

RED FLAG



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

Bosses Use Unions to Keep Workers Exploited:

Transit Workers Debate Communism and Unions

The last issue of *Red Flag* suggested questions for the Study Action Readers' Group about unions. Based on this we asked a group of latino, white, and black workers, men and women of Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), "What do you think? Are we better off with unions or without unions?" These are some of their answers:

An MTA worker said, We're definitely better off with a union than without a union, because we have a collective and a weapon for struggle. If it doesn't do what it should do, it's because of our lack of involvement in participating in the meetings and in the leadership's decision making.

However, you go home without the fear that when you come to work tomorrow, the boss will tell you that you're fired. And there are other advantages, like medical insurance, vacations, and paid holidays that other workers without unions don't have.

Red Flag: You're right. Union workers are better off with a union than without one. But we must think of the working class as a whole, not sections of it. Nevertheless, the "better off" condition of some workers is a temporary thing.

The bosses' crisis of overproduction is deepening the capitalist worldwide economic crisis. This is driving them to wider wars and eventually world war. For this, they need a war economy which demands the utter impoverishment and enslavement of the working class.

Nationally and internationally unions where workers refuse to go along with the bosses' program are being destroyed, either by open fascist attack or by closing union plants and opening non-union plants. Those allowed to exist are collaborating to institute the bosses' fascist racist cutbacks while keeping workers disorganized, demoralized and stuck in the bosses' electoral circus.

Another MTA worker: I think that the unions are very important because they help balance a little the economic gap between the rich and poor. In addition they are a weapon of struggle and at the same time a school to be able to teach revolutionary ideas to the workers. The current problem is that the leadership are sellouts. They dance to the music of the capitalist politicians. They aren't doing the work that they need to do."

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PANAMA— Thousands of workers staged a general strike against new anti-union laws.

For more coverage of this struggle, see next issue of *Red Flag*.



HONDURAS— Laid-off Nike subcontractor workers demand compensation

From Honduras, To China, To Los Angeles:

Garment Workers Need to Abolish Wage Slavery With Communist Revolution!

Los Angeles, CA – "Too many pairs of pants are getting lost. We're going to take more drastic measures to avoid that, including prohibiting gift-wrapped packages inside the factory," the boss said. This is a garment factory that produces clothes for labels like True Religion Jeans. In many garment factories, the bosses put guards, secretaries to register purses and backpacks to "avoid" having the workers supposedly "rob" the fruit of their own labor.

Here's the Question: Who's Robbing Whom?

In this factory, for example, an average of 400 workers produce from 3500 to 4000 pairs of pants daily. The average salary of the workers is

\$9/hour. These pants sell in the stores for from \$200 to over \$300 apiece. Each worker produces an average of nine pairs of pants daily, producing pants that sell for \$2700 per day. But the worker only gets \$72 in wages. That is, the 400 workers produce an average of \$21,600,000 (twenty-one million, six hundred thousand dollars) monthly, while they only earn \$576,000 in that month. In other words, out of all that is produced, only 3% of every dollar goes to the worker. The rest is divided between the rent, the light, the contractor, the manufacturer, taxes, and the store.

Political economy says that the unfinished pieces have no *use value*. But when the workers sew them, as if by magic, they are turned into

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Red Soldiers Fight for the Working Class

Building a mass communist party and its Red Army is a massive undertaking. It requires a long-term plan to build a strong political base in bosses' militaries and among industrial workers around the world, including in the US. *Red Flag* has discussed the importance of organizing in the military now rather than later.

But how would our Red Army differ from the current Army in a capitalist system? Capitalist ruling classes worldwide use their militaries to defend their profits and empire. In the current Iraq and Afghanistan wars, soldiers and workers have died for the bosses' interests, not our own.

The imperialists use nationalism to separate the working class so that workers fight each other. They falsely make us believe that we must defeat workers from other countries in a battle for natural resources like oil. The oil and profit belong to whichever capitalist class wins the war, not to the soldiers or the working class.

This is not in our interest, and it will not be in the interest of the new International Red Army. When we get rid of the profit system, when we make the interests of the entire international working class the focus of our struggle, our Red Army and Party will work in an entirely different dynamic.

Collective Struggle for Communism

Orders in our current militaries are given without worrying about the needs of soldiers and workers, but to protect the interests of ruling classes. This is not how our Red Army will work.

Soldiers in the Red Army will be politically dedicated to the working class and its fight for communism. This is truly a voluntary practice as opposed to the false "voluntary service" that soldiers in the current US Army are subjected to.

In our Red Army there will be no capitalist incentives like pay, education money, bonuses, and other gimmicks that entice and force soldiers to act against their own class interests, since this system cannot provide adequate motivation or financial support for its working class. Soldiers in the Red Army won't have to worry about expenses like pay and education.

With the support of the working class, the Red Army will conduct its operations with the interests of all workers in mind. When Red soldiers are given a task, therefore, there is no need for a chain of command to use intimidation to get a job done. A collective will be responsible for what needs to be done in the Red Army.

This means that everyone is involved some way in making and carrying out military decisions. This is a new dynamic, which, with communist politics and the ICWP, will lead us on the correct path towards establishing communism.

Smash Privilege, Build Solidarity

In our current capitalist Army there is a clearly defined border between rank-and-file soldiers and officers. Officers are trained to give orders simply because of their "higher" position. They represent the interests of the rulers.

This Army has a well-established order of discipline in which military personnel face harsh punishment through the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ). Refusing orders to attack other workers can land a soldier in prison. Clearly, this system needs to be destroyed. The opinions and needs of soldiers have been suppressed by such a justice system.

In fact, many times soldiers have refused orders and fought against a seemingly omnipotent organization. In our Red Army, there is no need for intimidation. Leaders and rank-and-file soldiers will work together for a common goal. Red soldiers will live, eat, fight, live and die together for communism. Officers' quarters and privileges will be abolished. We must work to establish these relations in our current time.

ICWP Soldiers, Workers Will Smash Capitalism

The main difference between a Red Army and an Army in a capitalist system is the goal. For Red soldiers, it will be the need to fight against capitalism, to fight for their own class interests and not those of the capitalist rulers, to establish communism that will motivate all soldiers to enlist in the Red Army and the ICWP. ALL rank-and-file soldiers in a capitalist Army have the same interests, whether they see it or not, and that interest is to better the lives of the international working class and destroy capitalist exploitation. We all suffer the consequences of this capitalist system, and it is in all our interests to replace capitalism with communism. Join the Red Army! Join ICWP!

Many of our ideas about a Red Army come from the experience of previous revolutions. A good source is Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, written by a non-communist American who visited the Chinese Red Army in 1936. It is useful in helping us look concretely at the process of building a Red Army, a mass party and communist society.

When Snow visited the Red Army, it had liberated several areas of China, about the size of Ireland. It had taken land from the absentee landlords and distributed it to landless peasants and had set up "soviet governments." The Red Army had units in the liberated areas, but most of the Army was sent to the front.

The Red Army was noted for being strictly honest in its relations with the peasants. In contrast to the White Army and the traditional warlords, they took nothing—not a needle or a piece of thread—from

the people. This reflects the basic principle of guerrilla war: that the Red Army could only exist based on the support of the poor peasants (rural workers).

Snow found the average age of rank and file soldiers to be 19. About half of them were members of the Communist Party. Officers, about a third of whom had been in the Kuomintang Army, were generally about 25. They had no special privileges such as better food or housing, and suffered a high casualty rate, based on leading troops into battle.

After an area was seized, the army remained there for a couple of months to consolidate the soviet. Soldiers spent time in camp: two hours a day in political education, two hours in literacy classes, as well as military drill. Every unit had its wall newspaper, in which both praise and criticism of soldiers and officers was encouraged.

Compared to the bosses' army, there is much to be

emulated in terms of equality in the ranks. Nevertheless, there is also much to criticize. The main weakness is political: officers seem to have been chosen based on their experience in the bosses' army rather than their political leadership. More importantly, soldiers in the liberated zones should have engaged in political education with the peasants, rather than staying in camp.

Chinese practice reflects a mechanical understanding of what it takes to win the masses of people to communism. Although the rural workers were respected by the Red Army, supported it, and benefited from its victories, winning them to communist ideas and relations was not seen as an important task of the Red Army. This reformism helps explain the limited extent to which Chinese peasants were won to communist ideas during the Chinese Revolution, and its eventual reversal.

Some thoughts about the Red Army.

When we talk about organizing our Red Army, we in ICWP should look at the Red Armies of our predecessors, mainly the Russian and Chinese Red Armies. There are two ways to do this: one is to look at them structurally and the other is politically.

Politics determine the organizational structure of anything we build including our Party and the way society will be built and function. Therefore, our main concern should be political when dealing with this issue. How can we integrate politically the Red Army into our Party?

Traditionally the main weakness of the international communist movement has been the lack of confi-

dence in the working class: lack of confidence that the working class can be won directly to communism. This had an impact inside the Party and other organizations the communists built.

The Bolsheviks were active in, and helped organized, the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers. Once the majority of these were under Bolshevik leadership, Lenin said it was time to call for "All power to the Soviets!" When they took state power, they had no Red Army. They had to forge it in the midst of the civil war that they had to fight to defend and consolidate the new born workers' state.

The Chinese CP forged its Red Army in more than two decades of armed struggle against the Chinese rulers backed by US imperialism and others. When they took state power they had a Red Army of 3 million and a militia of 20 million. The CCP had

700,000 members. Why couldn't those millions of fighters have been in the CCP?

In both cases, the Red Armies were closely allied, influenced and led by the Parties, but not all of their soldiers were Party members and they did not function as a communist party. We should therefore ask ourselves, do we need a Red Army? Can we have a Party where everyone is trained to contribute to all aspects of society? A Party where all its members contribute intellectually and physical to produce all our social needs and also participate militarily to defend and spread our communist ideas and society through out the world?

We say that the working class will administer all aspects of society through the ICWP. The Russians had

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LA Summer Project:

Communist Revolution Will Smash Bosses' Racist System

Our Summer Project study group had a lively discussion of the *Red Flag* article (7/28/10) about the Oscar Grant case.

About the horrific death rate of young black men: a student from the Bay Area said, "The community sees it as genocide." But, she said, people say "we're killing ourselves off" while the article made it sound as though police caused most of these deaths. "When you think about it, the structure of capitalism is creating the violence," she commented. "We should make that clearer."

Another comrade described how the ruling class destroyed militant nationalist groups like the Black Panther Party, which devolved into gangs. The bosses intentionally pushed drugs like crack cocaine in black working-class neighborhoods, creating the conditions for violence.

We talked a little about the weaknesses in anti-racist and revolutionary movements of the sixties that made it possible for the rulers to destroy them. Those weaknesses included an anti-working class

line, nationalism, and reformism (sometimes camouflaged by a reckless approach to armed struggle).

We agreed that capitalism is racist to the core and has always relied on state-sponsored violence to control the working class, especially black workers, during slavery and after.

We discussed slavery in the 19th century US and apartheid South Africa in the 20th century as examples of brutally racist systems that relied on the super-exploitation of black labor but not genocide as usually understood. They worked black people to death but counted on a continuing supply of black labor for their super-profits.

In the 1950s and 60s, big US cities had much more heavy industry, employing many black and white workers. Now joblessness is sky high. In LA, predominantly white Manhattan Beach has an official unemployment rate of 4.4% (still high by 1960s standards) while in the mainly-black and latin Florence-Firestone area it's 24%-- in reality, probably

twice that. Nationwide, the official unemployment rate for black youth (16-19 years) is over 46%!

Still, there are fourteen million black workers in the US (nearly 11% of the work force) including over a million in manufacturing and another million in transportation and utilities. Over 300,000 black workers serve in the US military (13% of the total). Black workers in industry and the military are still a key revolutionary force.

We agreed that due to the deepening economic crisis and wider imperialist wars, with world war looming on the horizon, the US bosses are consolidating a fascist police state. One student summarized it by saying, "It takes a State to commit, or be complicit in, genocide. This is what is happening in the Bay Area. It takes a capitalist society to produce a Mehserle (the cop who killed Oscar Grant in cold blood)."

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something useful. They become pants and now they do have *use value*, which is to say that they can fill the need we have to dress ourselves. Only the workers can, with our labor, add this value.

Now that the pants have *use value*, they can be sold in the market. That is, they have *exchange value* because they can be traded for money. True Religion Jeans sell in the stores for between \$200 and \$320.

The Workers Add Value, But Who Ends Up with Almost All of It?

Where do those profits come from? They come from the value that we add to the unfinished pieces and that the boss doesn't pay us for. This is what Marx called *surplus value*. This is the big secret of how the capitalists have made themselves rich: by robbing us. And they have the nerve to call us thieves! How many thousands of millions of dollars do all the garment bosses steal every year from the tens of thousands of garment workers in Los Angeles?

We Don't Need the Bosses and Their Profit System

The bosses are only interested in exchange value. The clothing we produce will have a great deal of use value, but if they can't sell it, they'll throw it away. For that reason millions around the world go without decent clothes. The food that farmworkers produce has a great deal of use value, but under capitalism those who can't buy it are condemned to die of hunger. Every year more than 54 million people around the world starve to death.

Our labor power is what makes the land productive; that changes steel and concrete into bridges, roads, weapons, buildings and houses; fabric into clothing; metal into useful tools. We add the use value which serves to fulfill humanity's needs. We don't need exchange value, with which a handful of capitalist parasites condemn thousands of millions of members of our class to misery. Neither do we need money, which imposes this murderous and criminal system.

We need a system based on use value. A system where we will produce to fulfill the needs of the international working class. A system without bosses or profits or imperialist wars. This system is called communism. To achieve it we need to join and build the International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP) so that millions of us, under the leadership of the Party, will put an end to capitalism with communist revolution. Read and distribute Red Flag newspaper. Join the only Party of the international working class!

Honduran Garment Workers, Students Need Revolution, Not Reform

July 27—The US-based "United Students Against Sweatshops" (USAS) and "Workers Rights Consortium" (WRC) claimed a "significant success" today when Nike agreed to create a \$1.54 million "worker relief" fund for 1,800 garment workers in Honduras who were laid off without severance pay — and some without their final paycheck—when two subcontractors closed factories there in January 2009.

That works out to about \$850 per worker—less than three months' pay at the Honduran minimum wage, and less than the mandatory severance pay. Last year Nike took in close to \$20 billion by selling the clothes that workers produced. The company and its stockholders won't even notice the \$1.54 million! "Significant successes" like this one — after a year-long international campaign --- show that workers everywhere need revolution, not reform.

The subcontracted workers made university logo garments sold under the Nike label. That's why USAS and WRC (a university-based reform group) launched their "Just Pay It" campaign. Petitions and rallies on campuses across the country led the University of Wisconsin-Madison to cancel its licensing agreement with Nike. Cornell University threatened to follow suit. Nike probably took the settlement money out of its public-relations budget!

USAS claims to be "organizing for student and worker power" but nothing could be further from the truth. Its leaders refuse to challenge the capitalist (bosses' power) system. Students at one rally chanted "sweatshop wages

got to go" but when someone suggested "capitalism got to go," the chant leader said, "Oh, we can't say that!"

USAS singles out Nike as "unfair" but says not a word about the role of US imperialism in maintaining the super-exploitation of workers in Honduras. The US sent troops to Honduras in 1903, 1907, 1912, 1919, and 1924-25 to quash revolution, intervene in elections, and secure the interests of US corporations

From 1982-90 the US poured military aid into Honduras to fortify it against anti-US movements in Nicaragua and El Salvador. According to the *New York Times* (1988), "American diplomats exercise more control over domestic politics in Honduras than in any other country in the hemisphere."

Ten years later, Honduras was paying half a billion dollars interest annually to the World Bank and other imperialists.

On Dec. 23, 2008 Honduran president Zelaya announced an increase in the minimum monthly wage, from 157 to 289 dollars except in the "maquiladora" plants in duty-free zones assembling

products for exports—a huge exception!

Even so, the capitalists — driven by global competition to maximize profits — howled. Their military ousted Zelaya in June 2009. At first Obama condemned the coup but his imperialist advisors soon set him straight. The US quickly recognized the new regime.

Thanks to US imperialism, Honduran workers endure some of the worst poverty and repression in the Western Hemisphere. For this reason, an estimated one million workers from Honduras now live in the US.

Capitalism has made the world into one huge sweatshop. There's no such thing as a "fair wage" because profit — the capitalist god! — comes only from bosses buying workers' labor power for less than the value of the products we make.

"Worker power" means only one thing: communist revolution. Most students are part of the working class. Instead of union-sponsored "student-worker alliances" for reforms, workers and students alike need to join the International Communist Workers' Party and fight for revolution.



El Salvador: “Together More Than Ever in ICWP”

EL SALVADOR—“We have to do collective work.” “We’ve had years together in this fight and we can’t keep depending on one person. We have to carry the weight collectively.” “I’ve always been around but now I want to join this party and contribute.” These comments were expressed by different comrades from ICWP.

An international comrade from the industrial work of ICWP visited us recently and motivated dozens of workers with his proletarian message in this and other communities to keep fighting for a better life, working for communism. One of the activities of this weekend was a BBQ with a pot of Peligüey soup (an animal that’s a mix of goat and sheep—a very exotic dish), in which children, youth, adults, and older people enjoyed this delicious food together with communist ideas.

We had two social-political activities which included reflection about the need for full participa-

tion in understanding communist ideas and the need to make the fight for communism the center of our lives.

“What the comrade who came from far away said was very good. We’ve always been together and today more than ever in ICWP,” said a comrade farm worker. “We’ll now distribute the meetings and activities in the houses where each of us live. We have to distribute the work to do it better,” stated a young comrade.

A comrade leader of the Party gave his analysis of the worldwide situation and how it affects this country, including the police state in which we live. He talked about the loyalty and commitment we need to build a new society without falling into the cult of the personality, fighting for communist ideas. He explained that ICWP is building its base on industrial and military work and talked about the difference between struggling for reforms and for

Communist Revolution.

“I’ve been inactive for some years, but now I offer the house so that you can carry out the necessary activities. You know that my father died fighting and I will never renounce the struggle,” stated a young woman who had been absent and who now joined the Party.

“We want the comrades of the Party to know the poverty and destitution in which we live despite having contributed our sacrifice in the war,” stated an ex-fighter from the FMLN. Another comrade responded that this is possible through the preparation of articles and letters for our newspaper *Red Flag* about the daily struggles that occur in these areas.

These activities represent one more important step in consolidating the basis for a collective effort to spread communist ideas through *Red Flag*, study groups, social activities, and class struggle.

Aerospace: Pentagon Wages War on World’s Workers, Not Profits

Red Flag has been warning that US bosses are planning to wage war on the cheap. Bloomberg News Service confirmed this on July 15, reporting that the “Pentagon Cost Saving Quest is Not a ‘War on Profit.’”

Bloomberg wrote: “The Pentagon’s plans to slash as much as \$60 billion from weapons and military-service purchases over a five-year period are designed to reduce costs such as labor and materials, not squeeze margins (profits) for contractors,” a Defense Department official said today. The Defense Department is embarking on a major plan to cut operating expenses, but “This is not a war on Profits,” the official said.

That’s the bosses’ plan: to make aerospace workers pay for the bosses’ expanding wars, up to and including WWII, by cutting wages, opening nonunion assembly plants in the south and non union parts factories in California. They’re using racism against black workers in the south and immigrant workers in California to attack the wages, pensions and working conditions of all workers, from the heritage plants to subcontractors.

This is a global trend. *Financial Times* recently reported that Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Aerospace has opened a plant in Vietnam to assemble wing flaps for Boeing. The company plans to expand its operations there to manufacturing as well as assembling the parts. Why Vietnam? “The wages in Thailand are already high,” said the company head.

And it’s the direct result of capitalist competition in this period of intense crisis. The *Wichita (Kansas) Eagle* reported on July 25 why aerospace companies are shutting down operations there and moving to Mexico and elsewhere. “Sales are way down, so the competition for the remaining sales is just going to be phenomenal,” said a Cessna spokesman. “So

everybody is looking at what can we do to maintain quality and reduce cost.”

“This is especially important in mature industries such as corporate jet-making that are growing slowly and face heightened competition — forcing them to focus on cutting costs to maintain profits,” according to a consultant who added that “Hawker Beechcraft faces new Brazilian and Japanese competitors and the prospect of Chinese competitors in the future.”

Cessna and Hawker Beecher are among the many aerospace manufacturers flocking to Mexico. There are now over 300 such companies there (up from 100 in 2004). Cessna subcontractors employ 500 workers in Mexico, and Cessna plans to expand. Bell Helicopter just opened a plant in Chihuahua to build the cabin, nose and tail sections of its Bell 429 helicopter. Hawker Beechcraft pays \$2.65 per hour in labor costs in Mexico, including benefits, in contrast to an average of \$24 per hour in Wichita.

Even engineers are affected by the bosses’ drive to prepare for war on the cheap. According to the consulting company Accenture, “aerospace companies are outsourcing engineering work to save money” — in spite of the huge problems Boeing had with outsourced engineering on the 787 Dreamliner.

“What is changing as a result of mounting cost pressures and efficiency demands is the way aerospace and defense companies are driving engineering services ac-

ivities, including where these services are sourced and the spectrum of activities sourced,” Accenture reported. “As long as doing the work costs less and improves efficiency, companies will be less concerned about localization.”

Capitalist competition leads inexorably to war. Capitalism exists for the capitalists, at the expense of us workers—no matter what our skills or training. So the Pentagon is promising the bosses their profits as they attack workers more and more. What’s good for the bosses is bad for the workers and visa versa. The only answer for workers is to unite as one international class against all the bosses and their capitalist system. We must build fighting groups of *Red Flag* readers and organize with the goal of communist revolution. ICWP recognizes the key role of industrial workers—particularly in aerospace and other war-related industries—in the revolutionary movement. Through *Red Flag*, workers in different countries can build the crucial unity we need to defeat the bosses.



ICWP summer project volunteers bring Communist ideas to Boeing Workers

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Federal Judge Halts Arizona Law:

Helps US Imperialists' War Plans

July 28, 2010—A Federal Judge granted a last minute injunction against three key aspects of the racist anti-immigrant Arizona Law: (1) the provision requiring non citizens to carry papers, saying "The US has never required people to carry I.D." and (2) the provision allowing police to stop people on suspicion of being undocumented, and (3) the provision prohibiting day laborers from soliciting work. This decision is being hailed as a victory for immigrants and their supporters. The Federal Government will be hailed as protecting immigrant workers against the Arizona racists. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Obama Administration and the US imperialists it represents need to restrain the rabid racist Arizona anti-immigrant movement to create the illu-

sion among immigrants and their anti-racist supporters that the US government is "fair and democratic." Their goal is to use the massive national anger against SB 1070 to pressure Obama and Congress to pass the DREAM Act, and the Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CIR) that "promise these workers a path to citizenship."

They also hope that by their government appearing to be the "savior" of immigrant workers they will be able to win these workers once on their "path to citizenship" to patriotically fight in and produce weapons for wider oil wars, including WWII.

While the Arizona law is racist, CIR and the DREAM Act are fascist laws which will force over 10 million immigrants to be on a 12 year path to legalization, during which time they must be continu-

ally working in low wage jobs or face deportation. The DREAM Act will force millions of undocumented youth into the US military at a time when the US rulers are preparing for wider wars, especially against Iran.

We should not be fooled. The Obama Administration and the Federal Government are the main enemies of immigrant and all workers. Capitalism uses borders to exploit workers and build nationalism. Immigrants and citizens, in the factories, the military, the schools and neighborhoods need to unite against all the bosses and fight for a communist revolution and a world without borders, exploitation or imperialist war.

US Bosses', Their Congress, Commander-in-Chief and Generals Knowingly Fund the Taliban

On June 21st, 2010, the Subcommittee on National Security released a report entitled "Warlord Inc." The report claims that \$100 to \$400 million of US taxpayers' money goes yearly to fund the Taliban. By comparison, the Taliban takes, in a year, about \$300 million from the opium business.

The US army spends \$2.1 billion, on a contract called Host Nation Trucking (HNT), to hire civilian firms to transport supplies to 200 US Afghan bases. A US officer in the report said, "The [Afghan security companies run by warlords] don't really protect convoys of American military goods here, because they simply can't; they need the Taliban's cooperation."

The US bosses, their media, politicians, generals and their Commander-in-Chief Obama, all claim this has been "unintentional". They have, however, known it for years and ignored it. The report adds, "When HNT contractors self-reported to the military that they were being extorted by warlords for protection payments for safe passage and that these payments were 'funding the insurgency,' they were largely met with indifference and inaction."

Hillary Clinton testified before Congress in Nov. 2009: "You offload a ship in Karachi and by the time whatever it is – you know, muffins for our soldiers' breakfasts or anti-IED equipment – gets to where we're headed, it goes through a lot of hands. And one of the major sources of funding for the Taliban is the protection money."

Why Are US Rulers Publicizing This Report Now or Making Such a Big Deal About Wikileaks?

Because, as Richard Haas, the president of the Council on Foreign Relations – Rockefeller think tank most influential in setting US domestic and foreign policy, puts it, "Rethinking Afghanistan: We're Not Winning. It's Not Worth It." (*Newsweek Magazine*, 7/18/10). The Wikileaks exposure of

90,000 raw intelligence reports from the U.S. war in Afghanistan, helps to drive this point home – painting a hopeless picture of treachery, corruption and endless civilians' deaths.

He argues that the price economically (\$100 billion a year) and militarily are too great "... not just in lives and materiel but also in distraction at a time when the United States could well face crises with Iran and North Korea."

Previously, in McChrystal Removal Opens Door for Sweeping Afghan Policy Review," *CFR.org*, June 23, 2010, Haas wrote, "The president was wise to act swiftly to replace his theater commander; he should act no less decisively in reviewing the policy. The focus should be on scaling back U.S. military presence, on what more can be done to induce some Taliban leaders and troops to reject working with al-Qaeda and join the Afghan political process --"

Making peace with the Taliban will enable the US imperialists to free those resources to wage war against Iran for its strategic location and vast energy resources (see *Red Flag* volume 1 #11, "Behind General McChrystal's Firing: US Bosses Fight to Control World's Energy Resources"). Afghanistan no longer serves their goal of gaining total control of the oil-rich Middle East. Conquering Iran, they hope, will accomplish this.

In the above mentioned issue of *Red Flag*, we exposed how the US bosses' know that their Saudi and Pakistani allies fund, arm and train the Taliban. They allow this, nevertheless, so that the Saudi and Pakistani governments can then use their influence on the Taliban to bring them to the negotiating table,

By integrating the Taliban into the Afghan government, the US imperialists also hope that they will stimulate the fundamentalist movements in Central Asia in order to destabilize the region and possibly achieve regime change that would curtail or revoke all energy contracts granted to the Russians and Chinese. This could easily accelerate the inevitable World War III already brewing among these imperialist butchers.

The callous disregard for US soldiers' lives – not to mention South West Asian workers' – highlights the murderous nature of a capitalist-imperialist system that stops at nothing in its pursuit of greater profits and empire. Soldiers have no stake in fulfilling the bosses' world domination dreams. Their interests lie in turning their guns on the brass and the bosses and joining the international working class to make a communist revolution to build a society based on workers' needs.



NO MORE WORKERS' BLOOD FOR OIL PROFITS!

"Sugar-Coated Poison Pills" = Social Fascism

The article and letters in *Red Flag* (7/28/10) showed that our ICWP comrades did well at the AFT convention in Seattle. We need to be sharper, though, about the significance of the convention.

One letter described how AFT leaders used a resolution against Arizona SB 1070 to get delegates to support Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CIR) and how one delegate exposed the racist and anti-working class nature of CIR. *Red Flag* must state clearly that this resolution was a sugar-coated poison pill and nearly all the delegates swallowed it. The delegate who spoke "about" the resolution

should have spoken against the whole resolution and not only about CIR, and *Red Flag* should have said so.

Another poison-pill was in a resolution supposedly against the war in Afghanistan. It supported the use of "all legal measures" as well as force to "fight terrorism." The Obama administration has continued fascist Bush policies that vastly expanded the category of "legal measures" to include surveillance, torture, and more.

Yet after an amendment to delete this section failed, many anti-war delegates voted for the resolution anyway. Some even counted it as a victory.

The biggest sugar-coated poison pill of the conven-

tion was "Resolution 5" on teacher evaluations. AFT President Randi Weingarten called this "the most important resolution we've passed in years."

Most delegates recognized the poisonous provision that approved the use of student test scores in teacher evaluations. Hundreds of teachers have already been fired in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere because their students didn't score high enough on tests that don't actually measure anything valuable.

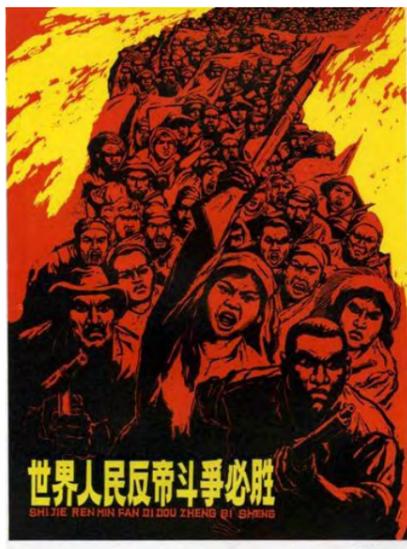
In this case even the sugar coating was poisoned. The resolution pushed the plan of "productive labor-management relations" in the name of "making

RED ARMY, from page 2

trade unions and a Youth Communist organization under socialism. I don't know what the Chinese had. I don't think anyone will argue that we need to follow their example on this. Their thinking on all these issues was influenced by their socialist mentality, including their ideas about their Red Armies.

We have a worldwide communist outlook. The Party should be everything – no unions, no Youth Communist Group and no Red Army. Those members of the Party whose duty is to fight at a given time should have the same responsibility we all have: organize networks of *Red Flag* readers, fractions, study-action groups, recruit and consolidate new members and should be responsible for improving, advancing and defending the Party's line – politically and militarily.

These are just some thoughts to stimulate discussion on this subject. Everyone is invited to participate, to enrich the discussion and help us come up with the best possible way of militarily organizing the working class before and after taking state



Learn from the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Chinese Red Army!

MTA WORKERS, from page 1

Red Flag: An MTA driver gave this analogy: “Capitalism, like Dracula, lives from sucking workers’ blood. The capitalists draw it with a syringe. The unions’ role is to try to limit the size of the syringe and the amount of blood the bosses can draw at any given time. In return the union leaders get a few perks for themselves and crumbs to keep the workers content and passive.”

We can't expect more than this from the unions. No matter who is in leadership, the bosses still have the syringe and need more and more blood to feed their world war military machine. To make a real change, we must destroy the blood-thirsty capitalist system. Only a revolutionary communist party can organize the working class to carry this out.

Another MTA worker: The unions have become a mafia. I don't mean the ordinary mafia, but a political mafia. They're not interested in the class struggle, but in making money for their organization. I think that we should create, like in Cuba, organizations that are behind these unions to help keep them in line.

Red Flag: Cuba is a socialist state. It is really state capitalism where the state is the boss. They have the same capitalist syringe and the same need to suck the workers' blood as any other capitalist. Unions in Cuba and the organization that keeps them “in line” collaborate with the state to keep the workers' blood flowing, while keeping class peace. Workers need communism, not failed socialism.

Red Flag: Do MTA workers think that unions interfere with the political development of the work-

Dear *Red Flag*,

What's the difference between being educated and being schooled? On one hand, the word ‘education’ comes from the Latin word ‘educare,’ which means to bring out or to lead out. So, the word education describes a form of learning that draws from within a student.

On the other hand, ‘schooling’ describes training, which is an external form of information and experience gathering. In schooling, one is offered tools for useful purposes. Schooling is necessary to provide a student's educational development with the raw materials it needs.

When we are schooled, even in the natural sciences, which appear far removed from social and economic issues, we are still trained within a framework. Our schooling is intended to benefit society; the trades we learn are intended to fit into the established social structure – into capitalism.

Society is a massive and complex organism which needs people to be trained to varying degrees. In capitalism, there is a strong demand for well-trained workers who can do many jobs and have flexibility. However, this flexibility depends on the amount of training workers acquire, while in order to maximize profits, capitalists must buy the cheapest labor possible. Training requires resources, which causes well-trained workers to become more expensive commodities. The capitalists' need for well-trained workers and their simultaneous need for cheap labor is a contradiction that flows from the essence of capitalism.

While schooling is necessary, the capitalist framework in which we are schooled is not. Crucial elements of school, such as history and philosophy, perpetuate the ideology that sustains the capitalist system and much of the social sciences and humanities are framed to support capitalism.

Of course, one may run across alternatives in school, but these are marginalized. These marginalized views are very important for truly educating a student. However, schools are not the only place to

ers?

An MTA worker answered: Yes, because they're not interested in the political development or class understanding of the workers. They serve the bosses' politics, keeping us down and divided. They run the union like a business organization. They supposedly represent the political “opposition” to the Republican Party supporting the Democratic Party, spending millions of dollars in political campaigns but they don't have money or time for the grievances of the workers.

Red Flag: Many MTA workers agree. But most workers think that raising the political understanding of workers or getting workers interested in the class struggle means organizing and activating the workers to fight for their immediate economic interests. They confuse trade union militancy and politics with revolutionary class struggle and politics. They are not alone – the USA Communist Party did this in the 1930s when they organized millions of industrial workers into militant unions instead of putting forward communist revolution as the solution to workers problems.

Many workers think we should elect honest militant leaders, including communist members of ICWP. This is a deadly illusion. Trade unions, no matter who leads them, confine the struggle inside capitalism. They blind the working class to the need to destroy, not reform, capitalism with a communist revolution. Trade unions are capitalist organizations. While appearing to fight for the workers' “rights” they are helping to perpetuate capitalism, its exploitation and its wage enslavement of the working class.

Communists must work inside the unions to break the ideological hold trade unionism has on workers. By concentrating on building networks of Red

find alternative views; many people find their way to working-class politics through their experiences as workers.

When workers recognize communism as a superior social structure to capitalism, we begin to use our schooling to educate ourselves. We recognize the superiority of communism through dialectical materialism.

And how do we recognize the superiority of dialectical materialism as a methodology? Empirically, through comparing its successes to other methodologies, and noting its superior explanatory ability and its material basis.

If we understand how to make schooling work for us, it can provide useful job skills. But this requires education, which develops internally within students who have communist consciousness. There are external factors that are necessary, such as needed schooling (job-training, information-gathering), but the internal conflicts are primary, driving change.

Mao clarifies this idea with an analogy about the development of a fertilized egg: the internal contradictions within the egg drive its development, even though external forces, such as incubation, are still needed to provide for the proper conditions for the egg's development. Of course, incubation alone cannot explain why an egg develops into a chicken: we cannot, for example, incubate a rock and expect it to become a chicken.

In this way, education is an expression of the internal struggle within workers developing their ideas. Workers can benefit from the schooling that capitalism offers, but we should not depend on the capitalist school system for our educational development, since capitalist schooling perpetuates our oppression by developing workers for the needs of capital.

—Revolutionary Student

Flag readers and communist fractions, our work must emphasize winning workers to fight for communism, rather than falling into the reformist trap as the USA Communist Party did. More about this in future issues of *Red Flag*.

LA SUMMER PROJECT, from page 3

Leaders of the “Justice for Oscar Grant” coalition say that they don't like Mehserle's “involuntary manslaughter” conviction “but we have to fight for what we can get and celebrate this small victory.” They are pushing for federal charges.

“Where's the victory?” asked a student activist. “There won't be any justice in this.” The judge in the Mehserle case is the same one who let off most of the cops in the Ramparts drug/murder scandal scot-free. There is no “justice” for the working class under capitalism. The federal government is the executive committee of the capitalist class. It's a dangerous illusion to rely on federal intervention!

“It's reformist,” said a communist student. Many coalition leaders call themselves anarchists or communists but they refuse to tell the truth to the masses of workers. Instead of mobilizing the mass anger around Oscar Grant into a revolutionary movement to smash capitalism with communist revolution, their reformism tries to chain angry workers and youth to the bosses' system.

Our Summer Project has begun the task of distributing thousands of copies of *Red Flag* to LA-area workers as a step toward breaking the chains of racism, reformism, and capitalism.

Communism has helped me see things differently

It all started when I was doing my social service. I met a communist there. It was the beginning of a friendship and an involvement. Something made her trust me and she started to express her worries and her struggle for the working class and to get rid of the bosses.

Back then I would listen to her commentaries about politics and workers, debates between my friend and her about subjects like music, Mexican and world history, racism, sexism, and about the Party, things that at times I was totally uninterested in. But one night I started to think seriously about her comments and the actions she carried out against capitalism. I got interested enough to get involved and to attend a meeting.

It was my first time, my first experience, and I liked it. I can say that all this that I have lived through with the Party, its meetings, its readings, its discussions, has allowed me to see life differently.

I realize that they are fighting for a better world, in spite of the danger that this brings. They show the truth, show that everything that the government says and does is a lie; they help us see reality. For example, the World Cup. People who live in extreme poverty have to suffer more because the government uses its resources to build and rebuild first world class stadiums and to screw over the working class even more.

The Party shows that we are equal, that we have that power and capacity to make war against those that have the riches and we can eliminate them and, with them, the system that kills us and only benefits a few. Besides, we shouldn't be intimidated.

All this has helped me to be aware of reality. In the Party, I have found people who have the courage to expose the lies that the bosses and the government invent every day as well as all the actions that only benefit them and keep the people under their control. The workers are the ones that maintain and enrich these parasites that just sit and count their profits, stewing in money while children have to work to eat a crust of bread—which is so cruel.

The bosses only give orders, they have no heart or feelings, they keep dominating us. Everybody who hasn't yet been contaminated should join us, break down the borders, and eliminate everything that separates us. We shouldn't accept reforms; we must eliminate this whole system, and fight for the truth, for ourselves, together for Communism inside ICWP.

☆ From Mexico, Young Red

LA Workers and Students Plan for Communist Revolution

The LA Summer Project began with a very successful Barbeque kickoff. Comrades shared the experi-

ences that they had gained. "I never knew about the conditions garment workers face every day," several students remarked. "The young people bring us so much energy and enthusiasm," said a worker.

As everyone spoke, we realized that we are doing the correct thing of bringing the ideas out to these workers and being a communication line throughout the world. And we ourselves are growing from analyzing and planning what to do and what not to do to create a society that will be equal and free of exploitation and abuse for the working class.

A discussion grew after a comrade said, "We need a revolution to destroy this system that only exploits us, the current working class and future working class."

"I think that we need not only to focus on how to create a revolution but how to maintain the revolution that the working class needs," another comrade explained.

It is true that we need to fight for the revolution that will not only crush the capitalist system down that exploits us, but will destroy the dividing systems that have been integrated to our daily lives, such as racism, sexism, ageism and all these other -isms that have been used to control us.

We agreed that we are not just getting adjusted to reforms and small "victories" but we want a real difference. This can only be made by the working class and its force to change the system that not only exploits us but kills us through the need of the bosses for their greater profits.

Later in the week we had a study group. A comrade led the discussion by explaining the importance of ICWP and its work, and how it plays a key role in society to create a consciousness about the exploitation and racism going on around us.

We discussed how important it is to educate industrial workers and workers in general about how the system we are under works and how we can fight for a revolution and keep the revolution going. We came to a conclusion that workers from all over the world need to unite and fight for a non-racist, non-sexist, classless society.

--Red Student

Dear Red Flag,

The Oscar Grant article in the last issue was based on a local leaflet. All the additions to the leaflet in the article were great. There was, however, an omission that seemed to gloss over an important emphasis. The leaflet argued that our 'toleration' of the genocidal murder rate in Oakland in fact cheapened the lives of all of us – Black, Latin or white, employed or unemployed. The idea was to argue that, from a class perspective, inner city murder rates were not isolated events but rather part of a continuum that allowed the sharper exploitation and higher on-the-job murder rates of industrial workers. While 19,000 are mur-

dered every year in communities, a record 56,000 are killed at work. It's a murder rate that outstrips any other industrialized country.

Understanding these links helps us build our class consciousness and realize our responsibility as a class to organize against these fascist attacks
A reader

Dear "Reader,"

We appreciate your addition that "tolerating" the genocidal rate in Oakland in fact cheapens the lives of all of us. We would like to make it more extensive: **When a system can get the working class to "tolerate" genocide anywhere it cheapens the lives of all of the whole international working class.**

For too long the working class in the so called "industrialized world" has "tolerated" the racist exploitation and oppression of workers in the so called "developing or third world." This "third world", however, is a capitalist-imperialist created world – imposed with rifles, tanks and bombs. It is a world where over 3 billion "live" with less than \$2 a day and over 100 million die yearly either of starvation, malnutrition or diseases that could be cured or prevented with \$1 per person.

Genocide is nothing new. What is new is that the capitalists-imperialists of the "industrialized world" are being forced to impose it on their working class. US bosses have for the last half century been the leaders in oppressing and slaughtering the workers of the world. The 2.4 millions jailed, the almost 50 millions being denied healthcare, the 30 million unemployed, the millions homeless or about to lose their homes, and the 56,000 deaths in industries – is just the beginning. The bosses' needs for war and fascism will turn their "first world paradise" into an intolerable inferno for us.

Another Reader

**THE WHOLE
CAPITALIST
SYSTEM
GUILTY OF
RACIST
MURDER**

POISON PILLS, from page 13

teaching a real profession." Teachers need to understand that they are part of the working class. They need to respect other workers whose children they teach and not set themselves apart – as many did – with the slogan "teachers know best."

"Sugar-coated poison pills" are shorthand for "social-fascism." That means viciously anti-working-class policies promoted in the name of "social democracy" or even "socialism." As *Red Flag* noted, AFL-CIO president Trumka's speech was the capstone of the AFT's social-fascist convention.

We live in a period of intensified capitalist crisis and extreme capitalist decay. It is characteristically fascist. Unions by their very nature are committed to work within capitalism and not against it. Hence the social-fascism of the AFT. Our leaflets at the con-

Questions for *Red Flag* action-study discussion groups

1. This issue of *Red Flag* presents many ideas about the relation between the Party, its Red Army, the working class, and the international armed struggle for communism (see p. 2). Should everyone in the Red Army be in the Party? Should everyone in the Party be in the Red Army? Should there be a standing army, or workers' militias, or both? What are the arguments pro and con? What additional information would be helpful in deciding this question?
2. A transit worker says (p. 1) that unions are "a school to be able to teach revolutionary ideas to the workers." The communist leader Lenin spoke of "turning unions into schools for communism." From what you have experienced or read about unions, what do you think about this?
3. The letter about sexism (p. 16) talks about organizing among indigenous women. What should be our analysis of "indigenismo" (indigenous movements)? Should we work in them? How? What about nationalist organizations in the US and elsewhere?

Dialectical Materialism: The First Law (Contradiction): Reform vs. Revolution

We had a very successful first study-discussion session of the 2010 ICWP Los Angeles Summer Project. Ten workers and youth discussed the topic of the first law of dialectics which is contradiction (the unity and struggle of opposites) in particular as it relates to reform and revolution.

We began the session by reading *Red Flag*, the article "Socialist vs. Communist Dialectics". The three main points of the article were that first, there is no such thing as "non-antagonistic" contradictions but rather that all contradictions are indeed antagonistic. Secondly, that contradictions can't be ignored, or smoothed over, but must be resolved by intensifying the struggle of the opposites. And lastly, that some contradictions (those among comrades and inner-party) are not resolved by violence but instead with more intense and honest discussion and criticism.

Once we grasped the nature of contradictions we moved on and read a second article "MTA workers need a revolutionary political strike." This article started with a conversation between an *ICWP* organizer and MTA bus driver in which they were discussing what the union leadership was doing and "negotiating" a contract. The *ICWP* organizer insisted that MTA workers did not need more militant union leaders but rather a new communist revolutionary way of thinking and acting.

The article continues and makes the point that unions are part of the problem, specifically because unions, at their best, push reform. Exposing sell-out union leaders is not enough; even the most militant union struggles tie us to the capitalist system. As Marx says, "Instead of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, our slogan should be: abolish the wage system."

At this point we brought in contradiction and understood that reform and revolution actually are opposing forces in the same contradiction. In the discussion it came out that we had comrades in union shops and non-union shops and therefore the question arose, how do we do communist work? How do we resolve the contradiction? How do we intensify the contradiction? How do we make communist politics primary?

Several positions were put forward including that we shouldn't work in unions and that we should work in unions. Some were saying that we need to organize communist fractions and forget the union, while others insisted that while organizing fractions was correct, that we cannot ignore the unions, adding that fractions need to expose the union leaders and their class collaboration with the bosses.

In the end, all of us present, after much discussion and debate, agreed that organizing communist fractions was primary whether in union shops or not and that where there are unions we should fight to expose the fact that unions, by tying workers to a negotiated contract, are necessarily reformist and an obstacle to revolution.



Revolutionary Women — China

Racist, Sexist Capitalism Exploits Indigenous Women

I greet you with affection:

I am a woman, a housewife, mother, wife, soccer player and my work is to advise indigenous women about their human rights. I would like to share with you what I do, why I do it and what I expect to get from it.

Before starting, I want you to know that I'm a *Red Flag* reader. I share its ideals about ending capitalism that in particular has indigenous women in poverty, excluded, marginalized and humiliated, although in the real life of our communities, we women are the ones who contribute the most to our families.

Since I graduated from the university, I had the opportunity, since I wrote a thesis on the question of gender, to continue to learn about these questions. Little by little I began to know women who did the same work. At the beginning, I looked on a few of them with great awe because they were well educated women, with masters and doctorate degrees.

Little by little, however, I found out that even though in their "grand speeches" they claimed to be greatly committed to achieving equality, parity and justice, in real practice that was not the case. For example, in the last feminist conference that took place here in Mexico, it was the first time in the 28 years of holding this event that we indigenous women were given the opportunity to have a workshop. Prior to that, we were just allowed go in to sell our handicrafts and nothing more.

The event lasted a week, so they assigned us a hotel. While talking with our other friends we found out that our lodging was not the same as everyone else's. Some (the well known feminists) were lodged in very fancy hotels. This, while some of our comrades were being lodged in hostels where three people were sharing one bed.

Our workshops were placed almost in a corner, while those of the others occupied the main stage. What really infuriated me was to hear a feminist who said that she "respected indigenous women very much just as she respected her maids who had always been Mayan women and who had taken care of her like a daughter."

In another event, after an indigenous leader finished making her presentation, I tried to engage her to ask her a few questions and her reply was, "My daughter, I'll give you my email, write

me and we can talk. What do you think?"

Nevertheless, in spite of all these unpleasant experiences, I have also come across some remarkable women, those who carry out the work seriously inside the communities, directly with the women who are affected, those undergoing some sort of problems. Those of us women that do not get rich from just talking "about others," but who, besides talking, are doers, we accomplish things, we fail, we struggle, we receive and we give, even though we are the ones who get paid the least.

This is what many of us do because it is not enough to do research studies and accumulate statistics about the conditions of women if we do not carry it through with practical solutions. My way of helping small groups of women, modestly but with commitment, is this, achieving small but significant changes.

I think that we women need to build a more solid unity, capable of transforming the fundamental elements of our social existence. Only by establishing a new form of relation between us, men and women, will we be able to overthrow the order of things that translates sexual differences into a great social inequality.

Comrades, I would like to know your opinions. I'll be anxiously waiting for your reply.

--Indigenous woman.

Red Flag responds:

Thanks for your letter. We agree that women and men need to build solid unity to overthrow this sexist, racist capitalist system in order to build communist society that establishes equality of women and men workers. Capitalist exploitation causes the sexist and racist treatment of indigenous women, which is an attack on all workers, men and women.

We hope that you will join the ICWP and build it as a mass party to unite men and women workers, indigenous and non indigenous, of all "races" to get rid of the capitalist system. We encourage you to raise the ideas in *Red Flag* with the women you help.

We encourage women workers to take leadership in this struggle to liberate the whole working class from the chains of capitalism. Only a communist society that eliminates the wage system can and will eliminate sexist inequality.

Our Party makes a conscious fight against the sexist ideas and practices built into capitalist society. We struggle against the ideas of "men's work" and "women's work" and learn to relate to each other as equals. We expose and oppose the sexist culture that portrays women as sex objects, and sexist practices like bosses paying women workers less than men for the same work.

Under communism, women and men workers will share the decisions and responsibilities of raising families in a collective way as we build a whole society dedicated to meeting the needs of the working class. Under communism, no one will have maids or be forced to be a maid. Without profits, private property or the wage system, the material basis of sexism will be eliminated.

The women who give "grand speeches" and lead feminist conferences have another goal entirely. They seek to promote themselves and a few other women into higher-paying jobs or leadership positions within the capitalist system.

The world's capitalists have built feminist movements worldwide because the reforms they seek actually strengthen capitalism. The masses of workers, women and men, remain divided and exploited by the sexist and racist inequality of the wage system.

Feminism is a bourgeois ideology that divides women and men workers rather than exposing capitalism as the source of sexism. In contrast, communists show that sexism hurts men workers by keeping all workers' wages lower as it helps the bosses divide and weaken our class.

Chinese communists said: "women hold up half the sky."

Women workers have given crucial leadership in all revolutionary movements—from Russia and China to movements in Latin America and Africa.

We hope you will share *Red Flag* with other indigenous and non indigenous women and men, especially those who are committed to fight against sexist, racist inequality. You and they will enrich our understanding and ability to build a mass party to eliminate class society with communist revolution.