raised by a father who worshipped the Pan-Africanist movement. I had some very strong, staunch nationalist views. So when I and Comrade Sam and other comrades met, the concept of communism was really something new to me.

As I read the *Red Flag* (I wasn't active at the time, but they sent me the *Red Flag* by post and I read it consistently), I became more and more interested. Then we did dialectics classes. For me, that's when the change started. Before that, I didn't have this wholesome view of the working class because of the history of South Africa.

My politics was influenced by the society around me at the time. As I became politically conscious, I only looked at things on a racial basis because of the past of South Africa. We were under apartheid, white minority rule. So I condemned white people. When we were talking about capitalism, the first image that came to my mind was of a white person.

As we studied the dialectics, I started to understand that regardless of color, if someone owns the means of production, he's a capitalist, whether he is black, white, green or whatever.

Also, I always had this view that things do not change. I thought that capitalism would last forever. As I studied Dialectics, I became familiar with the law of the negation of the negation. It taught me that because something has a beginning, it also has an end. There's nothing in nature

that doesn't change; everything changes.

The most important part of what I've learned is that although theory is important, *if* it is not accompanied by practice, it becomes useless. Theory is certain ideas that are proven correct, but we have now to implement them.

I was talking to Comrade Sam about this. He loves cooking. Whenever he is in South Africa and we have a meeting, he cooks. He made the point that if he studies all the recipes and yet he doesn't cook, what good are the recipes? He wouldn't be doing the practice. He would only have the theory.

Therefore, what is primary? The most important thing is that practice is primary.

If in ICWP we all have this view, it will give us the confidence to actually go and mobilize the masses in industries, in the military, and in the universities for communism. It is also vital to know that if we put in this quantity of work, it will lead to qualitative change.

What gives me hope is that even if change is not visible, it doesn't necessarily mean that there is no change taking place. The continents seem



not to be moving, but they *are* moving. This change takes place over millions of years but it doesn't mean that no change is taking place.

When we go to mobilize, even if I don't see immediate changes, people who are ready to join on the spot, that doesn't mean that they won't be willing to join in the future. It gives me this hope, that whatever I do, no matter how little it may seem, it does lead to change. Maybe not here in South Africa, but whatever we do effects change. Maybe it will be in El Salvador, maybe in the US. It does make change.

That's what I learned.

It's an honor to be a member of ICWP.

Viva, Comrades! Viva Communism!

—Comrade Kuhle from South Africa



## COMRADES IN SOUTH AFRICA WRITE ABOUT THEIR POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

**From the Person I Was to the Person I Am Now**

I remember the first time I was invited to a meeting of ICWP. That was the first time I met comrades from all over the world.

At that time I was clueless about everything about capitalism and communism. So there were contradictions. But the comrades were struggling with me to have a better understanding of what communism is.

There has been a qualitative change and I can now confidently say that I know how the world is being operated by the capitalists. I understand it is a long battle to fight, but we can win this battle. And we have a powerful tool to use, which is mobilizing the masses for communism, to win our fellow brothers and sisters back.

And I also want to thank the comrades in my collective. We work very hard in struggling with some of the issues we are struggling against, by using the Dialectics material of course.

It is a better way. We can win, comrades, unlike what happened with the Bolsheviks in Russia and what happened in China. We can win.

Thanks again, I hope to hear from you all soon.

—Comrade Bogani, a member of ICWP in South Africa

**Communist Practice is Primary**

I joined ICWP in December of last year before an international conference here in South Africa. I was never aware of communism before Comrade Kuhle, who lives in the same area, introduced me to communism and ICWP.

I was never a friend of these political parties in South Africa. Since we live in a capitalist society, our thinking is influenced by this society. And because of the South African history of apartheid, I joined a movement called the EMBO black movement which considers itself to be fighting for blacks.

Then Comrade Kuhle said to me that if we

focus on race, then we cannot win the struggle, because the working class is the same, regardless of their skin color or their “race.”

So I started to attend the meetings. I remember my first meeting. I was quite shy. But I listened and as I read *Red Flag* and heard the stories of other people around the world, that’s when I got keen and I realized that what Comrade Kuhle said was actually true.

Our collective started to study dialectics. That was an eye-opener for me. It informed me to see that there is a great need for communism and for the masses to fight for communism. It is the only real solution to the problems that we are facing.

A world where there is no race discrimination, where there is no class division, no poverty. Production is not for profit. Production is for the needs of the working class, of the masses. I think that is what we must fight for.

Dialectics also teaches us about history and capitalism as a system. I believe that in order to fully understand communism, we must first understand capitalism as a system as well.

Even though what we get from the dialectics is good, I think the primary thing, in order for us to mobilize the masses for communism, is practice. The more we talk to people about communism, the more we engage with people, we red shirts of ICWP, the more members we can get to join the party. That is practice.

Theory plays a role in influencing people to join our party, influencing them to see the cause of their problems and the solutions. Many think that we cannot change society because they are under the impression that maybe things were meant to be this way, that we cannot fight for a better society; that we will live and die in this society. But there is a need to fight for a better society. What is better is communism.

What is primary is practice: recruitment, going to the factories, schools and telling people about capitalism and communism. While



**Sign says in Xhosa: “Workers of the world unite for communist revolution!”**

the theory is also important in actually understanding communism, I think what is primary for us is practice.

—Comrade Themba in South Africa

**It’s About the Entire Capitalist System**

Before I joined the party I was in a movement at school called Embo Black Movement that is against white capitalists or white people, if I can put it that way. We were told not to trust a white person.

After joining ICWP I realized that it’s not about white people, it’s about the entire system and there are also black capitalists, and we have to fight them.

I used to believe in Socialism and reading the dialectics has made me aware that it also creates another class of Capitalism. The working class will continue suffering and being exploited.

—Comrade Fezile in South Africa



Read our pamphlet:

**SOLDIERS, SAILORS,  
MARINES: CRUCIAL TO A  
COMMUNIST WORKERS’  
REVOLUTION**

[icwpredflag.org/MIL/mpe.html](http://icwpredflag.org/MIL/mpe.html)

**POLITICAL STRUGGLES WITH MEXICAN SOLDIERS TO JOIN COMMUNIST REVOLUTION**

Recently, I had a discussion about our revolutionary struggle with a friend in the army. He asked what he would get in return if he joined the Party or fought for our cause. He commented that the drug trade offers money, and that’s why some in the military participate in it. Others feel that being in the army secures health insurance for their families; or if they die at work, their families will not be abandoned.

As he spoke, I thought of the history in which the military has been in favor of our class. I thought of our military pamphlet which explains the work of the military in our communist revolutionary struggle.

My friend described the poor working conditions in the military, the lack of equipment and uniforms which puts them at a disadvantage against organized crime. He said it was sad to see. They have to use their wages to buy expensive equipment in better condition. They feel that this gives them “better security.”

I commented, as I have said to other friends in this same sector, that maybe they don’t realize that the way they live and work is much worse than those who live in better conditions and whom they defend or die for. He answered that they know it, but they can’t do anything

about it.

I told him that we must organize, that we need soldiers with class consciousness. However, he asked again what we offer him in return.

I replied:

*We can offer the vision of a just, humane world, where hope exists. We have no money; but we have the dreams of millions in our hands.*

He didn’t answer. I presented this discussion to two other friends in the same sector; one of them told me to be more patient, that things will happen in time.

These friends know that I belong to the Party and that I am a communist. They have read the military pamphlet. However, there is still much work to be done. These are friendships that I have forged with patience and objectivity. Maybe they will leave; maybe they will join the Party. I don’t know. I know that now with the friendships we have forged, we can talk about our communist world without being at risk. The greater risk is to miss opportunities to let them know our political line.

Workers of the World, let’s unite in only one Party, ICWP and fight for the liberation of our class. Join our struggle for a Communist society!

—Young Comrade in Mexico



## REJECT NATIONALISM, FIGHT DIRECTLY FOR COMMUNISM

I have been struggling with a very sharp young comrade in Chennai, India. He comes from a Hindu working-class family. Both of his parents, industrial workers, like us very much. His mother invited me to their house to talk with their son.

He had disagreements with our line of fighting directly for communism. His line was very straightforward: socialism leads to communism. I spent a day with him, but later he became a little bit distant. He was attracted to a revisionist party which criticizes the Communist Party of India and the old movement for not advancing Maoism.

After reading the literature of that party it was clear to me that the disagreement was really about nationalism. It was reflected in his outlook on the Dalit movement. We read an old article on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, recent *Red Flag* articles on China, and of course *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*, with which he has had disagreements. We also decided to study dialectical materialism long-distance on WhatsApp.

Last night he sent me a text message: "Comrade, I would be honoured to join ICWP."

This is a huge victory for us. This young comrade is very energetic and committed, now that he is convinced. He said that he has learned more in the last three months than in his entire life. Now he wants to put it in practice for communist revolution.

—Comrade in the US



### More on "We stand on the shoulders of giants"

Historical materialism teaches us that the class struggle is the motor of history. That is, "The [written] history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." (*The Communist Manifesto*)

Based on this, we communists affirm that the masses make history, not the great personalities or heroes as the capitalist historians would have us believe.

That is why we should stop using phrases like "we stand on the shoulders of giants." When we talk about giants, I think we are referring to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and a few others.

If anything, we should say that "we stand on the shoulders of the masses who have gone before us and have fought heroically against exploitation and oppression."

This does not mean that we don't appreciate the contributions of our communist predecessors. But we must not forget that theory is nothing without the masses who put it into practice, and that practice itself is the product of the masses. That is, without the masses our "giants" would be nothing.

But, our duty to them and to our class is more than to be thankful and appreciate their contributions to the struggle for our emancipation from the capitalist yoke. Our duty and obligation is to analyze dialectically the theory and practice with which the masses were mobilized for revolution.

From the masses in motion we learn: from their successes and their mistakes. That is how we enrich and advance the theory and practice that will guarantee the eventual victory of a communist world.

Traditionally, the communists define this as an ongoing process, "from the masses to the masses and again from the masses to the masses." Our goal must be to replace the handful of communists who have historically participated in and led this process with the masses themselves.

When hundreds and billions of communists participate in this process, there will not be any doubt that the masses are the real giants, the architects of history. For that, we must mobilize the masses directly for communism. They, in turn, will mobilize even larger numbers of masses for this goal. Our guiding principle, *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*, will ensure that this process is continuous.

—A comrade

### Men and Women Workers Create All Value & the Bosses Steal It

"Did you read the article about the strike in the last edition?" a *Red Flag* distributor asked a factory worker who was waiting to go into work.

"Yes," the worker answered, "even though the article didn't name the factory, everyone knew that it was here. Now the boss, Maria, says that she has savings."

The worker referred to something that happened during the strike when 100 garment workers stopped working to demand increases in the piece rate (or price per operation) that the boss pays.

A garment worker asked the boss, Maria, during the strike, "Could you live on wages paid for only five hours of work a day?" The boss only allows five hours for workers who don't produce enough to cover the minimum wage.

"No," answered Maria, "That's why I have my savings."

The worker answered, "Our labor produced your savings."

The boss acknowledged this and said, "Yes, I know, but I deserve these savings because I am intelligent."

—*Red Flag* distributors



### Destroy Wage Slavery

"It looks like there are fewer workers," commented the *Red Flag* distributor to a worker at the Magic Denim Wash laundry in East Los Angeles.

The worker responded, "Yes. There are fewer because they are sending the work to Mexico."

The *Red Flag* distributor asked, "Why? Are the bosses looking to increase their profits since they pay so much less in Mexico?"

The worker explained, "No, it's not that. It's because they raised the minimum wage here in California. The boss of this laundry will have to charge more for the work. Some companies that send work here do not want to pay the increase and are sending their work to Mexico."

The *Red Flag* distributor pointed out, "The same thing is happening or will happen in the Atomic Denim factory a few blocks from here. The boss says that the minimum wage will be \$12 next year, and she can't pay it. That's why she is going to move the factory to Mexico. She will be able to super-exploit the Mexican workers because the minimum wage there is 73.04 pesos, or \$4.32 a day."

"It's true, but it would be better if they didn't raise the minimum here. It's useless. The bosses just raise the price of everything. Instead of helping us, the raise hurts us. Many of us will lose our jobs," concluded the worker.

The *Red Flag* distributor told the worker, "You're right about that. Capitalism has us in a Catch-22. The only way of ending this is getting rid of capitalism with a communist revolution. In communism, there won't be money or wages. Nothing will be bought or sold, especially our labor power. We will all receive according to our needs and contribute according to our commitment and abilities. That's why we distribute our newspaper, *Red Flag*, here."

"Thank you. I'll read it. We have to do something," the worker said as he went into work.

—Los Angeles Comrades

### WHAT WE FIGHT FOR: MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM

SEE

[icwpredflag.org/MMC/MMCnewE.html](http://icwpredflag.org/MMC/MMCnewE.html)





# COMMUNIST MISTAKES ABOUT NATIONALISM, PART I

Unlike kingdoms, empires or tribes, nations and nationalisms are products of capitalism. Nations only became important kinds of social organization in the 19th century. Nationalism was invented by capitalism. It is essential to capitalist efforts to rule the working class and struggle against other capitalists.

Despite its capitalist nature, nationalism has often been seen in the communist movement as something useful and positive. Communists tried to use nationalism in colonies and less developed countries. They refused to fight for communism or even for socialism. Instead they fought for “national liberation” that meant a form of capitalism.

This fundamental mistake led to costly failures and wasted struggles. This article and the next one will analyze the main errors of past communists about nationalism, so that we can avoid them.

Communist positions about nationalism during the 20th century were set by the Bolsheviks, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). That party ruled the USSR and was the main influence on the Communist International (CI), which eventually included most of the world’s communist parties.

Thus the history of mistakes about nationalism—going all the way back to Lenin—is mainly the history of the CI’s policies.

## A fundamental error: Two nationalisms

The Bolsheviks condemned the nationalism that powerful capitalist countries used to mobilize

their population for imperialism. They claimed, however, that nationalism of colonial or otherwise oppressed people can be “progressive” and ought to be supported.

The Bolsheviks were well aware that capitalists of weak or colonized nations used nationalism to oppress their own working class or to try to dominate other weak nations. They thought, however, that the right kinds of nationalist movements should be supported as a step toward working class defeat of capitalism some time in the future.

In his early proposals for the CI, Lenin said “You [peoples of the East] will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and must awaken, among those peoples, and which has its historical justification.” He said that all Communist parties must help the so-called “bourgeois-democratic liberation movement” in the “more backward states and nations.”

By “bourgeois democracy,” Lenin meant the way capitalists rule in the US and Europe, with voting and parliaments. He wanted the CI to form a “temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries.” What kind of reasoning could possibly lead communists to support capitalist movements like this?

The Bolshevik theory was that there is a fixed series of stages in the development of all societies. They believed that communism was only possible as the end point of this sequence: (1) the

rise of capitalism, (2) a revolution to establish “bourgeois democracy,” (3) a second revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, and finally (4), a gradual transition to communism.

They assumed that if a country was partly ruled by feudal lords or foreign capitalists, then developing capitalism further was good (“progressive”) and communists should fight for it. This is what Lenin meant by saying that bourgeois nationalism has a “historical justification.”

The Bolsheviks even said that if the capitalists didn’t carry out their “bourgeois democratic revolution,” workers and peasants should do it for them. They should set up a worker-peasant government that promoted capitalism. This became central in the CI’s policy for colonies.

Today we can see that the history of the communist movement contradicts this theory of stages. Socialism never led to communism. It can’t. Its wage system and hierarchies of power are actually capitalist institutions.

History also shows that it is entirely possible to fight for communism in regions that have a low level of industrialization and a small working class. These were the conditions in both Russia and China during their revolutions in 1917 and 1949.

Nevertheless the wrong analysis of the possibilities of fighting for communism within the struggle against imperialism led directly to missed opportunities and disastrous failures, as we will see in part II.

## Olympic Games: Racism, Nationalism, Capitalist Rivalry & Brutality

### SPORTS WILL BE ABOUT HEALTH & RECREATION IN COMMUNISM

August 22—“In this Olympic world, there is a universal law for all. In this Olympic world, we are all equal,” exclaimed Thomas Bach, president of the International Olympic Committee, while the children in the favelas (poor neighborhoods) observed from far away the inauguration of the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro.

In these last two weeks Rio de Janeiro has hosted the Summer Olympics. The values of “unity, brotherhood and equality” that these types of events try to promote are completely the opposite of what they really represent. These competitions serve to promote nationalism, xenophobia,

and racism. The Olympic Games throughout modern history have served the imperialist countries competing among each other in a show of world power. Rio 2016 is no exception.

The doping investigation by the World Anti-Doping Agency was one of the strongest blows to Russian sports. This happened in a context in which the US bosses are trying to take power in institutions like FIFA and the IOC. This became tense when the Russian athletes participated. Friction developed against Russian athletes by US athletes.

US and Russian workers should not let themselves be fooled by these traps. These competitions serve to channel our anger against our class brothers and sisters and to defend countries which do not belong to us, but to the capitalists. The rival imperialist bosses need to win us to patriotism to prepare for coming world war three.

In communism, sports will not be used as an



Protest in Rio: “Olympics for Whom?”

excuse to sharpen the rivalry between imperialist powers. There will be no imperialists. After having eliminated borders and nations, we will be able to participate in all kinds of sports anywhere in the world, with all people around the world participating. Sports will be for the recreation and health of all of humanity.

**The organization of Rio 2016 has revealed the conditions of the working class in Brazil and the capitalists’ cynicism in trying to hide this reality.** The road from the airport of Rio to the south of the city (the tourist area) has been “decorated” with barriers along the whole way. These barriers were built with the excuse of “preventing the cars’ noise” for the favela residents in the north of the city. But all these residents know perfectly that it is to hide them.

Another sign of cynicism is the restructuring of public transport. During the Olympics it was very difficult for the residents of the favelas to

reach the south of the city. The bus routes were re-assigned to prevent the favela residents in the north from going to the tourist areas and “damaging the image” of the city. But this doesn’t only happen in the north of the city, where today the Olympic village is located, and where before there were entire communities. Some people continue resisting the evictions that have been taking place since the preparation for the 2014 World Cup.

“What will sports be like in communism?” asked a young athlete. When we have eliminated money, sports will never again be for the profits of a few. Without

nations or borders, there will not be rivalries that divide us. We will all have the opportunity to play whatever sports that we want.

To advance to the world in which sports will be an activity of camaraderie, solidarity and health, we must fight for Communism. Defeating capitalist cynicism is only possible by mobilizing for a communist revolution. The workers around the world must fight against racism; the workers in Brazil must fight against evictions and against the inhuman living conditions which have been hidden to organize these events. The way to fight against these problems is by destroying the material base that generates them, which means destroying capitalism and organizing a communist society where all workers’ needs will be met.

We invite our readers and members of the Party to discuss and write more about how sports will be in communism.