



# RED FLAG

**MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR COMMUNISM**

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

Thousands defied the state of emergency in France to protest in advance of the Climate Summit in Paris. Capitalist competition to maximize profits prevents real change in energy policy. Meanwhile clashes over control of fossil fuels are driving the world toward war. (See p. 8)



## **MTA Conversation: SECURITY IS FIGHTING FOR COMMUNISM**

LOS ANGELES—"The MTA CEO is having a meeting inside," texted a bus operator at the Metropolitan Transit Authority to a comrade distributing *Red Flag* at Division 18. Workers leaving for the day knew about the meeting but chose not to attend.

"It was the new person in charge of security, not MTA's CEO. He also came here," replied an operator from Division 15 when asked about the meeting.

"What was the purpose?" asked our comrade

"Just PR (public relations). We have nothing to do with each other. They secure MTA's property, not ours. Our cars are broken into or stolen from in the parking lots. MTA washes its hands by posting signs saying "Park at your own risk." The Director of Security (his official title) said he wanted to improve safety for everyone and wanted our opinions. When asked about more protection for drivers, he did the same thing as management: just beat around the bush."

"Why do you need security on the buses?"

"Well, dealing with the public is not easy. We are the punching bag where people take out their frustrations and anger about daily life. Operators see MTA providing security at the rails, pretending to check for fares. However, on the bus side we get no security at all, not even for the passengers. Some time ago, a young lady got raped on

See **MTA SECURITY**, page 4

## **From South Africa to El Salvador: WHY WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND STUDENTS NEED ICWP**

After a flight of thirty two hours, I got to El Salvador. The next day we met with my group of friends to enjoy a good welcome back. They asked me many things. We talked about daily life in the townships of South Africa, the segregation, and how the party is advancing. They were excited about making videos of the conference and about dialectics.

We spent all night hanging out and talking about different topics, personal and political, and how they are related with each other. We discussed how the people we know reacted to the attacks in Paris. This led us to a discussion about interimperialist rivalry.

"The only ones who can reverse this situation and avoid mass slaughter are the workers and the soldiers," I put in. Someone else responded and that's how we started to discuss how the soldiers can be won to communist revolution.

It was four o'clock in the morning and we started talking about our work situation. Most of this group are students and only two have a degree. We are all unemployed. "The thing is, it's messed up. Where haven't I put in an application? I feel like I wasted my time going to school."

Our situation of being unemployed led us to a discussion about capitalist education. "It's that school takes you away from everything. It re-

moves you and locks you into only one thing. If I had a child, I would not put him/her in school. I would take them out to know things in reality," said a friend.

We argued that while it was true that school takes you away from reality, isolation is an individualist attitude. In capitalism, there is no possibility for a good education.

"What you are saying is similar to what our pamphlet on education says," I said. And on every point that we talked about, we agreed.

Then, at that moment, I turned the conversation to a point where we could sharpen the contradiction that I had observed for a long time: the need for the party.

"It's that everything sounds good, but why do you have to call it a Party?" asked the same friend. I answered that the working class needs to organize worldwide. It is a process and that it has been shown that this is the way that revolutions can triumph, not through individual acts of heroism.

"I understand and I don't agree with the anarchists who say that we have to put bombs and things like that, but what is the difference between the Party and what happened in the Soviet Union and China?"

Many people have the same question. Our best tool to mobilize the masses is *Red Flag*. I told

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#StudentBlackOut from Wits to Mizzou:

# COMMUNISM MEANS UNIVERSAL EDUCATION, NOT UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

November 30—“We’re not that much different than the people being killed” by cops, said a black student at elite Claremont McKenna College.

He’s right. There is no safe space anywhere in racist capitalism.

Anti-racist uprisings have swept over fifty US universities this month, led mainly by black students rooted in the #BlackLivesMatter movement. Their anger and passion come from the racist disrespect, threats, and attacks they experience at school daily.

The University of Missouri (Mizzou) was the spark. Its football team made national news by threatening a boycott in response to a series of racist attacks. Faced with losing \$millions, two top administrators had to resign.

Before Mizzou came South Africa’s University of Witwatersrand (Wits). Last March, Wits students joined the anti-colonialist #RhodesMustFall movement. They called for removal of statues and symbols celebrating Apartheid. Many followed the misleadership of Julius Malema’s nationalist Economic Freedom Fighters. Students at Princeton, Harvard and other US schools have made similar demands.

Militant #FeesMustFall protests started at Wits on October 13 and spread to campuses across South Africa. Their demands – now including free tuition – are also spreading in the US. But capitalist schooling always comes at a price: the alienation of students from the working-class masses.

This movement “cannot be seen in isolation,” according to a Wits student leader, “but as part of the cracks that have been showing in South African society since the Marikana massacre.”

These “cracks” have been opportunities for the rapid growth of the International Communist Workers’ Party in South Africa, as our recent conference there showed (see pages 1, 6 and 7). We must redouble our efforts to take advantage of them.

## Students, Workers and Soldiers Need Communist Revolution, Not Reform

After Mizzou came Yale. Ithaca. UCLA. Brandeis. South Carolina. Stanford. Towson State. Northwestern. And dozens more. When racist counter-attacks began, the movement grew

stronger – like at Howard.

Many student demands are the same as generations ago: more black professors, students, black studies courses, multicultural centers. Mizzou students insist that “the University of Missouri meets demands that were presented in 1969.”

That alone should make today’s activists think twice about demanding reforms. Capitalism is racist to its very core. Only the masses – led by industrial workers and soldiers, especially the super-oppressed—can end it, and only by mobilizing for communism.

But it goes deeper. Some students demand that University administrators crack down on students, teachers and staff – maybe forcing them into “diversity training.” This is like asking the fox to guard the chicken coop. The capitalist rulers want the masses to see them as saviors when their own system is the problem. This is a deadly trap! Instead of “demanding” that the rulers “fix” their system, we workers and students must organize to destroy it.

The “set goal” of the #StudentBlackOut movement, said Black Liberation Collective (BLC) organizer Brandan Marshall, is “What can we do to fix these situations.” But the BLC calls for a “student revolution” and quotes Assata Shakur (quoting Marx): “We have nothing to lose but our chains.”

Such contradictions create more cracks. Our comrades must bring communist revolutionary ideas to thousands of students already mobilized against racism, and thousands more.

## Universities: Tools of Class Oppression, Not “Ivory Towers”

Those who oppose the anti-racist protests invoke the myth of the university as an “ivory tower” where all ideas can (or should) be debated in isolation from society. It was never that!

In a sense, the Black Liberation Collective shares this ideal. It says that its common thread is “the desire to experience learning spaces that are safe for ALL Black students.” But the notion of an “ebony and ivory tower” is just as mythical.

Universities have served the ruling classes ever



since they were first established in Fez, Morocco (859) and Bologna, Italy (1088). They distinguished the “mental labor” of the “professions” (law, theology, medicine) from the “manual labor” of the masses.

Every major US university was built with the bloody profits wrung out of enslaved black people. The rise of science and engineering alongside 19th-century industrial capitalism revitalized the university system on the backs of wage laborers. Wits started off as a tool of imperialist mining interests.

## Communism Won’t Have Universities


Communism won’t separate work from learning or research. Technical training (like engineering or medicine) will be freely available to all workers who want to deepen their knowledge. It will mainly occur at worksites like factories and hospitals.

All workers and youth will be able to study philosophy or history or the arts. Study groups will meet at workplaces or neighborhoods, using on-site and internet resources – and others not yet invented!

Communism will have no “degrees.” These only prop up the myth of a “meritocracy” where some deserve more than others. Nor will we have “grades” and “tests” that pressure students to compete. The real test of knowledge is practice. How well do you know a language? Start a conversation with someone who speaks it!

We all want a “safe space” in which to live, to work and to learn. Only communism can get us there.





## COMMUNIST EDUCATION FOR CLASSLESS SOCIETY

Pamphlet available at  
[icwpredflag.org/EDU/EdPamE.pdf](http://icwpredflag.org/EDU/EdPamE.pdf)

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## COMMUNIST PRODUCTION WILL END BOSSES' ECONOMIC CRISES

SEATTLE, WA—When does a production boom signal an emerging crisis of overproduction, layoffs, wage cuts and insecurity? Always under capitalism, but now more than ever. Only communist production can end these endless crises.

Aerospace was supposed to be one of the few industries unaffected by the global crisis. It doesn't look like that is going to last much longer.

In October, Delta Airlines chief executive Richard Anderson warned of an oversupply of jetliners. In November, sales plummeted at the Dubai Air show “as the industry lost confidence” (*Wall Street Journal*, 11/8). Future Chinese production will make oversupply problems even worse.

A production boom would be good news under communism, not a harbinger of crisis. We could put the extra airliners to good use: say, to promote international contact between workers all around the world.

If we had excess production capacity, we could shift to producing other necessities. Excess productive capacity would never result in attacks on the workers who make the planes—as it must under capitalism.

### Capitalist Answer to Crisis: Racist Attacks

Boeing employment peaked in 1998. Back then, it made 564 planes a year, about 217 workers per plane. This year it aims to make 760 planes, using only 109 workers a plane.

Boeing has been able to do this by speeding-up employees, automating and by shifting production to lower-wage areas and subcontractors. They are gutting the Boeing workforce in the Seattle area.

In 2013, Washington State gave aerospace companies \$8.7 billion “to preserve good jobs.” Since then, Boeing has shed 3,000 jobs despite production increases.

Much of these billions go to subcontractors. According to the *Seattle Times*, most blue-collar subcontractor workers in Washington earn between \$10-\$15 an hour.

Subcontractors are centers of racist super-exploitation. Blue-collar black and Latino workers in these plants make barely a third of what Boeing employees do.

Black and Latin workers are hit the hardest, but the wages of white workers in these plants (as well as those employed directly by Boeing) are also driven down. That's true for Washington state workers, Los Angeles workers, those in the Southeast US and around the world.

The bosses created racism to maintain their power, to divide and super-exploit the workers of the world. That is the way Boeing rakes in maximum profits and keep us from seeing that we are one class with the same interest, to fight for communism.

Under communism, there will be no racist or sexist wage differentials because there will be no wages. Everything will be distributed according to need. “Share and share alike” is our motto.

Furthermore, workers will meet and consult, no matter what particular factory they work in. We can then take advantage of the practical and political experience of our class. Working in one kind of plant or another will no longer define our lifestyle and worth.

Ironically, the Boeing bosses will gain less from each plane sold because there are now fewer workers to exploit in the production of each jet (see box). They must sell more planes if they hope to get the same return on investment.

Airbus must do the same. Eventually the market can't absorb the increased production, intensifying the crises further. ...along with sharper racist attacks!

### Workers Must Answer Overproduction by Mobilizing for Communism

Under communism, we won't be attacked because of production overcapacity. We won't worry that the market won't be able to absorb “extra” goods because there won't be a market.

The capitalist market only “demands” what workers can pay for. Communist production will not be con-



Workers wave goodbye to their jobs as the last Boeing C-17 military cargo plane takes off from Long Beach, CA, on Nov. 29. The plant, which had employed more than 2000 workers, will shut down at the end of this year.

### Overproduction Built into Capitalism

Capitalist crises of overproduction are inevitable. The latest, that started in 2008, is global and unrelenting.

Capitalists can't survive without exploiting the working class. The key to exploitation is the thievery of surplus value from workers' labor. This surplus is the difference between the value workers produce and what they are paid.

For example, we at Boeing get paid only the equivalent of the value we produce in the first two hours of the workday. The rest (surplus value) goes to the bosses to pay for their factories, machines, etc. (sometimes called the means of production), their obscene salaries and profits.

Meanwhile, Boeing must constantly automate and subcontract to find ways to do more with less workers. If they didn't, competitors, like Airbus, would undercut the company's prices and drive them out of business.

The hard truth of capitalist production is that the bosses can only steal surplus value from active workers. With fewer workers producing each jet, there is less surplus to be had.

Boeing must sell more planes if it is to maintain its return on the investment in plants and machinery. So must Airbus.

Pretty soon you have too many bosses chasing a limited market. The inevitable crisis starts and the racist attacks on the working class intensify.

tingent on sales. We'll gear production to our collective needs, not to the ability to pay.

We can then organize production logically. We won't be driven by the need to get more profit because there will be no profits. Eventually there will be abundance, but no overproduction crisis.

The Boeing union railroaded through a 13-year contract that slashes wages and eliminates defined pensions. These concessions didn't even slow down the racist shift to runaway shops and subcontracting. The union decries the unfairness of it all, but they don't have a strategy that can even diminish the attacks.

We need a strategy that does what trade unionism is incapable of. We need a strategy to mobilize the masses for communism. That is the strategy of the International Communist Workers' Party (ICWP)—now and in the future.

The bosses respond to overproduction by attacking us. Help the working class respond by joining the ICWP. Together we will make communist production the order of the day.

## “SHINING A LIGHT” — BOSSES TRY TO KEEP WORKERS IN THE DARK

“Shining a Light, A Concert for Progress on Race in America,” was broadcast simultaneously on four channels on November 20 and sponsored by The United Way.

Bruce Springsteen led off with “American Skin (41 Shots),” referring to the 41 shots the police took when they murdered African immigrant Amadou Diallo in 1999. John Legend, Rhiannon Giddens, and Pharrell Williams were among the headliners. George Lopez called out Donald Trump. Sounds good, right?

Some of us thought that this would be an honest conversation because these socially conscious artists were behind it. We found out that this was actually too much to ask. An honest conversation would involve talking about the material basis of racism in the wage system, and capitalism itself. An honest conversation would at least mention the fight for a communist system where we could

end racism once and for all. But you can't talk about that on TV.

There was some great music. The best was probably Jill Scott singing the anti-lynching ballad “Strange Fruit,” written by a communist and sung by Billie Holiday.

What was the worst? The constant emphasis on forgiveness from the Mother Emmanuel congregation, nine of whose members were murdered in cold blood by a white racist? The interview with the mother in Baltimore filmed hitting her son upside the head for protesting the police murder of Freddie Gray? Leaving out Sandy Bland, killed in Texas in police custody?

Or maybe it was the interview with the wives of five white and one black cop in Ferguson talking about how hard the protests over the police murder of Michael Brown have been on **them**. While the police have killed a thousand people in

the US this year so far, they want us to see the police as our protectors against neighborhood criminals. Actually they are the defenders of the biggest criminals—the capitalists and their racist system.

There is tremendous mass anger over racist police terror. The ruling class is working overtime to contain that anger. Funneling protestors into electoral politics is one tactic. Winning people to sympathize with the police, rather than their victims, is another. This concert, raising money for a monument to those killed at Mother Emmanuel Church in Charleston, argues for forgiveness, rather than taking to the streets.

The closing song, “One man could change the world” pushed individual solutions of “redemption and forgiveness” and the ballot box to derail the protests. We've got a collective solution—mobilize the masses for communism!

## YOUTH TAKE COMMUNIST LEAFLETS TO GARMENT WORKERS

SAN SALVADOR, Dec. 1—As we had agreed, (see article below) the young people went to distribute leaflets to the workers in the factories where ICWP is organizing. We distributed 300 leaflets denouncing the bosses' abuses and the way they pressure the workers to produce more.

This is a very important step. It was the first time a club made up of youth from the capital carried out this kind of action. Young students and workers are organizing and taking communist ideas to the workers. From making the copies, to the distribution, it was all organized by these youth to ICWP.

"What did you think? What did you like? What do we need to improve?" I asked them.

A young worker who distributes drinking water said, "To me it seemed very good, only that next time we should bring more leaflets."

The student said, "To me it also seemed good, but I think we should go to other factories too. These problems happen all over the country."

The young worker added to this: "It's true. For example, in Lourdes every one gets off at the same time. I would get on the buses to speak."

The distribution was very fast. Three hundred leaflets weren't enough for the thousands of hands of workers leaving work. It was a good experience since these youth are coming closer to the party and are open to communist ideas.

"I say that it was good, but I don't know how the people will react to communism," said the third youth. I explained that it is not the first time that we have gone there talking about communism. That ICWP is known in the factory and the people identify with our literature because we expose their reality to the other workers.

"I didn't know that. I would have really liked



it if someone had produced a leaflet like this when I worked in the call center. I would have told the others, "Hey, look. Let's do something. We have to support these people."

We will continue enthusiastically working for a communist future for the working class.

### EL SALVADOR from page 1

him about our series of articles called "Why Communism Can Win," and how the error of the old movement was to fight for socialism. The ideological and organic aspect of our party is different from the moment that we eliminate the stage of socialism. On this point we agree, even though the discussion continued until dawn.

At the end, I concluded with a question. "If I ask you to help me distribute *Red Flag* in the maquilas, will you come with me?"

"Yes! Let's go, just tell me when," he answered, just like the other three who were in the house.

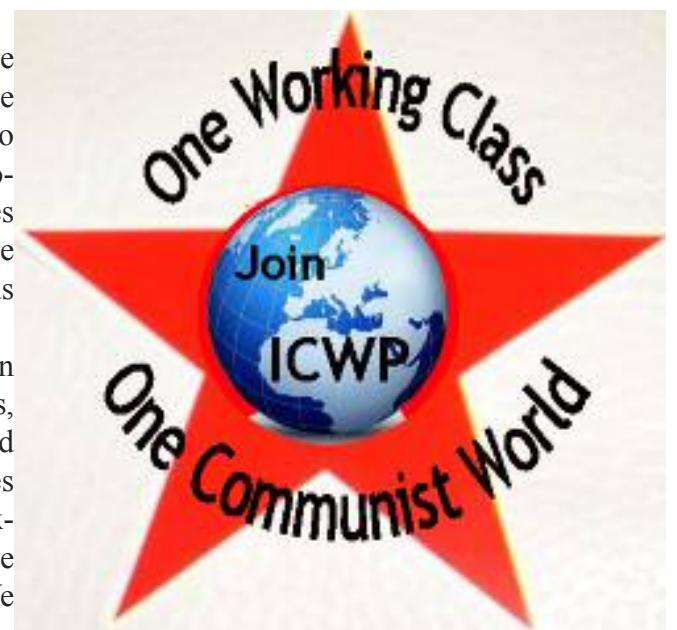
An historic moment in the fight for communism and in the Party has begun. The communist conference in South Africa has given emotional and political motivation to the fight to mobilize the masses for communism. As was explained in

letters and articles in previous editions, we see how the masses are open to communism. We learn how the comrades in South Africa spread the ideas on a mass level and among all their friends.

After all the experiences, the knowledge gained, and the motivation, what is next? Those of us who came from other parts of the world to the conference agree that this is an historic moment. Today our task is to put these experiences and knowledge into communist practice. The communist future of the working class depends on us.

I am eternally grateful to the comrades in South Africa who welcomed me into their homes, and who shared their meals with me. I learned once more that borders are only imaginary lines to divide us. I brought back a backpack full of experiences, like all who were there, and today we must take advantage of our communist line. We

must fearlessly take our politics to our friends, and co-workers in the factories and barracks. A *Red Flag* in the hands of one more person is a bullet in the heart of the enemy.



### MTA SECURITY from page 1

the bus. Many passengers are assaulted on the buses. I can see it coming—the bus drivers' new job title: 'driver/security.'"

"What are the main gripes operators have with the public?"

"Passengers that won't pay the fare and homeless people."

"Under communism that wouldn't be a problem. There would be no fares to pay because there would be no money, no homeless people and no greedy bankers repossessing our homes or landlords charging exorbitant rents. This will require a revolution and the unity of the working class. We need to unite with our riders, not with the cops who defend the capitalists and their inhumane racist system."

"We MTA workers have a hard time seeing ourselves as brothers and sisters, and a harder

time seeing our riders as our less unfortunate cousins."

"But why be so hard on homeless people?"

"The company has made us disdainful of homeless people and others who can't or refuse to pay the fare. So, many work to rule. Besides, homeless people carry their worldly belongings with them and don't smell good."

"Many of the homeless are veterans who fought for the greater glory of US imperialism. Now they are discarded as useless. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development claims that 50,000 veterans sleep on the street on any given night. Military.com says it is more like 200,000, half of whom have mental problems. We shouldn't blame the victims, but the capitalists and their system. Only communism can meet the needs of veterans and all workers. But you have said that MTA is not really interested in collecting the fare."

"Yes. They don't really need the money. MTA is subsidized by the government, and we workers subsidize the government. Some operators, however, take it personally when passengers have the attitude of 'I'm short, not paying, what are you going to do about it?'"

"They shouldn't. They should understand that public transportation is mainly a subsidy for some capitalists like the owners of the garment sweat shops, fast food restaurants, hotels and other low-paid industries. These bosses make billions a year in extra profits by not paying their workers enough to buy reliable transportation, forcing them to rely on MTA. We have already paid with our taxes. Besides, whose buses are these anyhow? Who built them and who runs them? Who pays for them? Workers! Operators should be mad at these bosses and their racist system, not other workers. They should join the fight for communism!"



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## CAPITALISM CREATED A MONSTER--COMMUNISM WILL SLAY IT

Over 130 killed by terrorists in Paris, 43 in Beirut, 224 in Sinai, 21 in Nigeria – the numbers add up. The “Institute for Economics and Peace” did the math and reported more than 32,000 people killed by terrorists in 2014 alone.

Most were non-combatants, killed because they were from the wrong nation, the wrong ‘race,’ the wrong ethnic group, spoke the wrong language, and so on. They were killed by people who do not understand how capitalism works. They believe propaganda that says other victims of exploitation are their enemy...not the ruling class! When they accept these lies and then act on them, they become enemies of the working class.

The communist movement has never practiced terrorism, even though the old movement was tainted with nationalism. The International Communist Workers’ Party, like those who came before us, stands for the interest of the whole working class. We do not divide the workers of the world into subgroups with some more deserving than others. We are completely opposed to nationalism, sectarianism, xenophobia, racism and all the other poisonous ideologies that divide

the working class and set worker against worker.

One problem with the Institute’s figures is that they only include deaths by groups like Boko Haram and ISIS. These outfits are basically amateurs because they don’t have air forces. If you include, for instance, the terror bombing of Gaza by Israel, the terror bombing of Yemen by Saudi Arabia, and the terror bombing of Syria by everyone, you’re soon looking at more than a hundred thousand victims. Assad’s barrel bombs or the Air Forces of France, the UK or the US alone have killed many times the number that died in Paris.

Communists actively fight terrorism. We begin with the root cause, by winning people away from nationalism, sectarianism and so on. They join the ICWP rather than a group which is, say, nationalist.

When we take power we will eliminate the wage system—the material basis of racism. Collective production and workers engaged in ideological struggle will actively and energetically fight racism, sexism, nationalism and segregation. This will undermine the conditions that make some workers see ‘everyone else’ as the enemy. Collectivity and integration will make it

much harder for reactionaries to target a specific group.

Even after we’ve taken power we can expect to be attacked by terrorists. This will include nationalists and sectarians but also fanatical anti-communists, who will want to bring back capitalism. No doubt, they will be supported by the remnants of the capitalist class still in power in other parts of the world.

Against them we will mobilize the masses. Life (including work, housing, and education) will be collectivized and no one will be left alone. If someone starts acting strangely, we will look into it – usually, for their own good. With no private housing, no one will be able to set up a secret apartment for holding meetings and storing weapons.

The working class, under the leadership of the party, will use weapons to defend communism if necessary (see letter page 6).

Terrorism -- and the capitalism which spawns it -- offers no future for workers. Communism would fight and eventually abolish terrorism, one of the plagues that currently make capitalism (in Lenin’s words) “horror without end”.

### CAPITALISM AND RACISM: CONFLICT LEADS TO DEVELOPMENT

RICHMOND, CA, Nov. 30—”The Berkeley High School incident is over,” a black UC Berkeley student told me, a member of ICWP, at Thanksgiving. They caught the guy and nothing will happen on December 9th.” We were talking about the 2000-strong multi-racial walkout led by Black students on November 5th after threats of a lynching on December 9th had appeared on the library computer.

Blacks make up just 2% of UC Berkeley’s student body. That shows how “cherished and welcomed” black students are by the education system. Clearly this student had experienced the ways of racism. She didn’t agree, however, that capitalism was the root of it and that a communist revolution would be needed to defeat it.

Capitalism, I argued, where a tiny minority (less than 1%) exploit the overwhelming majority, requires both violence and the ability to divide the vast majority. Capitalism breeds racism because racism has proven the best way to divide that majority. She disagreed. “Democracy,” she countered, “is imperfect but it’s advancing the cause.” Democracy has always been, in fact, the lie that covers up class rule.

What worried me, though, was her willingness to accept the Berkeley High School incident as an isolated episode. The way she saw it, there was a problem and there was a solution - end of story.

I realized the urgent need to popularize the communist way of understanding the events around us. The dialectical approach starts with

the idea that there is a story to everything and everything is connected. It trains us to look not just at what is happening but, more importantly, on what is developing. Then it helps us see the direction of development by looking for the main conflict in the story.

**November 2015, may well have been a pivotal month.** On the 5th, 2000 black, Latino, Asian and white students poured out in protest at Berkeley High (much bigger than the last walkout). Then, in Minneapolis on the 15th, cops shot and killed Jamar Clark, a young Black man. This set off a week of protest in which rocks were hurled at the cops, cop cars were damaged and police headquarters surrounded. On the 16th, Oakland cops killed another young Black man as they were making arrests at an illegal sideshow. The following day students at nearby Castlemont High stormed out in protest. This killing was special in only one way: it represented the thousandth killing by US police this year. In 2015, cops have killed 3 people a day - doesn’t that outstrip the operational capabilities of any other terrorist group? On the 26th, Chicago finally indicted one cop for the murder of Laquan McDonald...13 months after the fact. So far, that’s produced four days of protests targeting downtown merchants.

Although the protests haven’t stopped the cops from killing people, they have forced the ruling class to expand its tactics. On November 22, a Black Lives Matter activist was roughed up at a Donald Trump rally, with Trump’s approval. The following day a UC



Berkeley High School students walk out against racism

Berkeley “White Student Union” Facebook page was taken down, but not before receiving 900 likes. On the 25th, Alameda County Sheriffs (Oakland and Berkeley are in Alameda) echoed other police departments and complained “about an unprecedented wave of violence against police officers.” The next day, four racists (three white and one Asian) shot five demonstrators protesting Jamar Clark’s murder in Minneapolis.

**Together, these stories show development.** The multi-racial movement that surged in Ferguson has spread. Because of its impact, the legal system can’t continue terrorizing the working class in the old way. As a result, capitalists need to develop an ‘extra-legal’ terror movement like the Ku Klux Klan. They have no choice. Capitalist exploitation requires violence and a divided working class!

This dialectical way of thinking helps us realize what must be done. Racism shows up in all our democratic institutions, from UC Berkeley admission policies to the Oakland Police Department. Making the connection between these different areas leads us to the crucial insight that racism itself is rooted in the capitalist system. It will only be defeated with communist revolution and we must make sure each protest raises that awareness. The recent growth of our Party from South Africa to Bangladesh to the garment shops in Los Angeles and El Salvador gives us the confidence that we can win the masses in motion to fight for Communism



Chicago protest against police murder of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald

## FROM THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID TO THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE WITH ICWP

SOUTH AFRICA—"I was 13 years old when I got involved with the anti-Apartheid struggle. Now I am 83 years old. During this time, I was detained, abused and tortured. I was taken from one detention center to another. My family did not know where I was, whether I was dead or alive. I continued my affiliation with the African National Congress (ANC) but soon it disillusioned me, especially after the elections. I realized that the president and the ANC completely abandoned us. They do not have our best interest in mind," confessed Tata, a veteran of the war against Apartheid, to a comrade from the US.

The day of the conference, the comrade from the US addressed the audience, more than 80 youth, men and women workers, among them the comrade Tata.

"I know something about the history of South Africa. I know the history of the struggle, of so much sacrifice, of so much bloodshed, of the assassination of Chris Hani, and of many more, so many more who gave their life for a better world.

"It's the first time that I have come to South Africa. And when I drive through or walk through its streets, its neighborhoods, its boroughs and I see the faces of my South African companions; men and women, boys and girls, I see how they live and I am filled with rage and sadness at the same time."

The speaker's eyes started to

fill with tears. "Yesterday, I met the 83-year-old comrade Tata. Today he is here with us," he said. "I did not know if he would be here with us. He did not know if his knees could hold him up. He uses crutches to move from place to place. Nevertheless, he is here and I am very happy that he is here with us," he continued.

His voice rose in a clear tone. "I'm here to declare to comrade Tata and all those present that the International Communist Workers' Party is building an international communist movement to never betray the working masses. A world without borders, money and privilege, a world where we all build communism together, united in the struggle."

At the end, comrade Tata, stood up without using his crutches, walked to the front of the conference and addressed the audience. "Now I can die in peace knowing that my sons, daughters and their families have found a real party with a line that not only responds to the reality of workers

but also solves all the problems of the working class permanently."

The whole conference inspired comrade Tata not only to join the ICWP and commit to mobilize the masses for communism. He said "I will take *Red Flag* to the other veterans of the ANC and to my neighbors."

The act of Comrade Tata joining the ICWP, and his affirmation of communist ideas, motivated many others present at the conference to also join the party.

All of us have to bring the party line of the ICWP to workers worldwide, to offer them the vision of communism. We must not only join the party but also begin the struggle to win the communist world we all desire and need.

*Red Flag* is an important tool in the process of mobilizing the masses for communism. Let's distribute it, study it and write for it. Join the fight for a communist world!



Youth in ICWP conference in South Africa



### LETTERS

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### CRITICISM AND SUGGESTIONS

#### Comrade in Spain Inspired by conference in South Africa

We expected about 40 workers to attend the International Communist Workers' Party Conference in South Africa. However, I was surprised to see that along with enthusiasm and intense effort the comrades brought more than 100 workers--members of ICWP.

I feel strengthened, inspired and more eager to continue the work of spreading communist ideas. We are sharing this experience and also intensifying the work of spreading *Red Flag*.

The need of the working class was made clear in this meeting. We

talked about how to build a mass party, how to resolve our internal contradictions in order to resolve the external contradictions, and about what a communist system will be like. That's how we will be able to explain in the best way to the rest of the workers at work, school, or in college that the only way to end the super-exploitation of the whole working class is by fighting to build communism.

We are the vanguard and we are on the correct road. Let's continue working to win more workers to our communist line and shorten the life of capitalism. LONG LIVE ICWP! LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

--A Motivated Comrade

#### Communism and the "Gun Question"

In the light of recent terrorist attacks around the world and killings by the use of firearms in the US in particular, the question of weapon ownership has become an important topic. In the US, many "left-leaning" people want guns banned or tightly controlled and many "right wingers" argue that this attacks the Second Amendment right to bear arms.

The question for us: what would we do about guns under communism? Since there will be no private property, there will be no gun ownership as we think of it in the US today. People will not own houses, cars, televisions, etc. All goods will be held collectively and distributed according to need.

This doesn't mean that workers won't have access to guns. There may be guns distributed for recreational purposes (sharpshooting) and possibly hunting. The decision to whom and when these guns are distributed would be made collectively under the leadership of the Party.

More importantly, millions of soldiers will be members of the Red Army, where they will get intensive training. Because the revolution will most likely be under external attack from other countries and internally from capitalists, fascists, etc., it is important that most of the adult

working class has access to weapons when needed. This is another part of mobilizing the masses -- the ability to defend Communism, under the leadership of the Party.

We may even have to mobilize and arm huge numbers of workers when, say, the danger of terrorist attack is high. These armed comrades will combine with a mobilized population. This kind of mobilization will suffocate the efforts of the tiny band of terrorists.

The Party would provide not only the training in using the weapons, but the continued ideological training/struggle to win everyone to understand the basis of the new social relations. This will be the greatest protection against, and prevention of, terrorist attacks. Because the ideology of Communism is best for 99.9% of the world's population, it will be much harder for anti-working class groups, racists, etc. to win people to their ideologies.

There is NO WAY to be free of "terrorists" under capitalism. Imperialism creates more and more of them every day. The only way to be free of this threat and to solve the "gun question" is to build a Communist world, where the international working class will fight for a future free of terrorism and every other "horror of capitalism".

--Comrades in Seattle

December 2—As we go to press, at least 14 people in San Bernardino, California are dead and 17 wounded. Two hooded attackers opened fire with heavy assault weapons at a center for people who have developmental disabilities. Incredibly, a Los Angeles FBI official said, "We do not know if this is a terrorist incident."

There have been over 300 mass murders in the US this year alone. Most of the murderers have been white Christian men, like the shooter at the Planned Parenthood Clinic in Colorado Springs. Yet the racist capitalist press doesn't call them "Christian terrorists." Of course the vast majority of Christians are not responsible for these attacks. We must fight the racist idea that "Muslims" are responsible for the Islamic State's atrocities.

Capitalism itself terrorizes the masses of workers, especially black, latino, indigenous and immigrant workers. The purpose is to maintain its brutal system of wage slavery. Only communism can end terrorism. (See p. 5)

## BUILDING ICWP IN SOUTH AFRICA

I joined ICWP last year. First I had doubts about abolishing money (capital). Then I attended ICWP classes where I learned Dialectics. At that time, I was unemployed and my house is a bit far from other comrades. Sincerely I was not stable, and that caused a negative impact in terms of working collectively with other comrades, and that is a contradiction.

I started to mobilize alone and that leads to individualism. If you don't work collectively with our class it's easy to be tempted by the capitalists. You'll start to make ways to benefit, even taking credit for other comrades' work. I became self-centered, and another problem was alcohol. If you are a communist, you must socialize with your soldiers, not with anti-communists. Here in South Africa we had meetings on the weekends, so it became harder for me to attend meetings, because my Party comrades don't mix alcohol with revolution.

Being a communist, you must focus on mobilizing the masses for communist revolution. But you can't do that without collective work. Because of alcohol, I lost my cell phone which was very instrumental for my mobilization. Also it became harder for me to reach the other comrades. In all, I was not disciplined and we don't need that in our Party (ICWP).

But after meeting other comrades from El Salvador, USA, and

Spain, my mentality changed. My attitude improved. I started to realize my mistakes. I had a long chat with my comrades, before the conference, and after the conference. Discipline comes with dedication. Self-introspection is very important when you are a communist. What I learned from my comrades is collectiveness, discipline, and sharing. You must need something; don't want it because your friends have it. That is competition, which is a capitalist tool to destroy us.

The conference was a great success, although the struggle continues and more work must be done. Five Comrades and our 83 year old legend, who recently joined our party—all these comrades are very old comrades. We must learn from them. They are an inspiration to our struggle. Comrade R from the United States said to me, "These comrades are old. They won't live forever. One day they will be gone and we have to continue with the work. But without discipline we won't achieve our goals."

Those words transform me into a Red Lion. Positive criticism, then self-criticism, self introspection is a way to guide yourself so that you'll stick with ICWP's principles. After all, we are humans, under capitalist rule. We'll make mistakes but we must learn from them. Roar lions of ICWP, Roar.

--A Comrade

p.s. I'm including a poem.

Comrade T in South Africa was a key member in helping establish the presence of ICWP. His dedication, discipline, deep relationship with the masses and understanding of communism created deep roots for ICWP to grow. A few months ago some personal issues and external circumstances made the comrade inactive. However, he remained a loyal supporter of the party, offered a room in his house to visiting comrades and attended the ICWP conference in South Africa. He was asked to write a letter on what he thought about the conference. Here is his response.

Ok comrade I will but first I had to be free in my heart because I was still angry at many things. My heart didn't allow me to write anything until am free. At least now I feel better and I will be back at mobilizing. My brother was always begging me to be active again. So I have decided to be active as I was before. I will be attending meetings in my brother's area because he said they need my presence to help understand communist materials.

I also miss you guys and I plan to be very active. Also, what I love in my brother's area is I know a lot more people than in my area and it's a fresh start for me personally. But I am a person that really believes in honesty even though we live in an awkward system.

First let me say I am happy that all the comrades who visited us here in South Africa got back home safely because it's not easy to travel about 35 hours via air. I know the experience. It's really exhausting and not always safe and it's life-threatening. But nevertheless nothing will stop ICWP comrades in pursuing our mission to free the working class from this brutal capitalism.

I haven't been active in the last few months, but seeing my fellow

comrades I last saw in El Salvador last year I was reborn again. And seeing them made me become active again and even more than before. I miss them. I wish I could see them more frequently because they are the reason for my existence in the party, besides the fact that I joined the party to destroy the system. I know it's only ICWP that can end and destroy capitalism. I feel like and always felt like I was born to be an ICWP comrade. It's been in my heart before I was even introduced and became an ICWP comrade by my fellow South African comrade and a California comrade.

The conference which was held in South Africa a couple of weeks back showed a great potential for mobilizing masses for communism because people (masses), the working class never knew that there is actually a party that is working so hard to destroy this capitalism system. It's all been in our hearts and a wishful feeling that capitalism must be destroyed. So it was truly a blessing and great news for masses in the conference to know that in fact there is a party called ICWP which is directly fighting for communism to free masses from inequalities, injustices, poverty, wars and racism, and many more tools that promote capitalism. Masses will be free masses together with ICWP shall destroy capitalism once and for all.

Thank you comrades for your patience and trust in me. I am truly happy to be active again. I will exceed expectations. Communism is my life. I speak it all the time. Even when people chat about life I always change the topic to capitalism vs. communism and always try to make people see the only solution to global problems is communism.

--Comrade T

The sun sets from the east  
And rises to the west  
The sun has no borders; it lights the whole world.  
Roar lions of ICWP.  
The working class' needs are not heard.  
The sun sets from the east  
And rises to the west  
The Communist Fist will Smash the Capitalist Beast

### What it Means to Join the Party

The article on the Russian revolution was confused and contradictory on a very important point: what it means to be a member of the ICWP. For example, at one point it says we follow "democratic centralism" and explains what that means. A few sentences later, it says we follow instead "communist centralism" – without explaining what this is.

However, rather than criticize the article in detail, I'm going to say what I think the situation is. I hope to start a discussion about this.

First, our party is a mass party, open to anyone who agrees with **Mobilize the Masses for Communism** and who is willing to work to make this vision come true. You don't have to be very experienced, though we have many members who are. You don't have to be very knowledgeable (have read lots of Marx and Lenin), though again, we have members who are. You don't have to have lots of spare time

to devote – most of us don't.

If you can read the paper, attend meetings of your collective, take part in events and (very important) spread our ideas and recruit among your friends, family and co-workers, that's great.

Our operating principle is centralism; however you describe it. What this means is that we collectively decide what to do, then rely on you (and other members) to do what you agreed to do. Reliability is vital because otherwise we can't get anything done, and the party degenerates into a talking shop. Lenin believed that this principle was non-negotiable. He was willing to split the Russian Social Democratic Party over it, and did so, founding the Bolsheviks.

What you will do for the party is

negotiated with your collective. Some may do more than others, because of their situation and/or commitment. We'll help you over time to improve both, but if meanwhile you can only do the basics described above, you're already making a big difference.

When we have millions of members like you, we can create the communist world we want.

--A comrade



## Turkey shoots down Russian jet

### LET'S FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM, NOT FOR ANY IMPERIALIST BOSSES!

Turkey's downing of a Russian bomber on November 24 was another salvo in the US-Russian imperialist proxy war in Syria and Iraq. This intensifying conflict has many twists and turns. The bottom line, however, is that every power involved is fascist. Each is an imperialist or an imperialist lackey.

Every capitalist boss will willingly order soldiers and workers to their deaths in their wars to dominate the world's markets and workers' labor power. This intensifying capitalist-imperialist rivalry shows the urgent need to dump them all by mobilizing the masses for communist revolution.

We must fight harder for a communist world without competition, markets or profits. In communism, the world's workers will collectively produce and use energy only to meet the needs of our international working class.

#### Turkey's crucial geopolitical position

"Turkey is the gatekeeper to the Mediterranean from the Black Sea through its control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. That means if Russia wants to send container ships, oil cargoes and warships westward, they pass through Turkey. If NATO wants to threaten the Russian underbelly from the Black Sea, Turkey has to give the green light." (Stratfor)

In the long term, the US wants to position itself for World War III. In the Black Sea region, this means building alliances to confront Russia. Such alliances could include Turkey and Eastern European countries like Poland and Romania. Meanwhile, through its pivot to Asia Pacific, US imperialism aims to control the South China Sea, building alliances there to confront China.

For this, the US imperialists need to break Russia's chokehold on Turkey's and Europe's energy supplies. This would guarantee their support for the US on today's geopolitical issues. It will also be indispensable for the eventual world war.

In the short term, the downing of the Russian plane put the brakes on Russian efforts to control gas pipelines (see map). The South Stream pipeline was to have taken more Russian gas to Turkey and Europe. That was torpedoed when Bulgaria, pressured by the European Union on behalf of the US, denied it a route through its territory. Russia's "plan B" to replace the South Stream was the Balkan Stream.

This pipeline would have connected to the Turkish Stream, an existing underwater pipeline from Russia to Turkey. It would have tied Turkey closer to Russia. This would have benefited Turkey by making it a major transit hub for Russian gas going to eastern European markets.

**Stopping the Balkan Stream was crucial for the US.** The US Black Sea strategy, anchored on Turkey and these countries, can't succeed unless they are freed from the Russian bear's embrace. The US and its European allies want to construct the Eastwing pipeline to connect Eastern Europe to Turkey in place of the Balkan Stream.

Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Ukraine and Western Europe have drastically cut their imports of Russian gas. After Turkey downed the Russian jet, Russia imposed sanctions on Turkey. Turkey has announced it will cut its Russian gas imports by 25% next year. US gas exporters are scrambling to make up much of the difference.

So whatever the true story is behind the downing of the plane, US imperialists are so far coming out ahead.



**"We don't want to be soldiers for the imperialists!"**

The world's capitalists-imperialists compete for the world's natural resources to better compete for market share and profits. Current events are showing that this competition can only lead to bigger and more lethal wars, including world war. The world's workers have absolutely no interests in the world's bosses' dog fight.

We should follow the example of thousands of Turkish anti-war protesters who shouted in October 2012, "We don't want to be soldiers for the imperialists." Let's all refuse to fight for any capitalist or imperialist. Soldiers must join workers and youth in the fight to destroy them all by mobilizing the masses for a communist revolution.

Communism will eliminate bosses and profits, and with them borders and imperialist wars. Instead of capitalist competition, masses of workers will cooperate to produce energy safely and sustainably and to get it where it's needed.

We call on all **Red Flag** readers, in Turkey and everywhere, to spread **Red Flag**, to write for it, and to join the International Communist Workers' Party to mobilize masses for the communist world we need.

## History of Dialectics:

### MAO'S "ON CONTRADICTION" PART III

#### Dialectical Identity

Part II of our discussion of Mao's "On Contradiction," showed that he used the concept of main contradiction to justify making temporary alliances with the enemies of the working class. Despite this misuse, Mao was right that there has to be one contradiction that has the greatest influence on a process at a particular time, and that is the main (or principal) contradiction.

#### The Main Aspect of a Contradiction

Mao was also right that the two sides of a contradiction do not balance each other. One side is the main or dominant one at any specific time. Under capitalism, the capitalists are the dominant side in the capitalist-worker contradiction, but a successful revolution makes the working class the dominant side. In a contradiction inside a worker, commitment to the working class can be dominant or selfishness and individualism can have the upper hand. Inside an atom of matter, the forces of attraction can be dominant or the tendency to come apart may be stronger.

Mao argued that the dominance of one side of a contradiction is not permanent. Conditions can occur in which the main aspect changes into the weaker one, and the previously weaker side becomes the main one. Mao claimed that in the contradiction between the forces of production and the social relations of production, either side can become the main aspect, given the right circumstances.

Mao called the shift of the main aspect of a contradiction from one side to the other side "transformation into the opposite." When two things are united by the possibility of one transforming into another in this way, Mao called them "identical." He also called the connection between the two sides of a contradiction a kind of identity. Things that can turn into each other, like peace and war, or health and disease, must be connected. Things that can struggle against each other, like communism and revisionism, must be connected.

This connection, this dialectical "identity," is always combined with struggle. Following Lenin, Mao said that struggle is absolute and identity is limited and temporary. Eventually, contradictions come apart and are resolved.

#### Antagonism and Contradiction

Along with the correct ideas mentioned here, Mao also borrowed the bogus concepts of "antagonistic" and "non-antagonistic" contradictions from Soviet philosophy. Soviet writers never settled on a single explanation of what was supposed to make a contradiction antagonistic or not, and Mao does not explain it either. He agreed with the Soviet attempts to defend socialism by claiming 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. Social-

ism is a form of capitalism, subject to the inner laws of capitalism, and its contradictions cannot be resolved without its destruction.

Antagonism means hatred, violence or attempts to destroy, but the word does not name a special kind of contradiction. A contradiction only becomes resolved by becoming more intense, whether it is the contradiction of the sides in a war or a revolution, or a political disagreement among friends. Socialist terminology like "antagonistic" has no more place in dialectics than capitalist ideas like justice or democracy have in working out communist politics. (For more on "antagonistic" contradictions, see **Red Flag**, Dec. 4, 2014 and Feb. 5, 2015).

In comparison with Soviet views, Mao added a new wrinkle to antagonism. He claimed that a contradiction could switch from antagonistic to non-antagonistic, and vice-versa. Mao would later say that the contradiction between the working class and the "national" capitalists in China could become non-antagonistic, which he took to mean resolvable without violence. Thus, like Mao's errors about the main contradiction, his wrong views about "antagonistic" contradictions were connected with fundamental political errors: alliance with or tolerance of the enemies of the working class.

Despite these defects in Mao's dialectics, he later developed dialectical materialism in some important ways. We will discuss these advances in the next column.