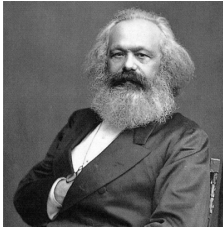


Towards Marxist-Leninist Unity



A Journal of Discussion and Debate



Vol. 4, No. 3

September, 2022

Contents:



The Inter-imperialist wars and the position of the left within the US	1
End the War in Ukraine	3
Preliminary Remarks on Biden vs. Trump	5
Inflation, Stagflation and Biden's "Inflation Reduction Act"	6
The Crisis of Success in the United States.....	7
Short and Local Articles	9
Education Cuts	
Rehire unvaccinated municipal workers	
Water	
No to Congestion Pricing Plan	
Redoing bus stops	
Marx once said: "Religion is the opium of the people."	
Why not use speed bumps instead of speed cameras?	
Penn Station "upgrade: A new boondoggle in the interests of the real estate industry	
To Hell with LUMA and the Inept Capitalist Government!.....	13
Chile: The Victory of the Reject and the Alternative of the Revolutionary Communists.....	15
<i>Sección en español</i>	
Las guerras inter-imperialistas y la posición de la izquierda dentro de los EE.UU.....	17
Los Estados Unidos no tiene derecho a dar lecciones a Putin sobre las invasiones	19
¡Pa'l carajo LUMA y el Gobierno inepto capitalista!.....	20
Chile: El Triunfo del Rechazo y la Alternativa de los Comunistas Revolucionarios.....	22

To see the reasoning behind publication of TMLU, please see the article “Why ‘Towards Marxist-Leninist Unity’ in the first issue on the web-site below. Though we believe that a Party must have ideological unity, we include progressive articles from groups with varying views. **Also, note that unsigned articles, as well as comments before articles, are mine (George Gruenthal).**

Note that we reprint many articles without our asking for permission. Clearly the authors are in no way responsible for other views in this publication.

Comments, criticisms and articles are welcome. The next issue of TMLU should appear in November, 2022. Material should be sent in by the end of October.

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Speech at the International Seminar: Problems of the Revolution in Latin America, 2022, by Towards Marxist-Leninist Unity (TMLU). The leaflet that appears in the Spanish section is not included here since it was already published in TMLU Vol. 3, No. 6. Translated from the Spanish.

The Inter-imperialist wars and the position of the left within the US

Russia's invasion of Ukraine is the first serious military confrontation between the Russia-China bloc and a "proxy" of the U.S., Ukraine's reactionary government. The U.S., while not directly involved with its own military forces, has sent billions of dollars in weapons to the Ukrainian government. Before this, the most important confrontation was in the form of a trade war, in which former President Trump was raising tariffs against China. Although so far both sides are not prepared for a third world war, which would probably mean a nuclear war, this is a possibility in the future. Everything can get worse.

In inter-imperialist wars, it must be clear that we cannot support one side or the other. Of course, we cannot support, not even indirectly, the most powerful bloc, that of the U.S., the European Union and NATO, for example, by supporting sanctions against Russia (as the Social Democrats in the US Congress, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Bernie Sanders have done).

Nor can we give any support to the Russia-China bloc. Here some groups and individuals have made incorrect arguments in favor of such support. Some of them say that Russia, although it is capitalist, is still not imperialist, and that China, although it has made reforms in favor of capital, is still socialist. These arguments can be disproven by facts.

But there are also others who put up more "sophisticated" arguments. They say, for example, that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy, and so we must support the less powerful bloc against the more powerful one. But with this argument, in World War I, should we have supported the German-led bloc, which was less powerful, against the English-led bloc, which was more powerful? Of course not. Another version of this argument is that U.S. imperialism is fascist (which it is not so far), and they refer to the fact that, in World War II Stalin has made an alliance with the US and England, countries which were imperialist but bourgeois-democratic, against fascist Germany. But the situation today is different. In Stalin's time, there was a socialist country, the Soviet Union, which was attacked by fascist Germany, and there were revolutionary forces led by communist parties in the attacked countries fighting against fascism. This is not the situation today.

Different emphasis in different countries

In the U.S., those who recognize that the war in Ukraine is inter-imperialist are the comrades of the American Party of Labor and some groups and individuals. Also, most Maoists take a similar position. The Social Democrats basically support US imperialism. Most anti-imperialist groups, including Workers' World Party and all its splits, support the invasion, or as they say, the so-called Russian "special military operation." Now, we have to classify them, not as anti-imperialist groups, but as groups against U.S. imperialism. That means that they do not understand in a scientific way what imperialism is, in particular how Russia and China could develop into imperialist countries, or how the contradictions between imperialist powers develop. So, they also do not understand (and never understood) what Marxism is.

That having been said, we have to be clear about the positions of Marxist-Leninists in the United States in relation to the united front. My view is that it is not right to place equal emphasis on attacking U.S. imperialism and Russian (or Chinese) imperialism. Basically, we have to attack mainly "our own" imperialism. During the First World War Lenin, although he said it was a war between two gangs of robbers, tried to undermine Russian (Tsarist and, after February 1917, bourgeois-democratic) imperialism. He also wanted to unite all genuine communists from all countries to form a new international, the Communist International. Now, in my opinion, in the U.S. we must unite with all the groups and individuals who sincerely want to fight U.S. imperialism, including those who support Russian imperialism. At the same time, we have to make clear that their position is wrong, and that it means they have no faith in the possibility of the working class and the

oppressed nations and nationalities within the US undermining and eventually overthrowing U.S. imperialism.

I hope we can discuss and debate that position in the discussion period.

Recently, the FBI launched raids and made arrests against some leaders of the African People's Socialist Party (Uhuru Movement), an African-American revolutionary nationalist group. It did this because it said this party was receiving money from Russia, but they only attended a conference in Russia against Globalization.

The war is sharpening all the contradictions of imperialism. It is obvious that war is sharpening the contradictions between the imperialist powers. It is also sharpening the contradictions between the oppressed nations and the imperialists. The prevention of the export of wheat, other cereals and fertilizers from Russia and Ukraine is leading to higher prices in countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, especially Africa. But the rise in the price of oil (in the U.S. it rose from a little over \$3 per gallon to about \$4.50) and all kinds of food is also affecting working people in the U.S. And the rise in the price of oil and gas for heating is going to have a serious effect on Europe in the coming winter. This is going to provoke demonstrations in the near future.

September, 2022, issue of Revolutionary Democracy

Available for \$6 from Red Star Publishers at: www.RedStarPublishers.org#rdnsv1n2

Contents

Hands off Ukraine!
On the Situation in the Ukraine, *Bikram Mohan*
No war in Ukraine, No to all kinds of warmongering! *ICMLPO*

The War in Ukraine: A War of Imperialist Aggression and Redivision of Territories for World Hegemony, Revolutionary Communist Party of Volta – *PCR/V/ Burkina Faso*

Is the War in Ukraine Only a Inter-Imperialist War Between the USA and Russia or Is It Also a National-Liberation War of the Ukrainian People?, *Revolutionary Alliance of Labour of Serbia*

The Communists and the Independence of Ukraine, *Luiz Falcao, PCR Brazil*

On the Russian Invasion of Ukraine, *Pakistan Mazdur Mahaz*

Russian and US imperialism – Hands off Ukraine!, *National Liberation Council, Bangladesh*
Statement by Members of the United Communist Party – Internationalists

Russia Needs ‘Denazification’ as Does Ukraine, *Alexander Batov*

Unafraid to Be Called a “National Traitor”, *Andrei Movchan*

Minsk Peace Resolution and Southeast “Separatism”, (2014), *Maxim Latur*

The National Question and Revisionism (1974), *Bujar Hoxha*

Some Manifestations of National Oppression in the Soviet Union Today (1987), *Natasha Iliriani*

We Support the Struggle of the People of Sri Lanka, *ICMLPO*

BJP government: Withdraw Agnipath Now!, *NTUI*

Review the Condemnable Zakia Jafri Ruling. Release Teesta Setalvad and R. B. Sreekumar Immediately!, *NTUI*

Continuous Attack on Industrial Workers, *Sudha Bharadwaj*

Inequalities, the Budget and the Marginalised Groups, *K.B. Saxena*

A Brief Outline of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, *Malem Ningthouja*

On the Repression of Tribal People in Silger, *Forum Against Corporatization and Militarization*

Yemen’s Humanitarian Catastrophe and Media Censorship, *Toufan*

Colombia: Historic Victory of Petro and the Historic Pact, *En Marcha*

Obituary: Maurice’s Militant Journey, *La Forge*
Some Reflections on ‘Khrushchev Lied’ by

Grover Furr, *Vijay Singh*

Appearance of the Notes “On the Question of Nationalities or about “Autonomisation”, *Valentin Sakharov*

Amendments to the Draft Document on the Tactical Line of the Communist Party of India, *I.V. Stalin*

Although this article tends to downplay the inter-imperialist nature of this war, it is from one of the few leftists in the U.S. that refuses to support the Russian invasion while opposing the U.S. role in the war.

<https://zzs-blg.blogspot.com/2022/09/end-war-in-ukraine.html>

Wednesday, September 7, 2022

End the War in Ukraine

War... What is it good for... Absolutely nothing! ... written by Norman Whitfield and Barrett Strong, famously recorded by Edwin Starr

Today, over fifty years after Edwin Starr's Vietnam-era song reached number one on the **Billboard** chart, people are searching desperately to figure out what the six-month war in Ukraine is good for.

Of course, it depends on who you ask.

For the weapons manufacturers in the US, NATO, and Russia, the Ukraine war is a delightful gift. Weapons are pouring into Ukraine and quickly expended. The arms makers enjoy what they must consider a too-rare opportunity to showcase new and inventive systems in actual combat, before the eyes of customers, and against competitive adversaries. The Ukraine war – thanks to near-hysterical media alarmism – finds new customers throughout Eastern Europe and beyond.

For bourgeois politicians, the war provides a great distraction from their failings and their corruption. The economic crises raging through Europe are obscured by the flames of war. Thanks to a compliant media, Europe's leaders are transformed from inept bureaucrats into martial giants defending democracy, self-determination, and national sovereignty.

For the narrow, reactionary nationalists, the Ukraine war is an inspiration. The tribal glory, heroism, and sacrifice of war are the lyrics of nationalism. The decades of fragile European unity organized around partnership in US-led globalism was already stretched to the limits by the disastrous economic crisis of 2007-2009. The economic impact, the political contradictions, the mass displacements are fodder for the growth of right-wing populism and beyond. Further, the existing and emerging tensions between the culturally distinct, unevenly developed nations of Europe are highlighted by the war.

The irredentist impulses suppressed by socialism in Eastern Europe are now inflamed by the Ukraine war. Multiethnic countries with ever-shifting borders use the war to rewrite their history and restore their myths. The destruction of the monuments to Red Army liberation in the Baltics is just one example of war-generated hysteria.

The energy corporations in both the US and Russia have benefitted from the war. The US pressed the war on Ukraine and Europe to free them from their predominant dependence on Russian energy sources and to shift them to the vast fracking-liberated gas and oil supplies held by the US. As I argued nearly six years ago and many times since, energy has been and remains at the center of big power rivalry. In [New Developments in Political Economy: The Politics of Oil](#), the then-intensifying US hostility towards Russia was explained by two factors – 1. Russian nationalization of some of its energy industry freezing out US investors, and 2. the revolutionary opening of vast US energy resources through fracking. I wrote in January of 2017:

During the later years of the Obama administration, officials and a compliant press ginned up a new Cold War against Russia. Sanctions, saber-rattling, and hysteria brought tensions far beyond the actual points of contention. An energy-hungry, resource-poor EU has grown dependent upon Russian energy supplies, particularly natural gas. As the US is fast achieving energy independence and beginning the export of liquefied natural gas, the battle for the European market is intensifying and driving hostility with Russia.

With the invasion of Ukraine, the US found the *cause célèbre* to wrest the enormous European energy market from the Russians. Behind the provocations, the contests between Russian-friendly and EU-friendly presidential candidates, the EU and Russian Federation courtships, the 2014 coup, the suppression of the eastern Ukraine, and the Crimean referendum lies energy imperialism.

After six months, the US is winning the “battle for the European market,” but at great costs to Europe. US energy corporations are making profits, while the supplicating EU struggles desperately to shift to alternative energy sources and scrambles to build infrastructure to receive more expensive liquified natural gas and find cheaper oil. Nothing short of an unnecessary war would produce this costly, unpopular result.

While US corporations enrich themselves from energy politics, the beginnings of a popular European blow-back are now apparent. In Prague, for example, mass demonstrations are threatening the government over the war

“sacrifices” imposed on the people, as energy prices skyrocket. The beneficiary of this popular rising will likely be the populist right, unless the European lame-left can extricate itself from decades of retreat from class partisanship and rank opportunism.

Ironically, the Russian energy sector has actually benefited from the disruption of traditional markets. Russia’s energy corporations have enjoyed incredibly high oil and natural gas prices, thanks to the chaos in the wake of the war. But they have also found new customers to replace the business lost in Europe – growth in South Asia, Latin America, and other regions has kept Russian oil shipments nearly at the level they were in 2019. Of course, the price commanded by a barrel of oil is much higher today. As a consequence, Russia is earning \$20 billion a month in oil sales now, compared to \$14.6 billion last year. The US-imposed sanctions war has failed miserably.

But aside from the corporations, the politicians, and the ultra-nationalists, the war is good for no one.

Ukrainians who *might* have believed that they were fighting for Western “values” of democracy and economic prosperity have seen their country – the poorest in Europe – become even more deeply mired in poverty. They have seen the Zelensky regime outlaw opposition political parties, strip labor protections, and criminalize speech and opinion.

Both Russia and Ukraine have acted forcefully against anti-war sentiment. In nearly all imperialist wars, the belligerents’ media serve as faithful lap dogs, recording every “official” announcement of victories and extolling the prowess of their respective fighters. Therefore, media reports must be taken with a grain of salt. In time, victories will become defeats and vice versa.

In this war, the US media has taken sides, marshaling an unparalleled propaganda blitz behind “heroic” Ukraine. The European news media does little better. Consequently, truth in the advanced capitalist countries grows ever-more elusive. The war has done further damage to the already discredited monopoly media.

But the raw, direct human losses from the destructive power engaged by modern warfare are profoundly tragic. While we have no definitive reports, tens of thousands of military personnel surely have died, even more thousands have been wounded, maimed, and mentally scarred. Modern war exacts a nearly equal toll on civilians, regardless of the disclaimers of military apologists. We hear of millions of civilians uprooted from their homes in war zones.

Since the Ukraine war is an imperialist war fought over the energy supplies for one-sixth of global economic activity, it has huge consequences for the global economy. Economic growth, jobs, transportation, utilities, every aspect of life dependent on energy in the EU is jeopardized by the war. The coming winter promises extreme stress on the European population denied access to essential energy supplies.

A global economy already reeling from galloping inflation and stagnant growth undoubtedly will be rocked by the US ruling class’s determination to reset the energy markets. The people be damned.

The war in Ukraine is the logical outcome of the unwinding of globalization, a process that began with the 2007-2009 world economic crisis. As the post-Soviet global infrastructure collapsed, economic nationalism rose in the advanced capitalist countries. Competition intensified and rivalries became more virulent. Inevitably, economic competition leads to confrontation and confrontation leads to war.

The circumstances of war become less important and the deadly outcomes and possible escalations take center stage. Today, the likelihood of a long, bloody war and its potential expansion beyond borders demand action.

As this tragedy unfolds, the only answer – the working-class answer – is to pull all stops to end it. We desperately need a militant movement to stop this war.

Greg Godels, zzsblogml@gmail.com



**No progressive worker will be willing
to load U.S. war material**
(translated from the German)

Posted by Asgaard Olafsen in
Soc-Rev History and Art Study Group

Preliminary Remarks on Biden vs. Trump

This June and July, a House committee held a series of hearings on the January 6, 2021, pro-fascist attack on Congress. At least one more hearing is expected this month (September, 2022), and the committee is trying to get a full report out for October, that is, just before the November 8 mid-term elections.

Soon after, on August 8, the FBI raided Trump's residence at Mar-a-Lago on Palm Beach, Florida, in which it apparently found boxes of documents marked secret or top secret from Trump's presidency, which should have been turned over to the National Archives.

Finally, on September 1, Biden made a stirring but hypocritical speech in Philadelphia titled "the Continued Battle for the Soul of the Nation," basically a paean to bourgeois democracy, in which he said that "equality and democracy... are how we became the greatest nation on Earth." He then moved on to attack Trump for trying "to nullify the votes of 81 million people."¹ But what has he done but ignore the 74 million people who voted for Trump.

Yes, Trump is a racist demagogue, but not all of his followers are. Many of them are confused, mostly from the lower ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, who have seen their dreams torn out from under them and no longer have faith in established politicians.

These attacks are not just an attempt to win votes for the Democrats (although of course this is part of it). It is also an attempt to consolidate the bourgeoisie in preparation for an inter-imperialist war with Russia (Trump was always considered soft on Russia, partly due to his business interests there) and China.

As the 2022 elections approach and the war danger heats up, the situation will become clearer and we will have more to say on this.

The June Shutdown in Ecuador.

This 40-page pamphlet includes color photos. The uprising began with the indigenous movement but was joined by trade unions, women, youth, etc. The main cause was the high price of products, particularly oil. It won almost all its demands from the government. It is available on the site.

www.RedStarPublishers.org in print format for \$5, or free in pdf format at <https://redstarpublishers.org/JuneStrike.pdf>.

También disponible en español.

¹ To be clear, we have seen no serious evidence that the election was "stolen" from Trump.

Inflation, Stagflation and Biden’s “Inflation Reduction Act”

This is not meant to be an overall explanation for the high cost of inflation. However, one cause is clearly deficit spending, especially for the outrageous military budget, including especially for the war in Ukraine, that is paid for by printing excess paper money.

We would also like to point out that Biden is praising himself for a reduction of the annual inflation rate, which went from a high of 9.1% in June to 8.3% in August, still higher than in the previous 40 years. The 8.3% is still a serious blow to the real wages of working people, whose nominal wages increased by 6.1%, according to official statistics.

The Federal Reserve System (FED) lends money to the banking industry as a whole. It tries to control inflation by raising the interest rate (currently at .75%) to the banking industry, but this can create the risk of slowing production. This can create “stagflation,” or stagnant production and inflation.

Note that this is a phenomenon of capitalism, where production is social, that is, many workers (often not just in one country but across the globe) are needed to produce a product, but appropriation (the money received from the sale of the product, including the surplus value produced by the workers over and above their wages) is private, taken by the capitalists.¹

Under socialism (where workers produce for the good of society and not for the profit of a handful of capitalists), particularly in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin, production increased from year to year while prices continually decreased (except of course during the wars imposed on the Soviet Union by the capitalist powers). Thus, both nominal and real wages of the working people increased. (See, for example, Stalin’s Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress², Part II, or Joseph Davies, Mission to Moscow³, Part VII.)

¹ For a fuller but still simple explanation, see Marx’s *Wages, Price and Profit*, especially Chapters VII-IX.

² <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1934/01/26.htm>

³ <https://www.RedStarPublishers.org/missiontomoscow.doc>

This article deals with the crisis of overproduction (of commodities, capital and population). Although I am not sure that it is all correct, it is a valuable contribution to the problem of crises.

<http://oneworld.press/?module=articles&action=view&id=3230>

The Crisis of Success in the United States

6 September 2022

The case to be presented here is that none of the internal problems of the United States are matters of "decline." It will be shown, rather, that the problem is that the United States has become too rich, too productive, and too developed to continue much longer as a capitalist country. Or, as Karl Marx said, "The problem with capitalism is capitalism."

The United States is widely described these days as a "declining superpower." That is often understood to mean that internal deterioration is leading to the loss of unipolar world dominance.¹

Another thing that adds to the impression is that the U.S. dollar is facing a challenge as the world's dominant reserve currency. That issue will be taken up in turn.

It is true that unipolar U.S. world dominance is in decline. But that is due to developments external to the United States. It is enough to note that China rose as a world power following the revolution of 1949; and, Russia has by now fully recovered from the disastrous state into which it fell after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Neither of these things implies anything about the United States internally.

The case to be presented here is that none of the internal problems of the United States are matters of "decline." It will be shown, rather, that the problem is that the United States has become too rich, too productive, and too developed to continue much longer as a capitalist country.

Or, as Karl Marx said, "The problem with capitalism is capitalism."

To begin, in the perhaps the most cited passage of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, Marx speaks of crises of over-production:

"Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce."

It is evident from the categories mentioned in the last sentence that as production develops, the crises will get worse.

Marx is often taken to mean over-production of goods, i.e., that workers are paid to create all kinds of goods, but not enough to buy all of them back. Inventories pile up, workers are laid off, and the economy crashes. That is a correct reading of Marx, but incomplete. Marx also analyzes over-production of capital itself, and over-production of population.²

Very briefly, all of the accumulated capital created in production cannot be put back into production; for example, in 2008 the goods-producing industries had \$8.2 tn cash on hand at EOY; but, following in the wake of the Great Financial Collapse of that year, only \$5.4 tn could be put back into production in 2009, a difference of \$2.8 tn. (Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis)

Since capital expands only at the point of production, and nowhere else, the \$2.8 tn is over-produced capital. This is a maximal case but even in a "good" year the amount runs to something like \$800 bn.

To confirm this analysis, we will reference the most prominent banker in the United States.

A 2013 news item reported JP Morgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon as saying, "I think all banks will have too much capital in two and a half years. And they're not going to know what to do with it."³

The news item also said that, "the biggest U.S. banks are lending the smallest portion of their deposits in five years and noted that the average loan-to-deposit ratio for the top eight commercial banks fell to 84% in the fourth quarter from 87% a year earlier and 101% in 2007. JP Morgan had the lowest ratio in the group at 61%."

In other words, in 2013 the top eight banks were loaning only \$840,000 against each \$1,000,000 in deposits thus to lose out on profits from the balance remaining.

Thus, what to do with all that capital is a great problem for capitalists! The result is disaster after disaster.

Money is flooded into an enormous, unaudited military budget, currently at \$778 bn for 2022. Who knows where it goes!

Banks force money into a severely overpriced home mortgage market, and knowingly lend home buyers more money than they can pay. Mortgage payment crises have twice crashed the whole financial system, first in 2008 and again in Q1 2020. (This writer knew by 2018 from looking at the mortgage market that a second crisis was due soon. It was widely anticipated.) The "pandemic" is just a cover story to keep people under control.

Healthcare expenditures in 2020 came to \$4.1 tn, more than \$11,000 per capita. In Japan, 2019 healthcare cost per capita came to \$4360, and life expectancy at birth exceeds that of the United States by more than four years. Overpricing of healthcare in the U.S. easily exceeds \$1 tn/year.

As to over-production of population, by this author's researches, the physical output of the non-supervisory production worker in manufacturing grew slightly more than six times from 1948 to 2014.⁴ Thus, if the worker in the copper teapot factory made one copper teapot per hour in 1948, by 2014 the worker made six copper teapots per hour and was starting on a seventh. (Manufacturing isn't really set up like that, but you get the idea.)

Relative to the size of the population, that means far fewer manufacturing workers are required than formerly. That has also happened throughout the goods-producing industries. In other words, workers are over-produced.

In this way the development of the forces of production lies at the root of the two million prison population of the United States, shockingly more than any other country by number and by rate. Hence the world's richest capitalist country has the highest rate of imprisonment because it is the world's richest capitalist country.

We will now take up the issue of world hegemony of the US dollar. It's usually accepted as a good thing for the United States. But, for whom? It's not a good thing for the working class!

Let's look at how it is gained. Suppose for instance that someone in the United States buys an automobile made in Germany. Accordingly a car goes from Germany to the U.S., and dollars go from the U.S. to Germany.

You can drive a car just as well regardless of where it is made, but you can't spend dollars in Germany because it has its own currency. The manufacturer takes the dollars to the German central bank and exchanges them at the going rate for deutschmarks. The German-held dollars are then exchanged for U.S.-held deutschmarks.

In sum, currencies make their way back home.

But that doesn't always happen. Many governments hang on to large amounts of USD as a reserve currency with which to settle international payments in case of any emergency with their own. This is of immense advantage to U.S. banking and commerce in many ways.

The problem with this policy is that it requires the United States to run trade deficits of hundreds of billions of dollars per year. Autos, building materials, toys, food products, you name it, are purchased abroad in order to maintain the torrent of dollars flowing abroad.

The problem is, we could make a whole lot of that stuff here! Hundreds of billions in trade deficits translate into millions of jobs lost domestically. It has become quite an issue. Bringing jobs back home again was the main issue in Donald Trump's victorious 2016 presidential campaign, and likely the main issue in his 2020 removal from office.

In sum, loss of USD hegemony would be a blow to banking interests, but not to the working class and not to its productive industries.

The United States has become divided internally as at no time since the Civil War. Now we can see why – a trillion dollars for overpriced healthcare drags the same amount from other areas of consumer demand. It sets the financial sector against consumer sectors. The same is true of the credit bubble and the ridiculous military budget.

The economy loses all fiscal consistency among its various sectors. The hugely unbalanced economy brings political conflict in its trail. There is no way out within the confines of the capitalist mode of production.

And that is what Karl Marx meant when he said, "The problem with capitalism – is capitalism."

5 September 2022

Footnotes

1. See for example <https://thesaker.is/us-economic-decline-and-global-instability/>
2. Capital, Vol. 3, Ch. 215, Section III, "Excess Capital And Excess Population" <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/ch15.htm>
3. <https://www.monitordaily.com/news-posts/dimon-banks-more-capital-use/>
4. Sources: Bureau of Economic Analysis; Bureau of Labor Statistics

By [David Hungerford](#)

Short and Local Articles:

Education Cuts. Mayor Adams and the City Council are fighting over cuts to the school budget (which the City Council had initially approved). But while the number of public-school students has decreased by 9% over the last two years, the number of students in charter schools has increased by 9% in the same period.¹ This is largely because the Department of Education micro-manages what the public schools teach. If the teachers in the public schools were allowed to use their creativity (and thus encourage it in their students), there would be no need for charter schools.

Meanwhile, for 9-year-olds in the U.S. as a whole, math scores fell by 7% and reading scores fell by 5%, from 2020 to 2022.² This is clearly the result of virtual “learning,” which some left groups have been promoting (e.g. the demonstration in Harlem called by “Struggle for Socialism – La Lucha por el Socialismo” group³).

Furthermore, as Cindy Sheehan points out⁴, unvaccinated students in DC (which includes over 40% of Black teens) are not allowed to attend in-person classes and there is no provision in DC for virtual classes. Thus they are effectively denied an education.

Rehire unvaccinated municipal workers: With end of almost all mask mandates and other restrictions, it is time to rehire and make whole the at least 1,750⁵ municipal workers fired for refusing mandatory vaccinations. While Mayor Adams has now allowed unvaccinated workers in the private sector to return to work, he is continuing to prohibit municipal workers from going back to their jobs.

Water: Water is a necessity for human (and almost all other) life. However, we have recently seen three major problems in accessing clean water in the U.S.

In the **Jacob Riis housing project** on the lower east side, residents went without tap water for over a week, due to reports of arsenic in the water. Now, Mayor Adams claims that this was the result of “false positive” tests by the private company that produced the initial report of arsenic.

Whatever the actual situation, there is no doubt that this is part of the failure of NYCHA (New York City Housing Authority) to provide decent services to the well over 400,000 people living in its 177,000 units. People in public housing already have to suffer through inadequate or non-functioning heating in the winter (not to mention oppressive heat and humidity in the summer), frequent elevator outages (many NYCHA buildings are 21 stories tall), mold and other contaminants. All people in New York have a right to decent living conditions.

¹ See the pro-charter article in NY Post at: <https://nypost.com/2022/02/01/enrollment-spikes-at-nyc-charters-public-schools-lose-62000-kids/>

² see <https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/education/2022/09/01/reading--math-scores-for-9-year-olds-plunge-after-pandemic>

³ See <http://redstarpublishers.org/TMLUv2n4.pdf>, in the Humor and Stupidity section).

⁴ https://cindyshhehan.substack.com/p/un-jabbed-black-dc-teens-denied-schooling?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email

⁵ <https://nypost.com/2022/07/23/nyc-employees-fired-for-not-getting-vaccinated-reaches-1752/>

In **Jackson, Mississippi**, residents have once again been told not to drink or use the tap water due to contamination. This is because flooding over loaded the capacity of the city's water treatment plants.

At **Camp Lejeune, North Carolina**, from August 1953 to the end of 1987, the water at the base was contaminated with carcinogens. This situation has been known for decades, but is only coming out now as law firms are suing the government for deaths and illnesses to survivors. The government praises the vets who have "served" (the government and the monopolies, not us), but then they don't treat them well. Look at the troops that have been sickened or died from Agent Orange or depleted uranium, used on the people of Vietnam, Yugoslavia and other countries. Also, a large proportion of homeless people are vets.

No to Congestion Pricing Plan: This plan, to charge drivers as much as \$23 to enter Manhattan below 60th St., is another tax on working people. If the city wants to raise funds for the mass transit system, why not tax the billions in real estate below 60th St. The owners cannot move their buildings out of the area.

Redoing bus stops: The MTA has already implemented this in the Bronx, but will be doing this in all boroughs. It calls this "improving stop spacing" with fewer stops; which means more walking. Many elderly and disabled people just use busses. Now if a stop is removed, someone who lived right near their stop may now have to walk two blocks. Expand, create new bus lines, especially for "transit deserts."

Marx once said: "Religion is the opium of the people." But it has also been said: "Opium (actually marijuana) is the religion of the people." The pictures below were taken by this writer on the same day, across the street from each other near Times Square.

It is a good thing that marijuana has been legalized, since now cops can't arrest people for smoking it, but now we have to convince people to make sure that they don't (over)use it.



Why not use speed bumps instead of speed cameras? Beginning in August of this year, New York City will activate speed cameras 24/7, which had mainly been installed around schools and were only active when schools were in session. It is certainly good to provide safe streets, particularly for students. But there are simple alternatives to speed cameras, namely speed bumps. Clearly, the main difference is that speed cameras are based on fines (as well as the ability to track any vehicle passing through the location – increasing the reach of the surveillance state).



This is obviously not a radical measure; even New Jersey (which certainly does not have a progressive government) bans the use of speed cameras.⁶ But it does have a class impact. To a rich person, a \$150 fine (the maximum for being 10 mph over the speed limit in New York State) means little, but he wouldn't want to have his Mercedes rush over a speed bump. However, the same \$150 fine is a lot to most working people, who will also not want to hurt their car on a speed bump.

Penn Station “upgrade: A new boondoggle in the interests of the real estate industry: New York Governor Kathy Hochul is praising the progress on the new Penn Station upgrades, which were begun under former governor Andrew Cuomo.⁷ The upgrades, presently costing \$559 million, is for widening the walkway low-hanging beams in the tunnel between 7th and 8th Avenue on 33rd St. Some of the beams have been dubbed “head knockers” as they are only 6 ft. high. They are now raised to **18 ft.** (maybe so giraffes can get through). She also praised the skylight at the 7th Ave, entrance, where “you can see the lights and the skies of the heavens looking down upon us.”



But this is only the first part of the upgrade, scheduled for a **\$7 billion** expansion that will include new office towers. This amount will be “supported by” payments from those towers, but we are sure it will also be “supported by” taxpayers, that is, the working people of New York.

The expansion will be overseen by the real estate firm Vornado, whose chair is Steven Roth, who contributed \$69,700, the legal maximum, to Hochul's campaign.

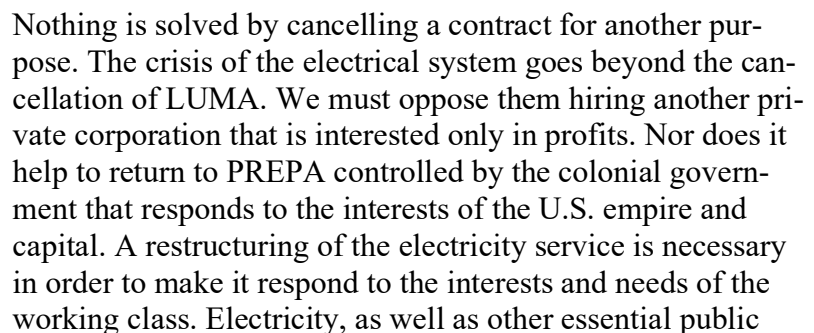
⁶ See <https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/sacco-scutari-legislation-to-protect-new-jersey-drivers-from-out-of-state-speed-camera-or-red-light-camera-citations-advances>.

⁷ See amNY, September 7, 2022, from which most of the data for this article is taken.

BULLETIN | AUGUST 25, 2022 | COMMUNIST WORKERS AND STUDENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

With each passing day, the crisis of the electric power system in Puerto Rico deepens even more. Blackouts occur almost daily. In the past month (July) there were 30 blackouts on the island and in August there are many in which hospitals have been affected, putting the life and health of our patients at risk. The situation has gone from bad to worse. And now Luma comes crying about presenting a plan that should have been ready from day one, when operations began a little more than a year ago. Enough of appealing to bourgeois sentimentalism of the blessed one!

Faced with a change in position that corresponds to electoral interests rather than to the true interest of the country, Governor Pierluisi now says that he is not satisfied with the work of LUMA and he demands fulfillment of the contract, when we all know that he continues to favor the privatization of the electric service.



The LUMA contract must be cancelled immediately, even if we know that this is a problem beyond that of LUMA and that the problem will not be resolved merely by cancelling the contract.

13

compatible with our climate and seasons.

The fundamental problem of Puerto Rico is that we live in a colonial capitalist system that encourages profit, corruption, exploitation and all evils based on the inequality caused by this system. That is why we must advocate and fight for a radical change that will be possible in a new society based on equality and the interests of the working class, who are the ones who produce wealth. This will be achieved with the development of a workers' vanguard guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A Revolutionary Communist Party is needed that can give leadership and cohesion to the struggles in order to put an end to all kinds of oppression. Victory is in the streets and not in the courts or in the elections. The working class has no borders! Long live Communism! Long live Puerto Rico Free and Communist!

It is urgent to claim and defend the right to electric energy, not as a simple commodity, but as a human and fundamental right. For this we demand:



Chile

The Victory of the Reject and the Alternative of the Revolutionary Communists

The victory of the "Reject" option in the referendum on the outcome of the New Constitution shows the disconnect of the new progressive elite and its project from the broad working masses. It is a political project focused on the vindication of the rights of minorities (indigenous peoples, sexual dissidents, gender agenda) as the axis of change, which does not go beyond the bourgeois democratic system and which rejects the class struggle and the proletariat as the leading force.

This petty-bourgeois tendency finds it easier to take on the demands of historically discriminated groups, due to their high level of organization and mobilization, as well as their impact on university youth. This only makes up for their inability to mobilize the workers and allows them to remain in the political arena in search of their place in the state apparatus.

The arrogance and contempt for the workers' movement led them to live in a bubble where their ideological political approach makes sense, leading them to dream up solutions regardless of objective reality. This is starting from what one thinks and not from reality, to build an ideal society.

The result was overwhelming; the right-wing used the countless shortcomings both in the drafting of the proposed New Constitution and the structural gaps to build a discourse of fear and uncertainty, but that is not enough to explain the overwhelming defeat. The workers and the population did not feel understood, the proposed constitution was not focused on strengthening their rights, although on the one hand it enshrined historical demands such as negotiation by industry, it left the door open for the same instruments of the Labor Plan of the Constitution of 1980 to continue operating.

Another political error of the Boric government, no less important, was to link the constituent process and the victory of the "Approve" with the success of its government's program. Inflation above 13%, the fall in production and employment, the rise in food prices (40% in real terms) and fuels and the feeling of helplessness in the face of crime, angered the people; the victory of the "Reject" also reflected a vote to punish a government with little social base.

The role of the Other Left, outside of parliament and the government, for the most part did not differ from the one it played in the last presidential election; it again fell into the anti-fascist discourse of the Broad Front and the Communist Party of the Market, transforming this election into a fight against the Pinochet Constitution, which was extensively reformed during the government of Aylwin [Christian Democratic president of Chile from 1990 to 1994] and Lagos [social-democratic president of Chile from 2000 to 2006 – *translator's notes*]. The new Constitution was written under democracy; without even analyzing its content, they embarked on a campaign from which they soon had to distance themselves by giving names of those who "Approve" and thus justifying their support.

The bucket of cold water came when the government announced that it had reached an agreement with the right-wing and the parties of the former new majority to reform the New Constitution once it had been accepted; but even so the process had to be carried out, the Other Left could no longer get out of it; it did not understand the content or the form. This uncertainty ended up deciding the vote of many undecided and other members of the Approve.

The Constitutional Convention had a unique opportunity, despite the restrictions imposed by Law 20.200, to establish rights for the working people, to strengthen their organization and defense against capital, to establish the bases of an economic development with the participation of the

workers towards independence from the imperialist blocs, strengthening an anti-imperialist project in Latin America. Although the rules of the game did not allow us to go beyond the bourgeois democratic framework, the bases for the projection of a popular democratic alternative could have been established.

The process that began with the "Agreement for Peace and the New Constitution," through the first referendum, the election of the Constitutional Convention and the final referendum successfully achieved the purpose for which it was designed: to save the Piñera [billionaire politician who was president of Chile from 2010 to 2014 and again from 2018 to 2022 – *translator's note*] government and the bourgeois institutions, quell the outbreak, channel it into the institutional framework and finally to revive the bourgeois parties that were about to disappear.

Today, after the defeat, the Boric government is left in a position of vulnerability, which forces it to cede power to the old social democracy that administered the neoliberal system for thirty years. The Socialist Party, the Party for Democracy, begin to take control, to the detriment of the Communist Party of the Market, securing their place in key political positions of the cabinet, giving a clear signal to the Chilean bourgeoisie and the big monopolies, that everything will remain calm and the system will remain intact; they will surely give in to some popular demands, but nothing that affects the strategy outlined in the "Agreement for Peace and New Constitution".

The victory of the "Reject" is clearly a setback in the popular struggle; the lack of political clarity of the left, the contempt for the labor movement by the progressive elite, the lack of unity around a single program or platform has cost us dearly. Calls to resume the struggle or revive October 18 are no longer enough; the time is different. Today it is necessary not to call for the unity of the left, but for its organization around concrete and practical objectives. The working class remains decisive for the defeat of capitalism, the class struggle remains a reality, bourgeois representative democracy is not enough.

Difficult years are coming for the workers and the people; the right-wing and social democracy will regain power and govern together to defend the system from which everyone lives. We have the duty to create an alternative to capitalism, a revolutionary left introduced in all the labor fronts, organized to fight for a People's Democratic Government, which lays the foundations to advance towards the People's Democratic Revolution on the road to Socialism.

National Directorate
Revolutionary Communist Party.
September 2022

Las guerras inter-imperialistas y la posición de la izquierda dentro de los EE.UU.

La invasión de Ucrania por parte de Rusia es la primera seria confrontación militar entre el bloque Rusia-China y una “proxy” de los EE.UU., el gobierno reaccionario de Ucrania. Los EE.UU., aunque no está involucrado directamente con sus propias fuerzas militares, han mandado billones de dólares en armas al gobierno ucraniano. Antes de esto, lo más importante confrontación era en forma de una guerra comercial, en donde el expresidente Trump estaba aumentando tarifas en contra de China. Aunque hasta ahora ambos lados no están preparados para una tercera guerra mundial, que probablemente quiere decir una guerra nuclear, claro que este es una posibilidad en el futuro. Todo puede estar peor.

En guerras inter-imperialistas, debe ser claro que no podemos apoyar ni un lado ni otro. Claro que no podemos apoyar, tampoco indirectamente, el bloque más poderoso, el de los EE.UU., la Unión Europea y OTAN, en forma, por ejemplo, de apoyar las sanciones contra Rusia (como han hecho los social-demócratas en el Congreso Norteamericano, la Congresista Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez y el Senador Bernie Sanders).

Ni podemos dar ningún apoyo al bloque Rusia-China. Aquí hay algunos grupos y personas quienes han hecho argumentos falsos en favor de un tal apoyo. Algunos de ellos dicen que Rusia, aunque está capitalista, ya no está imperialista, y que China, aunque ha hecho reformas en favor de capital, ya está socialista. Estos argumentos se pueden socavar con hechos.

Pero también hay otros que ponen argumentos más “sofisticados.” Dicen, por ejemplo, que el imperialismo norteamericano es el enemigo principal, y entonces debemos apoyar el bloque menos poderoso en contra del más poderoso. Pero con este argumento, en la Primera Guerra Mundial, ¿debíamos apoyar el bloque dirigido por Alemania, que era menos poderoso, en contra del bloque dirigido por Inglaterra, que era más poderoso? Claro que no. Otra versión de este argumento es que el imperialismo norteamericano es fascista (que hasta ahora no es verdad), y se refería al hecho de que, en la Segunda Guerra Mundial Stalin ha hecho una alianza con los EE.UU. y Inglaterra, países imperialistas pero democrático-burgueses, en contra de Alemania fascista. Pero la situación hoy es diferente. En el tiempo de Stalin, había un país socialista, la Unión Soviética, que estaba atacado por Alemania fascista, y unas fuerzas revolucionarias dirigidas por partidos comunistas en los países atacados que luchan contra el fascismo. Esto no es la situación ahora.

Distinto énfasis en distintos países

En los EE.UU., los que reconocen que la guerra en Ucrania es inter-imperialista son los camaradas del Partido Estadounidense del Trabajo y unos grupos e individuos. También, la mayoría de los maoístas tiene una posición similar. Los social-demócratas básicamente apoyan el imperialismo norteamericano. La mayoría de los grupos anti-imperialistas, incluyendo el Partido Mundo Obrero y todas sus escisiones apoyan la invasión, o como ellos dicen, la llamada “operación militar especial” rusa. Ahora, tenemos que calificarlos, no como grupos anti-imperialistas, pero grupos anti-imperialismo norteamericano. Eso quiere decir que no entienden de manera científica

qué es imperialismo, en particular cómo Rusia y China pueden desarrollarse en países imperialistas, y cómo se desarrollan las contradicciones entre potencias imperialistas. Entonces, tampoco no entienden (y nunca no entendían) qué es el marxismo.

Dicho eso, tenemos que tener claro las posiciones de los marxistas-leninistas en los Estados Unidos en relación al frente unido. Mi opinión es que no es correcto de poner énfasis igual en atacando el imperialismo norteamericano y el imperialismo ruso (y chino). Básicamente tenemos que atacar principalmente “nuestro propio” imperialismo. Durante la Primera Guerra Mundial Lenin, aunque dijo que era una guerra entre dos bandas de ladrones, trató de socavar el imperialismo ruso (tsarista y, después de febrero de 1917, democrático-burgués). Claro también quería unir todos los comunistas genuinos de todos los países en formar una nueva internacional, la Internacional Comunista.

Ahora, en mi opinión, en los EE.UU. debemos unirnos con todos los grupos e individuos que sinceramente quieren combatir el imperialismo norteamericano, también con los que apoyan el imperialismo ruso. Al mismo tiempo tenemos que hacer claro que su posición es errónea, y que significa que ellos no tienen fe en la posibilidad que la clase obrera y las naciones y nacionalidades oprimidas dentro de los EE.UU. pueden socavar y eventualmente derrocar el imperialismo norteamericano.

Espero que podemos discutir y debatir esa posición en el tiempo de discusión.

Recientemente, el FBI lanzo redadas y hizo arrestos en contra de algunos miembros del Partido Socialista del Pueblo Africano (Movimiento Uhuru), un grupo revolucionario nacionalista afroamericano en los EE.UU. Hizo esto porque dijo que este partido estaba recibiendo dinero de Rusia, pero ellos solamente asistieron en una conferencia en Rusia contra Globalización.

La guerra agudiza todas las contradicciones del imperialismo. Es obvio que la guerra acentúa las contradicciones entre los poderes imperialistas. También acentúa las contradicciones entre las naciones oprimidas y los imperialistas. La prevención de exportación de trigo, otras cereales y fertilizantes de Rusia y Ucrania está llevando al alza de precios en los países de África, Asia y América Latina, especialmente en África. Pero el alza de precio de petróleo (en los EE.UU. subió de un poco más de \$3 por galón hasta más o menos \$4.50) y de todo tipo de comida está afectando la gente trabajadora en los EE.UU. Y el alza de precio de petróleo y gasolina para la calefacción va a tener un efecto serio en Europa en el invierno venidera. Esta va a provocar manifestaciones en el futuro cercano.

En la próxima página es la traducción de un volante sobre la guerra en Ucrania de usar en los Estados Unidos.

Los Estados Unidos no tiene derecho a dar lecciones a Putin sobre las invasiones

Los Estados Unidos ha invadido decenas de países desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Solamente en el año pasado que se vio obligado a retirarse después de su invasión y ocupación de Afganistán durante 20 años. Invadió y ocupó Irak, lo que llevó a una inmensa destrucción en ese país. Apoya a Arabia Saudita en su bombardeo de Yemen, a Israel en su ocupación del territorio palestino y a la India en su ocupación de Cachemira. Ha llevado a cabo innumerables golpes de Estado en América Latina, Oriente Medio y África. Los Estados Unidos y la OTAN llevaron a cabo un bombardeo de 89 días sobre Yugoslavia. El bombardeo de Libia por parte de la OTAN y el derrocamiento de Gadafi condujeron a la introducción de la esclavitud en ese país. Las guerras de los Estados Unidos en Vietnam y Corea llevaron a la muerte de millones de personas en esos países. Y si miramos más atrás, los Estados Unidos ocupó repetidamente Haití y la República Dominicana, e invadió repetidamente México. La guerra de los Estados Unidos con España en 1898 llevó a la ocupación de Filipinas, con millones de muertos, y la continua colonización de Puerto Rico, Guam y Samoa. Sin embargo, Biden quiere atacar a Putin por su invasión de Ucrania.

Dicho esto, este ya no es un mundo unipolar, donde los Estados Unidos puede controlarlo todo. Sus principales rivales son Rusia y China. La invasión rusa de Ucrania es parte de una rivalidad interimperialista que puede conducir a la Tercera Guerra Mundial.

En esta rivalidad, todas las fuerzas progresistas en los Estados Unidos deben concentrar nuestro fuego contra nuestra propia clase dominante. Fue los Estados Unidos quien orquestó el golpe de Estado de 2014 que estableció un régimen nacionalista y neofascista en Ucrania. Victoria Nuland, entonces subsecretaria de Estado, se jactó de que los Estados Unidos gastó \$5.000 millones para instigar el golpe. Este régimen ha pasado ocho años bombardeando las Repúblicas Populares de Donetsk y Lugansk en la región de Donbass, en el este de Ucrania, matando a unas 14.000 personas allí. Los Estados Unidos también está utilizando la guerra para fortalecer su control sobre sus aliados europeos, particularmente Alemania. Y la invasión de Ucrania por parte de Putin le ha dado a Alemania una excusa para no abrir el gasoducto Nord Stream 2. Esto aumentará los precios del petróleo y el gas no solo para las personas en Europa, sino también para nosotros en los Estados Unidos: el petróleo ya se está vendiendo por más de \$4 por galón.



Batallón Azov: amigos de los EE.UU. en Ucrania

La invasión de Putin empujará al pueblo de Ucrania aún más a los brazos del régimen neofascista en Kiev, y empujará al pueblo del Donbass a los brazos de Putin.

¡Abajo la guerra inter-imperialista!
¡Ningún apoyo al gobierno neofascista ucraniano!
¡Abajo la OTAN!
¡Rusia fuera de Ucrania!

Hacia la unidad marxista-leninista

De Rebelde a Revolucionario

BOLETÍN | 25 AGOSTO 2022 | TRABAJADORES Y ESTUDIANTES COMUNISTAS POR EL CAMBIO SOCIAL

¡Basta ya de insultos! ¡Pa'l carajo LUMA y el Gobierno inepto capitalista!

Cada día que pasa se profundiza aún más la crisis del sistema de energía eléctrica en Puerto Rico. Prácticamente los apagones ocurren a diario. En el pasado mes sumaron 30 los apagones en la isla y en este mes de agosto suman otros tantos en los que se han visto afectados los hospitales, poniendo en nesgo la vida y salud de nuestros enfermos. La situación ha ido de mal a peor. Y ahora viene LUMA con el llorado de presentar un plan que debió haber tenido listo desde el día uno cuando comenzaron operaciones hace poco más de un año. ¡Inaudito! ¡Basta de apelar al sentimentalismo burgués del ay bendito! ¡El tiempo de LUMA se acabó!

No vamos a pasar por alto ya más los apagones constantes, la estocada al frágil bolsillo de la clase trabajadora con siete aumentos consecutivos, las explosiones en subestaciones, los apagones en los centros hospitalarios, el menosprecio a los trabajadores de la AEE que tienen raspando paredes y limpiando patios de escuela en lugar de estar haciendo su trabajo de expertos dentro del sistema eléctrico del país. No vamos a pasar por alto las fallas de respeto y arrogancia al querer conducir conferencias de prensa en inglés, como si no tuvieran la obligación de explicar al país en nuestro idioma y no tuviéramos el derecho a saber y entender bien lo que está pasando. No vamos a caer en la trampa de nombramientos a nuevas secretarías que vienen a hacer un trabajo para el cual ya se habían creado entidades para lo mismo, como el Negociado de Energía y la misma agencia de Alianza Público Privada. e incluso la Secretaria de la Gobernación, bajo la cual también tiene como tarea supervisor el cumplimiento del contrato de LUMAFIA



Ante lo que es un cambio de postura que responde a intereses electoreros que al verdadero interés por el país el gobernador Pierluisi saca pecho ahora diciendo que no está satisfecho con la ejecución de LUMA y exigiendo el cumplimiento del contrato, cuando todos sabemos que continúa favoreciendo la privatización del servicio eléctrico.

No se resuelve nada cancelando un contrato por otra privatización. La crisis del sistema eléctrico va más allá de la cancelación de LUMA. Debemos oponernos a que contraten otra corporación privada que está interesada sólo en las ganancias. Tampoco lo resuelve volver a la AEE controlada por el gobierno colonial que responde a los intereses del imperio estadounidense y el capital. Es necesario una reestructuración del servicio eléctrico con el objetivo de que responda a los intereses y necesidades de la clase trabajadora. La electricidad, así como otros servicios públicos esenciales (salud, educación, agua, etc.), por estar en manos de una élite capitalista monopolista, no permite el acceso a estos servicios públicos de una forma continua y productiva porque está sujeta a las acciones de las empresas e intereses



petroleras ante la variación en los mercados, afectando el precio de los servicios. Una vez más se demuestra que el sistema capitalista prima los intereses económicos de una minoría (la élite) por encima de los intereses de las mayorías (la clase trabajadora)

Que se cancele de inmediato el contrato de LUMA, aun sabiendo que esto es un problema más allá de LUMA y que meramente con la cancelación del contrato no se va a resolver el problema.

Tampoco se trata que regrese la prestación de servicios energéticos a manos de una AEE corrupta e ineficiente como antes, sino que se instaure un sistema energético que responda a los intereses de la clase trabajadora y de los sectores pobres y humildes, basándose en que la energía eléctrica es un derecho universal y no un negocio. Que sea un sistema no hostil al medio ambiente, basado en energía regenerable y compatible con nuestro clima y temporadas.

El problema fundamental de Puerto Rico es que vivimos en un sistema colonial capitalista que fomenta el lucro, la corrupción, la explotación y todos aquellos males basados en la desigualdad que ocasiona este sistema. Por eso es necesario abogar y luchar por un cambio radical que solo será posible en una nueva sociedad basada en la igualdad y los intereses de la clase trabajadora quienes somos los que producimos las riquezas. Esto se logrará con el desarrollo de una vanguardia obrero-estudiantil guiadas por los preceptos del marxismo-leninismo. Es necesario un Partido Comunista Revolucionario que pueda darle dirección y cohesión a las luchas con el fin de acabar con todo tipo de opresión. La victoria está en la calle y no en los tribunales ni en las urnas. ¡La lucha obrera no tiene fronteras! La clase obrera no tiene fronteras! ¡Viva el internacionalismo proletario! ¡Que viva el Comunismo! ¡Que viva Puerto Rico Ubre y Comunista! Es urgente reclamar y defender el derecho a la energía eléctrica, no como una simple mercancía, sino como un derecho humano y fundamental. Para esto exigimos:



Chile:

El Triunfo del Rechazo y la Alternativa de los Comunistas Revolucionarios

El triunfo de la opción “Rechazo” en el Plebiscito de salida de la Nueva Constitución, muestra la desconexión de la nueva elite progresista y su proyecto con las grandes masas trabajadoras. Un proyecto político centrado en la reivindicación de los derechos de las minorías (pueblos originarios, disidencias sexuales, agenda de genero) como el eje de cambio, que no rebase el sistema democrático burgués y que reniega de la lucha de clases y el proletariado como fuerza dirigente.

A esta tendencia pequeñoburguesa le es más fácil tomar las reivindicaciones de grupos históricamente discriminados, por su alto nivel de organización y movilización, así como su impacto en la juventud universitaria. Esto solo maquilla su incapacidad de movilizar a los trabajadores y les permite seguir en la palestra política en busca de su lugar en el aparato del Estado.

La soberbia y el desprecio por el movimiento obrero los ha llevado a vivir en una burbuja donde su planteamiento político ideológico tiene sentido, llevándolos a elucubrar soluciones sin importar la realidad objetiva. Es a partir desde lo que yo pienso y no desde la realidad, que construyo una sociedad ideal.

El resultado fue contundente, la derecha utilizó el sin número de falencias tanto en la redacción de la propuesta de Nueva Constitución como los vacíos estructurales para construir un discurso del miedo y la incertidumbre, pero eso no basta para explicar la abrumadora derrota. Los trabajadores y pobladores no se sintieron interpretados, la propuesta constitucional no estaba centrada en fortalecer sus derechos, si bien por un lado consagraba demandas históricas como la negociación por rama de producción, dejaba la puerta abierta para que siguieran operando los mismos instrumentos del Plan Laboral de la Constitución del 80.

Otro error político no menos importante del Gobierno de Boric, fue ligar el proceso constituyente y el triunfo del “Apruebo” con el éxito de su programa de gobierno. La inflación sobre el 13%, la caída de la producción y el empleo, el alza de los precios de los alimentos (40% real) y los combustibles y la sensación de indefensión frente a la delincuencia, le pasaron la cuenta, el triunfo del “Rechazo” también reflejó un voto castigo a un gobierno con escasa base social.

El rol de la otra Izquierda, fuera del parlamento y el gobierno, en su mayoría, no se diferenció del que jugó en la pasada elección presidencial, nuevamente cayó en el discurso antifascista del Frente Amplio y el Partido Comunista de Mercado transformando esta elección en un combate contra la Constitución de Pinochet, ampliamente reformada en el gobierno de Aylwin y Lagos, y la nueva escrita en democracia, sin siquiera digerir el contenido de esta, embarcándose en una campaña de la que al poco andar tuvieron que tomar distancia poniéndole apellidos al “Apruebo” y así justificar su apoyo.

El balde de agua fría llegó cuando el gobierno anuncia que ha llegado a un acuerdo con la derecha y los partidos de la ex nueva mayoría para reformar la Nueva Constitución una vez aceptada, pero aun así había que llevar adelante el proceso, la otra izquierda ya no podía bajarse, no entendió el contenido ni la forma. Esta incertidumbre terminó por decidir el voto de muchos indecisos y otros militantes del Apruebo.

La Convención Constitucional tuvo una oportunidad única, a pesar de las restricciones impuestas por la ley 20.200, de establecer derechos para el pueblo trabajador, para fortalecer su organización y defensa contra el capital, establecer las bases de un desarrollo económico con la participación de los trabajadores hacia la independencia de los bloques imperialistas, fortaleciendo un proyecto antiimperialista en Latinoamérica. Si bien las reglas del juego no permitían salir del marco democrático burgués, si podían establecerse las bases para la proyección de una alternativa democrática popular.

El proceso que comenzó con el “Acuerdo por la Paz y la Nueva Constitución”, pasando por el primer plebiscito, la elección de la Convención Constitucional y el plebiscito de salida logró de manera exitosa el fin para el que fue diseñado. Salvar el gobierno de Piñera y la institucionalidad burguesa, sofocar el estallido, encauzarlo en el marco institucional y finalmente revivir a los partidos burgueses que estaban a punto de desaparecer.

Hoy luego de la derrota el gobierno de Boric queda en una posición de vulnerabilidad, que lo obliga a ceder poder a la vieja socialdemocracia que administro el sistema neoliberal durante treinta años. El

Partido Socialista, el Partido Por la Democracia, comienzan a tomar el control, en desmedro del Partido Comunista de Mercado, asegurando su lugar en puestos claves del gabinete político, dando una señal clara a la burguesía chilena y a los grandes monopolios, que todo se mantendrá en calma y el sistema seguirá intacto, seguramente cederán en algunas reivindicaciones populares, pero nada que afecte a la estrategia trazada en el “Acuerdo por la Paz y Nueva Constitución”.

El triunfo del “Rechazo” es claramente un retroceso en la lucha popular, la falta de claridad política de la izquierda, el desprecio por el movimiento obrero por parte de la elite progresista, la falta de unidad en torno a un programa o plataforma única nos ha costado caro. Ya no bastan los llamados a retomar la lucha o revivir el 18 de octubre, el momento es otro. Hoy es preciso no llamar a la unidad de la izquierda, sino a su organización en torno a objetivos concretos y prácticos; la clase trabajadora sigue siendo decisiva para la derrota del capitalismo, la lucha de clases sigue siendo una realidad, la democracia representativa burguesa no basta.

Se vienen años difíciles para los trabajadores y el pueblo, la derecha y la socialdemocracia retomarán el poder y gobernarán en conjunto para defender el sistema del que todos se alimentan. Tenemos el deber de crear en una alternativa al capitalismo, una izquierda revolucionaria inserta en todos los frentes de trabajo, organizados para luchar por un Gobierno Popular Democrático, que sienta las bases para avanzar hacia la Revolución Democrática Popular camino al Socialismo.

Dirección Nacional
Partido Comunista Revolucionario.
Septiembre 2022

Paro de junio en Ecuador.

Este panfleto de 40 páginas incluye las fotos en color. El levantamiento empezó con el movimiento indígena pero estaba juntado por sindicatos, mujeres, jóvenes, etc. La causa principal era el alto precio de productos, particularmente petróleo. Ganó del gobierno casi todas las demandas. Es disponible en el sitio de www.RedStarPublishers en formato impreso por \$5, o gratis en formato pdf a <https://redstarpublishers.org/Parojunio2022.pdf>.

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