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Twitter: @StruggleLaLucha

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email: info@struggle-la-lucha.org

# CUBA SAYS YES: 'Code of freedom' for families

By Melinda Butterfield

Sept. 27 – Two days after the historic referendum approving Cuba's new Code of Families, diplomats held a special briefing at the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York City.

The evening gathering was attended by about a hundred people, including progressive attorneys and judges, representatives of nonprofits dedicated to protecting children and LGBTQ2S people, U.N. diplomats from friendly countries, and Cuba solidarity activists. Cuba's Ambassador to the U.S., Lianys Torres Rivera, traveled from Washington, D.C., to attend.

Two things were immediately apparent: the immense pride of the Cuban representatives in the victory of the new Code of Families; and the hunger of people from the U.S. to learn from Cuba's experience in light of ongoing right-wing efforts to roll back people's rights here.

Cuban Foreign Minister Bruno Rodríguez Parrilla opened the meeting. He explained that Cuba's revolutionary government and mass organizations were long committed to updating and strengthening the country's 1975 Family Code to reflect modern social realities.

Originally, Rodríguez explained, equality in marriage rights for same-sex couples and other updated provisions were to be included in the 2019 Constitution. But the democratic consultations throughout Cuban society at that time revealed there was no consensus on these questions.

It was decided to set the issues aside to permit more discussion and education, leading to the referendum on the Code of Families.

Rodríguez reviewed the enormous obstacles Cuba has faced in the last few years – from the COVID pandemic to climate-change-fueled disasters to last summer's terrible fuel fire – and of course, underlying all these problems, the tightened U.S. blockade and sabotage.

"We launched the referendum in these difficult conditions because we are committed to a family model based on social justice," Rodríguez said. The discussion in the leadup to the Sept. 25 vote "exposed differences, but that it was ratified showed progress."

## 'Expands rights'

Seventy-four percent of the electorate participated in the referendum. Of those who voted, over two-thirds of Cubans said "yes" to the updated code. This is despite a concerted "no" campaign by religious and social conservatives and foreign actors.

The new code is "very progressive," said Rodríguez. "It expands rights; it doesn't take away from anybody. It is an act of justice for many people."

Diplomatic personnel then outlined some of the key points of the new Code of Families and how it was achieved.

They said Cuban and Latin American identity was central to the process of shaping the new code. Family laws throughout the hemisphere were reviewed and pulled from – even U.S. case law.

The guiding idea is that family plurality, diversity and human dignity are at the center of the Cuban Revolution. The code has an educational and pedagogical nature.

The definition of a family is now based on affection and emotional ties rather than blood relations, something new in the country's history.

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PHOTO: MINREX

In addition to expanding the definition of the family beyond the hetero-normative conception, the Code also enshrines the rights of women, promotes gender equality, protects the role of grandparents and much more.



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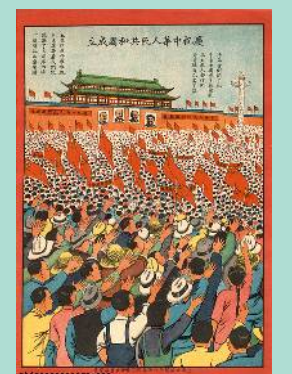
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CHINA 7

OVER 50,000 HOMES WERE DESTROYED BY HURRICANE IAN. REBUILDING BEGINS NOW, BUT THE U.S. EMBARGO ON CUBA MAKES IT AN UPHILL BATTLE. LET'S HELP OUR NEIGHBORS!

Reprint of the full-page ad that appeared in the Sunday, Oct. 2, New York Times

## LET CUBA REBUILD: AN URGENT APPEAL

The U.S. sanctions and embargo are preventing Cuba from rebuilding after Hurricane Ian.

The Biden Administration needs to act right now to help the Cuban people. Hurricane Ian caused great devastation. The power grid was damaged, and the electrical system collapsed. Over four thousand homes have been completely destroyed or badly damaged.

**Cuba must be allowed, even if just for the next six months, to purchase the necessary construction materials to rebuild. Cubans are facing a major setback because of Hurricane Ian.**

Despite Cuba's well-known preparedness for natural disasters, the damage from this hurricane has been immense. In the western province of Pinar del Rio, famous for its tobacco production, over 5,000 farms were destroyed. In small towns like San Luis, 80% of all homes were left damaged.

Despite previous assurances by the U.S. Embassy in Havana that the law authorizes U.S. entities and organizations to provide disaster relief and response, it's proven not so easy. For many organizations wanting to send aid to the island urgently, there are long, complex processes to receive licenses that often

require expensive lawyers. Also, Cuba's inclusion in the State Sponsors of Terrorism List means that banks in both the United States and abroad are reluctant to process any transactions, including humanitarian donations. The Trump administration absurdly placed Cuba on the State Sponsors of Terrorism list simply for hosting the internationally recognized peace talks for Colombia.

It is unconscionable at this critical hour to maintain the embargo and engage in collective punishment against an entire people by preventing Cuba from purchasing construction materials or receiving aid.

**President Biden, put Cold War politics aside – even for six months!**

The people of Cuba are part of our family – the human family. Don't let outdated Cold War politics prevent peace-loving people from helping the Cubans to rebuild and return to their homes, rebuild the electrical grid, and have clean drinking water and access to food. The time to act is now!

**Cuba is our neighbor. The U.S. loses nothing by being a good neighbor and allowing Cuba to recover fully from this tragic moment.**

LetCubaLive.info



# Marcos Jr. displays hypocrisy on political prisoners



By Lev Koufax

Earlier this month, newly elected Philippines president and neo-fascist demagogue Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr. visited Singapore, a fellow country-member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It is important to note that ASEAN was founded to suppress Communist movements that spread throughout the continent, including China, Vietnam and Korea.

At this recent meeting, Marcos and the president of Singapore explicitly denounced the government of Myanmar and demanded that Myanmar release all political prisoners. Marcos’ office released a statement after the meeting in Singapore, “The leaders expressed support for ASEAN’s active role in assisting in Myanmar to overcome the crisis and to return to the path of democratization.”

The military junta in Myanmar has been charged with human rights violations against its political opponents. However, this description fits another government – that of President “Bongbong” Marcos.

Since 2016, the Philippines has suffered neo-fascist rule. First at the hands of U.S.-backed dictator

Rodrigo Duterte and now by his successor, Bongbong Marcos, who took office in June. The individual office holder has changed, but the political reality remains the same.

The political prisoner crisis in the Philippines has exploded in the past six years. There is a severe and disturbing irony in Bongbong Marcos lecturing any country about their treatment of political prisoners when his fascist government is one of the most notorious for using prison and torture to subdue progressive and revolutionary political forces.

The Duterte regime took hundreds of political prisoners while it was in power. The recorded number is likely far less than the actual. Further, this number does not include the thousands that Duterte’s troops murdered in furtherance of the misnamed “war on terror.”

Bongbong Marcos has some nerve chastising anyone about political prisoners, especially considering his vice president is Sarah Duterte, the daughter of Rodrigo Duterte. This Marcos regime will simply continue the work of Duterte and Ferdinand Marcos before that.

Down with fascism in the Philippines! Release all political prisoners!

# Corona, Queens, says YES to Cuba

By Stephen Millies

Sept. 25 — A rally in Corona Plaza, Queens, New York, today protested the inhuman U.S. economic blockade of Cuba. As the No. 7 elevated train rumbled overhead, speakers pointed out how the U.S. blockade also hurts poor and working people in the U.S.

Jason Corley chaired the Sunday afternoon rally called by the New York-New Jersey Cuba Sí Coalition. The coalition is gearing up for the annual United Nations vote against U.S. sanctions on Cuba, which will be taking place in October.

Last year’s vote was 184 countries against the blockade compared to just two votes in favor.

Speakers mentioned the referendum on Cuba’s new family code, which was taking place the same

day. These laws will help protect LGBTQ2S people, as well as all women and youth.

There was also a short march through Corona, a poor working-class neighborhood with many immigrants. Estela Vazquez, Executive Vice President at 1199 SEIU, a health care workers’ union, said the community was hard hit by COVID-19.

One out of every 168 people died of the coronavirus in Corona, Queens. Despite the U.S. blockade, socialist Cuba has been able to contain the pandemic with its own vaccines.

Other speakers at the rally included Bill Sacks from the Venceremos Brigade; Camilo from the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party; and Samar from the Palestine Youth Movement.

U.S. hands off Cuba! 🇺🇸



Queens, N.Y., Sept. 25

SLL PHOTO: STEPHEN MILLIES

# Cuba says yes: ‘Code of freedom’ for families

Continued from page 1

It is a “code of freedom” to choose the form of family that works best for its members. It’s a comprehensive code – one of the most advanced laws in the world.

Included in the Code of Families:

- Protection of all forms of families with no discrimination;
- The parental relationship is based on responsibilities and duties;
- The rights of children and youth, elders and the disabled to independence, dignity, accessibility and respect;
- Consequences for violence or other abuse in family situations;
- Equality of marriage and common law unions;
- Gender equality, including for transgender and nonbinary Cubans;

- Equality of rights in adoption and technologically assisted methods like in vitro fertilization;
- Duty to contribute to the family and the value of domestic labor;
- Institutional and community responsibility to uphold these rights.

## ‘Did not happen overnight’

In response to an audience question about overcoming ingrained sexist and homophobic attitudes, Cuba’s Deputy Foreign Minister Carlos Fernández de Cossío explained that the development of consciousness “did not happen overnight.

“Cuban society has developed greatly over the last 60 years. We have had equal pay for women and men since the 1960s and non-discrimination in education. The process of popular consultation of the last few years has helped, of course.”

Fernández continued: “Cuba’s practice has been to submit changes affecting all of society to popular approval since Fidel proclaimed the socialist character of the revolution. The discussion of the Code of Families was not an exception – it is the practice.”

Speakers explained how the process of consultations was carried out through popular assemblies where experts and members of affected groups explained the aims of the various provisions. From there, “The whole society discussed the proposals in homes, workplaces and mass organizations.”

More than 4,000 proposals were made in the assemblies, many of which were incorporated into the final document. For example, a provision clarifying inheritance rights for same-sex marriages was incorpo-

rated from one of these discussions.

In all, the new Code of Families went through 26 revisions before the final vote. Even as late as the 25th draft, there were 255 amendments.

The discussions exposed a generational divide on issues of sexuality and gender, parental responsibility, and children’s rights, and young people were key to educating and winning over their elders.

In conclusion, Foreign Minister Bruno Rodríguez said: “We have to keep working hard. We have to deal every day with the 30% who voted against [the new code] and build more consensus in society.”

Estela Vazquez, a retired leader of 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers, summed it up: “This is an incredible achievement — changing the legacy of 500 years of slavery, colonialism and neocolonialism.” 🇺🇸



# Puerto Rico in the grip of Hurricane Fiona, Pierluisi and Luma

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

On Sunday, Sept. 18, just as the country remembered the fifth anniversary of the devastation of Hurricane Maria, another hurricane, Fiona, devastated the island. But these phenomena have no comparison. Maria was a category 5 storm while Fiona only reached category 1.

What Fiona has exposed to those who did not want to see it is the complete incompetence and indifference of the colonial government in defending the interests of the people.

Although the United States continues to have Puerto Rico as a colony, imposing a Fiscal Control Board that has destroyed and impoverished the people, taking away resources from its essential services to give them to vulture bondholders in a collection process for an illegitimate debt, the contempt of Gov. Pedro Pierluisi's government for its people is also true.

Fiona has devastated a large part of the nation due to the enormous amount of rain with consequent floods that have caused the collapse of structures, and countless misfortunes, including the death of more than 20 people. In addition, most of the country, almost two weeks after the phenomenon, still has no power, including hospitals and health care centers.

And the fault lies with the irresponsible inaction of the govern-



Catano, Puerto Rico

ment in keeping the infrastructure of our archipelago in good condition, thus propelling reservoirs and rivers to easily exceed their limits and endanger the structures and the lives of surrounding residents.

In addition, the government, obeying the Fiscal Control Board, has imposed privatizations that have plunged the people into conditions of great suffering, such as the privatization of energy under the

U.S.-Canadian company Luma Energy, which has proven that it has neither the knowledge nor the experience nor a sufficient labor force to deal with the electrical infrastructure of the country. Thanks to Luma's ineptitude, half of the country remains without enough electricity to carry out its essential tasks.

For this reason, in all parts of Puerto Rico, despite the lack of electricity, water and often communi-

cations, communities are demonstrating against the government and the privatized company. And massive protests are already being planned for early October.

And as the people say, LuMafia out! Pierluisi out!

*This is Berta Joubert-Ceci from Puerto Rico reporting for Radio Clarín of Colombia.*

*Translated by Melinda Butterfield*

## Int'l solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico

### PRESS STATEMENT

International organizations stand in solidarity with the People of Puerto Rico and demand the government's compliance with the well-being of the population of this Caribbean and Latin American Nation.

Within the framework of the XXVI Seminar, Parties and a New Society, held in Mexico City from September 22 to 24, 2022, seventy three organizations from the 30 countries present, unanimously expressed their solidarity with the People of Puerto Rico. They also accused both the Puerto Rican colonial administration and the United States government for causing the material conditions that have made that a Category 1 hurricane like Fiona caused so many tragedies to the people, a large part of which is without electricity or water. More than 13 people have perished, thousands are at risk, houses have been lost, structures have collapsed, and floods have caused countless tragedies.

The government of Puerto Rico has negligently failed to fulfill its responsibility in maintaining in good condition the infrastructure of our archipelago, thus propelling reservoirs and rivers to easily exceed their limits and endanger the structures and lives of surrounding residents.

It is shameful that in the twenty-first century, the United States possesses Puerto Rico as a colo-



Tran Duc Thang, of the Communist Party of Vietnam, addresses the 200 delegates from political parties of 30 countries at the international conference of "Political parties and a new society" in Mexico City from September 22-24. PHOTO: VNA

ny and imposes a Fiscal Oversight Board (JSF) on it since 2016, under a "PROMESA Law" that has cruelly been an instrument used for the destruction and impoverishment of the people, taking away the resources of its vital essential services and transferring them to vulture bondholders in a process of collecting an illegitimate debt.

That Fiscal Control Board and the colonial government of Puerto Rico have imposed privatizations that have plunged the people into conditions of great suffering, especially the privatization of energy under the recently created U.S.-Canadian

company Luma Energy. The government promoted this company as a world-renowned, experienced company that would improve the country's energy system and reduce rates.

But the reality is that since Luma assumed control of the country's energy system in June 2021, the Puerto Rican people have experienced 7 major outages, substation explosions, service instability causing many losses of domestic and industrial equipment, almost all caused due to lack of proper maintenance of the electrical agency facilities. In addition, they have increased the rate 7 times. And as a punishment to the

People and their working class, the experienced labor force of the state energy agency was displaced, replacing it with workers without the required experience, many of them brought from the United States, paying them almost triple the salary that the displaced workers earned.

The cruel inefficiency of Luma and its defense by the colonial government have aggravated the current situation where even hospitals and care centers are without power, putting thousands of lives at risk. Faced with this calamity, the displaced workers of the Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers' Union and other national energy unions ask the government for an Executive Order to employ these experienced public servants and thus speed up the energy reconstitution process; however, the governor Pedro Pierluisi rejects this offer that would save Puerto Rican lives and instead prefers to endorse the hiring of foreign workers brought to Puerto Rico under onerous multimillion-dollar contracts paid by the people.

The eyes of the world are now on Puerto Rico and this terrible situation will be made known as widely as possible. The organizations participating in the XXVI Seminar urge the governments of Puerto Rico and the United States to take action to stop the enormous suffering of the Puerto Rican people.

*Mexico City, September 24, 2022*



# The real Babyn Yar

81 years later, the Jewish community, and all those who would resist fascism, remember

By Lev Koufax

The U.S. and European political mainstream love to use the Holocaust. They use it to justify Zionist apartheid. They use it to make millions of dollars off tragedy porn passed as drama films. They use it to draw false comparisons between Vladimir Putin and Adolf Hitler.

What they rarely do, liberal or conservative, is tell the truth about the Holocaust. This deception includes the massacre at Babyn Yar.

A standard narrative among the fascist movement and, unfortunately, government officials in Ukraine and its Baltic allies is that Babyn Yar was a despicable Soviet plot designed to cover up their mass slaughter of innocent Jewish children and deflect attention to Nazi Germany.

NATO and its media allies love to place responsibility for horrendous crimes against humanity on Russia and China. Funny enough, history tells us a different story. History tells us that fascism commits the worst crimes against humanity. Babyn Yar is no different.

The fact is, there is an incredible amount of disinformation and propaganda regarding Babyn Yar when the truth is fairly simple. The SS Galicia division, aided by Banderite collaborators, murdered over 33,000 Jews over the span of two days. The vast majority perished on the first day. Only 29 Jews subjected to this horror survived to tell the tale. That's the truth not seen on CNN, BBC or other big business media.

What's important to understand is that Babyn Yar was not an isolated incident but a culminating event after a summer of horrific anti-Semitic and anti-Roma pogroms. Behind the terror in the summer of 1941 were the Stepan Bandera-led Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the SS and other Nazi collaborators.

This article aims to recognize the anniversary of the Babyn Yar tragedy through a truthful analysis of contemporary conditions and an examination of history.

## Babyn Yar borne from Ukrainian collaboration

The depth of Nazi terror and the Holocaust in Ukraine would not have been possible without a substantial, organized population of collaborators. Ukraine had exactly that.

Contemporary Ukrainian nationalist propaganda often touts the great resistance in Ukraine against the Nazi and Soviet invaders. As if making the two equivalent isn't bad enough, the analysis is a historical fantasy.

Some 100,000 Ukrainians joined Nazi police forces during World War 2. That number does not include the ranks of the OUN nor the SS Galicia Division. Frankly, the level of Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi Germany was likely the most severe on the European continent, except for maybe Poland.

On January 1, 1941, almost 2 million Jews lived in Ukraine. By the time Bandera and Hitler were done, nearly 1.6 million of those people were dead. This did not happen without a significant Ukrainian fascist movement willing to collaborate with Nazi occupiers.

This depth of collaboration is exactly what allowed SS forces to perpetrate massacres like Babyn Yar. It's crucial to understand that Babyn Yar was simply a culmination of a Nazi terror campaign against all those they viewed as sub-human. This included Jews, Roma people, Communists, Russians, Poles, LGBTQ2S people and even Ukrainians.

A fallacy has long existed that Nazi collaborationism and fascism will save an occupied country from Nazi violence. This fallacy has repeatedly led countries like Ukraine to its destruction. This was the case during

World War 2, and it is certainly the case now.

The actualization of this fallacy is no better demonstrated than by how quickly the Ukrainian community threw itself into anti-Semitic organizing once the Nazi invasion began in 1941. As soon as Hitler began his invasion of the USSR, the OUN and similar organizations sprang into action against all those who opposed fascism. The OUN had been working with the Nazis for years before the bloody summer that began with the 1941 Lviv pogroms and was book-ended by Babyn Yar.

On June 30, 1941, not long after the Nazi invasion, Bandera and the OUN issued a proclamation "restoring the Ukrainian state." In this proclamation, the OUN declared its affinity and future collaboration with Nazi Germany. In the OUN's view, Nazi Germany was aiding the Ukrainian people in freeing themselves from "Muscovite occupation."

In furtherance of this proclamation, the OUN launched a pogrom of unprecedented proportions the next day, centered in Lviv. The slaughter was immediate and brutal. In less than 12 hours, OUN militants murdered nearly 10,000 Ukrainian Jews. This began a summer of OUN terror against Ukrainian Jews, including a late July massacre known as the "Petliura Days."

Symon Petliura was a famed Ukrainian nationalist leader and rabid anti-Semite. Petliura was infamous for his particularly brutal pogroms against Ukrainian Jews in the early 20th century. Approximately 2,000 more Jews would be murdered in his name over the span of less than 24 hours in late July 1941.

This is all to say Babyn Yar came as the summer's Nazi terror reached a fever pitch. Ukrainian collaborationist organizations were fully mobilized and formed. This allowed the Nazi army and the SS to gain a substantial foothold in Ukraine.

The result? Babyn Yar — arguably the most notorious anti-Semitic massacre of the Holocaust. German SS paramilitary forces and the recently formed Ukrainian Auxiliary Police carried out this massacre.

Babyn Yar sticks in the collective memory of all those who would oppose Ukrainian Nazism and NATO imperialism as a firm reminder of fascism's capabilities.

## Bandera's ideological descendants

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Stepan Bandera has again grown into a popular symbol not only for the Ukrainian Nazi movement but for the Ukrainian government itself. It is not uncommon to see UAF or fascist battalion troops wearing Bandera patches or waving flags laden with Bandera's face.

In the years leading up to Russia's 2022 denazification campaign, mass Nazi demonstrations were held in western Ukrainian cities, including Kiev and Lviv. Crowds between 40,000 and 70,000 Nazis brandished swastikas, the Right Sector trident and flags donning Stepan Bandera's face. These are the people who really run Ukraine. Whether civilian organizers, elected politicians, or the NATO-equipped military, the veil of "Ukrainian democracy" only thinly covers the fascist reality.

These forces want to create a new Holocaust, a new Babyn Yar, directed at all those NATO deems undesirable: Russians, Jews, Roma people, all Slavic people, anti-imperialists, communists, socialists, etc. NATO uses the people of Ukraine as meat shields to further its goal of white supremacy and genocide.

One of the few images captured of Babyn Yar depicts a Jewish mother, stripped naked, trying to protect herself and her child from an SS trooper poised to execute her baby in front of her eyes. She was one of my people. Her child was one of my people. The Ukrop Nazis and their SS handlers murdered her and tens of thousands of others just like her and her child. Stepan Bandera adored this picture. He carried it with him until his death as a reminder of what he was fighting for, the purging of all "mongrel races" from Ukraine.

That is the Ukraine that NATO wants. That is the Ukraine that the UAF and the Azovites want. That is the Ukraine the U.S. wants. That Ukraine cannot be allowed to re-emerge. In reality, the myth of Ukrainian nationalism is inherently linked to fascism.

This is what all anti-imperialists, wherever we are, must resist. We must fight against all forms of imperialism, from racist police terror in the U.S. Black community to Ukrop Nazi terror in the Donbass. The global working class defeated Bandera once. We must defeat his descendants now, or we will be subject to a million Babyn Yars.

*Lev Koufax is an anti-zionist Jew with ancestral roots in Russia and Ukraine.*



On September 29-30, 1941, more than 30,000 Jews were killed in Babyn Yar, Ukraine, in what was one of the largest massacres to be perpetrated during the Jewish/Roma Holocaust.



# Fighting for the rights and sovereignty of Iranian women

By Lallan Schoenstein

The solidarity movement of the Iranian women evoked by the brutal death of Mahsa Amin can serve to encourage women in the U.S. to fight back against the combined repression of the state and the church on their reproductive health.

The undemocratic ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court eliminating women's right to abortion is overwhelmingly unpopular. The justices who are appointed for life are not elected. The majority of judges profess conservative religious zeal and far right-wing political ideology. In one 2022 decision, they moved to undo the First Amendment's separation of church and state in public schools.

The Biden administration, which was elected in opposition to the Trump crowd, appears to be doing nothing to check the Supreme Court's rabid implementation of racism and bigotry. In states around the country, voting rights are being challenged, history lessons forbidden in schools, the right to gender freedom denied, and state violence against people of color, LGBTQ2S, and disadvantaged workers is validated.

With that in mind, consider the problems faced by our sisters in the Iranian movement. Why is the powerful U.S. corporate media giving it a thumbs up? Why is the Biden administration seeking ways to intervene? President Biden publicly sided with the protesters in his speech at the United Nations. And his administration has moved to set up satellite links and social media with the intention of spurring opposition to the government with dubious information from the U.S.

## U.S. economic sanctions on Iran

Can it be that they are concerned about the lives of Iranian women? The hypocrisy is startling.

Harsh U.S. economic sanctions against Iran began in 1979 and have generally been tightened during the following years. Donald Trump tossed out a deal made by Barack Obama that relaxed the sanctions to deny Iran the development of nuclear energy, a move meant to block the economic development of Iran. Trump amped up the most punishing sanctions, and Biden has not returned to the deal made by Obama.

The years of U.S. economic sanctions have deprived the entire population of the basic necessities of survival. Women, children and the elderly suffer most from the U.S. sanctions, which even include denying basic medical supplies.

U.S. sanctions are a form of economic warfare. Sanctions have been imposed on Iran, Zimbabwe, North Korea, Iraq, Cuba, Myanmar, Sudan, Syria and Venezuela — among others.

The goal of sanctions is to destabilize the country and bring about regime change, to deprive those countries of self-determination. U.S. sanctions endanger people's lives, particularly those already most vulnerable in society: children, women and oppressed genders.

The human toll was devastating when sanctions were imposed on Iraq. According to the Geneva International Center for Justice, some 1.5 million children were killed by U.S. sanctions on Iraq.

The catastrophic results of U.S.-imposed regime change can be seen in the countries surrounding Iran.

## U.S. imperialism and Iran

The U.S. media dwells on the theocratic form of the Iranian government as if the enactment of archaic forms of religious law were unheard of (what about the U.S. Supreme Court?). Even more importantly, how did the Iranian religious leaders come to power?

In 1951 a progressive leader named Mohammed Mosaddeq became Prime Minister of Iran with the rise of massive popular support. Under his leadership, the Iranians nationalized their oil industry. When the Shah, a monarch of the Iranian Pahlavi dynasty, tried to intercede to protect Anglo-U.S. oil interests, the Shah was forced into exile.

The United States CIA, with the active support of the British MI6, responded by organizing a coup. Mosaddeq was arrested and tried for treason. All opposition to the Shah, which had been led by the National Front and Communist Tudeh Party, was suppressed. The U.S. reinstated the Shah's rule under a martial law regime with brutal measures such as banning the gathering of three or more people. An international consortium took over the Iranian oil facilities for the next 25 years. The U.S. supplied military aid while Iranian workers suffered ever deeper poverty levels, dislocation and decay.

## The Iranian Revolution

During the 1978-79 Iranian Revolution, Sam Marcy wrote in November 1978: "The Shah of Iran has not yet been overthrown, but no monarch has ever been so completely a prisoner in his own palace and so thoroughly hated by the overwhelming bulk of the population as is Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi."

Marcy was a leading Marxist thinker, an active supporter of the Iranian Revolution whose writings were followed by some Iranian revolutionaries.

"First, it should be noted that all the social classes in Iran today — not merely one or the most oppressed but all the classes — are in political motion. None of the classes can any longer openly champion the status quo. To one degree or another, the bourgeoisie, the comprador bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie in the rural and urban centers, and, needless to say, the workers and the peasants, agree either expressly or by implication that the status quo, the present situation, is unendurable and that the consequent political crisis must be resolved now."

Thus, the Iranian Revolution began in 1978 with workers' strikes, most notably the Iranian petroleum



workers. Major demonstrations that faced a hail of bullets arose, "not only so in Tehran, in Tabriz, in Isfahan, in Abadan, but all over the country." The hated SAVAK, the military police of the Shah, was defeated, and large segments of the conscript army came under the influence of the revolution.

Despite the support of Jimmy Carter's administration, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was kicked out and forced to retreat to a safe haven in Texas.

At the time, Marcy wrote: "The leadership of the overall anti-Shah opposition is in the hands of bourgeois democratic forces concentrated principally around Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a religious leader, and not in the hands of a working-class party."

"This should not be surprising in the light of the catastrophic consequences following the imperialist-engineered overthrow of the Mossadegh regime. What followed was not the mere installation of a puppet in the person of the Shah, but the extermination of practically an entire generation of militants, revolutionaries, and progressives in the annihilation that followed, as were other progressives. A historic defeat of such magnitude as entailed by the overthrow of the Mossadegh government not merely wipes out a generation of political leadership and activists in the anti-imperialist and working class movements, it also leaves a wide generation gap which a long period of repression has filled in with other social and political forces."

## The Islamic Republic

Ayatollah Khomeini took over the Tehran government, and Iran officially became the Islamic Republic on April 1, 1979. The revolution became limited to the political overthrow of the Shah. The class structure — relations between exploiter and exploited classes — remained intact. The revolution did succeed in releasing the working class from a

fascist dictatorship.

The working class, weakened by years of imperialist and colonial domination, succeeded by joining a united front with a hostile class represented by the clerical Khomeini regime. They needed to join other forces to fight for their sovereignty while not subordinating their class interests.

In 1979 Marcy warned: Workers in the U.S. need to avoid the imperialist anti-Muslim bias and consider the difference "between the religious leader of an oppressed country who fights imperialism as against one who, no matter how lofty or advanced his bourgeois conceptions may be, conciliates with imperialism."

Thirty years later, John Parker, who traveled to Iran in an anti-war delegation in 2010, reported some facts never mentioned in corporate media attacks against Iran. Parker says that more than 65% of Iran's university students are women, as are more than a third of the doctors. At the time of the 1979 Revolution, 90% of rural women were illiterate; even in towns, the figure was 45%. So, in a little over 30 years, tremendous strides were made in regard to educational opportunities for women. Now large numbers of increasingly well-educated women have been entering the workforce.

## Critical support for current movement

While the mouthpieces of U.S. imperialist interests loudly champion women's rights, there is no evidence that the U.S. government has alleviated gender oppression anywhere abroad or at home. Quite the opposite.

It is crucial to support Iran's women and oppressed genders by fighting to end U.S. sanctions, which oppress all the women and oppressed genders in Iran. It is the foremost way to back the fight for self-determination and defend against the opportunistic advances of those who wish to return them to the decades of colonial exploitation. ☐



# An act of war: U.S. bombs pipelines

By Gary Wilson

You didn't see it in the U.S. monopoly-controlled media, but throughout the month of September, there were mass demonstrations in Germany, the Czech Republic, France, Spain, Moldova and Belgium. A hundred thousand in Berlin; 70,000 in Prague.

Primarily they were protests against skyrocketing energy prices and soaring inflation. They were also against war and the sanctions on Russia that are seen to be directly responsible for the cost of living crisis across Europe. Some protests demanded the opening of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline.

And then the pipeline was blown up.

U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken cheered the explosions at the Nord Stream pipelines, saying it's a "tremendous opportunity" to stop European "dependence" on Russian natural gas.

Was this deliberate sabotage, a criminal act of war?

There is a precedent for this kind of pipeline sabotage by the United States. Some 40 years ago, the CIA blew up a Soviet natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Europe in an operation dubbed Farewell Dossier, as documented by Thomas Reed, a former U.S. Air Force officer.

Today no one thinks it is accidental that there were four almost-simultaneous explosions damaging both pipelines, Nord Stream 1 and 2. Neither pipeline was in current use: Nord Stream 2 was never opened, and Nord Stream 1 had been shut down for weeks because U.S. and NATO sanctions had blocked normal maintenance.

Few dispute the charge that U.S. and NATO forces sabotaged Russia's gas link with the rest of Europe.

The intention to do this was announced by President Joe Biden back in February. Biden declared, "If Russia invades ... then there will no longer be a Nord Stream 2. We will bring an end to it." A reporter asked, "How will you do that exactly since the project is in Germany's control?" Biden responded, "I promise you, we will be able to do that."

After the Sept. 27 reports of the pipeline bombing, Poland's former minister of defense and former foreign minister, Radoslaw Sikorsky, publicly congratulated the United

States for sabotaging the Russian pipeline. However, Sikorsky, currently a member of the European Parliament and well-connected in Washington and in NATO circles, has since removed his tweet ("Thank you, USA"), which was seen as a confirmation of U.S. and NATO guilt.

On social media, a retired U.S. Army colonel and former Pentagon adviser is quoted as saying that the U.S. likely attacked the Nord Stream pipelines to stop any reopening of Russian gas to Germany. Pointing to reports that thousands of pounds of TNT were used, the colonel says that only the U.S. Navy Special Operations and the British Royal Navy have that capability.

The Baltic Sea, where the bombing was carried out, is controlled by NATO. In June, the U.S. Navy Sixth Fleet was reported to be engaged in underwater vehicle "practice" mining and demining operations in the area. In addition, a large U.S. Navy fleet formation passed nearby just five days before the explosions were detected.

The bombing won't end the protests in Europe against skyrocketing energy prices and the war-induced inflation, though NATO probably hopes it will. The bombing could move the U.S./NATO proxy war into an open war, which may be intentional.

## The war economy

The U.S. is in a war economy. War means industry, be it a hot war or an economic war, such as sanctions.

The U.S. military-industrial complex is in heavy production mode. Since 2014, the U.S. has spent billions on arming and training the coup regime in Ukraine. In the last six months, the Biden administration has pumped \$70 billion into Ukraine.

The U.S./NATO proxy war in Ukraine against Russia is seemingly a bottomless pit for military spending.

A recent Financial Times report noted that military stockpiles in Ukraine are not about high-tech weapons that need chips, but rather basic artillery, calling it "the return of industrial warfare."

"Fetishes for high-tech weapons and lean manufacturing have obscured the importance of maintaining stockpiles of basic kits [like artillery shells]. Total annual U.S. production of 155 million artillery shells, for example, would last only about two weeks in Ukraine. ... In-



expensive ammunition that you can use on a large scale is essential."

U.S. military spending has never been higher. The U.S. now has a trillion-dollar military budget.

The U.S. spends more on its military than any other country in the world by a massive margin.

The U.S. also has the deepest national debt in the world. The Oct. 4 New York Times reported that the U.S. "gross national debt exceeded \$31 trillion for the first time on Tuesday." But, of course, they don't mention that military spending is the biggest chunk of debt.

Some have suggested that the big increases in the military budget under Biden were meant to rescue the economy from the COVID recession, including the \$25 billion bailout of Boeing and the airline industry, a major part of the military-industrial complex. But using military production as a stimulant, like any other stimulant, eventually turns into its opposite and becomes a devastating depressant.

## War is inflationary

The sharp oil price increases internationally are fueled by the U.S./NATO proxy war against Russia and the U.S. sanctions that have blocked Russian gas to Europe. The U.S.-British-controlled oil monopolies are a

key part of the military-industrial complex.

Military production is a different kind of capitalist commodity production. The products of the military-industrial complex are commodities. However, as Karl Marx points out in "Capital," capitalism requires that commodities have a use value. Marx says that a commodity is "a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another."

The process of capitalist production and exchange means that the capitalist, to realize a profit, must produce a useful product.

Production from the military-industrial complex has no usefulness to society and no use value in capitalist production. The military-industrial complex stops production of useful commodities and instead produces commodities to be destroyed.

The U.S. military budget has devalued the dollar, increasing the debt. With no use value, there is no return value to compensate for the vast expenditures required to produce the jets, guns, cannons, tanks and other weapons of mass destruction in the Pentagon's budget.

War is inflationary. Inflation did not start with the U.S./NATO proxy war in Ukraine, but the war put a fire under the smoldering inflation that was already there. ■

# War and industrial policy U.S., NATO to expand arms industry, ramp

By Gary Wilson

War means industry.

Wars are not fought with global supply chains that crisscross a world where production happens across borders and oceans. War means preparing an industrial base for armaments — from ammunition to tanks and rockets.

So the U.S. and NATO have set up a new industrial production command center in Europe. At the direction of the U.S. Pentagon, a special meeting was held recently in Brussels. According to NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg, the meeting was

to discuss plans to "expand their [NATO] nations' industrial base" for building bombs, tanks, rockets and artillery for the proxy war against Russia in Ukraine.

Since February, the U.S. and NATO have sent tens of billions in arms to Ukraine. Washington's military contribution has led by a significant margin, giving almost \$70 billion to Ukraine in just over seven months.

The special meeting was reported in the New York Times on Sept. 28. The headline said: "Meeting in Brussels Signifies a Turning Point for Allies Arming Ukraine."

According to the Times, "The top

priority for the discussions was increasing ammunition for howitzers and rocket artillery, a senior U.S. defense official said."

The rockets are produced by Lockheed Martin; howitzers are from Britain's BAE, the largest defense contractor in Europe. Production is to be ramped up.

Boeing and Lockheed Martin are the two top arms manufacturers in the world — yes, the world, not just in the U.S. They are the top two of the five corporations that get 90% of Pentagon contracts. The other three are Raytheon, Northrop Grumman and General Dynamics.

The five together are the infamous U.S. military-industrial complex. (U.S. Secretary of Defense Gen. Lloyd Austin was on the Raytheon board of directors when Biden picked him.)

Number six in Pentagon contracts is Britain's BAE.

## Buildup began in 2014

The New York Times noted that the U.S./NATO military buildup in Ukraine began in 2014:

"The effort to send weapons made by the United States and other Western nations to [Ukraine] began ... in

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# China's 73 years of moving forward

By Stephen Millies

When the People's Republic of China was born on Oct. 1, 1949, the country was devastated by years of war. At least 20 million Chinese people were killed. Starvation stalked the land.

The Chinese Revolution swept that misery away. Seventy-three years after Mao Zedong declared that "China has stood up," look at what socialism has accomplished:

- Life expectancy has more than doubled to reach 77.3 years. That's a longer lifespan than in the U.S.
  - Women moved forward with unbound feet. Chinese scientist Tu Youyou won the Nobel Prize in medicine in 2015. She discovered artemisinin and dihydroartemisinin, which are used to combat malaria.
  - While 80% of China's people couldn't read or write in 1949, illiteracy has been virtually abolished. Thirty-seven million people attend universities compared with 117,000 before the revolution. More than 52% of college students were women.
  - China has become the workshop of the world. The People's Republic makes more than a billion tons of steel annually. China has built more miles of high-speed rail than the rest of the world combined.
  - Even greater advances have been made by China's national minorities, whose languages and cultures flourish. One of the great victories of human rights was the abolition of serfdom in Tibet by the People's Liberation Army. The Chinese Revolution inspired oppressed people around the world, including Malcolm X.
- None of these achievements would have been possible without a socialist revolution led by the Communist Party of China.

## Two centuries of hate

These great advances have made China even more hated by the imperialists whose troops plundered China during a century of humiliation. British colonialists fought the

Opium Wars to enslave Chinese people with drug addiction.

One of the biggest drug pushers was a Yankee merchant named Warren Delano. His family's dope fortune helped put his grandson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in the White House.

Even before 1776, U.S. capitalists in seaports like Marblehead and Salem in Massachusetts dreamed of the riches of China. FDR got the U.S. ruling class into World War II with the prospect of grabbing all of China.

The Chinese Revolution stopped that colonial nightmare. The anti-communist witch hunt led by Senator Joe McCarthy demanded to know "who lost China?" It was "lost" to the Chinese people, led by their communist party.

Wall Street greeted the People's Republic of China by instigating the Korean War. As a result, millions of Korean people were killed. Koreans were burned alive by napalm



# up production

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2014. The United States, Britain and Germany formed a group called the Joint Military Commission that began sending weapons and military trainers to Ukraine."

In Ukraine, the so-called Maidan coup in 2014 was openly supported and financed by NATO. The coup installed a government that made NATO membership a policy mandate. (Watch the Oliver Stone-produced documentary "Ukraine on Fire" to see the U.S. State Department's active role in the Maidan coup.)

Many Ukrainians resisted the

Maidan coup, particularly in the working class. In the Maidan civil war, fascist gangs such as the Azov Battalion emerged as a force for the coup. Resistance to the coup was strongest in the eastern section of the country.

In Odessa, a neo-Nazi, pro-Maidan gang targeted the House of Trade Unions near the center of the resistance. The building was fire-bombed and at least 46 anti-fascists and labor activists were burned alive or shot to death.

The resistance to the Maidan coup has continued from 2014 to today. The independent Donetsk People's

Republic and Lugansk People's Republic were created when the people there voted overwhelmingly (89% and 96%) to secede from the Maidan regime. They have been subjected to continuous attacks since then.

The U.S. has turned the neo-fascist Ukraine army, including the Azov Battalion, into a military force owned, armed and trained by NATO and the Pentagon.

Along with expanding the arms industry, the New York Times reported Sept. 29 that the Pentagon plans to set up a new command center for its Ukraine armaments and its proxy forces in the war effort.

The Times says, "The system would be placed under a single new command based in Germany that

would be led by a high-ranking U.S. general, according to several military and administration officials."

The newspaper adds, "The new command, which would report to General Cavoli, would carry out the decisions made by the Ukraine Defense Contact Group, a coalition of 40 countries that the Defense Department created after the Russian invasion to address Ukraine's needs and requests.

"About 300 people would be dedicated to the mission, which would be in Wiesbaden, Germany, the U.S. Army's headquarters in Europe. Much of the training of Ukrainian soldiers on U.S. weapons systems is already taking place there or nearby," the Times concludes. [R]

**"The Chinese people have stood up"**

Mao Zedong, 1 October 1949

TEN REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE CHINA'S LIBERATION:

- Life expectancy increased from 37 to 77 ★
- Extreme poverty eradicated, basic needs guaranteed
- Youth literacy rate increased from 20% to 100% ★
- Universal education and healthcare established
- Feudalism dismantled and land redistributed ★
- Foreign domination and occupation ended
- Food problem solved for the first time ★
- Emerged as a leader in science and technology
- Portion of global GDP increased from 2% to 18% ★
- China provides crucial support to the Global South

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ping tons of heroin to the U.S. This big lie was a cover-up for the CIA's "French Connection" drug ring.

It paved the way for the Pentagon to flood the Black and Latinx communities with heroin. (See "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia" by Alfred McCoy.)

Just as China's socialist revolution fought drug addiction, the socialist revolution has allowed the country to defeat COVID-19. In the United States, over a million people have died of the pandemic. That's 90 times the number of deaths in China.

This success hasn't prevented the capitalist media from attacking China for its absolutely necessary public health measures. These have included closing entire cities for a time to stop the spread of COVID-19.

In contrast, big drug outfits like Pfizer and Moderna delayed supplying vaccines to developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This accelerated the coronavirus mutations.

Another big lie is that China is responsible for destroying millions of jobs in the United States. General Motors shut nine of its ten plants in Flint, Michigan. Not China.

Former Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder poisoned Flint's children with polluted water, not China. The same goes with Jackson, Mississippi's polluted water supply.

Our enemy is high rents, police brutality and mass incarceration. We need what China has: a socialist revolution.

Happy birthday to the People's Republic of China. [R]



# El Huracán Fiona-Pierluisi-Luma

Por Berta Joubert-Ceci

El pasado domingo 18 de septiembre, justo cuando el país recordaba el 5to aniversario de la devastación del Huracán María, otro huracán, Fiona arrasaba la isla. Pero estos fenómenos no tienen comparación. María fue categoría 5 mientras Fiona alcanzó solamente el uno.

Lo que sí Fiona ha expuesto a quienes no querían verlo, es la completa incompetencia e indiferencia del gobierno colonial en defender los intereses del pueblo.

Si bien en pleno siglo veintiuno Estados Unidos sigue teniendo a Puerto Rico como colonia imponiéndole una Junta de Control Fiscal que ha destruido y empobrecido al pueblo, quitándole los recursos de sus servicios esenciales para dárselos a bonistas buitres en un proceso de cobro por una deuda ilegítima, también es cierto el desprecio del gobierno de Pedro Pierluisi a su pueblo.

Fiona ha devastado a gran parte del pueblo por la enorme cantidad de lluvia con las consecuentes inundaciones que han provocado el colapso

so de estructuras, y un sinnúmero de desgracias, incluyendo la muerte de más de 20 personas. Además, la mayor parte del pueblo a casi dos semanas del fenómeno, aún no tiene luz, incluyendo hospitales y centros de cuidado.

Y la culpa ha sido la inacción irresponsable del gobierno en mantener en buen estado la infraestructura de nuestro archipiélago propulsando así que embalses y ríos rebasen con facilidad sus límites y pongan en peligro las estructuras y las vidas de residentes circundantes.

Además, el gobierno, obedeciendo la Junta de Control Fiscal ha impuesto privatizaciones que han sumido a condiciones de mucho sufrimiento al pueblo, como la privatización de la energía bajo la compañía estadounidense-canadiense Luma Energy que ha probado que no tiene ni los saberes, ni la experiencia, ni la fuerza trabajadora suficiente para bregar con la infraestructura eléctrica del país. Gracias a la torpeza de Luma, la mitad del país se mantiene sin la electricidad suficiente para llevar a cabo sus labores esenciales.



Catano, Puerto Rico

Por eso, a pesar de la falta de luz, de agua y muchas veces de señal de comunicaciones, en todas las partes de Puerto Rico las comunidades se están manifestando en contra del gobierno y la privatizadora. Y ya se están organizando protestas masivas para principios de este próximo mes.

Y como dice el pueblo, ¡Fuera LuMafia! ¡Fuera Pierluisi!



Desde Puerto Rico, para Radio Clarín de Colombia, les habló Berta Joubert-Ceci.

## AUSTIN, TEXAS:

# Los manifestantes desafían la cumbre de los especuladores de la guerra

Por John Parker

21 de septiembre: nos reunimos anoche, provenientes de Baltimore, Los Ángeles y Denver, en el hotel en Austin, Texas, a 12 minutos del Centro de Convenciones de Austin, donde la Asociación Industrial de Defensa Nacional (NDIA) estaba celebrando su Conferencia evento "Future Forces".

La NDIA reunió a comerciantes de la muerte como Lockheed, General Dynamic, Raytheon y otros fabricantes de armas salivando ante la perspectiva de miles de millones de dólares adicionales para agregar a los \$70 mil millones ya prometidos para la guerra en Ucrania.

Se programó que funcionarios y oficiales militares ucranianos, incluido el propio presidente Volodymyr Zelensky, asistieran a esta conferencia, algunos en persona, otros virtualmente, para impulsar la fabricación de más armas para compensar las que ya se utilizan para atacar a militares de Donetsk, Lugansk y Rusia y para atacar a civiles, especialmente en la región de Donbass.

Sin embargo, como se pudo ver en los rostros de los oficiales militares ucranianos que entraban y salían de la conferencia, lo último que esperaban ver eran activistas gritando: "¡Oye, oye, ho ho, los especuladores de la guerra tienen que irse!". y "Biden, Biden, ¿no puedes ver? No queremos una Tercera Guerra Mundial".

Muchos de los activistas de la Organización Socialista Freedom Road, el Comité Contra la Guerra de Dallas, el Partido de Unidad Socialista, los Estudiantes de Austin por una Sociedad Democrática y otros activistas no afiliados también se sorprendieron por la recepción abrumadoramente positiva que recibió esta protesta por parte de los residentes



SLL FOTO: RASIKA RUWANPATHIRANA

Austin, Texas: Los manifestantes desafían la cumbre de los especuladores de la guerra.

y quienes trabajan cerca de la Centro de Convenciones de Austin.

Paul Tardie, quien decidió venir después de ver la protesta desde el otro lado de la calle, dijo: "¡Gracias por hacer esto!". Dijo que estaba frustrado por los informes unilaterales sobre lo que sabía que era una guerra de poder de Estados Unidos contra Rusia.

Nicole Rogers y Jacob Rogers de Round Rock manejaron 20 millas en medio del tráfico para llegar a la manifestación. Tenían letreros muy singulares que decían "Cerveza de barril, no personas" y "Dinero de guerra, dinero de sangre", con su propia tira cómica dentro del letrero que explica cómo el complejo militar-industrial se beneficia de la guerra.

Nicole dirigió cánticos destacando la necesidad de paz y no de muerte por las bombas que se venden durante esta convención. Un veterano que pasaba y quería saber más sobre

nuestra protesta le habló y se alejó diciendo que estaba con nosotros.

Dos miembros del Comité Contra la Guerra de Dallas se unieron a la protesta con su pancarta, encabezando el piquete y los cánticos. Los miembros Dan y Cassandra manejaron tres horas y media para llegar a la protesta.

Los activistas de la comunidad de Baltimore manejaron 24 horas para llegar a la protesta. Esa ciudad de la costa este es otra área víctima del descuido de la infraestructura, que recientemente se manifestó en la presencia de E. coli en su agua potable.

Dijo Sharon Black de la Asamblea del Poder Popular de Baltimore: "Necesitamos dinero para comida, vivienda e infraestructura para reconstruir nuestras ciudades. Necesitamos luchar por el derecho al aborto y los derechos de las personas trans, no por las guerras de poder entre EE. UU. y la OTAN. Biden necesita detener a los antisindicales de Starbucks y Amazon, no gastar miles de millones en la guerra".

Lo que descubrimos hoy es que hay muchas personas que ahora permanecen calladas, debido a la reacción negativa percibida por desafiar las mentiras del Pentágono y los medios corporativos sobre la guerra de Estados Unidos contra Rusia. Se quedan callados porque tienen una visión diferente.

De las conversaciones que tuvimos con algunos de ellos hoy, aprendimos que muchos más de los que nos dimos cuenta entienden lo que realmente está sucediendo, desde la infiltración nazi en el ejército y el gobierno de Ucrania hasta los miles de millones de dólares en ganancias de la guerra para el ejército. complejo industrial.

Más importante aún, descubrimos que cuando nos movilizamos y hacemos visible nuestro rechazo a estas mentiras y esta guerra a través de protestas, la gente encontrará sus voces y se unirá a nosotros.

Traducción por Partido Obrero Socialista Costa Rica (POScr).

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