

RED FLAG

MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM

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

ICWP CONFERENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA, NOVEMBER 2015.
BUILDING ICWP IN SOUTH AFRICA, SEE PAGE 3, 15

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS FROM A COMRADE IN FRANCE

Comrades, it is a great pleasure to meet and to join you in the International Communist Workers Party. I am a young French communist. Not so many months ago, I wasn't a communist. So, why did I decide to join you? Because I am disgusted about what is happening in France, and all over the world. The wars in Syria and Ukraine, the immigrants' crisis, all these things that are caused by capitalism.

I can't stay in my home, watching the world falling down in the hands of the capitalists, while doing nothing. It is my choice to do my best to change things, and educate people to make them see the truth and free themselves from the chains of servitude. Together, let's fight for and create a great future.

I am 24 years old, living 100 kilometers from Paris. I started reading the *Red Flag* and then I read the story of German and British soldiers fraternizing about 100 years ago. I posted that story to my friends on the social network. I was very impressed with the story and the *Red Flag*.

Since then I have been communicating with an ICWP member and I go to the website. I really like what I see. The *Red*

Flag is a great initiative and we don't have anything like that in France. So after reading the *Red Flag*, I asked the comrade of ICWP how I can join the party. He explained to me what it means to join, which is commitment to organize ICWP among the masses and financially contribute according to ability. I thought joining was a formal process and how it was explained gave me more hope that we can create communism.

I was born in France and my parents have Russian and Ukrainian ancestry. Although my family does not believe in communism, it has always been my dream. Some people my age here want to make a lot of money to solve their problems, but capitalism is crushing us all. It is a difficult struggle but we can win the masses to our side.

I want to say that I am a very proud new member of ICWP. Now I have the opportunity to change the world that I did not have before. Thank you for giving me that opportunity. We cannot afford to waste any more time. We have to work among immigrants and other workers. My greetings to ICWP members and a Happy New Year from an ICWP comrade in France.

2015 - ANOTHER GOOD YEAR FOR COMMUNISM

SEATTLE- It was supposed to be the season to be jolly but the bosses painted a pessimistic picture of the world situation. In different year end reviews they said what a terrible year 2015 was. Even the Queen of England felt she had to promise "light ahead" after the darkness of the past year.

They have a point – up to a point. The year 2015 saw a sharpening overproduction crisis causing the collapse of commodity prices, wage cuts and layoffs; the escalation of the war in Syria; tens of millions (literally, more than 60 million) of refugees in camps fleeing; the death of Aylan Kurdi (one of thousands); the ongoing massacre of Black youth in the US by racist killer cops; the rise of the neo-fascist right (from Marine Le Pen to Donald Trump); the Paris and San Bernardino massacres and the fascist government response.

Bad news, for sure, but just one side of the story. The fall in commodity prices sparked the rebellion in Potosí, Bolivia, where thousands of indigenous miners took over the town for a month. Syrian and other migrants fleeing to Europe were welcomed by huge crowds in Germany and flooded with gifts by people opening their homes to them. In the US a huge movement was spawned to protest the racist murders. Austerity in the UK and Belgium was met with huge protests, over 100,000 marchers in each. Austerity in South Africa (the university fees hike) was met with a student rebellion that shook the country (*Red Flag* reported on all these).

Good news, but there's even better. ICWP is growing all over the world, including in South Africa, where we held a brilliantly successful conference. Since then (and not just in South Africa) it's become common for groups to search us out to find out what

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In Capitalism, Money Makes the World Go Round

COMMUNIST SOCIETY WILL RUN ON COMRADELY RELATIONSHIPS, NOT MONEY (PART II)

Marx identified capital as “private property in the products of other men’s labour” that only exists “by virtue of positive law.” Capitalist laws establish it as “the governing power over labour and its products.” That is, money is a social relation of production.

When you start your work week, you need money for housing, food and transportation. But you won’t get paid until later. So you use a credit card (if you have one). Or you hit up family or friends (“I’ll pay you back when I get my check”). No wonder we’re always behind on our bills!

Capitalists need credit, too. A garment boss needs to buy fabric and other materials before any clothes are made or sold, although workers won’t get paid until later. And he or she can’t pay for materials or other expenses in clothes.

Communism Eliminates Money

In capitalism, Marx explained, money is what brings labor power and the means of production together. However, “in the case of socialized production, the money-capital is eliminated. Society distributes labour-power and the means of production to the different branches of production.”

When we say we’ll immediately eliminate money we mean currency but also all forms of credit, “work-points,” “time-banks,” Bitcoins or whatever. We won’t exchange stuff. We’ll share it with whoever needs it, anywhere.

We’ll plan production collectively using our best assessment of needs. Computers will make that easier than Marx could have imagined! We won’t always get it right, but we won’t need money to sort things out.

“Hey, our garment workshop is running out of denim cloth. And the comrades who were flooded out in the storm really need new jeans.”

“We’ll do what we can, but we’re short on labor here in the textile mill. Can a few of you come over to help?”

We’ll need to keep track of the materials and labor we use. But, unlike Soviet or Chinese socialism, communist production won’t try to “balance” income and outgo or try to come out “ahead.”

The key to making society work without money is communist labor: in Lenin’s words, “labour performed gratis for the benefit of society, labour performed not as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to fixed quotas, but vol-



untary labour ... performed without expectation of reward ... because it has become a habit to work for the common good, and because of a conscious realisation (that has become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common good.”

Lenin’s Bolshevik Party did not explain all this to urban or rural workers in a mass way as it organized for revolution. So very few workers had the idea or habit of communist labor. The Soviets decided they’d have to compromise by maintaining material incentives for labor.

“It will take many years, decades, to create a new labour discipline, new forms of social ties between people, and new forms and methods of drawing people into labour,” Lenin argued. “By overthrowing the bourgeoisie and suppressing its resistance, we have been able to win the ground on which this work has become possible.”

The Soviets tried to manage production with minimal use of currency. But workers still needed money to survive. Enterprises needed credit, and therefore a banking system.

Money was still the lifeblood of society. And money was still capital: the accumulation of surplus value, although in the hands of the state.

Lenin celebrated the Subbotniks who worked an extra day as a voluntary contribution to society. But socialism actually created the ground on which widespread development of communist labor was impossible.

Let’s Begin Now to Develop Communist Labor Habits

Today the International Communist Workers’ Party tries to explain how communism can work. But the conditions of wage slavery in our daily lives train us in capitalist habits of individualism, competition, racism and sexism.

How can we begin to develop communist labor habits now to prepare masses to lead in the construction of communist society after we seize power through revolution?

Capitalist crisis has already pushed many of us to the margins. We survive only by pooling resources and sharing what little we have. We must take advantage of these conditions to develop what Lenin called a “conscious realisation of the necessity of working for the common good.” Our South African comrades are leading the way in this.

Others join volunteer efforts like helping to build houses or aiding refugees (as we’re seeing in Europe). These, too, are opportunities to develop mass consciousness of the need and possibility of communism.

But the main way to develop habits of communist labor is by collectively and voluntarily doing the communist work of our Party. That’s how we begin to create – in Lenin’s words — the new “labour discipline, social ties, and forms and methods of drawing people into labour.”

And that’s why we need you to join the Party.

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we have to offer.

What we have is communism – a society without money and wage slavery and racist super-exploitation, where everyone works, everyone eats, everyone has housing and health care. A society where racism and sexism are on the run and masses mobilize to suppress out-and-out racists and fascists.

Here in Seattle and way beyond, the people who searched us out liked what they heard and spread the word to their friends. Some invited the

ICWP into their own homes, so their friends, family and coworkers can hear the good news. They signed checks to support the communist movement. Throughout the season, those that missed the initial house meetings showed up later, gifts in hand, to catch up on the party’s progress.

“This is powerful!” concluded a house guest, referring to *Red Flag*.

There are other anti-capitalist organizations, of course, but they have nothing to offer. Other than, maybe, critiques of capitalism and calls to fight

harder for reforms. This is depressing and futile. Workers know capitalism is bad, and don’t need lessons about fighting. They need something to fight for, and a group that will organize the fight.

They need to fight for communism, and join the ICWP, the only party that’s organizing that fight.

The bosses’ world outlook is getting more pessimistic by the day. We cannot fall victims to their malaise. More people are giving Communism a second look and joining. This is grounds for optimism.



JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WORKERS’ PARTY (ICWP)
WWW.ICWPREDFLAG.ORG — (310) 487-7674
E-MAIL: ICWP@ANONYMOUSSPEECH.COM
WRITE TO: P.M.B. 362
3006 S. VERMONT AVE., LOS ANGELES, CA
90007, USA

BUILDING ICWP INTERNATIONALLY

El Salvador:

YEAR-END MEETING CELEBRATES ANOTHER YEAR OF STRUGGLE

EL SALVADOR—The International Communist Workers' Party had our year-end meeting to evaluate the work that has been carried out, to highlight the successes and to consider the mistakes we have made in order to overcome them.

In addition, the meeting is a chance for the comrades and their families to have a good time. It's not true that we communists don't have fun or don't think of recreation. Even though we don't have blood ties, we are comrades and communist ideas unite us. This is an important aspect of the revolutionary struggle.

The meeting began with a report about the ICWP International Conference held in South Africa. This inspired the comrades to strengthen and plan the struggle for communism and to use new methods and tools to carry out ICWP's political work in other areas.

A maquila worker said that this is how communist work should be carried out. We should distribute newspapers at factories, and universities and in our communities. Taking advantage of our workplaces to talk with other people about socioeconomic problems of the country can lead us to delve into the root of the problem which is the capitalist system. This worker said that, while waiting for medicine in a public hospital, he talked with another worker and they agreed to meet and talk more about communism.

Another comrade stressed that the work done in El Salvador's free-trade zone served as an inspiration to other workers, in this case in South Africa. Now the experiences of workers in South Africa inspire us here. So we can see that every worker who struggles for communism and

who writes about their struggle in *Red Flag* serves as an inspiration to other comrades in other parts of the world.

Later we spoke about correct and incorrect aspects of our political work, including leafleting in the factories, participating as a party in the May Day march, and the commitment to increase the distribution of *Red Flag* newspapers in this country in the new year.

To end the meeting, the comrades from the maquilas explained the problems they had at the year's end, when for three weeks the bosses reduced garment production in their module. The bosses in this free trade zone are constantly attacking them, whether it is psychologically or causing division among the group of workers by accusing our comrades of being "rebellious." The workers responded to these attacks with a strike. The unions left it up to the bosses to do whatever they wanted with this group of workers, showing that they are on the side of the capitalists. Another union simply blackmailed them, saying "If you affiliate, we can help you."

The comrades were being treated this way because of the political work that they are carrying out in the factory: having meetings, and discussing and dis-

tributing *Red Flag* and the leaflets that expose the workers' precarious labor situation.

To make the situation more morbid the bosses decided to give a lollipop to each worker for their efforts for the whole year. In another factory workers got a box with ten little candies. One comrade got fewer candies than the other workers in his module for being "rebellious."

These insults to the workers' dignity do nothing but help fan the flames of the struggle for communism and the organization of the masses of workers with the International Communist Workers' Party at its head.

We ended the meeting with the sharing of gifts: baskets with essential items and a photograph of with comrades from the factories committed to the struggle for Communism posing with our newspaper *Red Flag* as a sign of joy and clarity in the work that is being done worldwide. Finally we enjoyed a walk to the port and ate rich seafood.



May Day 2015
El Salvador

South Africa:

WINNING ANC ACTIVISTS TO FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM

Today I met a guy who has been active in the African National Congress (ANC) since 1983. He said that he heard that I was very educated but that I wasn't working. He wanted to know why. I told him that it had to do with communism versus capitalism. It was true that I had graduated from the university. But I found out that in the university they teach you how to exploit the working class to maximize the rulers' profits. When I realized that, I didn't want to do it. I told him that I joined ICWP to fight to destroy capitalism with communist revolution.

He too has many certificates, in fire fighting, and other skills, and yet he does not have a job. He lives with his wife and baby. He and his wife are both active ANC members. I asked him, "Why are you suffering?"

I said, "This is capitalism. It keeps us on the ground. It doesn't want you to progress. It won't take you anywhere."

His wife was listening intently. She asked about ICWP. She said she heard that it was from overseas. I explained that it was originally from overseas but that now it is in South Africa. I told her, "This is the Party that will destroy all exploitation of workers."

I explained why the bosses pay us the minimum wage, only paying us enough to barely survive. We can live without money. By mobilizing



2015
International Conference

the masses for communism, we can overthrow the system. I told them that I want them to know everything that I know about communism. That's how we mobilize the masses for communism.

We are a communist party. We want to destroy the government and win the masses, the ones who work hard, to be the ones who govern ourselves. In our party, we don't vote, we discuss and mobilize as many people as possible for communism and encourage them to be part of the Party.

When I explained about mobilizing the masses for communism to the lady, she couldn't believe it. She was fascinated with the idea that we need to abolish money, the root of the problem. When they asked how we can live without money, I explained about use value and exchange value. We

produce everything, not the bosses. Our system is collective. In communism, we will produce things people need—for the whole world. People who do the work know how to do it, like bricklayers, farm workers. So they will do that, but not for money, but to give everyone what they need.

She started to see that there is no need for money. The wife was excited. She wanted to join ICWP immediately.

I explained about Russia and China and why we are different and that we are building one party internationally, not nationally.

I told them afterward, outside, "I forgot to mention *Red Flag*." I told them

that it is written by the working class. I encouraged them to write up their experiences and to give it to me, to send to *Red Flag*. Articles come from workers from all over the world.

Articles from everywhere show workers exploited by the bosses. Capitalism is not a national system; it is a global system exploiting workers all over the world. The man was so excited that he could write a story and that it would appear in the paper. Later he came to my house for *Red Flag* and our manifesto *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*. This couple can be very helpful to ICWP because they have been active for many years and it was amazing how quickly they understood about communism.

—A South African Comrade

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ORGANIZE TO FIGHT MASS RACIST DEPORTATIONS

LOS ANGELES--"This is a racist attack," replied a young comrade in an ICWP study group to the point that the US government has welcomed the New Year with new deportations. SWe read an article that pointed out that over 100,000 families from Central America have crossed the US border since last year. Now thousands of these families are the target of these new deportations. (See box)

This study group marks an advance in the high school work--the second session of a student formation from a new high school. Six students participate and two of them have decided to join the Party.

"Besides," continued the young comrade in this second session, "these tactics are not only used to terrorize our working class brothers and sisters but also to bring fear to other workers. This is how they try to divide and control the working class. We will not be like the single twig that breaks, but all united in an unbreakable unity—all working together internationally against the oppressors."

After a good discussion we concluded that communism will welcome all workers and that the capitalist system is the cause of immigration influx from Central America, Africa, Syria and the Middle East.

We also agreed on the need to mobilize the working masses for communism and as part of that we decided to organize a rally around these mass deportations in downtown Los Angeles, the heart of the garment industry.

As we mobilize the masses for communism we are building a world without borders or capitalist governments—a world where we abolish all forms of money and so the full wellbeing of every family and human being will be the top priority of all.

The capitalist system based on money, exploitation and profits will be substituted by the communist system based on collective work, collective distribution and collective struggle to clarify and implement communist principles that will guide our new society.

Deportations have already started for example in Norcross, GA. Last Saturday the niece of Juana Gutierrez and her 9 year-old son were taken by Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents. They arrived in an unmarked car and presented her with an arrest warrant for a man she did even know.

Juana told the agents they needed a warrant to enter her house. They told her that they did not need one; they entered checking every room in the house, waking the children. "They were trembling with fear," she said about the children.

In Texas, six Central American families were detained in the raids and taken to the detention center called Family Residential Center of South Texas.

The conditions in detention centers are horrifying and these centers are used to extract huge profits for the owners.

The federal government pays an average of \$120 per detainee per day. Detainees are paid a dollar a day, and 13 cents per hour, to upkeep the integral maintenance of the facilities.

Two private prison corporations—CCA and GEO—dominate the industry of immigration detentions. Together, they operate eight of the ten largest detention centers. The two operate

72 percent of the immigration detention beds. The CCA and GEO increased their share of total immigration detention from 37 percent in 2010 to 45 percent in 2014. The GEO group in particular has increased immigration detention to 25 percent in 2014 from 15 percent in 2010. These two companies have significantly increased their profits CCA from \$133,373,000 in 2007 to \$195,022,000 in 2014. The GEO increase their profits even more dramatically from \$41,845,000 in 2007 to \$143.84 million in 2014, an increase of 244 percent.



FIGHT RACIST ATTACK ON SOMALI MEATPACKING WORKERS

On December 23, 190 Somali workers at the Cargill meatpacking plant in Fort Morgan, Colorado, were fired from their jobs as the result of a struggle against increasing attacks on Muslim workers' access to prayer time.

An injury to one is an injury to all

This attack brings into sharp relief the growth of a fascist movement in the United States, in particular, as well as around the world. In the US, racist police terror is allowed free rein—in 2015 police killed more than a thousand members of our class—disproportionately Black, Latino and Native American. At the same time, the press has whipped up anti-Muslim hysteria in the wake of the San Bernardino attack, resulting in an upsurge of attacks on Muslims in the US.

Cargill is taking advantage of these racist currents to attack the African Muslim workers at the Fort Morgan plant. Cargill is a large producer of meat products with a major plant in Fort Morgan, a regional center in the Eastern Plains of Colorado. Fort Morgan is a racist KKK city. For the last four years there has been a movement centered in Fort Morgan for Eastern Colorado to secede from the state, based on hostility to African and Latino immigrants.

While visiting the city two years ago, a supporter of the ICWP was called a "nigger" by "white" youth at a McDonalds. When the local police were called and asked to file a hate crime report on the incident, they commented, "What do you want us to do about it?"

Fort Morgan's population is close to 12,000. Somalis may make up 6 percent of the city population. Somalis occupy apartments or homes that appear to be poorly maintained and overcrowded. The community ranges from those who are fluent in English to those who mostly speak Somali. Al-

most all of the women wear traditional Islamic clothing. The entire Black population of this mostly-white city are Muslim Somali immigrants and their families.

The Teamster Union hall is right down the street from the plant. But the Teamsters local has been notably silent in response to the protests and firing of the Somali workers. Their failure to defend these working-class sisters and brothers weakens all workers—and not only at Cargill. By turning a blind eye to this attack on Somali workers they reveal their role as faithful servants of capital.

The only organization that seems to be defending these workers is the Committee on American Islamic Relations—which views it narrowly as a civil rights struggle instead of an attack on all workers.

War and Fascism or Communist Revolution

What is happening in Fort Morgan reflects a growing fascist attack on the whole working class.

The liberal media, like the *New York Times*, publicize the gutter racists while urging people to support the mainstream fascists in the Democratic Party. But the Clintons built the racist prison-industrial complex which has devastated black communities and Obama has deported more immigrants than any president before him.

Racism in its myriad forms is essential to capitalism, as is the imperialist exploitation of the workers in the Third World. So, too, are increasingly sharp economic crises, creating regional wars and eventual world war. Capitalists in crisis are sharpening their attacks on workers around the world.

US and European workers have a choice. Will they join the ruling class in an ultimately suicidal



attack on their Black, Muslim and immigrant sisters and brothers, and in war against the bosses' rival imperialists? Or will we build the revolutionary communist working class unity to put an end to this vicious system?

The growth of ICWP in El Salvador and South Africa must be matched with growth among US and European workers, students and soldiers. We must turn attacks on our class sisters and brothers in Cargill into an opportunity to build communist solidarity, as we build international communist solidarity to put an end to the whole system.

Racism is the leading edge:**WAVE OF POLICE MURDERS, COURT AQUITTALS AIMED AT CHEAPENING THE LIFE OF THE WORKING CLASS!**

It's about time we fought like hell for class consciousness. This is especially true when we are fighting racism. The capitalist class depends on this racism to keep the masses of wage slaves divided and distracted.

Real class-consciousness means communist consciousness. Only communism can destroy and replace the wage system that is the material basis of racism.

Everything in capitalist culture—the media, the Universities, the Foundations and NGOs and the entertainment industry—is committed to hiding the link between racism and the exploitation of the working class.

Capitalist culture works overtime to promote “racial” or “ethnic” identity. Its aim is to deny any space for the growth of class consciousness. Nothing illustrates this more clearly than the debates and movement-building surrounding the mass anger at the tsunami of police murders in the USA.

By now most people know that the cops can murder and lie about it with impunity. The main-

stream media has covered that. But did you know that the “Mapping Police Violence” (MPV) collective has compiled a list of 1201 people killed by cops in 2015 alone?

What startles people—what makes them doubt you—is that the largest number of them (526) were White. The figures are there in mappingpoliceviolence.org/aboutthedata/. The cops killed 336 Black people, 196 Hispanic or Latinos, 34 Asian/Pacific Islanders, 14 Native Americans and 95 people listed as “unknown.”

Black people, who make up about 13% of the population, account for at least 28% of those murdered. White people, who make up about 64% of the population only account for at most 52% of the murders. Left-liberal publications like *The Guardian* expose this racist disproportionality, but that's as far as they will go. They hide its role in class society.

The MPV study is thorough and detailed. It breaks down the murders by race or ethnicity, by gender, by state, whether the victim was armed or unarmed and how he or she was killed. It does

not say a word about the class status of the victims. We bet that at least 99% of them were Black, Latin, Asian, Native American and White

members of the working class.

They were members of the class who produce all the wealth expropriated and controlled by the capitalists who run the media, NGOs, think tanks, Universities and schools. They were members of the majority class that the capitalists work night and day to exploit, oppress and divide so that we don't develop the political capabilities to overthrow them and their murderous, racist system.

Many of these working-class victims were veterans of the US Armed Forces, like Siolosega Velega-Nuufolau, a 50-year-old woman killed in California on December 29th. A year earlier, a West Monroe (Louisiana) cop shot and killed Raymond Keith Martinez, an unarmed 51-year-old homeless vet.

Imagine the power and numbers of the protests against police murder if they were organized by class-conscious workers and soldiers! Imagine the scale of anger that would explode if mobilized under the **Red Flag** of communist revolution! Imagine if demonstrators, armed with revolutionary communist class consciousness, were clear that the police murders were aimed at cheapening the lives of all workers!

It's the job of our party to make this happen by getting out more **Red Flags** and leaflets in these growing movements against racist police murder. To massively recruit workers, students and soldiers to be active members of ICWP is our goal. This is the highest expression of class consciousness.



Mass protests against racist killer cops in Chicago (left) and Cleveland (right).

The Christmas Eve march in Chicago was one of many demonstrations since the release of a 2014 video showing a white officer shooting a black teenager, LaQuan McDonald, 16 times. Two days later, Chicago cops killed community activist Bettie Jones and 19-year-old Quintonio LeGrier, both black, in the two-flat where Quintonio's father and Bettie lived.

The Cleveland march was part of a nationwide response to the failure to indict cop Timothy Loehmann for the murder of 12-year-old Tamir Rice.

US cops and sheriffs killed over 1200 people in 2015, a quarter of them in the 60 largest US cities. Cleveland was one of fourteen large police departments that killed ONLY black people in 2015. Overall, black people are about 20% of those cities but over 40% of the victims.

Back in 2006 the FBI warned that Ku Klux Klan and Nazi fascists were organizing inside major police departments, including Chicago, Cleveland and Los Angeles. This shows that the capitalist US rulers are intentionally unleashing racist terror. This is an attack on the whole working class. It's meant to scare us into submission. It won't!

Liberals and nationalists are misdirecting the mass movement to call for the resignation of public officials like Chicago mayor Rahm Emmanuel, a former Obama aide, or Los Angeles district attorney Jackie Lacey.

A tiny handful of capitalist-imperialists can only rule through a combination of terror and illusions. The masses can end the terror only by shedding all illusions in reform. We must mobilize for communist revolution.

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“Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.” Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*

History of Dialectics:

MAO'S LATER DIALECTICS

Previous articles in this series have discussed Mao Zedong's philosophical essays up to the defeat of the nationalist Guomindang (GMD) and the formation of a “people's republic” in 1949. We continue to discuss his role in the philosophical struggles that took place in the 1950s, '60s and '70s.

In 1957 Mao gave a major speech that was prompted by the right-wing revolt in 1956 against the socialist government of Hungary. The Communist Party of China (CPC) was concerned to prevent something similar from happening in China and Mao tried to make nice with the Chinese bourgeoisie. He introduced a new dialectical concept for this purpose, the distinction between “contradictions among the people” and “contradictions with the enemy.” This distinction has some validity, since conflicts among the masses should certainly not be treated the same way as conflicts between the masses and the capitalist class, which can be resolved only by communist revolution.

“The People” and “The Enemy”

Mao used the concept of “the people,” however, as a flexible category to describe whatever opportunistic alliance the CPC wanted to make with the enemies of the working class at some particular time. He included even feudal landlords and the capitalist GMD among “the people” during the war against Japanese imperialism. After the war, the landlords and the GMD were moved into the category of “the enemy.”

Mao admitted that capitalists exploited workers, but—amazingly—claimed that there is a “fundamental identity of interests” between the capitalists and the working class! He claimed that

the “national bourgeoisie,” those capitalists not working closely with foreign imperialists, were part of “the people,” and that the contradictions between the working class and these capitalists could be resolved peacefully if they were properly handled by the CPC. The violent struggles of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s showed that this idea was merely wishful thinking that strengthened the enemies of the working class.

The Great Leap Forward

From 1957 through 1959 two major overlapping movements took place in China, the Great Leap Forward (GLF), a huge program of economic construction, and the organization of peasants into “People's Communes,” which was seen as a major step toward communism. Major mistakes in economic planning, topped off by natural disasters, led to big failures in food production. The resulting famine killed millions of people.

The failures of the GLF intensified the contradiction between the pro-communist Left and the pro-capitalist Right inside the CPC. In 1966 this contradiction led to the Cultural Revolution, but in the late '50s and early '60s it led to a series of philosophical disputes over issues raised by the GLF. Meeting with Mao in late 1958, philosopher Li Da accused Mao of excessive reliance on the “subjective initiative of the masses,” that is, calling on the workers and peasants to commit themselves to making a big effort. Li Da accused Mao of having a “fever” in his brain. He attacked GLF slogans about mass mobilization that Mao defended, like “Think boldly, speak boldly and act boldly,” claiming these ideas were not Marxist. This became a common theme of the Right in the CPC.

The truth is that it was not enthusiasm of the masses that caused failures in food production, but bad leadership from the CPC. The party diverted enormous amounts of labor from agriculture to futile projects, including the attempt to make steel in a huge number of small “backyard blast furnaces,” which produced worthless metal and wasted resources.

Leftists explained that the initiative of the masses is a material force because there is a “dialectical identity of thought and being.” This did not mean that thinking and matter (“being”) are the same, which is an idealist view. It meant that the characteristics of the material world affect our thinking when we learn from practice, and what we think affects the world by guiding human practical actions. This “dialectical identity” idea became the subject of a long debate between Left and Right.

In 1963, Mao endorsed the dialectical identity view in a short essay called “Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?” “Matter,” he wrote, “can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter.” These transformations are “phenomena of everyday life,” since our thinking is affected by the world and our ideas guide the changes we make in the world.

Marx and Engels had already said similar things, so this idea was not new. It is, however, an idea of fundamental importance for the communist movement. It means that the masses can change the world by learning and then applying correct political ideas in the fight for communism.

LETTERS

Workers Can Trust Each Other

The main topic of discussion at a recent monthly meeting of our small church group in Southern California was how we felt about the San Bernardino massacre. There was some good struggle about whether or not we should rely on the government to protect us, as one guy suggested. Most of us disagreed. The rulers are building fear to get us to distrust everyone, especially if they are “different” in nationality or religion. They want us to trust only them but they are the biggest terrorists.

We also talked about building community, locally and with people around the world. For me the high point was when one woman described a project she'd joined to help homeless people. Originally the group wanted to connect homeless people with existing social services. Then, thinking about the El Niño prediction of a rainy winter, they decided to start a shelter.

They found a church that would let people sleep in the pews. As they started to set up the shelter they worried that neighbors would complain. To their surprise, more and more people started coming by to help. They brought food, clothes, sleeping bags, and other things. They even brought dog food for the puppy.

The shelter has brought the neighborhood together. Groups of people are signing up to

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cook meals for the 32 shelter residents. Most of the time they stay and dine with them.

To me that's a small example of why communism can work. Most people want to help each other! But we need to get rid of capitalism before sharing can become our way of life. So I gave copies of *Red Flag* to the woman who told the story and three other group members.

—Church-going atheist

CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

A.R. describes his introduction to ICWP by reading the *Red Flag*.

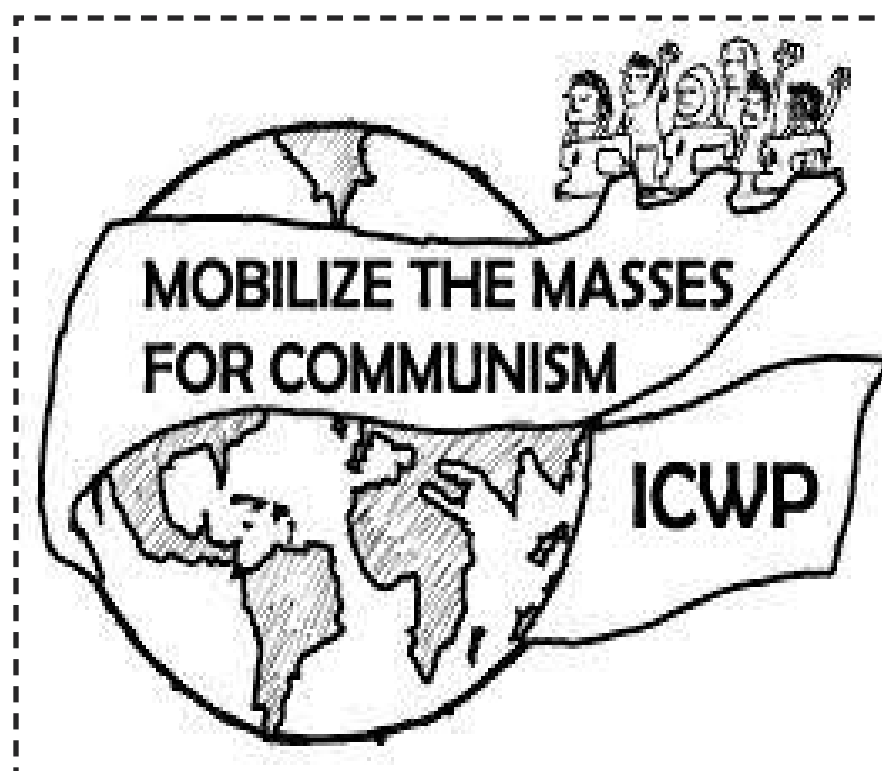
My name is A.R. I am a writer and student at a college in Chennai which is in south India. Tamil is the language spoken by about 80 million people in South India and other countries. I can do very good translation from English into Tamil.

I have been reading the *Red Flag* and recently I received all the literature of ICWP. I was extremely happy to receive this revolutionary literature, including *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* (MMC). I intend to translate this because the masses, especially workers, do not read English. This way we can continue our struggle and uplift the international agenda to uplift communist goals.

I want to tell you that I like *Red Flag*. I have faith in communism and I want to organize for communist revolution. In my point of view, I believe that ICWP would be bringing a revolutionary change in the conditions of the masses through communism. And *Red Flag* will fly high to keep up the motto of true communism because people need real communism. I promise to spread the communist agendas

to the youth here to spread the party everywhere. In the future I will be able to write more because right now I do not have a computer.

—A.R.



I Intend to Translate Communist Pamphlet MMC to Tamil

On January 1, *Red Flag* received a message: “Greetings comrades, this is A.R., a new member of ICWP in India.” In this short letter

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CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS



Bangladesh

“The Irony of Brutal Capitalism”

In our Bengali calendar the second ‘poush is this month. It has been considered one of the coldest months in our geographical area. Since yesterday here we have felt the chill, which started in October. Now, here the average lowest temperature is not less than fifteen degrees Centigrade (59 degrees Fahrenheit). But it is usually around twenty degrees Centigrade (68 degrees Fahrenheit) in the coldest period.

Our north zone is near the Himalayas. There the conditions are so miserable since there the citizens are very poor because there is only one harvesting season to work and to earn money to live. And the other nine months are barren and jobless, ohh! Every year in winter their lives are miserable without adequate warm clothing. You can see in pictures that they are shivering. Many people don't even have sufficient wood to make a fire.

Just every winter and in the rainy season in our country, the life of the proletariat class is so miserable that I can't even feel good wearing my warm clothes. I even feel ashamed before them being so well clothed. But for more than a decade I have also been suffering from these types of problems.

Many volunteer teams have arranged some initiatives but these are not enough. They only provide a few shabby clothes or some blankets, which can't fulfill their needs. But the state is always dumb and blind to do anything for them, as they can't think of making any profit from such people.

I just avoid the newspaper, and the TV news of everything. But always it's on my mind that now cold air is pinching my skin along with the others, in northern area. I don't pray to their gods.

Such is the irony of brutal capitalism that the Bangladesh garment industry which employs the poorest workers whose labor clothes the rest of the world have to suffer and shiver in cold.

Capitalism has to go; any illusion in reform is deadly. It only gives more breathing room to our class enemy. Only communism can provide our class brothers and sisters with food, shelter and a healthy life after the profit system is crushed. Organize now and forever for ICWP to fight for a communist world.

—Comrade in Bangladesh

“Now is the Perfect Time for ICWP”

I just read a letter written in *Red Flag* about a year ago. The letter is written by comrade whose father was in WWI. “The Christmas Truce: 100 Years Ago, Soldiers Refused to Kill Each Other.” <http://icwpredflag.org/CurrentE/010815/let.html>

The last paragraph of the letter says, “One of the other conclusions he drew from his war experiences was an emphatic, ‘No son of mine is



Bangladesh: Garment workers

going to University!’ His argument was clear. ‘Every officer who ordered us out of the trenches to charge enemy lines had either been to university or intended to go to university after the war. No son of mine,’ my dad argued, ‘is going to be that stupid!’”

I live in South Africa. I loved the story very much. I even wish I never went to university because all they teach you there are techniques to exploit workers on the shop floor by any means that will increase capitalists' profits

I was at a neighbor's place yesterday. He is an old man around late 50s who sells fruit and vegetables. So as usual I started to talk about communism and capitalism. I won't forget how I started our conversation. I started by saying “Instead of people waiting for Jesus to come back to save them from these horrors of poverty, homelessness, unequal justice and racism and wars, they should save their time and energy and JOIN our communist party called ICWP”

I started to explain exactly this system we are living under and how fatal and brutal it is for us, the working class. I was very surprised how informed this man was about the system. He knows a lot about the dangers of capitalism because we were saying the same thing. The only difference we had was just that he didn't know the name of this system and which system can destroy it, which is communism. He even said to me that money is the reason for all this evil and asked why ICWP came this late because the masses have been suffering for so long.

What I was happy to hear was that this man easily understood communism and totally agrees with our party but asks why we came so late. We were supposed to be here a long time ago. I explained to him that we are not late. This is the perfect time for ICWP to mobilise the masses for communist revolution because now capitalism is exploiting the masses limitlessly and transparently. For us this is a great opportunity to mobilise the masses because the masses are rebelling everywhere around but don't have a proper communist organisation and movement such as ICWP which will lead the masses to the correct path to destroy capitalism.

—South African Comrade

British Airmen Refused to Operate as Oppressors in India

The RAF (British Royal Air Force) personnel stationed in India were responsible for expediting India's independence. Basically they rebelled against the government citing that they had fought for freedom and it was unacceptable that they should be asked to operate as oppressors. The RAF mutiny occurred throughout the Empire and in Britain. It has been hushed up, of course. My father was in the RAF at the time between 1947 and 1949. It became so re-



Garment Workers in Los Angeles

bellious in Britain that they even threatened to bomb the Houses of Parliament on one occasion. The airbases were full of rebellious draftees doing their two years national service reluctantly!. On my father's leaving the RAF the Commander wrote on his report “Jones was at war with the RAF!” and my father wrote on it “And I won!”

—a Reader

Building ICWP Among Industrial Workers

I recently went on a holiday to another city to meet up with my family. I met up with two of my cousins. So we went out with them and some of their friends. The following day two of them came to visit us. One is an industrial worker, who works at a trucking company. Another works in a store. They saw me in my ICWP T-shirt. So we started talking about politics and I told them that I am a communist.

They wanted to know the distinction between the South African Communist Party and ICWP. I told them that the distinction is ideological, because those people are socialists in actual fact; they are not communists. So we started to talk about what communism is, and to share some ideas about it. They were very interested in ICWP and our ideas. I decided to give them some material about our ideas that I had brought with me. I gave them a summary of our manifesto *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* and the video about dialectical materialism. I told them to read the summary and watch the video and then we would talk further.

They did. After that, when we met the following day they asked me if I brought them some forms to join the Party. I told them that we don't operate like that. I said they should give me their contact information so that when we are mobilizing for May Day we can go and try to mobilize them and also their friends. They asked me to try to find a way of sending papers to them when the next issue of *Red Flag* comes out. They were very interested. Since they live far apart, I will have to find a way to get them the paper. That's what I want to share. I'm back now from holiday, ready to work.

—South Africa Comrade



US-China Rivalry Means:**MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM TO END
IMPERIALIST WAR FOREVER**

“War between the United States and China in the decades ahead is not just possible, but ... more likely than not,” wrote Harvard’s Grant Allison (*Atlantic*, 9/24/15).

Some might ask: Why worry about the musings of capitalist-imperialist pundits? They say: focus on the opportunities that exist right now to mobilize the world’s masses for communism.

But a US-China war would mean world war. The first two World Wars created the conditions for the Russian and Chinese revolutions. World war isn’t the only possible catalyst for mass uprisings with revolutionary potential. However, we must prepare to turn World War III into communist revolution worldwide.

Communists have declared, since the Basel Manifesto of 1912, that the working classes must “utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to arouse the people and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.”

But communists then didn’t sufficiently prepare the masses. Nationalist-minded socialists who lined up with “their” capitalist rulers were able to lead workers into bloody fratricide.

That must never happen again.

Causes of War: Psychology or Imperialist Political Economy?

The historian Thucydides argued (ca. 411 BCE) that the rise of Athens, and the fear it inspired in Sparta, made war inevitable (necessary). Allison calls this a “trap” that makes war likely (but not inevitable) when a “rising power” confronts a “ruling power.”

US President Obama met with Chinese President Xi Jinping in September. Both denied the existence of a “Thucydides trap” and the inevitability of war, although Xi warned of “strategic miscalculations.”

The really dangerous trap for workers is the view that imperialist wars are caused by psychological factors (like fear) or avoidable errors (“miscalculations”). Lenin explained why, attacking Kautsky’s version of this trap.

Lenin showed that the great powers completed the territorial division of the world early in “the epoch of finance capital.” Capitalism became “capitalist imperialism.” This was, and still is, “the basis of the present peculiar forms of rivalry between the biggest capitalist states.” This rivalry – not “fear” or “ambition” – leads inevitably to imperialist war.

Understanding this, we can grasp the urgency of developing communist work inside the bosses’ militaries. Our party’s role is to steel the working class to combat nationalism, reformism and pacifism among the masses. We can seize more firmly all opportunities to mobilize the masses for communism.

**“Rising Power” China
Confronts****“Ruling Power” US**

Twenty-five years ago, US imperialists dismissed China as unimportant and likely to remain so. Today Xi Jinping’s “China Dream” imagines a world in 2049 where the US is barely mentioned.

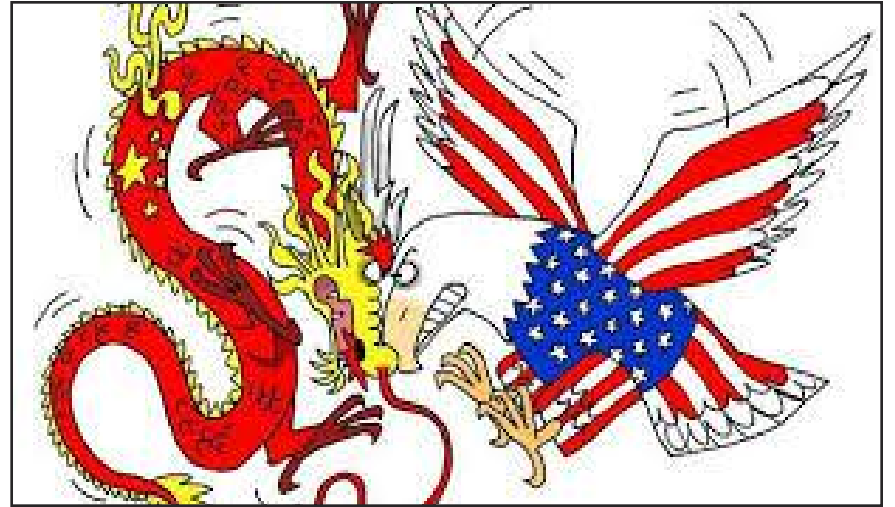
China has already surpassed the US as the world’s leading manufacturer, exporter, trading nation, holder of US debt and of foreign reserves, energy consumer, steel producer, auto market, luxury-goods market, economy and the primary engine of global growth. The US, however, retains military dominance – at least for now.

Stratfor reports that “the United States and China are now looking to military relations as a tool for developing strategic trust, making accidents less likely and helping to manage them when they inevitably occur.” (12/4/15)

In November, amidst growing military tensions in the Pacific Rim, the first session convened of a U.S.-China Army-to-Army Dialogue. Last month, China responded to the latest US arms sales to Taiwan with threats of sanctions that will likely have few impacts.

But the main trend is conflict. China is deploying its “Anti-Access/Area Denial capability” (A2/AD) to undercut the US offensive advantage in the South China Sea. The US responded in 2009 with its “Air/Sea Battle” (ASB) strategy, now called “Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons.” The Defense Department admitted in 2013 that this offensive plan would begin with deep air strikes on the Chinese mainland against forces and infrastructure that support A2/AD.

US imperialists do not all favor A/SB. Some, like the well-connected Amatai Etzioni, argue that it risks triggering a “Thucydides trap” by



raising Chinese fears.

In September 2014, US Defense Secretary Hagel proposed instead a “Third Offset Strategy.” This responded to Russia’s territorial aggression in Europe. It reflects the view that Russia may be more threatening to US dominance than China. It also reflects the Army’s unease with its very limited role in A/SB.

However, China is moving toward a long-term economic partnership with Russia, although perhaps not as quickly or on as large a scale as Moscow would like. Russia responded to US/European sanctions by advertising its “pivot to the east.” (Stratfor 10/14/14 and 9/3/15)

“Doesn’t the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) mean that the US can compete with China without war?” asked a *Red Flag* reader.

Yes and no. TPP will enable US capitalists to intensify the exploitation of workers inside and outside the US. In the short term, that will increase their economic competitiveness vis-à-vis Chinese rivals. In the long run, however, TPP and A/SB are two sides of the same deadly coin.

**Turn Class Struggle and Imperialist War
into Communist Revolution**

Lenin quoted the declaration of Cecil Rhodes, arch-racist spokesman for British imperialism, that “Empire is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.”

Chinese and US rulers build nationalism to win the masses to fight for their profits while preventing class war from escalating into communist revolution.

Our work is to mobilize the masses against nationalism and for international communist revolution. Let the imperialists start their wars. We will end them.

BELLA CIAO, COMRADE CARMEN

LOS ANGELES--“The circumstances of one’s life and the moment in which one lives require that one involve herself in the struggle. It’s not a question of what you like,” said the comrade, the first time I met her.

In 1982 I showed up at the door of the family of a student from El Salvador. The young woman had said, “My mother likes [revolutionary] politics,” and that her mother had read several issues of the communist newspaper I sent home with her, and liked that too.

So, by way of introduction, I told her mother, “Your daughter says that you like [revolutionary] politics.”

She must have thought I was an idiot or a dilettante. But she invited me in and we talked, and she finally decided that my politics were better than my grasp of Spanish. We became friends and comrades.

Carmen was a garment worker with a young baby as well as three other children at home, and

her involvement was limited by her circumstances and the ill health caused by racist medical care, especially during her last pregnancy. Nevertheless, she became active in the anti-racist struggles in the local school advisory committee, and was part of a group of comrades who went door-to-door in the neighborhood every Saturday with our communist newspaper.

She participated as actively as she could in the life of the party until she was hospitalized for months in 2007 with a complicated series of medical conditions which left her dependent on her adult children and sadly unable to participate actively.

Nevertheless, she supported the formation of the International Communist Workers’ Party in 2010. She sang with the ICWP chorus at our May Day Dinners and helped as she was able. As a veteran of the struggle in El Salvador, she was disgusted by the fmln’s betrayal of that struggle, even though some family members

continued to support it.

She was inspired by the growth of the ICWP in El Salvador and South Africa and the political breakthrough that our communist line represents for the international working class in the struggle against revisionist betrayal. Comrades who were present at our dinner in October 2015, organized to raise money for the international conference in South Africa, will remember her enthusiastic support, and her inspired dancing.

She left us at the end of 2015, but the circumstances of our lives and the moment in which we live call on us all to renew our commitment to the struggle for a communist world.

—Her comrade

