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Mass Rebellion in Britain: Opportunity to Mobilize for Communism

LONDON, ENGLAND – The August 4th execution-style murder by London police of 29-year-old Mark Duggan, a black worker and father of four, sparked a nationwide wave of mass protests against racism and the sharpening attacks of capitalism on all British workers. Cops claimed that Duggan shot them, but ballistics tests quickly proved this a lie.

Duggan's family joined an August 6th march on a police station. Later that night, rebellion erupted in the multiracial, international Tottenham neighborhood, hard-hit by the bosses' economic crisis. Since then, rebellions have spread to other sections of London and to industrial Birmingham, Liverpool, and Bristol, plus a dozen other cities. Hundreds of

angry workers and youth have fought the police, who temporarily lost control of the capital.

"The police don't think we're human," said a black student. "We get pulled over all the time like criminals for no reason." Another observer commented, "There were all nations running down the road ... It's young people and the police, but not a black and white thing at all."

It's a battle in the class war. Capitalism, with rising racist unemployment, is failing the youth and workers. Anarchy is no solution. Workers can only win this war by mobilizing now for communist revolution. (More next issue)

AS WORLD WAR III LOOMS, SOLDIERS WELCOME RED FLAG

was surprised to see the number of soldiers that took the paper. Being a vetmotivated to see that communism was

"In our visit to the military base I bosses who send soldiers to kill Taliban and be killed by them only to see the US government negotiate with them eran myself, it really made me because they're losing in Afghanistan and preparing for bigger wars against

MAQUILA WORKERS **ORGANIZE FOR** COMMUNISM

EL SALVADOR—In the factory. the noon bell announced the workers' lunch hour. The workers need to recover their strength to continue operating the machines and continue being

to bring them our paper, Red Flag, and coordinate the work with them to fight for a communist system.

This is a clothing factory where hundreds of people work, set among many

so easy to speak about with them. I	Ι
hope we can really establish a strong	
base there."	Ċ

As part of the Seattle Summer Project, ICWP comrades went to a strip mall near Fort Lewis and to an apartment complex near the base to distribute *Red Flag* and a leaflet directed to soldiers. We always have a warm reception from soldiers and this visit was no exception.

ran and China.

A hundred and seventy-seven soldiers took *Red Flag* on the street near the base. When we explained what *Red* Flag is, many responded positively with "Thank you!" and a thumbs up. Many gave us donations. Of course, some were against our ideas, like one soldier who said, "My friends didn't die for nothing," (when told about the

We talked about the cynical US See SOLDIERS, page 4

exploited. This exploitation produces profits for the bosses, and poverty for the workers.

But among these workers there's a group who want to change this system of exploitation for a communist world, without bosses or money.

We take advantage of the lunch break to meet with several of the workers at the factory. Comrades from ICWP (International Com-

munist Workers' Party) come See EL SALVADOR, page 4

factories. These workers dedicated their one-hour lunch to discussing communist ideas. "We will take this report to our co-workers," said one.

Several women and a young male worker came. We explained the objective of our visit and a young worker said, "I'm reading Red Flag and I'm very interested. The workers who came to the last meeting gave it to me...

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COMMUNISM IS OUR FUTURE, AND THE FIGHT IS NOW!

"We need a communist world that meets our needs, not this capitalist system that only serves the rich," a comrade told a Boeing worker.

"You got that right. Thanks!" he answered, taking our literature. Many such conversations happened as over 1300 Boeing workers and soldiers grabbed *Red Flag* during the Seattle summer project of the International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP).

Their overwhelmingly positive response shows that this is the time to make communism a mass issue among the world's workers. From Seattle and LA to San Salvador, London and Tel Aviv, workers face sharper attacks as the bosses' war drums beat louder.

We can rid ourselves permanently of the capitalists and their attacks by mobilizing the masses for communism – now and after we take state power.

Workers around the Party offer a lot, especially as they join. Besides class hatred, they offer new perspectives on winning and securing communism. Our Party must recognize and promote their contributions to our collective understanding while struggling against any remnants of years of capitalist training that they may have..

Let's clear away the fog!

Money, so-called "independent" governments, and law obscure the defense and development of communist principles and relations.

Communism is a system that serves the working class, without money or bosses or borders. It welcomes and unites all workers to produce what we need. It frees workers to fully develop society and our own talents to serve the workers.

The recent ICWP central committee meeting took up the serious struggle to clarify, spread, and put into practice this political line, now published as *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*. We will bring it to thousands of workers around us. We aim to spread it to workers all around the world.

There was broad agreement at the meeting, and at the cadre school that followed, that only communism – not reformism, socialism, or nationalism — can meet workers' needs.

Mass mobilization for communism requires that workers actively promote communism in deeds as well as in debates with fellow workers. They must contribute to the development of the line and practice that destroy capitalism and build a communist society.

Workers must participate in advancing through collective criticism and self criticism. They must be members and leaders in a mass ICWP.

Join the struggle!

One cadre-school group discussed communist centralism, beginning with a criticism and self-criticism. Some of us had previously misunderstood this to mean that disagreements in leadership meetings must be kept within the leadership.

We now realize that these political struggles must involve all Party members and many friends. Broader discussion means a sharper line, deeper understanding and more massive commitment to carry out the work.

Centralism requires us all to give our opinions, carry out collective decisions, and continually evaluate them based on practice.

For example, the Central Committee had a sharp, comradely discussion about the term "masses."

Some felt that "the masses" hides the leading role of the working class. Others thought that all poor people (for example, self-employed street vendors) are part of the working class. We agreed to explain "the masses of workers and their allies."

The bosses viciously lie that communism is "totalitarian" and "elitist." They paint the masses as an easily-manipulated, thuggish mob. Some comrades, feeling that we couldn't overcome these lies, suggested that we avoid the term "masses."

Most comrades expect our theory and practice to show that the masses of workers and their allies, mobilized for communism, won't be easily manipulated. They will become critical thinkers and doers, moving millions to organize every aspect of life in the workers' interest. For the first time in history, the masses will consciously shape our own future.

Struggling against the bosses' lies about "the masses" is part of our fight to defeat their anti-communism. The Central Committee embraced this ideological struggle.

We invite readers to contribute to this debate.

Put communism front and center.

We need more *Red Flag* articles that show workers debating and developing communist ideas, instead of

mainly talking about how bad capitalism is and calling for communism almost as an afterthought. Recent contributions from LA transit, Boeing, and the summer projects attempt this task

For example, a Seattle Boeing worker asked young comrades how a communist country with no money would trade with a capitalist country. These comrades brought the question back to the collective.

"We won't," another replied. "We'll rely on the working class of the communist area to produce and share what we need and workers elsewhere to support us and spread the revolution."

Workers respond well to this approach. "I really like that I see myself reflected in *Red Flag*," said an LA bus driver. "I need to tell you my story."

One cadre-school group discussed frankly some obstacles to doing this work. A big one is fear: fear of being exposed and losing one's job, fear of being isolated or rejected.

"Internal contradictions hold us back," said a young garment worker. She and others told stories showing that these fears are usually unfounded. Later she agreed to help lead our garment work.

Break the chains of capitalist thinking Help imagine and fight for a society organized to meet workers' needs.

Basic communist principles include "from each according to commitment, to each according to need," "all (including leaders) contribute with both mental and manual labor," and "we collectively decide the issues shaping our lives."

But disagreements remain about the nature of communist rule in relation to laws and the state. Future *Red Flag* articles will reflect this sharp debate.

Study groups focused on *Mobilize the Masses for Communism* have already begun to develop more clarity about completely eliminating the capitalist state and building communist society.

We need many more such study groups, more efforts to put our line into practice, and more letters and articles about these discussions and this struggle.

Join us in taking on the historic task of organizing political struggle on a mass scale and putting communist consciousness into practice!

Lessons from the Summer Project YOUTH DISCUSS MOBILIZING THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM

Last week, the Summer Project in Seattle was in action. It was an experience that helped many of us youth see how to organize workers for a real communist revolution.

We visited the Boeing factories and took *Red Flag* to thousands of workers. We visited a military base

and how we could avoid repeating them.

We said that one of the biggest mistakes was that they didn't eliminate ranks and privileges in society. We gave the example of ranks in the army and asked if a communist society would have ranks. This started a very good discussion among the comrades of the collective. The position that defended ranks was based on the idea that the army needs a fixed structure and a chain of command so that it wouldn't be an anarchistic army and there would be leaders but not bosses. The position that opposed ranks said that all should be equal, that every job was important, that there should be leaders but they shouldn't be treated differently. They didn't believe that some one should be promoted to be "above" others because that would become a class division like in the capitalist armies.

One person said that a soldier who had only peeled potatoes couldn't be a leader in planning military strategy. Another said that a soldier who peels potatoes can learn and practice communist military strategy too and military strategists should peel potatoes.

This topic is extensive and should be discussed

and its surrounding areas, taking *Red Flag* to soldiers. The workers and soldiers are open to communist ideas. It's ICWP's job to organize them and mobilize them for communism.

We had a discussion about the final document *Mobilize the Masses for Communism.* We thought that the best way to discuss and analyze it was in a collective manner. We read paragraph by paragraph out loud and then discussed it, section by section. We talked about the need for the document to define our political line. We discussed the errors of the old movements more in the study groups. People should write their opinions for *Red Flag* because this will help us in building our red army that fights for communism and that defends our future communist society.

This document should be analyzed and discussed with our comrades because it's our main goal: to *Mobilize the Masses for Communism*. This will strengthen us, laying a solid basis for the future, That's how we can mobilize thousands of workers and soldiers to fight for communism.





AN OPEN INVITATION TO BOEING WORKERS TO JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY (ICWP)

Our bosses never tire of charts and graphs. "Numbers never lie," they preach as they try to pit shift against shift, worker against worker to speed us up.

Here are some other numbers. Over a thousand of us read ICWP's newspaper *Red Flag* in the plants last week. More leaflets were grabbed up that asked, "What kind of system pits workers against other workers?" Each exposed plans for a no-strike regime and the useless NLRB suit, rejecting capitalism.

A multiracial group of young workers helped us at the gates while some of us distributed this literature through the plants.

And why shouldn't young workers reject this system! Our managers complain they can't get enough new workers because of the screening process: a process that screens for slavishness to the bosses. "Give us the 'right' attitude and we'll give them the aptitude," admitted a bigshot.

Young workers from the poorest areas of the Puget Sound aren't to be found among the new hires. These areas contain the largest number of black, latino and poor white working-class families--those most likely not to buy into the system.

Racist Attacks Spare No Workers !.

Only 55% of employable adults in the US have full-time jobs, many at substandard wages with few if any benefits. Nearly half of us can't get full-time jobs!

Billions attempt to survive on 1-2 dollars/day around the world. At least ten million fail every year, dying from malnutrition.

Trillion dollar cuts in pensions and medical benefits are the order of the day. Credit agencies downgrade the government's debt rating and we pay.

The next contract battle will be in the center of this storm of attacks. The capitalists' inevitable economic

crisis lays bare the nature of the bosses' system. No matter how hard we try, we can't reform their system to serve our needs.

Our Victory Will be Measured Not by the New Contract, but by the Movement We Build

The only number we will care about is the number of workers and their allies mobilized to fight for communism.

Retirement should no longer be held hostage to credit agencies, government budgets, crashing stock markets and shaky company pension funds. Insurance companies should no longer withhold or deny medical care. Employment should no longer depend on the bosses' profits.

Masses can build and secure a communist society without credit agencies and stock markets, without the tyranny of capitalist budgets, without obligatory in-

surance and contracts.

Workers will contribute according to their commitment and receive according to their needs throughout their whole lives, making the need for increasingly insecure pensions obsolete. Obviously, the ways we are able to contribute as well as our needs will change as we age. Share-andshare-alike is the only way out of the bosses' nightmarish system.

None of this will happen spontaneously, no matter how logical it is. The bosses have spent hundreds of years building institutions and governments, reformist movements and schools to promote their dog-eat-dog philosophy.

Even so, millions are on the move around the world as capitalism's bankruptcy becomes unbearable. Now more than ever, we need leadership that will no longer sell the snake oil of compromise with the capitalists.

So we ask you to join the ICWP to help provide that leadership.

Building this communist movement is not just about the class war the bosses have planned for next year's contract battle, not just about dismal future for young new workers applying for Boeing jobs, not even about the endless destitution in the cards for U.S workers. This is about a revolution that puts the world's working class in the driver's seat and never looks back.



Los Angeles: MTA Drivers Fight Fascist Attacks COMMUNISM RESPECTS AND VALUES ALL WORKERS

On August 3rd, Deon, an MTA bus operator from Division 10, had a heated "argument" with MTA Manager Damian Fawley. Fawley ended up in the hospital. Deon ended up in jail, charged with felonious assault, later dropped to a misdemeanor.

Fawley is well known for his quick temper and complete disrespect of drivers. Witnesses claim that he was the aggressor. Once into a rage, he screams and aggressively shoves his finger into drivers' faces. He poked too close into Deon's face, provoking an altercation. MTA is now investigating Deon, trying to fire him.

Capitalist Ethics Versus Communist Ethics

This event shows the bankruptcy of capitalism's social relationships. No matter how many "Anger Mandignity and appreciation, no matter how little or how much they contribute. If some workers refuse to contribute or won't contribute much, we will patiently struggle with them to raise their commitment.

Deon's Case: Another Example of MTA's Reign of Terror

MTA is operating under a widening operational deficit, projected in 2007 at \$180 million per year until 2016. The economic crisis has increased it to over \$250 million per year, with no end in sight.

The MTA board – headed by Mayor Villaraigosa wants to narrow or eliminate this deficit on our backs and our passengers' backs. Beside getting rid of drivers with higher seniority, pay and benefits, their aim is to terrorize us into accepting a give-back-no-strike MTA refused to rehire him and put him on a "special" list so he couldn't be hired by any other transit agency. Again, the union did not lift a finger. Unable to find work, Sedillo moved back to the Philippines.

In Deon's case, we shouldn't expect anything different from the union. Our question is: What are we going to do?

Will We Try to Reform Capitalism, Accept its Reign of Terror, or Organize to Destroy it with a Communist Revolution?

We really only have one choice: communist revolution. Any other will only perpetuate our enslavement and prolong our agony.

How do we get from where we are to where we need to go? A journey of a thousand miles starts

agement" classes they attend, the bosses' managers and supervisors will always disregard us and treat us with contempt and disrespect.

This is the ethic of capitalism and all exploiting societies throughout history. The exploiters – slave masters, feudal lords and now capitalists – and their enforcers (managers, supervisors, police, army brass, judges, etc.) have always, and will always as long as they exist, treat us like disposable beasts of burden.

The only way to end this is to put an end to capitalism whose very existence demands such inhuman relations. Only a communist revolution can free us from the oppressive, racist, humiliating and dehumanizing conditions of wage slavery.

Under communism we'll have leaders but not bosses. Collectively we'll produce what society needs without anyone being "superior" or "inferior" to anyone. We'll contribute based on our commitment to communism, which will vary from worker to worker. Everyone, however, will be treated with respect,

contract.

Such a contract was just rammed down the throat of San Francisco MUNI drivers by an arbitrator (see page 13). All union officials are implementing the US bosses' orders, forcing us to pay for their economic crisis, current imperialist wars, and preparations for world war.

Unions are Useless Workers Need Communist Revolution

MTA's attack on Deon is one of the latest. Many cases are never made public. Richard Sedillo, a driver from Division 10 with 19 years seniority, called us to tell us his story.

He successfully fought an MTA frame-up accusing him, and nine other drivers, of stealing. While out of work, he paid his defense lawyer out of his own pocket. During his ordeal, Union General Chairman Williams and Vice-Chairman Gonzales refused even to answer his phone calls.

Although Sedillo was proven innocent in court,

with a single step. Are you ready to join ICWP? Are you ready to become a regular reader of *Red Flag*, distribute, write for and contribute to it economically?

Together we can organize political action-study groups of ICWP to answer MTA's attacks with political actions, work stoppages and strikes against capitalism and for communism.

These actions should condemn the system that promotes Fawley's ethics, while intimidating, harassing, firing and destroying the lives of workers like Deon, Sedillo and Paul.

We can't promise Deon's job back or promise to stop MTA's fascist attacks. The capitalists hold state power and impose their will by force. Our class needs to fight for power to rid humanity of the most destructive, murderous, racist class in history.

Our promise is to wage an unrelenting struggle to mobilize the masses for communism. This must be our only fight. Join us!

"Arab Spring" Leads to "Israeli Summer" **SMASH NATIONALISM, UNITE FOR COMMUNISM**

Israeli workers, along with students, taxi drivers and others, have engaged in a month-long wave of protests inspired by the Arab Spring, including the "March 15 Youth Movement" in Palestine.

This development shows that the masses are increasingly open to change. We must step up our efforts to build the International Communist Workers' Party in this and other regions of the world.

The primary issues have been low wages and high prices for food and housing, nearly the same as in nearby Arab countries. Tent cities have appeared in many Israeli cities, including Tel Aviv where the encampment is called Tahrir Square. The real Tahrir Square is in Cairo, where mass demonstrations helped force the Egyptian military to depose Hosni Mubarak.

The Israeli demonstrations have continued to grow since July. On August 6, some 350,000 (mainly Israeli Jews) marched in many cities for social and economic demands. Some Israeli Palestinians have joined, bringing signs in Arabic. This unity points the way toward smashing the nationalism (Jewish and Palestinian) that divides the working class in this cru-



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US bosses negotiating with the Taliban). This gave us an opportunity to explain why soldiers need to question orders. We said that we aren't pacifists and the only war worth fighting is to put the workers in power.

For some of the young comrades, this was their first experience talking to military personnel about communist ideas. The way the ruling class keeps soldiers isolated from society allows civilians to have a lot of misconceptions about how soldiers think. As one young comrade said, "Even though I was scared, I still managed to gather the courage to approach soldiers and distribute our literature."

Other young comrades added these comments:

*"Talking with the soldiers is a very good experience, since you see that they are all part of our class and they suffer the same exploitation. You see they are open to communist ideas. This gives you inspiration to continue in the struggle."

cial region.

reported chant has "Assad, been: Mubarak, Bibi Netanyahu." This suggests that the wave of anti-regime activism has spread from Syria and Egypt to Israel.

As elsewhere, this remains a reform movement, not a revolutionary one.

Most of the Israeli demonstrators simply

want a return to the Israeli safety net of the mid-twentieth century. They want a revival of the social programs, subsidies, economic regulations, and state-owned industries which Israel had from its founding in 1948 until neo-liberal rollbacks kicked in (like its patron, the US) during the 1990s.

> The global capitalist crisis has enveloped both Israel and the Palestinian Authority, where conditions are even worse than in Israel. The balancing act of the United States government - which has tried to walk both sides of the street in the Israel-Palestine conflict - is getting tougher and tougher. It may have met its match in the uprisings of the Israeli and Palestinian masses.

exist in this world. The military is and will always be a huge important key part to win a communist world."

*"People who opposed our views on communism made my views stronger and I felt closer to communism, as if it were part of me. I learned how to defend communism. The army base has helped me understand the necessity that soldiers have for a fair system such as communism."

"A revolution for all workers!"

As we walked along the street, we came upon a soldier intensely reading our leaflet. "What do you think?" we asked. "It's kind of crazy isn't it?"

"No, it's not crazy", said the soldier.

Pointing to *Red Flag*, the comrade continued, "We're talking about a revolution and I consider you my brother in arms."

"A revolution against who, the U.S. government?" Against the U.S. government, the Mexican government, the Chinese government, all of the corporations, against all that oppress us and exploit us. Similar but not totally to the Black Panther Party. They were just for black folks. We're talking about fighting for black, white, asian ... "



have other tricks up their sleeve for that, including government commissions, token reforms, and arrests.

As international conflicts sharpen, military mobilizations of Israeli reservists and a wave of nationalism and racism will attempt to divert workers' attention from the hardships they suffer. Some Israeli leftists

hope that current developments could lead to a revolutionary situation. It's true that times have changed significantly. These demonstrations show the potential for revolutionary change. And escalating wars in the region – particularly against Iran – are likely to increase both hardship and anger among Israeli workers. Israel will be in the eye of the storm in the coming imperialist world war.

A serious political breakthrough, though, would require Palestinian and Israeli workers on both sides of "the wall" to work together for communist revolution. It would mean rejecting calls for a return of social democracy. Most of all, a revolutionary situation requires communist leadership that fights now for revolution, not reform.

If you know someone in Israel/Palestine, please send them this paper or the link to www.ICWPRedFlag.org. We invite readers with the necessary skills to help translate the ICWP pamphlet Mobilize the Masses for Communism into Hebrew, Arabic, and other languages. Join our Party and help us to organize everywhere to put an end to this capitalist hell.

jected "All workers!"

"Yeah, that's right and we want to fight for communism where we share-and-share alike everything that the working class produces," the comrade concluded.

"But you're going to need a lot more troops for that," the soldier responded.

"Exactly and that's why we're here, because we see that soldiers have played crucial roles in past revolutions and will play a crucial role in the coming revolution," affirmed the comrade.

"Yeah, but I'm not sure. Soldiers might not be feeling this. We can get in trouble for talking to you guys and reading this kind of stuff. If a higher-up comes around here and sees me talking to you guys, I might get in trouble myself," he said as he looked around the perimeter.

Soldiers during WWI and WWII were crucial to the Russian and Chinese revolutions respectively," said the comrade. "Soldiers during the next world war have the potential to do the same."



*"Spending time with soldiers reaffirmed my belief of a communist society being able to sustain itself with the working class becoming the only class to

EL SALVADOR, from page 1

They've always tried to make us fear whatever has to do with communism. But this system is choking us. The bosses see us workers as if we're nothing. They only give us crumbs. We fight and fight, but we don't find an alternative."

"The workers come to us with their problems, and we can't solve them. We workers in these factories have many problems that the bosses don't have any intention of addressing. They demand that we produce 250 dozen shirts per day. This means production of 3000 shirts a day per module (sections where different Before the comrade could finish, the soldier inter-

garments are made). We don't see any of the clothes we produce here. It all goes to the US," said a worker. "In a communist system, production will be for us," commented several other workers.

"The workers in the factories in El Salvador get a miserable \$6.25 a day (\$187.50 a month), in conditions like much of the rest of the world, allowing the bosses to accumulate millions in profits through the exploitation of the workers."

We concluded the meeting by planning a political school, since these workers consider that we need it. "We have a lot of questions," said a worker. A comrade from ICWP answered, "We also need to know

The soldier nodded his head and said, "Thank you. I wish you the best," and said "Good bye" with a firm handshake

what you're thinking of doing. This is important to discuss." We're planning to organize study groups based on the articles in **Red Flag** and the document Mobilize the Masses for Communism. There is more potential because more workers are reading *Red Flag* here.

The ICWP comrades evaluated the conditions in which we carried out this meeting. We came to the conclusion that we must make use of the historical experience of communists organizing under fascism.

Women and men workers: join the International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP)!

Bosses' Solution: More Cops, More Repression **WORKERS' SOLUTION: COMMUNIST REVOLUTION**

ing Jr., a young black transit rider, by four San Francisco police, over a \$2 bus fare (see last edition of *Red* Flag) has left Bayview Hunter's Point residents angry and looking for answers.

Transit has become the latest battleground as the bosses increase pressure on drivers for "greater productivity" and try to shake down transit users for every nickel and dime they have.

The regulation of movement is key. The fascists are cracking down on black youth and workers in general as they make it more difficult to move from one place to the next. Transportation is an important battleground in the fight for communism.

Could SF Cops Actually Shoot an Unarmed Man Over a \$2 Fare?

SF cops first reported that they stopped Kenneth Harding Jr. as he got off a MUNI Train and asked to see his transfer. They claimed he ran away and opened fire, but they couldn't find the gun he supposedly used.

The next day police said that a bystander picked up the gun. Later they reported that they found the gun in the home of a parolee. But that gun didn't actually match the one they said Harding fired.

On July 22 police announced that Harding had accidentally shot himself while running from police! The coroner's office didn't confirm that. Finally, on July 28, over a week after the shooting, police reported that they had found the actual weapon that Harding supposedly used.

There is obviously some extreme incompetence on the part of SF police here and it also appears as if they're trying to cover up something.

It wouldn't be the first time Bay Area cops have murdered someone in cold blood. In 2001, SF cops killed Idriss Stelley, a mentally disturbed young black man who was waving a two-inch whittling tool in a movie.

Just a couple of months ago, BART police shot and killed Charles Hill, a 45-year-old homeless white man. They claimed he was waving a knife, but witnesses say wasn't threatening cops or bystanders. And many people know about Oscar Grant, the unarmed black man killed by BART police on New Year's Day 2009.

One thing is for sure: the various versions of the story, plus media coverage saturated with irrelevant allegations about Harding's past, are a distraction from the central issues.

A Horrible Way to Die

Kenneth Harding Jr. did not die right away from the gun-shot wounds to the neck and head he sustained at 4:45 pm. He died at 7:00 that night. Perhaps

The horrific murder on July 16th of Kenneth Hard- he might have survived if the cops hadn't let him bleed for half an hour before letting first responders through.

> No one deserves to die the way Harding Jr. died. The cops and bosses had better hope that, when our party takes power, workers have more mercy on them than they've had on our class brothers and sisters.

We Need Communism

"They place the value of a young black man's life," a young SF activist said, "at \$2.00."

Working-class life is cheap anywhere under capitalism. Racism makes it even cheaper. In the US, for example, from slavery to Jim Crow to mass incarceration (the New Jim Crow), racism has been the key element of the rise of capitalism and the disciplining of its working class.

Racism cannot be smashed until capitalism itself is overthrown. We need a communist revolution. By abolishing money and production for profit, and by conscious and massive political struggle, that revolution would eliminate the social division capitalism creates. By developing a society that provides only for human need we will develop a world where we treat each other as sisters and brothers, and solidarity thrives.

Capitalist Crisis Criminalizes Riders, Drivers

The San Francisco Metropolitan Transit Agency (SFMTA) which runs MUNI, has been running an enormous deficit. Its response has been to raise fares, cut service, and crack down on fare evaders.

In 2008 SFMTA "decriminalized" fare evasion. Instead of going to court, fare evaders receive a ticket and pay a fine. This decreased overhead costs so that MUNI could pocket more of the revenue from citations.

Since then, the criminalization of transit riders has only increased as the presence of SF police, and transit officers (often mistaken for police) on certain routes has increased in order to squeeze every nickel and dime out of transit users.

Until recently, police and transit officers conducted "fare evasion saturation raids." These resulted in several deportations of undocumented immigrant riders. Immigrants' rights groups complained and this practice has been abandoned, for now.

If there hadn't been armed police on the MUNI train enforcing fare payment, perhaps Kenneth Harding Jr. wouldn't have lost his life.

In a communist system, there won't be money, so there won't be fares. People who need to get somewhere will get on a train or bus and go there. Passengers won't be hounded by racist cops or immigration agents. There won't be cops or borders. Join this fight for our class' survival and future!

FULLERTON: COPS' JOB IS TERRORIZING WORKERS

On July 5th, Fullerton police savagely tortured a mentally challenged white man (Kelly Thomas, 37 years old) almost to death while he was handcuffed and on the ground. He died in the hospital five days later. There were a number of outraged witnesses. In publicly released videos, Thomas' screams can be heard as he's being beaten and tazered (using electrical shocks).

On August 6th, hundreds of angry workers demonstrated in Fullerton. In response to the continuing rage of Fullerton workers, two Fullerton City Council members have asked that the police chief resign, and a local businessman has collected enough signatures to begin the recall petition process for three councilmen.

This incident is one of a number of recent brutal murders by police officers in California. The media is saying that there's "concern" about training the police to deal with people better and more compassionately. However, the cops are doing exactly what their masters need doing, and we can expect an increase in these murders. The ruling class needs police terror in order to terrorize the working class into accepting ever-increasing layoffs and horrific cuts in public services (health, education and welfare, etc.) without fighting back. The cuts are necessary because of the ruling class's capitalist debt crisis and growing expenditure on war.

We have recently had several discussions with our comrades and friends who disagree that all police are the enemy of us workers. "You can be a good person and a cop," some insist. We reply that the cops have only two jobs: terrorize us workers into submission and protect the capitalists' property.

In New York in the 1970s, there was a police strike, and the crime rate went down. In 1992 after the Rodney King decision in Los Angeles, the police didn't dare to enter South Los Angeles, and we residents felt safer. Under communism, there will be no cops. The masses will be ICWP members and leaders, and the masses will either struggle with or, if necessary, discipline anyone who commits anti-social acts. We in ICWP have confidence that the working class has the ability to run society, and that includes maintaining a safe environment for humanity. Under communism, "The international working class shall be the human race."

MUNI: TRANSIT CRISIS SHOWS WORKING CLASS NEEDS COMMUNISM

SAN FRANCISCO --: MUNI workers (bus and light rail drivers) have every right to be angry, but not surprised. On July 1st an arbitrator imposed a contract on them that they had already rejected three times the last time by a 2-to-1 margin.

The contract will impose a three year wage freeze and allow 8,000 hours a week of driving to be taken from full time and turned into part-time work. However, the most dangerous aspect lies in the increased powers of discipline handed to management.

Driving a car, let alone a bus, through downtown San Francisco's narrow, often double-parked, streets is stressful enough. Now management, intent on "efficiency," has a contract with even more power in its hands. The 22,000 drivers have every right to be angry. ...but not surprised. Just last year the 1,700 A/C Transit drivers in the East Bay had a contract imposed on them too, as did Oakland teachers and other city and government workers.

Our real problem

Our problem lies in the way our mainstream and independent media hide the economic realities from us. They manage to tell us a partial truth while lying through their teeth! They present us with a series of crises. The Oakland schools were "\$85 million short," BART (the rapid transit system) was "\$310 million short," San Francisco schools were "\$113 million short" and MUNI was "\$150 million short.

The media present us budget crisis after budget crisis. It's a picture where one sector of workers after another faces cuts, lay-offs and speed-up. It's a world full of workers (MUNI, SFUSD teachers etc.) but empty of a working class! By only presenting a world of budget crises the media hides the reality: capitalism itself is in crisis.

This is not a period to limit ourselves to narrow trade union disputes. This is a period when, with *Red* Flag in our hands, we educate ourselves that the capitalist state (government) is a class state. When major banks and Wall Street get in trouble, the government bails them out. When working class households are crushed under a burden of over \$12 trillion debt, we get lay-offs, imposed contracts and repossessions.

Revolution for Communism

Instead of struggling in isolation around budget cuts, we should struggle for joint political strikes against a system that saves banks, launches imperialist wars (on borrowed money), murders our youth (like Oscar Grant and Kenneth Harding) and imposes slave-like contracts on our class.

We need a system like the world has never seen before. We need a revolution that abolishes money, banks and wage slavery. Then we will no longer live only so long as we find work, and find work only so long as we make profits for the capitalist class. We need a communist (not socialist) revolution.

GROCERY WORKERS MUST FIGHT TO END WAGE SLAVERY, NOT FOR A "FAIR WAGE"

Can grocery workers in southern California win the "fair contract" or "fair wage" that the union (United Food and Confectionery Workers Local 770) says it's fighting for?

Grocery workers in Seattle, Washington (UFCW Locals 21 and 81) voted down a give-back contract last November. They overwhelmingly authorized a strike in the middle of the busy holiday season. "Safeway knew they couldn't train enough new people in time," a grocery clerk explained. Twenty-five thousand workers kept their affordable health care plan and defined-benefit pension, won small wage increases, and defeated company attempts to institute a two-tier health plan.

Why are the big supermarket chains fighting so hard against settling with LA workers as they did in Seattle? It's hard to say.

Were they expecting the stock market to crash even though they made huge profits last year?

Or is it because most of the Seattle workers are white, contrasting with the multi-racial work force in southern California? Racist differentials in wages and benefits are a cornerstone of capitalism's "divide and conquer" strategy.



Or maybe it's because bosses fear that the militant we can pay for them. This is wage slavery. What's history of Boeing strikes in Seattle would spill over into a grocery strike.

We do know this: the gains won in Seattle are only temporary. The deepening crisis of capitalism and the ical strike would create opportunities for massive conescalating preparations for world war

are threatening all our futures.

There's no "fair wage," no "fair contract," no "fair capitalism"

You might think that Local 770 officials would make sure that the LA workers knew about the situation in Seattle, and would help them prepare for a strike to shut down the big chains. You'd be wrong.

Most supermarket workers say they're "in the dark" about negotiations, let alone a strike. The union officials want workers to rely on "consumers,"

liberal religious leaders, and groups like the NAACP instead of letting them get a taste of the power of a united working class.

But even temporarily holding back the bosses attacks as in Seattle doesn't give workers a "fair contract" because there's no such thing as a fair contract. Corporations like Kroger's, Safeway and Albertson's hire workers for one purpose only: to extract profit from their labor. A contract only sets the terms of this exploitation.

We're taught to believe that this can be "fair" if a few more pennies trickle down from the bosses' overflowing coffers. But workers' labor creates all value! What's "fair" about a contract that allows the capitalists to take any of it?

Workers are forced to accept wages because capitalism denies us the basic necessities of life - unless "fair" about that?

Yes, we need to strike – but the strike we need is a political strike against capitalism itself. Such a polit-

> versations about how communist society will work, why it's necessary, and why it's possible.

> Yes, we need to mobilize mass support for the grocery workers – but we must do this around revolutionary class consciousness, not around trade-unionist reformism. Yes, the grocery chains are making huge profits-

> but instead of begging for

crumbs, we need to expropriate them and overthrow the government that legitimizes their "private property."

Would that be "fair" to the shareholders and corporate rulers? Wrong question! There can be no abstract "fairness" in class society or class war. A better question would be how we'll decide what's "fair" in sharing the wealth we'll collectively produce in communist society.

Red Flag readers in southern California and elsewhere should organize discussions of the new ICWP pamphlet Mobilize the Masses for Communism. Figure out how to take these ideas to grocery workers, whether at the checkout counter or on the picket lines.

That's the best way to show solidarity in this struggle!

Labor Laws are Sugar-Coated Bullets

CALIFORNIA--Workers' struggles must be us workers' daily bread, because without struggles there won't be bread. The situation in the fields each day makes it more unbearable for the workers, and farmworkers' struggles can't be seen anywhere around here.

Many decades ago, the living conditions in the fields were similar to those today. So much so that in 1965 it was necessary to organize a strike in the San Joaquin Valley, which lasted 5 years, to force 33 agricultural companies to sign collective bargaining contracts in 1970 with the United Farm Workers. Among other things, they were able to get rid of the thieving contractors, who, together with the bosses, are the real criminals. Every year they kill workers through demanding too much work even when the heat is unbearable.

be able to produce and share everything, eliminating money and wage slavery.

TO THE FARMWORKERS

Besides, the leaders committed themselves to flirting with the politicians and the bosses, trusting that the ranchers would never refuse to renew the labor contracts. But, the ranchers and their politicians were always laying in wait. And, when everything was ripe, from one night to the next morning, they passed all the contracts to the Teamsters Union, and the Farm Workers' Union lost all the contracts.

Now the fields have again been invaded by the contractors who, together with the bosses, have free rein to rob the workers of their labor. The leaders of the United Farm Workers think that with prayers and protests before the rulers (which they've been doing), things will change. But this is dreaming while awake.

In 1975, the California legislature approved the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. This was supposedly one more law in favor of the farm workers. However, the situation of the farm workers hasn't changed at all. This form of struggle and these laws are like sugar coated bullets: they don't help the farm workers in any way, but they do try to hide the bosses' naked exploitation.

strategy and undertake the struggle with communist ideas as the only alternative, and not lose more time fighting for labor contracts that don't resolve anything. We shouldn't fight only for one tortilla, but for the whole basket of tortillas. We shouldn't depend on the bosses' anti-worker laws, but on the organized strength of all the farm workers united together with the strength of the whole working class of the world led by the Party of the working class, the International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP).

The ICWP is in constant communication with the working class through its newspaper *Red Flag*, in which we workers can also write and express our ideas about how we can advance the struggle and the organization of the workers, in the distribution of *Red Flag*, and the growth of our Party.

Beginning now it's necessary to distribute our newspaper, Red Flag and for workers and students, men and women to join the Party. Only in this way can we strengthen the struggle to change the capitalist system for a communist system as the only solution to the terrible situation that confronts the workers of the world.



Unfortunately, the farm workers were won only to the reform struggle. The leadership of the United Farm Workers was, and continues to be, pro-capitalist, not communist. They won the workers to the idea that once they had signed contracts, the workers wouldn't have problems. But this is impossible under capitalism. This is only possible under a communist system, where, without bosses to exploit us, the workers will

All this requires that we farm workers change our

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LETTERS

CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

Communist Centralism and Idolizing the Masses

Before we sat down to discuss communist centralism I knew capitalist democracy was not in the interest of workers and that it frames issues, like voting republican or democrat, to hide the real problems for the working class. One person asked if someone from another region is considered a representative of that region. I knew the answer was no, but I didn't really know why. So, I suggested that the person from another region was not a representative in the same way there are representatives in capitalist governments, but that people from different regions need to inform the party of the work in their region.

But not only are people from different regions not representatives, I also learned that communist centralism is a completely different type of decision making. My problem was that I was trying to tweak the capitalist representative idea to fit communism when I should have completely abandoned this type of bourgeois decision making.

Revolution is a science, and the only way to confirm scientific principles is to put them into practice. We want to materialize our decisions and principles in practice so we can see what works and what doesn't. But also, as a political party, we want to make things happen, to grow and develop our political line to be exactly what workers need now; the party cannot argue indefinitely about a topic or else nothing gets done. Communist centralism blends practice into decision making. The party should hold political power, since to who else could workers entrust power? The party is responsible for ensuring the entire global working class is considered when workers carrying out communist society.

On one hand, they need to ensure that we eliminate inequalities between workers of different regions.

On the other hand, the Party needs to ensure that some workers are not doing more necessary labor than other workers. Voting is not the solution to these problems. If we act scientifically, we know that voting never makes a solution correct; we experiment with our best ideas and see in practice what works, what doesn't and what needs refinement. Voting has no place in this process.

We also talked about how the party decides for the masses. Lots of people wanted the party to obey the masses, but the problem is that the masses are not always for working class interests. For instance, before I was a communist, I didn't understand classes or my status in class society. Right now, the party understands how to fight against capitalism better than the masses. This does not mean that the masses are hopelessly brainwashed or incapable of becoming party leaders, but capitalism feeds us so much junk and for so long that we internalize capitalist ideology. One comrade said that we should be careful not to idolize the masses because they also make mistakes. I thought that was true and shows the importance of having a party. At the same time, our party needs to have unshakable faith that the masses can rule.

hospital. The boss forgot about the problem and continued as if nothing had happened.

Asian and latino workers talked about how capitalism treats workers and that the bosses only care about their profits. For them, we workers are only more commodities. This worker was 57 years old and worked under constant pressure to get out more production. She constantly complained about headaches and that the boss treated her as if she were a lazy person.

In one of these discussions, another Asian worker said that the boss only paid her for 5 hours of work a day even though she worked like everyone else, from 7am to 6:30 pm. The boss says that she has a nervous "tick," and that no one else would give her work, and that she should be grateful that at least he paid her for 5 hours!

Two months after the heart attack, we got the news that our co-worker had died. I felt both a lot of anger and impotence. I told some of my co-workers, including some **Red Flag** readers, that we should do something to confront the boss and expose capitalism as the cause of her death.

Now I feel even more the need for communist revolution, where we workers won't work until we drop, but instead we'll have a life of healthy work to benefit the international working class. In a communist system there will be a healthcare system for all workers and we'll abolish the organization of the means of production that only exist to enrich a few. I'm fighting so that this incident leads to more **Red Flags** in the hands of more women and men garment workers, potential communist revolutionaries. Comrade Garment Worker

Don't Wipe Up After Bosses Wipe 'Em Out

"Hyatt housekeepers and all workers need to smash this ugly system with communist revolution."

Hundreds of hotel workers and their supporters welcomed an ICWP leaflet with this message at a rally in West Hollywood, part of a national union campaign for better working conditions at Hyatt Hotels. Some even held the leaflet like a sign as they marched.

The leaflet explained that "Communism means that we'll all work for the common good, to help each other. No money, no wages, no racism and no bosses. We, the masses, will all make, carry out, and evaluate every decision. That includes who does what, who produces what, and who gets what."

The union is pushing for a law to guarantee that hotels will use fitted sheets and long-handled mops. The ICWP leaflet said that in communist society, "Workers will not have to beg for the right tools, because we will be in charge. Work will be lighter because we know the best way to organize it, and even more because we will be working directly to serve our class. only earns about \$7.50 to clean that room. "Yes, we are slaves," one said.

ICWP members at the rally should have been much bolder and more creative in getting **Red Flag**, not only leaflets, to the workers. Our collectives need to be more flexible in order to take better advantage of situations like this.

Union staff were under strict instructions to "stick to the chants" on the sheet provided. They know that many workers are ready and willing to mobilize for far more than sheets and mops.

We know that many are ready and willing to mobilize for communist revolution."

---A comrade

Study Group discusses contradiction

What is a contradiction you face in your personal life?" asked a high school student who was leading our summer project study group on dialectical materialism after a brief presentation about contradiction as the unity and struggle of opposites.

Comrades and friends came up with an amazing range of contradictions.

"Hating sexism, but sitting with my family every day watching sexist soap operas on TV."

"Knowing I want to be a teacher, but holding back from doing it for fear I won't do a good job."

"Taking a shot-gun approach to mobilizing masses of high school students versus concentrating on developing a few students who can mobilize their friends."

"Wanting to serve the working class by organizing in the military, but being afraid to get killed."

We talked about each of these and other contradictions in turn, trying to get more deeply into what was actually going on with each of these contradictions. Is sitting quietly with your family during the soap opera really fear of struggle? Is holding back from getting a teaching job based on an unrealistic assessment of what communist teachers do in the classroom? Is taking a shot-gun approach to organizing based on an idealistic, wishful thinking, view of what is required to develop communist cadre?

Then the young comrades leading the group gave a brief presentation about how contradictions are resolved. One comrade told the story of a wise old man who said he had two dogs fighting inside of him, one pulling him to do good and the other pulling him to do bad. When asked which dog wins, he responded, "The one I feed the most." We decided that once we identify a contradiction, we need to intensify the struggle, strengthening the side that we want to win. Usually that means taking a collective approach, helping the comrade figure out how to raise the struggle against sexism in soap operas with her family, or having communist teachers talk about their strengths and weaknesses in the classroom so that the future teacher has a more realistic

--A young comrade

In Memory of My Co-Worker

Southern California—In memory of my co-worker, murdered in a garment factory by the rotten capitalist system, I've planned to dedicate my life more to the struggle for communist revolution.

A few months ago, when I got to work, I saw many women and men workers nervous without knowing what to do. An Asian worker was having a heart attack. The manager called the boss and he told her to call the family, not the 911 emergency services.

The worker's daughter came and took her to the

"Nobody will have to do the same job all the time. We will all share the hardest tasks and also constantly learn new skills. Work won't be divided into 'thinking' jobs and 'doing' jobs. ... We will all live as

comrades, without privilege or poverty."

During the rally, a comrade commented to a group of housekeepers, "The union is fighting to improve the conditions of wage slavery, but not to abolish wage slavery." Guests pay hundreds of dollars a night for a room, but the workers figured out that a housekeeper



We talked about the revisionist (phony communist and ultimately defeatist) idea of smoothing over contradictions. The comrade whose contradiction was about the military said that he thought he was smoothing it over at this point rather than sharpening it. For now he's going to ignore the question of joining

> the military and concentrate on organizing students, but he realizes that this is a reformist answer. We pointed out that the basic contradiction is between individualism and serving the collective, and that this contradiction comes up over and over again in the lives of all of us. We assured him that he will have to deal with this contradiction in one form or another all his life, and that his comrades will be there with him to fight it through. --Always learning

"I AM RED FLAG"

"I am *Red Flag*," said one of the two young comrades who joined ICWP at the end of the Seattle Summer Project.

As the summer project started, aerospace workers who work for Spirit in Wichita Kansas had just voted by 96% to reject a ten-year no-strike deal, the same deal they want to ram down Boeing workers' throats in Seattle in 2012. An ICWP leaflet titled "Workers reject 10 year no strike deal—must reject capitalism" was very well received along with *Red Flag*. by over a thousand Boeing workers The leaflet asked "What kind of system pits workers (in Seattle) against other workers (in South Carolina)?" It called for a political strike against capitalism in 2012, with the red flag leading marches inside the plant against racist capitalism.

The leaflet was passed from hand to hand inside the plant by workers who got it outside. This led to many good discussions inside and outside the plants about the need to get rid of capitalism and build a communist system where all workers will be welcomed and needed to produce for the working class. When a *Red Flag* seller said, "We don't need contracts—we need

power," several said, "Yep!"

The workers' open mass response to communism inspired the summer project volunteers.

A young comrade leader summed up the main lesson of the project: "communism can and will happen."

By uniting practice and theory, the youth volunteers developed as communist leaders: They said:

*"This project has helped me a lot to understand the line of our party better thanks to the discussions we had about the document MMC and the interactions with the workers and soldiers. It continues to fill me with emotion and to make me feel sure that this is the only road that we, the masses have— communism."

*The rich conversations at the cadre school really strengthened my political development. Also, putting our politics into practice helps me understand them better.

*It was an overall good experience. It gives me more confidence in the working class with our distributions to Boeing workers. I'm really proud of the new youth who stepped up in a major way.

*This is my first summer project; it's been an ex-

cellent experience. You get excited when you see that the workers are open to communist ideas and how they see the need to organize . We as ICWP must organize more and more youth to be able to mobilize the masses for communism.

*This being my second summer project, I was amazed at all the youth that decided to join the party... There were great discussions within the collective and great bonding within everyone as a family...as communists. I am looking forward to the rest of the year and the next summer project.

*These young comrades showed leadership in facilitating and participating in discussions and study groups; decision making; writing articles and leaflets; and selling the paper. Overall, we're more knowledgeable and confident and will ensure that the future of our party, and that of the fight for communism, is strong.

It's exciting that all our comrades are now discussing plans to build our party and how best to execute them in the interest of the international working class.

TAKING COMMUNIST IDEAS TO WORKERS

In planning our Projects we set forth a few goals and discussed ways to measure our success in meeting them. Developing youth leadership was set forth as a key goal. It was successful.

Other goals were learning more about dialectics and communist history, what communism will look like and how workers will plan and run society to meet the needs of our class. We did that.

We spoke with MTA workers, who were angry. They told stories of constant fascist monitoring and harassment and the bosses' "white glove treatment" for service attendants. We told them, "There won't be any bosses under communism...workers' labors will be used to produce for the international working class, not to maximize the bosses' profits." At this, workers gladly took their copies of *Red Flag*.

While selling at an MTA division in LA early one morning, two union bootlickers tried to intimidate my young comrade and me. They crowded me in a menacing manner and I drew them away from my comrade so she could continue doing our party's work. I talked to them about how many workers feel that unions are a sham and that unions serve their capitalist masters by selling workers out to the bosses or offering them only a dead end in reform struggle. They learned quickly that they couldn't scare us, so they stood a few feet away and tried to intimidate the drivers into not taking *Red Flag*...which didn't work either.

We have nothing to lose from destroying capitalism but the chains that bind us to wage slavery. I also used this as an opportunity to talk with my comrade about how workers can be won to the bosses' side, as well as our side, which is why our work is so important.



LEARNING CONFIDENCE IN THE WORKING CLASS

The Summer Project in Seattle has been a very encouraging and mind-enriching experience for me.

I got to leave my home state for the first time, while learning many different concepts and ideas about communism from a collective. Also, by distributing *Red Flag* and talking with workers and soldiers concerning our vision of a communist society, my confidence as a communist has been solidified.

Six of my comrades and I met with a worker from Boeing who shared his experience in industry with us over dinner. Most of his advice was positive. He was polite for the most part, but still didn't consider himself part of the party. This led to my comrades and I asking him what about communism wasn't he completely sold on. The worker responded by saying, "People aren't going to work without an incentive."

Most of the worker's comments came from his lack of faith in the working class. This led to me responding that humans aren't naturally born selfish. It is learned behavior that is instilled in us by the capitalist system. After about an hour of debating with the worker, we finished our dinner and left with more insight on some workers' ideas of communism, and the struggle that's needed. Also, while distributing papers at Fort Lewis, I learned that being in the military doesn't limit you to only military duties. You can take classes and even earn a degree while in the armed forces. Overall, the Summer Project gave me confidence in myself and bonds that will last a lifetime. Also, I learned that life is too short to just go through it struggling under siege from a vicious boss who pays you barely enough for the necessities. I loved my experience in Seattle and look forward to guiding new youth as we continue the fight for communism.

While selling *Red Flag* with another young comrade at a Boeing plant in Long Beach a security guard came out to remind us to stay off private property. "You'll be fine," he said, "if you'll just step across that line (in the sidewalk about two feet away)." I asked, "So, you came all the way over here just to tell us that we can stand here, but not here?" After the frustrated guard left, my comrade and I talked about private property under capitalism and about how the guard protects property that he would not otherwise have access to. We also talked about how, under communism, workers will abolish private property and will own everything collectively.

--Motivated comrade

--New Communist

READ, WRITE FOR, DISTRIBUTE, SUPPORT: **RED FLAG**