

# RED FLAG

## MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM

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

January 19--In cities across the U.S., angry youth and workers brought the fight against racist police terror to the Martin Luther King Day events. Nearly 1000 workers and youth in Los Angeles gladly took *Red Flag*. See story p. 4.



### LET'S WIN WORKERS FED UP WITH WAGE SLAVERY TO JOIN ICWP

SOUTH AFRICA, Jan. 12--I had an amazing day yesterday and a painful one too. I was amazed about how fed up people are with wage slavery.

First, in a taxi car, a lady in her early 50's had so much anger about how little money she gets at the private hospital where she works. She can't even afford to take her kids to school. She runs out of food way before she gets paid again at the end of the month. Only the doctors and a few nurses where she works are permanent workers with benefits like medical aid, etc. All other workers are casual workers for years. She also talked about the African National Congress, the selfish, greedy, government who are criminals with empty promises. All they do is look out for themselves, using us as a step ladder. At her age, she doesn't even vote.

Surprisingly, in the taxi car there were 4 people, including the driver, and none of us vote. When I arrived at my location an hour later, another taxi stopped next to me and the driver said, "Hey, there is a mother who wants to talk to you. Wait, she is getting off now." It was a lady who is my friend. She is also in her 50's and stays around my area. She wanted to have coffee at my house because she didn't have any at her house and she is tired from work.

She works at VOLPS BEDDING Company,

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### TO DEFEAT FASCISM, WORKERS MUST BECOME: COMMUNIST LEADERS, NOT JUST VICTIMS

"Poverty is the cause of all of this," commented a Boeing worker. Born in France, she helped a group of us in the U.S. figure out what was happening after the French terrorist attack and national unity march. Many workers, no strangers to economic hardship themselves, were inclined to agree.

The offices of Charlie Hebdo are located in an agreeable part of Paris with the vibe of gentrified sections of many cities, a mix of workers and hipsters, traditional shops and trendy bistros. Like the rest of Paris, it is mostly white and relatively prosperous.

It is also vastly unlike what you might call the real Paris: a doughnut of banlieues (suburbs), on the outside of the périphérique ring road. Eighty percent of Parisians live there, including many immigrant workers. Here, capitalism's racism paves the way for and attacks on all workers, as it does worldwide.

For example, Sevran is one of France's poorest places, north east of the Paris périphérique. The jobless rate is 18%, and over 40% among the young. Thirty-nine percent are below the official poverty line, more by any reasonable standard. Unemployment runs at least twice the national average in places like this.

More than half the residents are immigrants, mostly from former French colonies like Algiers,

Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. Today, they are joined by more recent arrivals from crisis-torn Spain and Italy. Over 70 different nationalities, and many faiths, crowd into Sevran.

The banlieues erupted in 1981 and 2005. Rebels burned hundreds of cars and the then-president Nicolas Sarkozy threatened to clean out the area with a high-pressure hose.

After three weeks of rebellion that ended in a government-imposed state of emergency, there was talk of a "Marshall plan" of government aid to rebuild the banlieues. Prime minister Jean-Marc Ayrault recently visited the Clichy-sous-Bois, where the rebellion began, to announce another 27-point plan, but no more cash.

For all the schemes, the conditions in these "sensitive urban zones" have only gotten worse. From 2008 to 2012 the gap widened between unemployment rates in these zones and the surrounding areas.

Similar racism exists in a number of other French cities, like Nantes and Toulouse. The latter is notable because the world's second largest commercial jetliner manufacturer Airbus is located there.

Whether it's the banlieues in France, the irregular townships in South Africa, the favelas in Brazil or the slums of the U.S., the story is the same wher-

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## Racism is no Joke

### **MOBILIZE FOR COMMUNISM TO END CAPITALISM'S ENDLESS HORROR**

Most *Red Flag* readers know that two Muslim terrorists killed twelve journalists of the satirical magazine “Charlie Hebdo” in Paris on January 7th. Another four hostages died in a Jewish grocery store in a related attack. The provocation was a series of anti-Muslim cartoons that Charlie Hebdo published.

Racism – whether directed against Jewish or Muslim people, black or immigrant or indigenous people – is a cornerstone of capitalism everywhere. We can end it by destroying the wage system that is its material basis. (See *Red Flag*, v. 5 #22, p. 2)

The ideological struggle against racism will escalate as we fight to build communism. Millions of workers and soldiers and youth will mobilize against class enemies who use racism to undermine the power of the working class.

The French ruling class immediately pushed the line, “I am Charlie Hebdo!” This message lit up the Arc de Triomphe in central Paris and spread quickly worldwide over social media. “Defend freedom of expression!” “Stop the fascist Islamic terrorists!”

Pretty soon, the response came: “I am NOT Charlie Hebdo!” “They shouldn’t have been killed, but freedom of expression doesn’t justify racism!” “Down with Islamophobia!”

To complicate matters, Charlie Hebdo was founded in the 1960s by leftists. It is anti-religion – all religion. It opposes LePen’s openly racist National Front, which leads in recent electoral polls. How can it be racist?

A former Charlie Hebdo writer explained in an open letter: “The obsessive pounding on Muslims to which your weekly has devoted itself for more than a decade...has powerfully contributed to popularizing among ‘left-wing’ opinion the idea that Islam is a major ‘problem’ in French society.”

The 9/11 attacks, the writer argues, “set off a process of ideological reformatting... We see people with whom we were close...abruptly start to cut loose with a stream of racist idiocies.”

#### **Islamophobia: Not Just in France**

Charlie Hebdo capitulated to the racist fear promoted by the US imperialists and their mass

media after 9/11 to justify their atrocious murderous oil wars that have killed millions. It devalued the lives of so-called “collateral damage.”

The rulers’ state terror and their ideological attacks will continue to sharpen as the global crisis of capitalism intensifies and escalates into world war.

Since the Charlie Hebdo attack, over 1400 farmers in India have committed suicide, unable to repay loans. Boko Haram has massacred 2000 Nigerian workers. The civil war in Ukraine is intensifying. Capitalism, as Lenin said, is “endless horror” that leaves no place safe for the working class.

The only answer for the international working class is to mobilize the masses openly for communism. Anything else leads into a swamp of opportunism and, sooner or later, racism and nationalism.

Throughout Europe, rulers have used Islamophobia to win non-Muslim workers attacked by “austerity” measures to blame immigrants instead of fighting to destroy capitalism. French bans on Islamic women’s head-coverings (hijab, niqab) have led to physical attacks on working-class women wearing them.

Muslim workers are rightfully angry, but not mainly about cartoons or even hijabs. They hate the racist super-exploitation and mass incarceration they face. This, on top of the disastrous impacts of imperialism on the countries they came from.

We must see them – as the “I am not Charlie” crowd doesn’t — as potential makers of history. (See article, p. 1)

#### **History Shows Us: Rely on the Masses**

The big-time terrorists are the imperialists themselves (see article, p. 3). But the small-time terrorists who attacked Charlie Hebdo are also enemies of the working class.

Individual acts of terrorism cannot destroy the



**Algiers residents confront French tanks, 1960s**

French capitalist class that murdered millions of workers from Senegal to Haiti, from Vietnam to Algeria, from the Central African Republic to Syria.

In contrast, the Haitian revolution of 1791-1804 was a massive uprising of enslaved workers that abolished slavery, defeated Napoleon’s mighty French army, and terrified the slaveocracy of the new US republic.

In the heart of the French empire, masses of heroic workers led by the first communist International briefly seized state power in 1871, establishing the Paris Commune. It was the first time in history that workers, led by Communists, took state power.

These monumental struggles, although brief and incomplete triumphs, were crucial in paving the way for the more advanced revolutions in Russia and China in the 20th century. From all of them we have learned that our final triumph depends on mobilizing the masses directly for communism, and nothing less.

We must build one massive International Communist Workers’ Party that unites our class across all the bosses’ divisions of “race,” “nationality” and religion.

We have nothing to lose but our chains. We have a communist world to win!

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ever capitalism raises its ugly head. Capitalism can’t survive without racist oppression. Capitalism is the cause of all of this.

“The key is to see these workers (why suffer racist super-exploitation and oppression) not as mere victims, but as the potential makers of history,” argued ICWP members and friends in the group. “If your goal is to mobilize the masses for communism, then large numbers of the banlieue workers need to have a communist outlook. That can transform the struggle from rebellion to revolution.”

That’s why *Red Flag*, although opposed to all religions, will never publish anything that insults or ridicules ordinary workers’ religious beliefs, building racism. That’s no way to convince these workers to provide leadership we need for the whole working class. Many ICWP communists have the close friendships with workers of many religious beliefs which are necessary for us to win

them to communist revolution.

#### **Unity Of the Most-Exploited and Soldiers Puts Us On The Path To Revolution**

This discussion then turned towards soldiers. Many at Boeing are veterans. This group knew of our work organizing anti-racist, anti-imperialist war resistance and revolt during the Vietnam War.

“How did you maintain the unity needed to challenge the brass when the officers would do anything to bust that up?” another worker wanted to know. “Like you said, the generals during WWI turned the artillery on their own troops when they fraternized with the ‘enemy.’”

We described how we carried on a mass ideological struggle for six months before being able to lead a series of rebellions at Ft. Lewis (now Joint Base Lewis-McChord). We wrote and discussed how racism hurt us all, how we needed anti-racist unity to fight back against the brass and their imperialist masters. We exposed partic-

ular racist practices and how revolution would finally end racism and the bosses’ armed forces.

We have learned since then that we must mobilize the masses directly for communism because only communism can put an end to racism and imperialist war.

“The key here is once again to see soldiers not as mere cannon fodder for the imperialists, but as the potential makers of history,” our comrade concluded.

The bosses created these vast pockets of racist super-exploitation in every corner of the world. They have reason to fear their residents: not because the poverty can result in a few terrorists, but because the banlieues can become the home of many leaders in the mass mobilization for communist revolution.

That is the practical meaning of the refrain “We have been naught, we shall be all” we sing when we sing “The International.”



**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**



## MTA WORKERS DISCUSS CHARLIE HEBDO ATTACKS

LOS ANGELES—Talking among MTA transit workers about the armed attack against a group of racist French journalists (Charlie Hebdo) showed that workers had many different opinions. This showed the importance of workers reading *Red Flag* to have a more scientific communist understanding of worldwide events, because as a scientific communist said, “The point is not just to interpret the world, but to transform it.” Transform it in favor of the international working class.

N: “I think they had it coming, because they constantly mocked the Muslim religion and its caricatures were not innocent dolls but racist and nationalist propaganda of the French government. The dead were not white doves.”

G: “I’m sure that this attack was not accidental, nor perpetuated by a group of crazies who are isolated and disconnected from reality. These militant Muslims represent the interests of the rich Arabs in the struggle to dominate the world.”

W: “This act of terrorism was organized to create hysteria against the Islamic religion, and also to push a feeling of hatred and revenge. With the idea of brainwashing and at the same time to win the hearts and minds of the working class, so that they support the war that is coming, with the excuse of fighting against Al Qaeda and ISIS.”

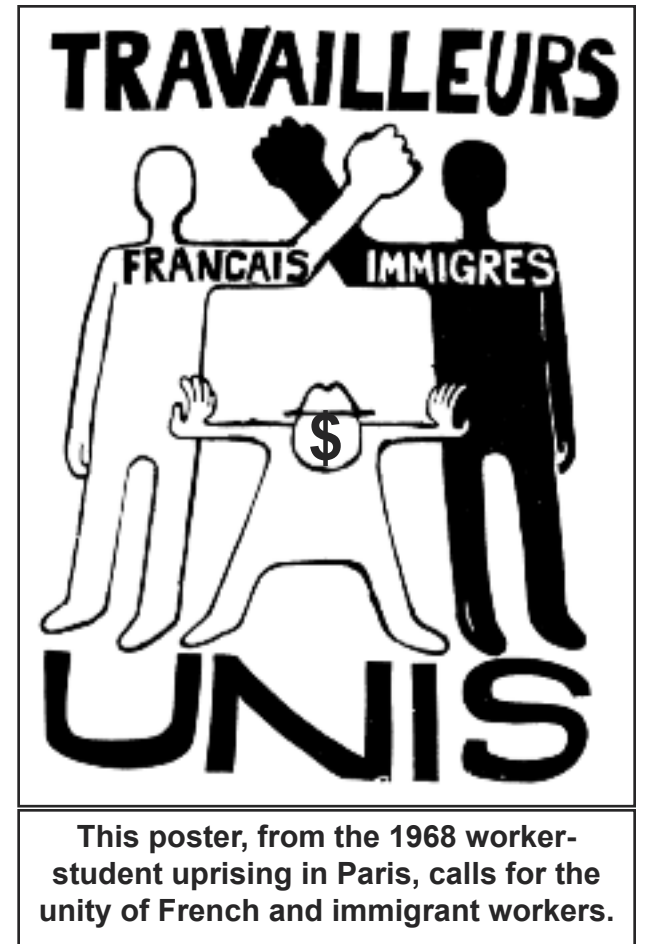
J. “Look, these groups are nationalists, fighting for national liberation, and the leadership uses re-

ligion to motivate them and make them believe that what they are doing is good and justified, even though the tactic they used is the bosses’ terrorism. Because nationalism is bourgeois ideology. If you saw the news, there were representatives of different fascist governments, crying hypocritically condemning terrorism. But tell me for how many years Central America and other areas have lived under mass and individual terror unleashed and led by the champions of democracy, the USA. That’s why I say that democracy and terrorism are the same.”

As we can see, every day a series of events are woven together that progressively and unstopably are leading us to a global catastrophe. Political and military actions perpetrated in the name of democracy or religion are smokescreens to justify and confuse the world’s working class. But let there be no doubt that the massive bombing of thousands of men, women, and children in Iraq and Afghanistan, all in the name of democracy is far more massive terrorism than the terrorist attack on the journalists in France in the name of religion.

That is why in the discussion we concluded that terrorism and democracy are two sides of the same coin, capitalism. That’s why there is a constant struggle with these workers to join ICWP and help us with the mass distribution of our newspaper *Red Flag* to mobilize the masses for

communism, as the only answer to the bosses’ terrorism. We invite the workers in this discussion to read the articles in this issue about these events and let us know what they think of the analysis.



### Paris “Unity March” Shows:

## US INCREASINGLY ISOLATED IN INTER-IMPERIALIST CONFLICT

As 1.6 million people gathered in Paris to protest the attack on Charlie Hebdo, about forty world leaders gathered in an empty street far away for a “display of unity” photo op.

These so-called “anti-fascists” were led by French president Hollande, who has worked through Qatar to arm and support violent Islamist groups in Syria and Libya. He marched with the racist warmonger Cameron, Prime Minister of Great Britain and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, financial disciplinarian of Europe. Russia sent its Foreign Minister.

Netanyahu of Israel came with blood on his hands from mass murders in Gaza. He linked arms with President Keita of Mali, who ensures France’s supply of uranium for its nuclear plants while millions of workers in central Africa die slow and painful deaths from breathing the radioactive dust.

Qatar and the fascist Saudi ruling class, which has armed ISIS, also sent high-level representatives. These governments viciously exploit immigrant workers, including Muslims.

Notably absent was US President Obama, or even Vice-President Biden, or Secretary of State Kerry (who was busy in India, preparing for Obama’s visit in late January). Instead, the US

sent the Ambassador to France, a ceremonial position usually awarded as a prize to large campaign contributors.

### Behind the Scenes: Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

The minimal US presence at the Unity March reflects its increasing isolation amidst sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry. France, Germany and several other European countries have openly challenged the US-led sanctions of Russia following its land-grab in Ukraine. Germany and France have blocked US-led moves to include Ukraine and Georgia in NATO. German Chancellor Merkel has rejected this possibility outright.

On January 5, two days before the Charlie Hebdo attack, the French and German governments were planning a four-country meeting on Ukraine that would eventually ease European sanctions on Russia. French President Hollande gave a detailed interview attacking US-led sanctions: “I think the sanctions must stop now.” Hollande also urged the West to stop threatening Russia.

During the Ukraine crisis, Germany was initially reluctant to follow the US lead on sanctions. However, after the downing of the Malaysian airplane, Germany yielded to US pres-

sure. German vice-chancellor Gabriel said, “The goal was never to push Russia economically or politically into chaos. Whoever wants that will provoke a much more dangerous situation for all of us in Europe.” Most of the European sanctions are due to expire in June of 2015.

The timing of the Charlie Hebdo attack, just as Germany and France were preparing to ease the sanctions, has led some analysts to infer that US forces were behind the attack. Whether or not that’s true, the US is clearly desperate to find ways to isolate Russia from the Europeans. They fear that Europe, led by Germany, would enter into a formidable alliance with Russia and China.

That would create a nightmare scenario for the US ruling class. It threatens whatever influence the US has left in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It means that world war is inescapable. The US rulers may well decide that they have nothing to gain by trying to delay it.

As the global capitalist crisis deepens, the bosses are preparing for us to kill and die in their deadly imperialist profit wars. But millions of workers around the world are refusing to be victims. We can and must mobilize the masses, especially industrial workers and soldiers, now, for communist revolution.

### Read our pamphlet:

**BIGGER INDUSTRIAL  
WORKING CLASS:  
BIGGER COMMUNIST  
POTENTIAL WORLDWIDE**

Available at:

[www.icwpredflag.org](http://www.icwpredflag.org)





## Even Militant Reformism Won't End Racism

### ICWP YOUTH BRING COMMUNISM TO MLK PARADE

Ever since Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday became a holiday, the ruling class and its politicians have used it to promote their agenda of pacifism and patriotism. However, the current capitalist crisis has forced the repressive organs of the capitalist state, like the police, to unleash terror and violence on the whole working class, but more specifically on the black working class. Racist police murders have multiplied.

The masses have responded in anger and frustration, as events in Ferguson and around the US have demonstrated. Many activists, like those led by the coalition Black Lives Matter have made calls and taken direct, militant action to "reclaim Martin Luther King's birthday." All over the US, many have taken dissident actions. In St. Louis, a group of protesters rushed the stage of a prayer service. One of the protesters took control of the microphone and yelled, "St. Louis P.D., KKK, how many kids have you killed today?" In several cities demonstrators staged "die-ins." In Atlanta protesters announced that they "will not allow those that actively subject us to an oppressive lifestyle to lead the parade or be in the parade." Even if militant, these groups are still reformist. They do not attack capitalism, the root of racism, or identify a solution.



St. Louis

it is agriculture, factory production, or making clothing or producing culture, we will act collectively in all of the decision and execution aspects. Everyone will contribute what they can or however they can in the process. Everyone will receive what they need," a comrade responded.

Like at any other event we attend, there were some people who didn't agree with our communist politics. Often, those who don't agree or don't understand are people who don't have enough information or the right information. All in all, we distributed close to a thousand *Red Flag* newspapers. Our participation in the parade was a success. For the next event we attend, we hope to have more people help out and support us.

"I can see that MLK's dream has not been realized," said a high school student in a classroom discussion. "This is like déjà vu," said another student. "I mean like all the protests, marches and riots in the 60s. It's like here we go again." We can't go down the same reformist road again. Racism and police terror will never be eliminated until we end capitalism with communist revolution.



Los Angeles

In contrast, a group of youth comrades friends, and family members who are part of ICWP went to the MLK parade with a banner that said, "MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM, MOVILIZAR LAS MASAS PARA EL COMUNISMO." While some of us held the banner, others distributed *Red Flag*. From the start of the parade, many people took the newspaper, and as the parade progressed, more and more people began to ask for it. As we marched with the banner we yelled out chants like, "The Only Solution is Communist Revolution!" "Asian, Latin, Black, Arab, White, to Stop Killer Cops we Must Unite!" and "The Workers United Will Never be Defeated! ¡Obreros Unidos Jamás Serán Vencidos!" Various people took pictures of the banner.

Different folks said things like, "Those are my homies!" "God bless those people!" "I agree with that!" and "Power to the people!" There were people who asked about communism, like how it would work, and if we would be able to solve our problems. "In every sphere of human activity, whether



Seattle



Los Angeles

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sewing curtains, duvets and pillow cases. She works from 8 am to 5pm, Monday to Friday. I don't know if she works on weekends. During our walk to my place, she just burst out crying to me about the working conditions and her very small weekly salary. She said she has been a casual employee for 2 to 3 years now and gets 600 RAND (\$52) a week. I was even more shocked when she said she sews plus or minus 200 sets of curtains per 9-hour shift, and there are casuals with 9 to 15 years service. The only workers who are permanent are those who have 25 years service and some of them are over 60 years old, which means they are pensioners.

Just an hour later I met a lady who told me about an event that occurred at Johnson Controls, where permanent workers were fired so the company could hire casual workers. She is one of those casual workers who replaced permanent

workers last year in October 2014, but now is on a lay-off. The reason Johnson Controls gives is that machinery needs to be fixed. They will be called again when machinery is all fixed. And she also told me about the new plant of Johnson Controls in Botswana where they even have a much cheaper hourly wage rate for workers.

There are continual production crises in the Botswana plant. Finished and semi-finished seat covers and sets of seats are often wrongly produced and must be sent back to a South African plant for rework.

Workers' exploitation and minimum-wage slavery raise the opportunity for us to mobilise workers for communism. My next plan is to write a pamphlet with a short description stating all the problems the workers have at Volps Bedding Company and

why they should join our party and fight united for communism. And most important is the realization that the above-mentioned problems of workers give us great opportunities to mobilise the masses for communism by distributing pamphlets and *Red Flag*.



Reading *Red Flag* in South Africa



## Obama's Community College Scam:

### WHAT'S THIS "FREE GIFT" TRYING TO MAKE YOU BUY?

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 21—"The American Dream is still possible!" This was the message of a recent Univisión segment about career education programs at West Los Angeles community college.

Vice-President Biden was scheduled to show up at the same school just a few days later to praise its new Bachelor's degree program in Dental Hygiene and to plug President Obama's new community college initiative. This plan to make two years of community college "free for everybody who is willing to work for it" pushes the same message.

Sounds good, right? What's the catch?

**It only covers tuition.** In California, most low-income students already get fee-waivers. Their big expenses are books and tools, living expenses and transportation. Even with other financial aid, most will have to work as many hours as they can at low-paying jobs. Many will still end up with huge student loan debts.

**Most working-class students need more than two years to complete a community college degree.** Their K-12 schooling was designed to turn out low-skilled, uninformed, compliant wage-slaves. It can take a year or more before they're ready for college-level work.

**Students would need to maintain a 2.5 (C+) average and attend at least half time.** That's hard when you're working to support yourself or help your family. One "D" in your first semester could disqualify you.

**Students will be discouraged from taking courses "they don't need," said California Gov. Jerry Brown.** (Translation: courses the capitalists don't need them to take.) College funding will depend on "data-driven measures." So all the problems associated with standardized testing in K-12 will now go to college. This is starting already in Minnesota and elsewhere.

**But the biggest "catch" is the political cost to the working class.** Sure, the program will

help some students get a degree and even a job. But it aims to increase our "buy-in" to "achieving the American Dream."

This is already an obstacle to mobilizing the masses to destroy the capitalist system that enslaves us. We are schooled to believe that "everyone has a chance." The flip side is that "if you don't make it, it's because you're not willing to work for it." We're led to blame ourselves, not the system, and too many of us do that.

**These illusions are especially dangerous for the generation that will be called upon to fight the next imperialist war and ramp up production in war industries. Conversely, it's especially important to the rulers to reinforce these illusions now.**

The Lumina Foundation outlined a "First Two Years of College Free" program in 2013. This capitalist outfit made its money from student loan interest. The premise of the report is that a fifty-year Federal effort to promote the "American Dream" through college financial aid has flopped. This has "undermined the national ideal of equal opportunity to succeed and equal rewards for hard work."

**That "ideal" was never a reality, and Lumina knows it.** They just worry that we'll stop believing in it. As the *Atlantic Monthly* said: "some low-income students may be lured by the simplicity of 'free.'"

The *Atlantic* also argues that the plan would "revers[e] the negative effects of socioeconomic segregation in higher education" by encouraging better-off students to attend community college. It cites a 2014 Century Foundation report, *Bridging the Higher Education Divide*. The unspoken hope is that this would build unity across class lines, cooling off class struggle.

**Communism has a different, international ideal.** We will work hard so that we can all "succeed" in meeting our needs together, not individually. There will be no monetary "rewards" or special privileges. There will be no "socioeconomic segregation" because there will be no classes.

In communist society, everyone will be encouraged to study languages, science, technology, history, philosophy, the arts and everything else we need or want to know. We need to win high school and college students, and their parents and teachers, to fight for this ideal. Let's expand the distribution of *Red Flag* and our pamphlet "Communist Education for a Classless Society."

**The "two years free college" plan also ties community colleges more closely to the capitalists' labor force needs as they prepare for war.** "In an increasingly competitive world economy, America's economic strength depends upon the education and skills of its workers," said a White House press release.

**Communism will link learning with work, but not so that capitalists can get fat off our labor and fight off the competition.** Our next article will talk more about this.



## History of Dialectics:

### THE CONTRADICTIONS OF SOCIALISM

In the last column on the history of dialectics, we discussed a fundamentally mistaken idea developed in the USSR in the 1930s, the so-called non-antagonistic contradictions (NACs). Soviet writers never settled on a single explanation of what was supposed to make a contradiction antagonistic or not. They did claim, however, that the contradictions of socialist society do not tend to become intense, lead to crises and explosions, or require violence in order to be resolved. This is just the opposite of what actually happened in the USSR and later in China.

Wrong as the NAC idea was, it did have an important correct aspect. Contradictions within the party or the working class are not resolved the same way as our contradictions with capitalists and their agents, the politicians, generals, cops, union leaders etc. Both contradictions inside the party and contradictions between workers and bosses can be resolved only by a struggle. Struggle makes contradictions develop, that is, it makes the sides of the contradiction become more clearly defined and the conflict between the two sides sharper. The difference between many contradictions within the party and contradictions between the masses and the bosses is the way that these contradictions develop and become intense.

Party members share (or should share) a common commitment to figure out the truth and use it to find the best way to communism. Their contradictions are about which line is best. The Bolsheviks (Soviet communists) called the process

of working out the best line "criticism and self-criticism." Even before the revolution Lenin had written:

*"Frankly admitting a mistake, figuring out the reasons for it, analyzing the circumstances which gave rise to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses."*

Bolshevik philosophers often claimed that all NACs could be resolved by criticism and self-criticism. In one of many confusions about NACs, however, they correctly recognized that debates in the party can become very intense and sharply defined. Descriptions like "the fire of self-criticism" or "burning issues" were common in the 1930s discussions of supposed NACs.

This confusion can be cleared up this way: when people are committed to finding the right line, their contradictions are primarily between ideas. Contradictions between these ideas become intense and if they are resolved, this happens by most people being won over to see one line as the best. Errors are defeated, not the people who made them.

This way of understanding things will only be correct if most of the party members are willing to accept and acknowledge their own errors in order to find the best ideas to advance the interests of the masses. This is a situation that has to be fought for and maintained by good leadership.

Even the best leadership cannot achieve this under socialism, however. In socialism there is a hierarchy of income and privileges, and the leaders that have those privileges fight to keep and extend them.

From its early days, top party and state officials in the USSR had a much higher standard of living than the masses. Some of them did not want to risk their privileges in the intense struggle to collectivize agriculture and create heavy industry and a powerful army. In the late 1930s, as it seemed more and more likely that the USSR would be fighting a battle to the death with Nazi Germany or the Japanese Empire or both, groups of former party leaders whose policies had been defeated in the internal debate conspired to kill Stalin and other top leaders. Some of the conspirators were officials of the government police forces, who used their positions to kill many people and undermine the party leadership. Soviet archives opened in the 1990s show that over 600,000 people were executed in 1937-8, many of whom had committed no crime. (Anti-communist writers have made up far higher figures.)

No matter what kind of explanation of "non-antagonistic contradictions" is cooked up, the facts show that NACs didn't apply to Soviet reality (or anywhere else). Under communism, however, mass mobilization and leaders without privileges will be able to resolve most social contradictions by wide debate, which will sometimes become intense, as resolution requires.



## IN COMMUNISM, THE MASSES WILL LEAD SOCIETY

EL SALVADOR--“Are you going to vote in these elections?” asked a comrade from the International Communist Workers’ Party of two co-workers during their break.

The response was vehement from one worker: “NO, all these electoral politicians are garbage.”

“It is the same whether you vote for one or the other,” emphasized the other worker.

The conversation continued, “In other words, you all don’t believe that there will be changes, no matter who wins,” said the comrade.

“They’re the same. I voted for the FMLN and I am disappointed. Nothing happens,” continued the first worker.

“Look, people had high hopes that these politicians would be different,” the other worker concluded.

### FMLN Politicians’ Empty Promises

These days Jorge Meléndez—Commander Jonas, as he was known during the civil war in El Salvador—says that “the leadership of the FMLN has accumulated so much political and economic power in the last few years that they have had to move away from the utopias (dreams) that they pitched after signing the Peace Accords.

“As a result, the FMLN begins to enter into a conflict with its base.” concluded this ex-member of the Revolutionary Army of the People, one of the five organizations that made up the FMLN insurgency during the Civil War.

The elections that will be held on March 1st of this year to elect the mayors and deputies will not spark the enthusiasm of the working class. Every-



May Day, El Salvador, 2013

thing is reduced to promises that no one believes.

“There will be less poverty! Everyone will have a job! The youth are the alternative!” shout the candidates, many of whom have been in the Legislative Assembly and City Halls for more than 30 years. The only thing that changes is the color of the flags. Everyone knows the eternal campaign songs. Endless advertisements with promises don’t improve anything for the Salvadoran working class.

### ICWP Fights Reformism

In the face of this, ICWP is organizing the working class to end the reformism that divides and enslaves our class. Problems like unemployment, racism, and sexism will be attacked by focusing on their real causes, taking into account the needs of the workers that will be fully discussed.

In COMMUNISM, the transformations will be profound and vital, including in the way we choose the leaders of the working class. There won’t be electoral propaganda, or an army of thousands of propagandists working for the elec-

tion of a candidate. Instead, the most dedicated workers of their class will be chosen in the centers of production/education to lead society. Our future will not depend on a handful of robbers and murderers, but rather on the masses themselves. There will be millions of leaders in all aspects of society—all for the benefit of the workers themselves.

In this communist system, without bosses or money, the working class will collectively administer the society and will

make all the decisions. The mobilization of workers for communism is the key and our goal in combating the capitalist politicians.

### Organize in ICWP

The current objective of the electoral politicians is to maximize profits and generate greater personal wealth. The fight for positions is to decide who will better administer the capitalist system. Changes that benefit of the working class are necessary and will be possible when we are organized in ICWP and the problems are resolved in the communities on the basis of collective understanding and analysis.

It is clear that elections have never led to anything good for our class and that we can’t keep doing the same thing and expect different results. We should stop participating in these electoral circuses of the ruling class. Organize in the International Communist Workers’ Party—ICWP. Read and distribute *Red Flag* and participate actively in the communist study cells.

## BRICS from page 8

alism. It has opened the door to Chinese exploitation, to use SA to produce and assemble Chinese-made goods for the African market.

The latest BRICS meeting in SA included a proposal for a new development bank, but this is merely symbolic because it is small and funded by equal shares. In reality, China already has investments in Africa via the Export-Import Bank of China, which is bigger than the World Bank.

BRICS is used for Russian and Chinese colonial exploitation of Africa without regard for climate change or workers’ lives. China bankrolls of Mugabe’s regime in Zimbabwe, which plunders its rich minerals and diamonds and destroys the livelihoods of indigenous miners and lays waste to the environment.

Lenin stated that inter-imperialist rivalry must lead to world war. In contrast, the ANC argues

that Chinese and Russian investments benefit Africans as well. This is a deadly “united front” with imperialism, no less than was its long relationship with British and US imperialism. And as the rival blocs scramble to plunder Africa to extract super-profits and maintain their capital accumulation, this rivalry has already led to local proxy wars. The US military build-up of AFRICOM shows that the US recognises China and Russia as deadly rivals who must be stopped.

**Those who hold the BRICS to be a progressive alternative to imperialism are the enemy of the working class.** No capitalist or imperialist will help the workers. Capitalism can only survive by increasing the rate of exploitation of the workers. And in the epoch of imperialism, capitalist crisis drives the imperialist powers to send their workers to war to re-partition the world and grab what is left of nature to destroy.

For humanity and nature to survive, the work-

ing class as the only revolutionary class must overthrow the ruling capitalist class through communist revolution. Only the revolutionary proletariat led by the revolutionary International Communist Workers’ Party with its program of mobilising the masses for communism can put an end to capitalism and imperialism. We need a world without money, bosses’ tyranny, capitalism, nations, borders—a communist world. Away with capitalism away! Forward with communist revolution forward!!!

### This is the paper of the working class.

**We get no funding from the capitalists, their foundation or NGOs. This newspaper is not a commodity produced for sale. We are fighting to abolish commodity production. However, we have to pay for the costs of producing and distributing the paper, as well as for other expenses of building an international party. The box below includes a suggested donation of \$20/year which is about the current cost of mailing a single copy to a U.S. address. PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY.**

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LOS ANGELES, January 12—Social workers and other Kaiser workers began a week-long strike for better staffing and against benefit cutbacks. About 140 strikers took **Red Flag** during the week. One worker made and distributed copies of our article about Kaiser. Many had serious conversations about capitalist and communist health care with ICWP comrades on the picket lines.

## LETTERS

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## CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

### Capitalist Wage System Has to Go

“Will you sign this petition for a \$15 minimum wage?” Six or eight people must have asked me this during the MLK parade on January 19th. I noticed that some of these folks had copies of **Red Flag**.

“I guess I’ll sign it, but you should really be fighting to end the wage system,” I told the first worker.

“That’s true,” he said. “But this is a step in the right direction.”

“How is it in the right direction?” I asked. “You can’t live on \$15/hour either, and the bosses will find ways to take away any gains you might make. Next thing, you’ll be fighting for \$18. If you put your energy into organizing to end the wage system, it will be a step in the right direction.”

To the next people who asked me to sign, I said, “I’ve already signed it but you should really be fighting to end the wage system.” Those conversations were pretty much the same.

The last woman said, “Can’t you do both?” She meant, can’t you organize for a higher minimum wage and against the wage system at the same time. But I didn’t notice her or anyone else doing that, even though every one of them agreed that the capitalist wage system has to go.

Maybe I should have refused to sign it, but it worked to start the conversations. Or maybe



Los Angeles, Fall 2013

some of us should get involved in the “\$15 campaign” to continue to sharpen the struggle with activists who are open to our ideas

--LA Reader.

### Fascist Laws will be Smashed by Communist Revolution

In December, the majority of the Popular Party (the electoral party that is in power in Spain) approved a law called “The Organic Law of Public Safety,” known as the Gag Rule. This law has been criticized by almost all parties in society because it includes fines of up to 600 thousand euros for offending Spain and/or its autonomous communities. Social movements automatically could no longer demonstrate. It also allows the military and police to restrict the publication of events in social media or any other internet platform, which is considered an offense.

The Spanish government is increasing its police ranks to be able to create and strengthen a state police that can protect the bosses and repress the workers’ right to express themselves.

The precursors of this law began in 1940 with a law for the Suppression of Freemasonry and Communism. In 1954, the Vagrancy Act was added to this law. In 1993, constitutional challenges to the law were presented but these only served to appease the masses and keep in power the police state so necessary to capitalism.

The governments in Europe are moving chess pieces around to safeguard their great wealth, and to control the workers in order to continue super-exploitation and maximum profits for the bosses.

We communists are against the whole political apparatus of the capitalist governments and the bosses’ massacre of the workers. We communists fight to change the system. We fight to abolish racism, wage slavery, and borders and to be able to enjoy a society which is based on meeting the needs of the workers and not on profits.

The International Communist Workers’ Party (ICWP) has discussed these positions many times and how we can struggle and win more workers to communism, distributing **Red Flag** to all the workers and discussing topics from which we can understand that Communism is the road to follow to be able to live better. We

organize cells in which we can continue to advance and develop our communist thinking. ICWP fights against capitalism, but for this struggle to be stronger, we need more workers to join and fight together to achieve the objective, which is to build communism.

--Comrade in Spain

### Debate: How Will Communism End Racism

The article on page 3 in the previous **Red Flag** entitled “Build Bold Communist Campaign to Stamp Out Racism,” represents an important discussion about how communism can defeat racism. It does however, include some important errors.

The paragraph where it says “We will inherit a very segregated society.....” is really undermining the our party’s fundamental line of mobilizing the masses for communism. Mobilizing the masses and seizing the state power to win revolution will massively change the world view of the international working class in a way that is sometimes hard to grasp. The article asserts that racism will still be a major problem since people will have unconscious biases. I would argue that the revolutionary process leading up to seizing state power will end racism to a large extent.

The future communist society will execute decisions and they will be carried out by the party led by the masses. It is important to show how that process will work, rather than say, for example how “dangerous people” will be dealt with by feeding and housing them, the same as everyone else. This is confusing. Who are the dangerous people? How dangerous are they? What will be done to them? Who are the nutcases? There is a difference between anti-social elements that can be rehabilitated and those that will continue to sabotage the new communist society. The latter for sure will not be housed and fed.

There is also a certain idealism in the article when it says that we will “give deserved exposure to the work of current minority and anti-racist artists” and teach “real history.”

One other point: an international party like ours cannot write about firefighters in the US without explaining the historical segregation of the firefighting service. People outside of the US don’t know what we are talking about.

--Red Reader



## U.S. Army: A Force Adrift:

# COMMUNISTS MUST STEER SOLDIERS TO REVOLUTION

FRONT A U.S. MILITARY BASE--When only 27% of troops feel that senior military leaders have their best interest at heart, it shows the potential that the majority of troops can be won to turn the guns around.

A recent *Military Times* article called “America’s Military: A Force Adrift” spent an enormous amount of energy and resources conducting a survey of troops to expose the obvious: Army morale is at an all time low (since the Vietnam War) with a lot of soldiers feeling burned out and hating their quality of life.

With Congress’ policy of sequestration to cut spending of \$1.2 trillion across federal agencies, including \$500 billion from the military over the next decade, the rank-and-file are experiencing the reality of a capitalist system that will send them off to die and kill in imperialist wars only to return to a rotten system that cannot provide for their basic needs.

The reality is apparent in the armed forces’ health care and pay. Only 45% of troops rated their military health care as good or excellent compared to 78% in 2009. Perhaps many of the

troops have experienced waiting months to receive a consultation with a specialist, not including treatment. As far as pay, only 44% are satisfied with their pay compared to 87% in 2009. These statistics are more distressing when you consider the sacrifice made by war-weary soldiers returning from multiple deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan.

**A comrade inside the military reports that he is witnessing this low morale first hand.** “There are a lot of sergeants in my unit that have served in Iraq and Afghanistan,” says the comrade, “and these soldiers are the ones that are done with the Army. They are unhappy and they won’t reenlist.”

There is something else that soldiers are weary about: Soldiers, sailors and marines understand the lies and false promises of this capitalist system. They can see that this system is rotten. They can be won to see that this system needs to be replaced with a communist system that values all workers’ lives. They can see that the only war we need is a war to put an end to capitalism for good.

Before, during and after a communist revolu-

tion, workers and troops will organize a Red Army to fight alongside one another with the goal of serving the interests of the workers around the world. A 100% effort will be made to attend to the well-being of everyone without imperialist profits, which will be abolished.

“[Rank-and-file troops] can’t see what readiness might be in five, 10, 15 years from now when the equipment they are using today may no longer be serviceable,” says Todd Harrison, military expert with the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments in Washington, in the *Military Times* article.

**When capitalists criticize their own military system, we should be on alert.** It is certain they are searching for a plan to maintain unconditional power over the troops and to prepare for the next and future wars, including world war. A communist analysis and perspective is useful in this matter to show that the interest of the soldiers, sailors, marines and workers are the opposite of the interests of the brass and the capitalist, imperialist bosses.

*Next article: What this means for us.*



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**ANC & BRICS Compete with US & EU to Plunder Africa**

**WORKERS WILL RESCUE HUMANITY AND NATURE**

SOUTH AFRICA--The BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), the imperialist powers opposing the US, are rising in the midst of the global crisis of capitalism. This mounting inter-imperialist rivalry means that we can only advance to communist revolution by opposing and defeating both these imperialist groups. The world of capitalism in decay looks much like the world of a century ago, with inter-imperialist rivalry leading inexorably to another imperialist world war.

As recent moves have shown, the declining US is bent on maintaining its dominance by trying to prevent the BRICS from re-dividing the world for their benefit. Today the reformists still peddle the lie of peaceful co-existence between classes. We must defeat this reformist line, and advance our

line of mobilizing the masses for communism.

Here in Africa, the declining US bloc and the rising BRICS bloc are locked in deadly rivalry. In South Sudan, the brutal proxy war shows that the US and China are deadly rivals in the war for oil. The US has pumped in billions of dollars to break the South from the North, but has failed. It is China that controls most of the oil and is bankrolling the new regime. The war now raging there is a proxy war between the regime armed by China and a rebel army backed by Uganda and the US.

China presents itself throughout Africa as an “equal partner” in development, making “win-win” deals which create “double-happiness.” But, Chinese firms pay starvation wages and have unsafe working conditions when they can get away

with it. One of many cases in which Chinese investment in Africa exploits labour and natural resources is the Chambishi copper mine in Zambia, which reveals a record of labour abuse and violence against protesting workers.

But it is South Africa (SA) that proves how the BRICS bloc serves Russian and Chinese imperialism in Africa. SA is the BRICS member that is the intermediary between Russia and China and the whole continent. The ANC tripartite alliance leadership that rules South Africa takes a similar line as the Bolivarian “left” in Latin America. The ruling African National Congress (ANC) has a strategic relationship with China and Russia to develop Africa as the “socialist” alternative to US and European Union imperi-

**See BRICS, page 6**