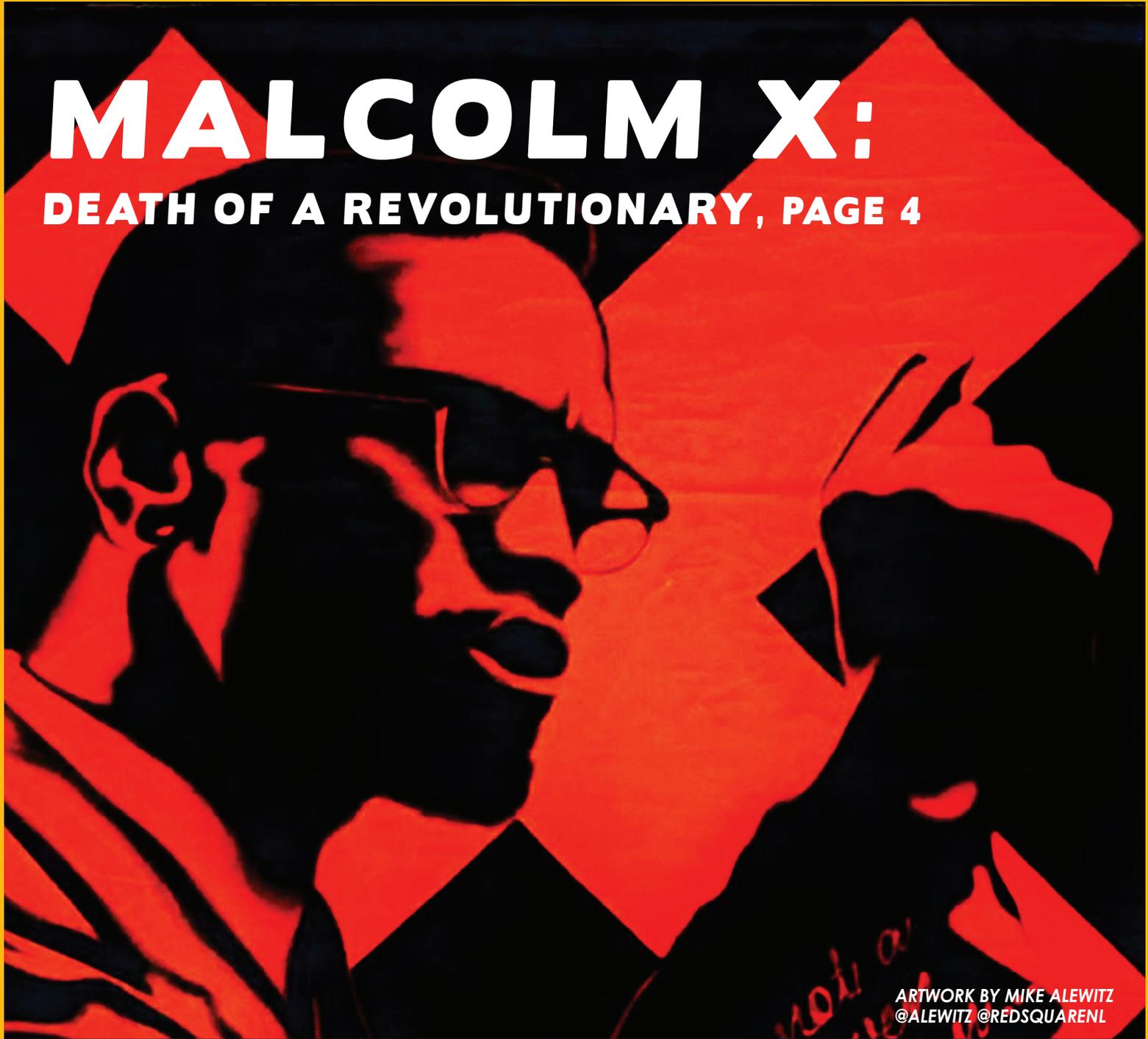


WORKERS' ACTION

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MALCOLM X:

DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY, PAGE 4



ARTWORK BY MIKE ALEWITZ
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What We Stand For

WORKERS' ACTION is the publication of Workers' Voice / La Voz de los Trabajadores, a revolutionary socialist organization founded with the fusion of Socialist Resurgence and Workers' Voice in March 2022.

We aim to build a strong, working-class, multinational revolutionary party that defends the principle of class independence and is capable of providing theoretical and political coordination for the struggles of exploited and oppressed communities.

Our ultimate goal is to build a socialist society—one in which productive resources are collectively owned and controlled by the people, not by corporations and the rich ruling elite; where wealth and knowledge are invested in human needs (food, health care, housing, education, and culture) and not in creating profits for a handful of exploiters; and where government is controlled democratically by workers, not by capitalists and their political regime. Building a socialist society means distributing wealth equitably, dismantling all forms of oppression (including but not limited to racism, sexism, heterosexism, transphobia, and ableism), ending wars of plunder and conquest, and protecting the environment.

We do not believe these aspirations can be achieved under capitalism, which is a system rooted in exploitation and inextricably linked to inequality, war, and environmental destruction. Thus, we reject capitalist parties like the Democrats and the Republicans, whose political projects openly protect business inter-



WORKERS' VOICE

ests at the expense of workers.

Workers need a party of their own. We call for an independent and militant labor party that will break from the Democratic Party.

We fight for the immediate material needs of workers and oppressed people (such as better wages and benefits), as well as for social and democratic reforms that benefit the working class. But we must go further. To bring about a truly free and just society, we must mobilize the working class, along with all oppressed and marginalized peoples, to take political power and replace the capitalist order.

We actively support the new unionization drives, while working toward building a class-struggle left wing in the trade-union movement to take on the bosses. We think unions should be democratically run, rely on collective action such as strikes, and operate independently from the bosses and the State. Unions should fight sexism, racism, and all forms of oppression in the workplace and society at large.

Climate change is the biggest threat that humanity and all life on this planet face today. "Green capitalism" and individual consumer choices are entirely insufficient to tackle the catastrophe facing the planet. Fossil-fuel-driven capitalism must be abolished and replaced with a planned so-

cialist economy based upon renewable energy, mass transit, and the shared and carefully planned use of resources for the public good. As a major step toward that goal, the energy industry needs to be nationalized under workers' and community control in order to convert it to renewable energy sources.

Sexism, racism, Islamophobia, anti-immigrant sentiment, homophobia, transphobia, and other forms of oppression and discrimination are the product of capitalism's drive toward the lowest wages, most meager living standards, creation of an auxiliary work force, denigration of unpaid labor, and the disunity that prevents an organized resistance to these conditions.

Therefore, we support the struggles of those who are specially oppressed under capitalism—women and the LGBTQI+ communities, and those suffering national oppression. We support and help build movements for the oppressed with a class-struggle perspective so that such movements can articulate their own demands and develop political consciousness as a group.

The unpaid labor of women and other caregivers is vital to the functioning of capitalism, which privatizes and atomizes the labor and costs associated with raising, nurturing, and maintaining workers. This is why, beyond demanding full reproductive rights and bodily autonomy, the liberation of women and transgender and gender non-conforming individuals rests upon the overthrow of the capitalist system and its replacement with socialism.

We stand against all forms of racism, and we demand open borders and the immediate closure of immigrant detention camps. We support the right of the oppressed and exploited to defend themselves from racist and fascist violence. Defeating the far right requires a mass mobilization of broad social forces, including the labor movement ranks. We support self-determination for Black people and for Native Americans—both of whom are oppressed nationalities in the United States. We support Native American demands for recognition of treaty rights, confronting the epidemic of missing and murdered Indigenous women, and full nationhood.

We understand that the United States is an imperialist, colonial power, and we defend the right to self-determination for the peoples of U.S. colonies such as Puerto Rico, Guam, and Samoa. The process of building a revolutionary party in the U.S. is inseparable from the struggle for a revolutionary *international* party. Workers' Voice is a sympathizing section of the International Workers League. ■

Our 10-point program

1) Defend unions and workers' rights to organize! For an independent labor party based on a democratic, fighting labor movement! No support for Democrats and Republicans!

2) Stop all deportations now! Equal rights for immigrants! Close the camps!

3) Black Lives Matter! Jail killer cops! Dismantle the racist police and the criminal "justice" system! Reparations and self-determination for Black people, Puerto Ricans, and all indigenous and colonized communities!

4) Reproductive justice: Free, accessible contraception and abortion on demand.

5) Free quality universal public health care now! Quality free public child care and elder care for all, 24-7! Free education for a lifetime!

6) Full civil and human rights for the LGBTQIA+ community!

7) For climate justice! Public ownership of the energy industry under workers' and community control to achieve emergency conversion to 100% renewable energy!

8) No U.S. military intervention abroad! Dismantle the war machine! End U.S. aid to Israel! End sanctions on Venezuela, Iran, and Cuba! For a free and democratic secular Palestine!

9) For the full integration of disabled people into social, political, and economic life.

10) Public ownership, under workers' control, of big industry, transport, and the banks! For a workers' government and a planned economy—for socialism!

— JOIN US! —

To learn more about Workers Voice:

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www.litci.org/en

workersvoice-lavoz@protonmail.com

FORUM: WHEN OUR MOVEMENT IS UNDER ATTACK, WHAT DO WE DO? STAND UP! FIGHT BACK!

Saturday, Feb. 8, 2 p.m., W. Walnut Library, 40th & Walnut Sts., Philadelphia
Hear a panel of activists from several movements discuss how to defend ourselves from gov't repression. Sponsored by Workers' Voice.

Preparing the fight against Trump's immigration policy

By CARLOS SAPIR

While the exact details of Trump's plans for his second administration remain unclear, one of the key rhetorical points of his campaign was a widespread and vicious rhetorical assault against immigrants. According to Trump's campaign, those of politicians close to him, and even some of their opponents running as Democrats, immigrants today represent a literal military "invasion," as well as supposedly threatening to destroy the economy and drown the U.S. in drugs, sex trafficking, and other crimes.

Of course, this "invasion" does not exist; immigrants do not cause crime, and rather than hurting the economy, they are a vital pillar of the U.S. working class. But the fact that Trump's accusations against immigrants are lies does not change the reality that he is repeatedly and publicly promising to use all of the resources of the state to carry out mass deportations. Whether or not he manages to deploy even the military to this end, we must prepare to face these potentially massive attacks against our communities.

While the threats facing us are significant, there is a long history of community-based and union-based organizing to protect undocumented immigrants in this country, a history that includes Trump's first term in addition to other administrations.

Throughout his first term, Trump's brazen attacks against immigrants were met with outpourings of massive solidarity, not only from the immigrant communities that to a great extent led and bore the brunt of this struggle, but from the broader population as well, with moments such as the attempted Muslim ban leading to spontaneous mass mobilizations that occupied airports. Rapid response networks were formed and grew throughout the country, providing immediate support to immigrants in need as well as scaffolding for further political organizing.

Perhaps the most significant moment of the U.S. immigrant rights' movement, however, was the mass mobilizations of the "Day Without an Immigrant," on May 1, 2006. In response to similar demonization by the Bush administration (itself building on border militarization policies greatly expanded by Bill Clinton), millions of people took to the streets and demonstrated the size and power of the working immigrant community. Not only did these mobilizations put a halt to reactionary policies and rhetoric, they revitalized



Karia AnnCoté / Flickr

the entirety of the workers' movement. After decades of anti-communist suppression, May Day once again returned to its birthplace in the U.S. labor movement as a day of celebration, solidarity, and struggle, and has been annually recognized by unions and other working-class organizations since then.

Now is the time to concretely discuss how we will defend ourselves, our coworkers, and our neighbors. In labor unions, we need to prepare ourselves to respond against raids that attack our workplaces. This is a vital task not only to defend immigrants, but also for unions to be able to function: A union that cannot defend its members from arbitrary deportation is not going to be able to credibly defend any of its members when facing the bosses.

Solidarity resolutions can help to educate coworkers about the importance of this fight, and can also provide a basis for rallying the unions toward further political action in defense of immigrants. In tandem with this organizing, we need to form and strengthen community rapid-response groups that keep a lookout for ICE activity, provide aid to those targeted, and allow people to live with a measure of security.

By turning out dozens to hundreds of people to rally in front of attempted anti-immigrant attacks, we can protect our communities against raids. By proactively organizing large protests to demand an end to deportations and full rights for all workers, we go on the offensive and demonstrate the eco-

nomie and political weight that immigrants actually have as the backbone of the economy. We demonstrate that these are our communities that the government is attacking, and we will not let our communities be torn apart without a fight.

It is also distinctly possible that the next wave of attacks against immi-

grants may target communities that have not faced as much persecution in the 21st century. Chinese immigrants in particular are already being demonized as supposed "foreign agents" by Trump as part of a bipartisan march toward possible war with China. Existing immigrant rights' networks need to expand their reach and form ties with every immigrant community in order to strengthen ourselves and prepare for the possible threats to come.

While there are significant obstacles ahead and lots of work to do, these challenges have been surmounted in the past and can be beaten again. Both the U.S. labor movement and the international workers' movement would be nowhere if not for the tireless contributions of immigrant workers from all over the world—working, organizing, and struggling under conditions of fierce state repression and anti-immigrant xenophobia. We now face a terrible threat against our existence once again. But by successfully mobilizing on a mass basis, with the support of our unions and the broader layer of people who are willing to confront racist attacks against innocent people, we can not only beat back these attacks but at the same time build a movement ready to wield its power and fight for political change. ■

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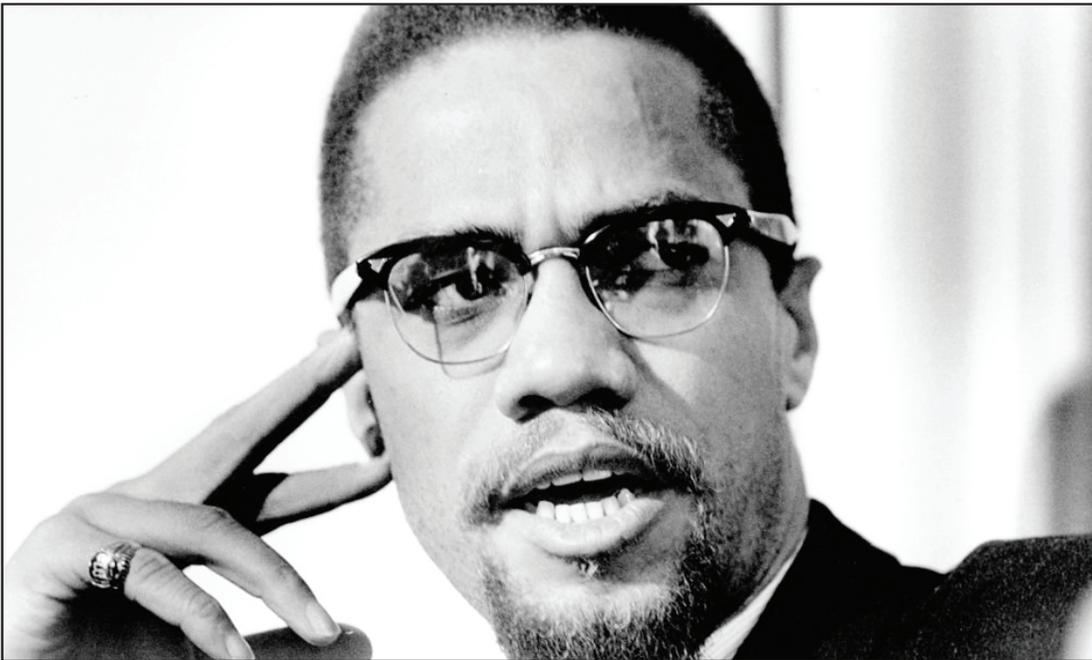
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Malcolm X: The death of a revolutionary



By BRIAN CRAWFORD

Sixty years have passed since the assassination of Malcolm X (El Hajj Malik El Shabazz). His family is seeking to hold accountable those who are responsible for his assassination. On Nov. 15, 2024, their attorney, Ben Crump, filed a \$100 million wrongful death lawsuit. The suit charges that the FBI, CIA, and NYPD conspired in the assassination. The suit brought by Malcolm's daughter, Ilyasah Shabazz, alleges that the defendants were aware of the conspiracy to assassinate Malcolm, did not intervene to prevent it, and concealed evidence after the fact.

While it is generally accepted that members of the Nation of Islam were the assassins, their access to the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, was facilitated by the defendants. Although the New York Police Department did not deploy uniformed officers in the ballroom, there were nine informants present at the time of the assassination.

In 2023, two of the three men convicted of the murder—Muhammad A. Aziz and Khalil Islam—were exonerated after spending over 20 years in prison. They maintained that they were not present and would have been denied entry by security.

Malcolm's security at the ballroom had been weakened when two members of his security team were arrested on charges of conspiracy to blow up the Statue of Liberty. This was initiated by an undercover NYPD police officer who had made contact with them. The two men never took the plot seriously when it was proposed but were arrested by the FBI just days before the assassination and incarcerated for over a year.

Source of the NOI split

Malcolm expressed the depth of suppressed rage of African Americans, which had been submerged so deeply by some that when expressed it shocked the senses. But for many it was a release.

Malcolm was instrumental in transforming the Nation of Islam from a tiny sect into a national organi-

zation of note. Essentially, the Nation's intervention into the Black liberation struggle was propagandistic. Contradictorily, the NOI sought to bring Black people together—but under its own sectarian vision. It neither sought to engage with other groups in practical activities nor allowed its members, including Malcolm, to do so when those groups called on them.

Malcolm was aware of this contradiction, since many had observed that the "Muslims talk tough but never do anything unless somebody bothers Muslims." The conflict between Malcolm's political tendencies and the conservative abstentionism of the NOI was illustrated in the aftermath of an attack on seven members of the Nation of Islam in Los Angeles. The LAPD, with its own history of racist violence, shot the NOI members, leaving one dead and six wounded. The survivors were charged with assaulting police officers. Malcolm went to Los Angeles with legal counsel. He also launched a defense campaign that involved initiating press coverage and engaging with other groups—potentially building a united front.

There was a significant response from the Black community, and Malcolm understood that this could be a template for expanding the organization's influence. However, NOI leader Elijah Muhammed declined to support the campaign, fearing the wrath of the state, even though a campaign with such potential could have protected the movement and the organization.

The Nation of Islam had already attracted the attention of J. Edgar Hoover, the notorious head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Hoover spied on everyone and kept dossiers on artists, actors, political figures, and union leaders. Elijah Muhammed became one of the most surveilled figures in the U.S., and therefore, the FBI was acquainted with the intimate details of the NOI. This information is what the family seeks to access. Documents suppressed for 60 years could detail the conspiracy.

FBI surveillance documented in great detail the communications and movements of Malcolm, Elijah Mu-

hammed, and other members and associates of the Nation of Islam. They were fully aware of the rift between Malcolm and the NOI and exploited it. The tensions increased until there came a breaking point.

The break between Malcolm and Elijah Muhammed developed soon after the November 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Elijah Muhammed forbade public comment on the event. But during a talk Malcolm gave on Dec. 1, 1963, he was asked to comment and replied that "the chickens had come home to roost." U.S. imperialist intrigues abroad and the devastating violence that they entailed had boomeranged back home—this was Malcolm's meaning. Muhammed suspended Malcolm, but the suspension was in fact an excommunication, and eventually Malcolm realized this fact. He also began to become aware of the fact that his life was in danger.

Malcolm becomes politically independent

As it was clear that Malcolm's days with the NOI were over, so was the restraint on his political activities. He pledged to participate in the civil rights movement when called on and wherever needed. However, a unifying figure capable of galvanizing the Black masses was a great concern for Hoover. The head of the FBI wanted to prevent the rise of the "Black Messiah."

Malcolm became a target of COINTELPRO. Established in 1956, the CounterIntelligence Program's (COINTELPRO) mission was to surveil, infiltrate, discredit, disrupt, and neutralize organizations on the left—especially those central to the Black liberation movement. Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, the Black Panthers, Angela Davis, SNCC, and CORE were just some of its targets.

As an intelligent, articulate and charismatic representative of the NOI, Malcolm X drew the attention of the state, but once he broke with the organization and declared his intentions of cooperating with other groups—including socialists—Hoover viewed him as an even greater threat.

Malcolm became a critic of capitalism and believed it was inextricably linked to racism. His perspective became international and he traveled abroad to meet many who led revolutionary struggles. Soon after returning from Africa and the Middle East, he addressed an audience at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on May 29, 1964. "All of the countries today that are emerging from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism," he said. The colonial powers were capitalist, and the "last bulwark of capitalism today is America." Malcolm's politics were quickly evolving, a shift that was far from complete at the time of his death.

Ilyasah Shabazz's lawsuit seeks to expose the state's complicity in Malcolm X's assassination, endeavoring to force the exposure of evidence concealed for six decades. Whether or not Shabazz and the legal team representing her succeed, history is always instructive and cannot be fully hidden.

Every political movement from abolition to Black Lives Matter has experienced state violence and extrajudicial reprisals. The assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, and others exemplify the lengths to which the state will stretch its own legalities to eliminate revolutionaries and movements that threaten the ruling class. But for those who know Malcolm X, his political fire can never be blunted. ■

How can we defend women's and Queer rights?

By CHRISTINE EVANS

The incoming Trump administration has committed itself to deepening the current attacks on the rights of women and other oppressed sectors of the population. The direction in which Trump and his allies seem to be headed may be glimpsed in "Project 2025," a document drafted last year by some of the new president's close advisors and under the auspices of the far-right Heritage Foundation.

Project 2025 lays out a vision for directly attacking women, Queer, and other oppressed people's rights. The document advocates a ban on abortion medication and the end of relatively easy "no fault" divorce. It projects a larger ideological offensive to stigmatize gender non-conformance, normalizing the "Christian" nuclear family model and returning to the acceptance of violence against unruly women.

An analysis of the far-right plan suggests that national legislation to criminalize abortion after 12 weeks is already in preparation. This is in addition to the effort reflected in legislation enacted by 13 states to attack bodily autonomy by making abortion illegal and via the anti-trans legislation enacted by 17 states. To this same end, there are states and federal efforts to increase the criminalization of women who fail to carry pregnancies to term as child killers, and to criminalize poor and working-class families as "unfit" for child rearing as part of a larger ideological project to normalize patriarchal notions of raising children. The latter is accompanied by the growing number of states newly allowing child labor in meatpacking, chicken processing, and other sectors.

In addition to direct attacks on women's bodily autonomy and self-determination, Project 2025 targets 31 states in which the Trump team advocates weakening of child labor rules via "waivers" from landmark federal worker protection laws like the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). This process has been underway for some time. It coincides with a dramatic plan to weaken public education—removing the authority of the federal Department of Education, repressing teachers and professors who address social injustice, and legislating funds for private religious and racist academies, as well as home schooling. The entire package is designed to increase the vulnerability of women and gender non-conforming people, to enlarge the pool of workers willing to work for less than a survival wage, to cut federal social spending, and to deepen the inculcation of authoritarian psychology and norms.

Why are these attacks on the agenda now?

From the point of view of the ruling classes in capitalist societies, social norms and expectations around child care, education, elder care, levels of individualized consumption, and the number of earners in a household, are all things that can affect profitability of production. Attempts to reinforce traditional gender roles are a common response by the capitalist class to its economic woes.

Capitalism is both a system of producing value and producing life. Through these processes, the system reproduces and reshapes itself physically and structurally. In particular, the profiteers' insistence that



Both capitalist parties are complicit in these rollbacks. Though the Democrats give lip service to protecting bodily autonomy, they have collaborated in slashing social welfare.

child care, elder care, emotional development, and the care of workers are a personal and individual responsibility, rather than a social one, saves the bosses billions. The expectation that this work is unpaid via the family or at low cost by women workers who are earning close to slave wages in institutional and commercial settings allows the bosses to reduce labor costs dramatically. Keeping wages low in areas of social reproduction, where women are employed out of proportion to their numbers and in precarious positions, impacts the struggle for livable wages for the whole class.

The far-right section of the ruling class seeks to deal with the current economic crisis by returning to the norms of social reproduction that prevailed before the gains of the Second Wave of the women's movement in the 20th century and the later expansion of rights for LGBTQIA+ people. Most ominously, the far right is anxious to reestablish social expectations that facilitate unpaid labor for domestic work, cheaper female labor in commercial child care and elder care, child labor, and political authoritarianism with a strong current of misogyny and machismo.

Yet, both capitalist parties are complicit in these rollbacks. Although the Democrats give lip service to protecting bodily autonomy, they have collaborated in slashing social welfare. They have failed to secure reproductive justice legislatively or constitutionally on a national basis, and they have used coercion and

threats to push the movement out of the streets and back into machine politics. All of the efforts initiated in 2020 when Trump was first elected were funneled right back into "get out the vote" efforts for the Democratic Party, with few results for us.

Building a working-class fightback

The only real solution to the chauvinism, racism, and sexism behind the ruling-class offensive is the elimination of the profit system. The only social force with enough potential power to do that is the organized working class—committed to Black self-determination and the rights of immigrants and other oppressed people, with women and Queer people in the front ranks. Those who produce the goods and run the transport, energy, and communication systems are the only ones who can put a brake on the self-serving actions of the ruling class, and firmly anchor a new social order that puts human needs first.

Putting this process into action requires simultaneously building a mass movement in the streets whose power cannot be throttled by the big business political parties and creating a class-struggle left wing inside the current union movement. The latter would dramatically expand the reach of organized labor and place it at the service of the majority of working people and the oppressed.

If we can manage to jump start this kind of organizing, history shows that we can prevent reactionary advances and even roll back the rightward capitalist offensive. And if we can build this kind of movement, we will also have gone a long way toward creating the conditions in which working people can consider and prepare for the more fundamental solution of replacing the sexist and racist for-profit system once and for all. ■



(Left) Refugees flee Israeli bombing on Lebanon-Syria border, Oct. 4, 2024.

Israel intensifies its campaign of war and genocide

By JAMES MARKIN

Ever since the beginning of the Israeli assault on the people of Gaza, each new day has brought fresh horrors as Israel seeks to wipe out a significant percentage of the population of Gaza. Israel rang in the new year with yet another massacre in Gaza. As a rainstorm flooded shelters across the besieged strip, Israeli bombs killed 26 in the early hours of 2025. The situation in Gaza has deteriorated to a status quo without any of the features of civilization as Israel has continually made infrastructure, especially medical infrastructure, a target.

This has especially been the case in northern Gaza as Israeli politicians have called on the government to implement the so-called “Generals’ Plan,” which seeks to completely depopulate that region of Palestinians by declaring any Palestinian in the region as a legitimate military target. While this is not yet the official military policy of Israel yet, it is close enough to the status quo. This was symbolized by the Dec. 30 Israeli attack on the Kamal Adwan hospital, followed by further attacks on the remaining two medical facilities in northern Gaza. During the attack on Kamal Adwan, doctors were arrested while soldiers set the facility ablaze, potentially burning patients alive.

Israel’s goals are clear: It wants nothing less than the complete depopulation of northern Gaza, potentially as a precursor of annexation. This is genocide and ethnic cleansing of the most brutal kind.

Has the “Axis of Resistance” collapsed?

Since the beginning of Israel’s genocide in Gaza, a political framework became increasingly popular among those fighting for the liberation of Palestinians—the so-called Axis of Resistance. This refers to the constellation of several political forces: Hamas fighting in Gaza, the Shia theocratic government of Iran, Hezbollah and its allies in Lebanon, the Zaydi-Shia Ansar Allah

government in western Yemen (the Houthis), and the more minor Shia Islamist militias in Iraq and Syria.

Since the beginning of the war, the forces that group themselves under this label have contrasted themselves with the Arab regimes such as Egypt and Jordan that have refused to take any concrete steps to oppose the Israeli genocide. At the same time, some of the forces within the “Axis of Resistance” were doing a lot more resisting than others.

Of course, Hamas fighters in Gaza, who every day fought to defend the rubble of what was their homes, were doing all they could in the face of a war machine that was backed to the hilt with American weaponry.

The same might be said of the Houthis in Yemen, who launched a series of daring attacks, mustering what they could of their meager weaponry in order to weaken Israel and its imperial allies. This military support for Gaza has resulted in crushing retaliation from the U.S. and Britain, with Israel itself launching a series of attacks on the Houthi capital of Sanaa in late December. Nevertheless, the Houthis have hung on and continued their dogged attacks on Israel, with drone strikes hitting targets in the Zionist state as recently as Jan. 2.

While Hezbollah’s cross-border strikes into Israel put pressure on the Israeli economy and were used as a justification for a full-scale Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2024, they fell short of what some thought Hezbollah was capable of. Nevertheless, Israel’s invasion of Lebanon has seemingly seriously damaged Hezbollah and resulted in the killing of its charismatic leader, Hassan Nasrallah.

Iran also has held back, only launching a series of missile and drone attacks following particularly severe Israeli provocations. No doubt Tehran was cowed by the potential of all-out war with Israel, with the specter of U.S. involvement looming before them. The low impact of the two strongest pieces of the Axis demonstrate the limitations of relying on nationalist forces tied to

Middle Eastern capital for defense of Palestinian self-determination. It shows the serious problems with the whole model of the Axis of Resistance.

Israel tries to strangle Syrian rebels in the crib

Indeed, of all of those grouped within the supposed Axis of Resistance, the efforts taken by the former Syrian dictator, Bashar al-Assad, to oppose Israel were by far the lamest. He clung to the mantle of a friend of Palestinian resistance merely by playing host to offices of Palestinian factions and by allowing Iranian weapon shipments to pass through his country. This somehow merited him the label of a member of the Axis of Resistance even as Hamas fighters gave their lives in brutal urban warfare in Gaza.

When the Syrian people rose up against Bashar al-Assad’s government during the Arab Spring in 2011, some Palestinian factions hosted and backed by al-Assad supported the regime and even fought for him during the civil war. This was despite the fact that al-Assad and his Russian allies indiscriminately bombed Palestinian refugee camps within Syria during the war. Hamas seemingly stood alone as the only Palestinian party to have given some support to the Syrian rebels.

On the other hand, Israel has reacted to the fall of al-Assad with horror and moved quickly to attempt to shape the situation on the ground. While Bashar al-Assad was no friend to Israel, he also did not represent much of a threat. Israel’s fear of a potentially anti-Israel democratic government in Syria has been demonstrated by its actions since the fall of al-Assad. The IDF immediately moved to seize land in the country, and the Israeli air force carried out the single largest series of air strikes in Israeli history, systematically destroying weapons depots and Syrian military capacity. As the new year dawned, Israel claimed that IDF commandos blew up weapons factories deep within Syria. The still-forming post-revolutionary government of Syria seems unable or unwilling to oppose these very severe Israeli attacks.

The West Bank and the Palestinian Authority

As all this has unfolded, there has been a new resurgence in the crisis of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, which dates back to the early months of 2022. At that time, a series of new armed groups emerged in the northern West Bank cities of Jenin and Nablus, which were not afraid to directly attack Israeli troops. When the PA moved to crack down on these groups, which they deemed as “outlaws,” Palestinians rose up in support of the militias, angry at the PA’s collaboration with the state of Israel. While the PA was seemingly able to regain control over the old city of Nablus before the start of the current war, the northern West Bank has continued to be a center of resistance to the Israeli occupation. In particular in the northern city of Jenin, the coalition of armed groups known as the Jenin Brigades continued to politically dominate the refugee camp.

In the waning days of 2024, both Israel and the PA have increased violent crackdowns in this region. In early December, the PA launched an assault on the Nablus refugee camp, killing a Jenin Brigades commander, the journalist Shatha Sabbagh, and others. Facing severe criticism for these fratricidal attacks, the PA moved to broaden its crackdown on dissent by following in the footsteps of its paymaster Israel and banning *al Jazeera*. Israel has also begun the year with its own attacks in the northern West Bank, killing and injuring teenagers in the balata refugee camp, in the city of Nablus.

(continued on page 10)

By ERNIE GOTTA

2024 ended with workers on the picket lines — What next for labor in 2025?

Seth Wenig / AP

Thousands of workers walked picket lines at the start of the busy holiday season. Workers at Amazon and Starbucks were two of the most notable to walk off the job. Potentially, 2025 will see more industrial strikes along the lines of the 2024 strikes at Boeing by the International Association of Machinists and the strike of East Coast Ports by the International Longshoremen's Association.

Poll show that union popularity in the U.S. is at a high point since the 1960s, with a 70% approval rating. Private sector organizing has modestly increased over the past decade. This shows different ways the labor movement can break out of isolation and truly become a mass movement that inspires new struggles across the U.S.

This article will briefly examine labor actions at Amazon and Starbucks, a new organizing effort at Amazon, and highlight several potential strikes that our readers will want to support.

Amazon/Teamsters

Thousands of workers and supporters organized by the Teamsters union filled picket lines in dozens of locations across the U.S. during the holiday season with an Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) strike. While facilities were not shut down as in a traditional strike, deliveries were delayed and the ULP designation was used to protect workers walking off the job to join the strike. Initial actions took place at Amazon facilities like JFK8 and DBK4 in New York City; DGT8 in Atlanta; DFX4, DAX5, and DAX8 in Southern California; DCK6 in San Francisco; and DIL7 in Skokie, Ill.

The main thrust seemed to be two-fold. First, the union looked to build a public pressure campaign on Amazon to accept the union, and second, the Teamsters want to augment their organizing efforts in the shops. As strikers return to work, Amazon has not yet agreed to come to the table and negotiate with facilities like JFK8 in Staten Island, N.Y., that voted for the union back in 2022. Workers at Amazon's third-party-contracted facilities, called Delivery Service Partners (DSP), face an uphill battle as the company doesn't want to take responsibility for this workforce.

Workers' Voice members attended picket lines on both coasts and noted a serious enthusiasm for continuing and growing the struggle against Amazon. The success of this fight will largely hinge on the Teamsters creating the space for rank-and-file committees in the shops to develop and take responsibility for organizing their coworkers.

New organizing at Amazon

In Raleigh, N.C., on Dec. 23, workers at Amazon RDU1 filed a petition with the NLRB stating their intention to seek a union election. Carolina Amazonians United for Solidarity and Empowerment (CAUSE), not affiliated with the Teamsters or any other union, is leading this organizing effort. Southern organizing, especially in right-to-work states, has proven difficult over the years. It took unions like UFCW 17 years to organize places like Smithfield meatpacking. The UAW needed three different attempts to organize Volkswagen in Chattanooga, Tenn.

For CAUSE the fight against Amazon will be difficult. But persistence and a huge outpouring of



solidarity from the labor movement in the form of volunteers and donations could drive forward an upset, as we saw in 2022 at Amazon JFK8 in Staten Island, N.Y.

Starbucks/Workers United (SEIU)

Some 5000 workers in more than 300 stores in 45 states picketed outside Starbucks for five days, wrapping up on Christmas Day. Workers told *Workers' Action* that a number of locations around the country had every worker out of the shop, and managers were scabbing to try and keep service going.

Silvia Baldwin, a Philadelphia barista and bargaining delegate, said in SBWU statement, "It's time to finalize a foundational framework that includes meaningful investments in baristas and to resolve unfair labor practice charges. Starbucks can't get back on track as a company until it finalizes a fair contract that invests in its workforce."

Solidarity from the broader labor movement and community has played an important role in popularizing these fights. There is still a long way to go with serious organizing until we see both of these organizing initiatives develop to the point where they can shut down a majority of the shops and win concessions from the bosses.

What's coming for organized labor in 2025?

The incoming Trump administration has already made it clear that organized labor needs to be prepared to not only defend its union members in economic struggles but also to wage political struggles to defend unorganized and undocumented workers in every corner of the country.

The fight for immigrant rights is a central question for organized labor. Unions can play a central role in stopping this assault on the undocumented working class. Unions can call on their members who are bus drivers and airline workers, to refuse to transport

detained immigrants, and hotel workers should refuse service to ICE agents. Unions with large populations of immigrant workers—like SEIU 32BJ, UNITE HERE, and UFCW—can organize rapid response networks that mobilize communities everywhere a raid is conducted.

The United Auto Workers are putting companies like Stellantis on notice. They recently released a statement saying, "Thousands of UAW members sacrificed on the picket line to win this contract, and we intend to enforce it, even if that means going back on strike. That's why Stellantis UAW locals across the country are filing grievances against the company for violating the contract, and are preparing to take action, if necessary, to make Stellantis keep their promise and protect good blue-collar American jobs."

The International Longshoremen Association (ILA) dispute with the United States Maritime Alliance over questions of automation remains unsettled. This means there is potential for the strike of 45,000 ILA members to resume despite members going back to work after a tentative agreement was reached in October.

A bigger and more political question for the union looms on the minds of Palestine solidarity activists. Will the dockworkers completely shut down the ports or will they make a backdoor deal to allow military goods to be shipped to Israel? For a really effective strike, and to extend solidarity with the Palestinian people facing genocide at the hands of Israel and backed by the U.S., ILA members should demand that their union leadership completely shut down the ports to win their demands against automation and to end U.S. aid to Israel.

There is going to be much more to do in 2025. Workers' Voice sends our solidarity to all the struggles ahead. As always, we will work to turn out our readers and members to the picket lines. ■

Let's build powerful defense coalitions against government repression!

Mario Tama / Getty Images



(Photos) Trump has threatened mass deportations of immigrants, while “sealing” the border with Mexico.

have some very bad people. We have some sick people, radical left lunatics. And I think they're the big—and it should be very easily handled by, if necessary, by National Guard, or if really necessary, by the military, because they can't let that happen.”

Similarly to what took place in the McCarthy period of the early 1950s, we could again see the growth of an atmosphere in which potential supporters of progressive causes choose to stay away from movement activities to avoid being targeted by police and other government agencies.

Looking to history

A brief review of history can be instructive in determining how to defend ourselves from government and right-wing attacks. Throughout the 20th century, left, labor, Black, Native American, and antiwar organizations were attacked by police forces and the FBI or by fascist organizations that often operated with the collusion of state authorities. Police orchestrated or helped to cover up the assassinations of prominent Black leaders—like Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Mark Clark—while many more activists, such as Mumia Abul-Jamal, were arrested and sent to prison on trumped-up charges.

The socialist movement was one of the prime targets of government disruption efforts. But on a great many occasions, the movement was able to successfully respond in accord with a long and tested policy of defense work. We will outline some of their methods below.

Basic principles of defense in the working-class movement were honed in the campaigns of organizations such as the International Labor Defense (which was established by the Communist Party in its earliest years). James P. Cannon was the national secre-

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By **MICHAEL SCHREIBER**

It is too early to gauge the degree to which Donald Trump will succeed in fulfilling the pledges he made to the MAGA faithful to inaugurate a high-tariff, corporation-friendly, and immigrant-bashing “golden age” in America. It is evident, however, that an attack on human rights will be high on his administration's agenda. As political protest activities accelerate—such as a resurgence of the Palestine solidarity movement or climate activists taking to the streets to resist putting Trump's “drill, baby, drill” directive into action—we can expect that the government will try to come down heavily on civil liberties, especially the rights of free speech and assembly.

Trump has promised that the new administration's first major crackdown will be against immigrants and asylum seekers. Trump has said that he would start, on day one, to deport immigrants who have been convicted of crimes. After that, his administration would move methodically toward deporting the remainder of the 12 million undocumented immigrants who are living in the United States—plus many immigrants who currently have legal standing to live and work here.

But other sectors of the population are also in danger as the incoming administration seeks retribution against its perceived “enemies.” As the Trump appointees “clean house,” some 50,000 unionized federal employees face losing their jobs.

The threat against protest activists

The threat by the Trump administration against working-class and leftist political organizations and

activity should be taken even more seriously. There is no doubt that Trump and company would like to cripple the ability of such groups to mobilize people in the streets. In that effort, they would be continuing the repressive policies encouraged under Biden and the Democrats, especially against Palestinian solidarity protesters. In the past year, numerous charges of “antisemitism” were falsely lodged against anti-Zionist protests and speakers, which incited political witch hunts at many universities.

The Trump White House will no doubt try to extend and enlarge this wave of repression—if it can get away with it. Trump's determination to clamp down on political protests could be seen last July, for example, when he railed against Palestine solidarity demonstrations, and declared on Fox News that those who burn or tromp on the American flag should get a one-year jail sentence.

During Trump's first administration, when millions were in the streets to protest police brutality after George Floyd's murder, the president told his military aides that he wanted to employ the Insurrection Action of 1807 to mobilize Army or National Guard troops against protesters. He asked Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Mark A. Miley about dealing with demonstrators in the streets of Minneapolis: “Can't you just shoot them? Just shoot them in the legs or something?”

Trump rolled out the same scenario more recently, on Oct. 13, when Fox News asked him whether he thought there could be violence on election day. He answered the question by blasting what he called the “enemy from within” and went on to say: “We

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tary of the ILD, and a core of the people who participated in the defense organization, such as Rose Karsner, later formed the first cadre of the Trotskyist group in the U.S., the Communist League of America.

In his book, "The First Ten Years of American Communism," James P. Cannon wrote that he had worked out plans to establish the ILD when he was a delegate to the Comintern in Moscow in 1925 and in conversation with Big Bill Haywood, a leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Cannon wrote that he and Haywood conceived of the ILD "as a non-partisan body which would defend any member of the working-class movement, regardless of his opinion or affiliation, if he came under persecution by capitalist law." In other words, they worked in accord with the old IWW slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Another principle adopted by the ILD was the idea that to be most effective, defense efforts required the construction of a broad united front of all workers' organizations and other groups interested in defending civil liberties.

Defense campaigns by U.S. Trotskyists

By 1927, tragically, Communist Parties around the world had come under the sway of the conservative bureaucracy in the Soviet Union that was headed by Joseph Stalin. In the United States, Cannon and other members were summarily expelled from the Communist Party because of their support to the ideas of Leon Trotsky—who was fighting the bureaucracy and advocated a return to the revolutionary principles of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

As World War II got underway, the Trotskyist movement in the United States—now constituted as the Socialist Workers Party—needed to mobilize in its own defense, when 17 of the party's top leaders—together with leaders of the militant Teamsters local in Minneapolis—were indicted under the Smith Act for allegedly "conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence." Once again, the party sought to build a broad defense against the false charges; novelist James T. Farrell agreed to head up the defense committee. In the end, the SWP leaders and their Teamster codefendants received relatively light sentences—16 months in a federal prison.

During the war, the bureaucratic leadership of the unions had cemented ties with Roosevelt's and Truman's Democratic Party. As repression mounted in the years that followed, the labor leaders' refusal to encourage working-class independence from the capitalist parties weakened the trade-union movement in defending itself against the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and other reactionary laws.

Many socialists lost their jobs during the post-war period—just for expressing their ideas. Cannon mentioned in his book, "The First Ten Years of American Communism," the case of a disabled veteran of the Second World War, James Kutcher, who had been dismissed from his job as a clerk at the Veterans Administration in 1948 because he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. After an eight-year fight and vigorous efforts of the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee, Kutcher won his case, returned to his job, and was awarded back pay.

Kutcher wrote in the book about his ordeal, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," "Our victory, partial though it was, also heartened and gave ammunition to those who had not been directly victimized them-



(Above) Many thousands of people worldwide have rallied to free political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has been unjustly incarcerated for 43 years.

selves but wanted to stop the repression. It tended to undermine the morale and self-confidence of at least some of the witch-hunters and their followers or dupes. And it had a healthy impact on the great mass of the people who stood in the middle and had not actively committed themselves to either side, whose support both sides were trying to win."

Characteristics of an effective defense policy

Our defense policy recognizes, as in the time of Cannon's International Labor Defense, the need for non-sectarian solidarity, the idea of strengthening our forces by building a broad united front of all who agree on the basic need for defense and to protect civil rights. A large and well-organized defense coalition—which strives to include leaders and constituencies beyond its own ranks, such as in the trade-union movement, church and community organizations, or even well-known academics, musicians, and writers—can have the ability to reach out to large sectors of working people and their allies and help to set them into motion.

Defense activity also involves the need to work to expand and protect our civil liberties within capitalist society; defense work gets a lot easier if one can refer to a range of civil rights that are contained in the law books and still protected to some degree. The right to assembly, free speech, to join trade unions, etc. are important acquisitions of the working class, which were achieved by past struggles. But without continued struggle to maintain these rights, the ruling class will try to whittle away at them. Moreover, the importance of civil liberties are readily accepted by most working people and other sectors of the population of this country, and defense cases can appeal to broad layers by referring to these rights.

Success in attracting wide support centers to a large degree on the defense committee striving to show clearly that the people being defended are victims, not perpetrators, and that it is the state, cops, prosecution, etc. who are acting in an unjust and indefensible manner. Such *defensive formulations* can be used in any kind of struggle to reach a broader audience among workers, the oppressed, and their allies in order to point the way forward and help them to see why it is important to become involved.

In contrast, calls such as "no free speech for racists" or "smash the fascists" are far less attractive or even repulsive to most working people, or students, because they seem to argue for intolerance or even

violence. Instead of taking advantage of an opportunity to educate people about how the fascists work to destroy our democratic rights, such slogans can allow the fascists to appear as the victims of a movement that wants to limit free speech.

When confronted with mobilizations by racists and fascists, our movement has recommended the tactic of *counter-mobilization*. That is, rather than physically blocking the fascists—or trying to get the authorities or university administration to ban their ability to meet or speak—we could strive to build a large and visible rally that would dwarf the reactionary forces. At the rally, we could then make our own anti-racist views known to the public and the media.

Perhaps the most notable use of this tactic took place in February 1939, when the Nazi-like Silver Shirts held a large assembly at Madison Square Garden. In response, the Socialist Workers Party was key in building a mass rally of workers in the streets outside the auditorium. The counter-protest grew to about 100,000—five times the size of the fascist rally—and the SWP led the march that followed.

A more recent use of the counter-mobilization tactic took place in Boston in August 2017. A week after the notorious white-supremacist "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Va., at which counter-protester Heather Heyer was murdered, a spectrum of right-wing groups organized a march and rally on Boston Common. It was met by a mobilization of over 40,000 protesters (according to the police), which far outnumbered the rightists. Protesters chanted slogans such as "Black lives matter" and "No Trump, no KKK, no racist USA!"

In summary, *Workers' Voice*, like our predecessors in the socialist movement, puts defense work toward the forefront of our activities. We stand for solidarity with *all* trade-union and political movement activists who have been victimized, while building independent and broad defense committees. At the same time, we point out the need to carry out activities in an open and democratic manner, with tactics and demands that are readily understandable to working people. These methods can help to make our movements more resistant to attacks by the government, the bosses, and the far right. ■



Struggle for trans rights needs to accelerate under Trump

By RUSS O'SHEA

For the past few years, trans people have been put in the spotlight in quite a grotesque way. November's election saw the trans community scapegoated for virtually any societal problem in the service of the political game. The Republican Party viciously attacked the trans community and President-elect Donald Trump has repeatedly promised to destroy trans lives. Not mincing words, Trump laid out a plan to, on day one, ban trans people from the military, schools, bathrooms, and sports, as well as ban life-saving gender-affirming care.

This follows previous iterations of the plan, which also include targeting teachers, parents, and medical providers of trans people. The implications of these attacks are very grave, and it logically follows that phone calls to suicide hotlines by trans people increased 700% following the election. The expectation is that Trump's second term will echo the anti-trans offensive of his first, but will show yet unseen brutality helped by a more developed network of anti-trans forces than existed back then.

At the same time the Republicans are making dire threats, Democrats proved themselves completely unwilling to defend trans rights during the election, with some candidates following the GOP playbook and adopting anti-trans messaging as part of their campaigns. Some around the party claimed that its failure at the polls points to a need to "move right" on trans issues, and others indicated trans people and other minorities like Arabs and Latinos are to blame for the loss.

The perspective of leaving trans people behind was seen in action when the party refused to fight provisions in the military budget (NDAA) that would prohibit its health insurance from providing gender-affirming

care to children of service members. The passage of this budget is no doubt welcome news for Trump and his ambition to kick trans Service members out of the military, continuing Biden's greenlighting of the nation's largest employer to discriminate against trans people. The concession on this budget is the latest chapter in the Democrats' legacy of doing nothing to meaningfully challenge the thousands of attacks on trans rights over the last few years. Yet trans people are still told time and time again that the Democrats are their only option. "Being crushed slowly under a tighter and tighter thumb is better than being crushed immediately" is the message.

The contradiction between the Democrats' "progressive" message and their apparent disdain for trans people is further complicated by the trans legislators that run under their banner. One such politician, Sarah McBride, earned the title of first openly trans senator elected to office, representing Delaware. But the tension

was made clear as McBride, like her Democratic-party colleagues, conceded to the right-wing assertions that trans people should not have the right to use the bathroom aligning with their gender identity, which effectively means trans people don't have the right to use the bathroom at all. This conciliation will simply embolden the right wing to continue attacks on bathroom access, like the bans in Ohio and Florida, and pursue the use of bounties on trans people, as is seen in Odessa, Texas.

Without a political party that is interested in defending trans lives, what options are there to stop the offensive that the incoming administration promises to accelerate? The only choice is what trans people have always had to do: take the fight for life into their own hands. What is necessary now is the construction of a mass movement that demonstrates these attacks are against the will of the vast majority of people. This movement could be significantly empowered if it were to join with and find allies in other movements like those for immigrant, Black, and women's rights, as well as the climate and Palestine movements. In 2020 the solidarity between the movements for Black lives and trans lives was powerful enough to put pressure on a conservative Supreme Court to mandate that it is illegal to fire workers on the basis of gender identity or sexuality.

A robust opposition to the offensive would be achievable with the help of a democratically organized, rank-and-file-led labor movement energized to fight for trans rights on the shop floor, in contracts, and in the streets. Already a number of union locals are recognizing the importance of defending trans people. Last year, UAW Local 2325 won gender-affirming care as part of their contract. Making gains like this doesn't just immediately improve the living conditions of trans people; it creates space to have conversations about how legal assaults are attacks on all workers.

As the culture war continues to rage, educating workers on issues like trans rights will become more and more important to establish solidarity and to defend the entire working class from the divide-and-conquer tactics that make the destruction of its wages and living conditions easy. In fact, trans people are under attack because it allows the powers that be to do precisely that.

In the grand scheme of things, combating these attacks will require much more than voting in the "correct" candidate or avoiding the "wrong" one. It will require a social transformation away from the current system, which is set up to help the politicians serve their corporate masters. The foundation of such a transformation can be laid by building a movement that is ready to fight for trans rights and all rights and has the perspective of broadening to every social layer it can reach. ■

... Israeli attacks

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As 2025 progresses, opposing the increasingly unhindered Israeli attacks on the people of the whole Middle East becomes more and more critical for those across the world. For workers in the imperialist core, the fight of the Palestinian people is our fight too.

Without the weapons that the U.S. gives Israel

(including 100% of its combat aircraft), the Zionist state would be unable to prosecute this war. Not only does the U.S. support Israel with funds that could be spent on education, infrastructure and health care at home, but the collaboration with Israel trains and develops the repressive apparatus that can and will be used against workers here.

We have already seen the Palestine issue be weaponized to crack down on political speech in the United States. It is therefore the duty of the working class in the United States to oppose this war and to work to end U.S. support for it. ■

Malcolm X

Por BRIAN CRAWFORD

Han pasado sesenta años desde el asesinato de Malcolm X (El Hajj Malik El Shabazz). Su familia está tratando de hacer rendir cuentas a los responsables de su asesinato. El 15 de noviembre de 2024, su abogado Ben Crump presentó una demanda por homicidio culposo de 100 millones de dólares. La demanda acusa al FBI, la CIA y la policía de Nueva York de conspirar en el asesinato. La demanda presentada por la hija de Malcolm, Ilyasah Shabazz, alega que los acusados estaban al tanto de la conspiración para asesinar a Malcolm, no intervinieron para impedirla y ocultaron pruebas después del hecho.

Si bien generalmente se acepta que los miembros de la Nación del Islam fueron los asesinos, su acceso al Audubon Ballroom el 21 de febrero de 1965 fue facilitado por los acusados. Aunque el Departamento de Policía de Nueva York no desplegó agentes uniformados en el salón de baile, había nueve informantes presentes en el momento del asesinato.

En 2023, dos de los tres hombres condenados por el asesinato, Muhammad A. Aziz y Khalil Islam, fueron exonerados tras pasar más de 20 años en prisión. Sostuvieron que no estaban presentes y que la seguridad les habría negado la entrada.

La seguridad de Malcolm se debilitó cuando dos miembros de su equipo de seguridad fueron arrestados por cargos de conspiración para explotar la Estatua de la Libertad. Esto fue iniciado por un oficial de policía encubierto que se había puesto en contacto con ellos. Los dos hombres nunca tomaron en serio el complot cuando se propuso, pero fueron arrestados por el FBI pocos días antes del asesinato y encarcelados durante más de un año.

Origen de la división del NOI

Malcolm expresó la profundidad de la rabia reprimida de los afroamericanos, que había sido sumergida tan profundamente por algunos que, al expresarla, conmocionaba los sentidos. Pero para muchos fue una liberación.

Malcolm jugó un papel decisivo en la transformación de la Nación del Islam de una pequeña secta a una organización nacional de renombre. Esencialmente, la intervención de la Nación en la lucha de liberación negra fue propagandística. Contradictoriamente, la NOI buscó unir a los negros, pero bajo su propia visión sectaria. No buscó involucrarse con otros grupos en actividades prácticas ni permitió que sus miembros, incluido Malcolm, lo hicieran cuando esos grupos los solicitaran.

Malcolm era consciente de esta contradicción, ya que muchos habían observado que “los musulmanes hablan duro pero nunca hacen nada a menos que alguien moleste a los musulmanes”. El conflicto entre las tendencias políticas de Malcolm y el abstencionismo conservador de la NOI se ilustró a raíz de un ataque contra siete miembros de la Nación del Islam en Los Ángeles. El Departamento de Policía de Los Ángeles, con su propio historial de violencia racista, disparó contra los miembros de NOI, dejando un muerto y seis heridos. Los sobrevivientes fueron acusados de agredir a agentes de policía. Malcolm fue a Los Ángeles con asesoría legal. También lanzó una



La muerte de un revolucionario

campaña de defensa que implicó iniciar la cobertura de la prensa y relacionarse con otros grupos, lo que podría construir un frente unido.

Hubo una respuesta significativa de la comunidad negra, y Malcolm entendió que esto podría ser un modelo para expandir la influencia de la organización. Sin embargo, el líder del NOI, Elijah Muhammed, se negó a apoyar la campaña, por temor a la ira del Estado, a pesar de que una campaña con tal potencial podría haber protegido al movimiento y a la organización.

La Nación del Islam ya había atraído la atención de J. Edgar Hoover, el notorio jefe de la Oficina Federal de Investigaciones (FBI). Hoover espía a todo el mundo y guardaba expedientes sobre artistas, actores, figuras políticas y líderes sindicales. Elijah Muhammed se convirtió en una de las figuras más vigiladas en los EE.UU. y, por lo tanto, el FBI estaba al tanto de los detalles íntimos de la NOI. Esta información es a la que la familia busca acceder. Documentos suprimidos durante 60 años podrían detallar la conspiración. La vigilancia del FBI documentó con gran detalle las comunicaciones y los movimientos de Malcolm, Elijah Muhammed y otros miembros y asociados de la Nación del Islam. Eran plenamente conscientes de la ruptura entre Malcolm y la NOI y la explotaron. Las tensiones aumentaron hasta que llegó un punto de ruptura.

La ruptura entre Malcolm y Elijah Muhammed se desarrolló poco después del asesinato del presidente John F. Kennedy en noviembre de 1963. Elijah Muhammed prohibió hacer comentarios públicos sobre el evento. Pero durante una charla que Malcolm dio el 1 de diciembre de 1963, se le pidió que comentara y respondió que “las gallinas habían vuelto a casa para posarse”. Las intrigas imperialistas estadounidenses en el extranjero y la violencia devastadora que conllevaban habían tenido un efecto bumerán en casa: este era el significado de Malcolm. Muhammed suspendió a Malcolm, pero la suspensión fue en realidad una excomunión, y finalmente Malcolm se dio cuenta de este hecho. También comenzó a tomar conciencia del hecho de que su vida corría peligro.

Malcolm se independiza políticamente

Como estaba claro que los días de Malcolm con la NOI habían terminado, también lo estaba la restricción de sus actividades políticas. Se comprometió a

participar en el movimiento por los derechos civiles cuando se le llamara y donde fuera necesario. Sin embargo, una figura unificadora capaz de galvanizar a las masas negras era una gran preocupación para Hoover. El jefe del FBI quería evitar el ascenso del “Mesías Negro”. Malcolm se convirtió en un blanco de COINTELPRO. La misión del Programa de Contrainteligencia (COINTELPRO) era vigilar, infiltrar, desacreditar, interrumpir y neutralizar a las organizaciones de izquierda, especialmente aquellas centrales para el movimiento de liberación negra. Malcolm X, M.L. King, los Panteras Negras, Angela Davis, SNCC y CORE fueron solo algunos de sus objetivos.

Como representante inteligente, elocuente y carismático de la NOI, Malcolm X atrajo la atención del estado, pero una vez que rompió con la organización y declaró sus intenciones de cooperar con otros grupos, incluidos los socialistas, Hoover lo vio como una amenaza aún mayor.

Malcolm se convirtió en un crítico del capitalismo y creía que estaba inextricablemente ligado al racismo. Su perspectiva se volvió internacional y viajó al extranjero para conocer a muchos de los que lideraron las luchas revolucionarias. Poco después de regresar de África, se dirigió a una audiencia en el Foro Laboral Militante en Nueva York el 29 de mayo de 1964. “Todos los países que hoy están emergiendo de los grilletes del colonialismo se están volviendo hacia el socialismo”, dijo. Las potencias coloniales eran capitalistas, y el “último baluarte del capitalismo hoy es Estados Unidos”. La política de Malcolm estaba evolucionando rápidamente, un cambio que estaba lejos de completarse en el momento de su muerte.

La demanda de Ilyasah Shabazz busca exponer la complicidad del Estado en el asesinato de Malcolm X, tratando de forzar la exposición de pruebas ocultas durante seis décadas. Ya sea que Shabazz y el equipo legal que la representa tengan éxito o no, la historia siempre no se puede ocultar por completo.

Todos los movimientos políticos, desde la abolición hasta Black Lives Matter, han experimentado violencia estatal y represalias extrajudiciales. Los asesinatos de Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton y otros ejemplifican hasta qué punto el estado estimará sus propias legalidades para eliminar a los revolucionarios y movimientos que amenazan a la clase dominante. Pero para aquellos que conocen a Malcolm X, su fuego político nunca puede ser apagado. ■

Es la hora de construir organizaciones de defensa contra la represión estatal

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)



Por MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Todavía es demasiado temprano para evaluar el grado en que Donald Trump logrará cumplir las promesas que hizo a los fieles del MAGA de inaugurar una nueva «edad de oro» desregulada, con aranceles elevados, favorable a las empresas y hostigadora de los inmigrantes en Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, es evidente que el ataque a los derechos humanos ocupará un lugar destacado en la agenda de su administración.

A medida que se aceleren las actividades de protesta política—como el resurgimiento del movimiento de solidaridad con Palestina o de los activistas ambientalistas luchando contra la política de Trump «perfora, perfora, perfora»—, podemos esperar que el gobierno intente pegar duro contra las libertades civiles, especialmente contra los derechos de las libertades de expresión y reunión.

Trump ha prometido que la primera gran ofensiva de la nueva administración será contra los inmigrantes y los solicitantes de asilo. Trump ha dicho que empezaría, el primer día, a deportar a los inmigrantes que hayan sido condenados por delitos. Después de eso, su administración avanzaría metódicamente hacia la deportación del resto de los 12 millones de inmigrantes indocumentados que viven en Estados Unidos, además de muchos inmigrantes que actualmente tienen estatus legal para vivir y trabajar aquí.

Pero otros sectores de la población también están en peligro, ya que la administración entrante busca represalias contra sus «enemigos» percibidos. Miles de trabajadores federales y científicos corren el riesgo de ser purgados cuando los designados por Trump «limpien la casa». Unos 50.000 empleados

federales sindicados corren el riesgo de perder su empleo.

La amenaza contra los movimientos

La amenaza de la administración Trump contra las organizaciones y la actividad política de la clase obrera y de la izquierda debe tomarse en serio. No hay duda de que a Trump y sus amigos les gustaría paralizar la capacidad de esos grupos para movilizar a la gente en las calles. En ese esfuerzo, estarían continuando las políticas represivas que se fomentaron bajo Biden y los demócratas, especialmente contra los manifestantes de solidaridad con Palestina. El año pasado, se presentaron falsamente numerosas acusaciones de «antisemitismo» contra manifestantes y oradores anti-sionistas, lo que incitó una caza de brujas política en muchas universidades.

Sin duda, la Casa Blanca de Trump intentará extender y ampliar esta ola de represión, si puede salirse con la suya. La determinación de Trump de tomar medidas drásticas contra las protestas políticas pudo verse el pasado julio, por ejemplo, cuando arremetió contra las manifestaciones de solidaridad con Palestina y declaró en Fox News que quienes quemaran o pisotearan la bandera estadounidense deberían ser condenados a un año de cárcel.

Durante la primera administración de Trump, cuando millones de personas salieron a las calles para protestar contra la brutalidad policial tras el asesinato de George Floyd, el presidente dijo a sus ayudantes militares que quería emplear la Acción de Insurrección de 1807 para movilizar tropas del Ejército o de la Guardia Nacional contra los manifestantes. Le preguntó al jefe del Estado Mayor Conjunto, Mark A. Miley, sobre cómo hacer frente a los mani-

festantes en las calles de Minneapolis: «¿No puedes simplemente dispararles? ¿Dispararles a las piernas o algo así?».

Trump planteó el mismo escenario más recientemente, el 13 de octubre, cuando Fox News le preguntó si pensaba que podría haber violencia el día de las elecciones. Respondió a la pregunta denunciando lo que llamó el «enemigo desde dentro» y continuó diciendo: «Tenemos gente muy mala. Tenemos gente enferma, lunáticos de la izquierda radical. Y creo que son los grandes... y deberían ser manejados muy fácilmente, si es necesario, por la Guardia Nacional, o si es realmente necesario, por los militares, porque no pueden dejar que eso ocurra».

De forma similar a lo que ocurrió en el periodo de McCarthy a principios de la década de 1950, podríamos ver de nuevo el crecimiento de una atmósfera en la que los partidarios potenciales de las causas progresistas optan por mantenerse alejados de las actividades del movimiento para evitar ser objetivo de la policía y otras agencias gubernamentales.

Mirando a la historia

Un repaso a la historia puede ser instructivo para determinar cómo defendernos de los ataques del gobierno y de la derecha. A lo largo del siglo XX, las organizaciones de izquierda, sindicales, negras, de indígenas y antibelicistas fueron atacadas por las fuerzas policiales y el FBI o por organizaciones fascistas que a menudo actuaban con la connivencia de las autoridades estatales. La policía orquestó o ayudó a encubrir los asesinatos de destacados dirigentes negros—como Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, y Fred Hampton—mientras que muchos más activistas fueron detenidos y enviados a prisión por cargos falsos.

El movimiento socialista fue uno de los principales objetivos de los esfuerzos de desarticulación del gobierno. Pero en muchas ocasiones, el movimiento fue capaz de responder con éxito de acuerdo con una larga y probada política de trabajo de defensa. A continuación esbozaremos algunos de sus métodos. Los principios básicos de la defensa en el movimiento obrero se perfeccionaron en las campañas de organizaciones como la Defensa Obrera Internacional (creada por el Partido Comunista en sus primeros años). James P. Cannon fue el secretario nacional de la DOI, y un núcleo de personas que participaron en la organización de defensa, como Rose Karsner, formaron más tarde el primer núcleo del grupo trotskista en EEUU, la Liga Comunista de América.

En su libro «The First Ten Years of American Communism» (Los primeros diez años del comunismo estadounidense), James P. Cannon escribió que había elaborado los planes para crear la DOI cuando era delegado de la Comintern en Moscú en 1925 y mantenía conversaciones con Big Bill Haywood, dirigente de los Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo (IWW). Cannon escribió que él y Haywood concebían el DOI «como un organismo no partidista que defendería a cualquier miembro del movimiento obrero, independientemente de su opinión o afiliación, si fuera

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perseguido por la ley capitalista». En otras palabras, trabajaban de acuerdo con el viejo lema de la IWW: «Un ataque contra uno es un ataque contra todos».

Otro principio adoptado por el DOI era la idea de que, para ser más eficaces, los esfuerzos de defensa requerían la construcción de un amplio frente único de todas las organizaciones obreras y otros grupos interesados en defender las libertades civiles.

Campañas de defensa de los trotskistas

En 1927, trágicamente, los Partidos Comunistas de todo el mundo habían caído bajo el dominio de la burocracia conservadora de la Unión Soviética dirigida por José Stalin. En Estados Unidos, Cannon y otros miembros fueron expulsados sumariamente del Partido Comunista por su apoyo a las ideas de León Trotsky, que luchaba contra la burocracia y abogaba por un retorno a los principios revolucionarios de Lenin y los bolcheviques.

Al inicio de la II Guerra Mundial, el movimiento trotskista de Estados Unidos -ahora constituido como Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores- necesitó movilizarse en su propia defensa, cuando 17 de los principales dirigentes del partido -junto con dirigentes del grupo local de los Teamsters en Minneapolis- fueron acusados en virtud de la Ley Smith por supuesta «conspiración para derrocar al gobierno por la fuerza y la violencia». Una vez más, el partido intentó construir una amplia defensa unida contra los falsos cargos; el novelista James T. Farrell aceptó encabezar el comité de defensa. Al final, los dirigentes del SWP y sus coacusados de los Teamsters recibieron condenas relativamente leves: 16 meses en una prisión federal.

Durante la guerra, la dirección burocrática de los sindicatos había profundizado sus lazos con el Partido Demócrata. Al aumentar la represión en los años siguientes, la negativa de los dirigentes sindicales a fomentar la independencia de la clase obrera respecto a los partidos capitalistas debilitó al movimiento sindical a la hora de defenderse contra la Ley Taft-Hartley de 1947 y otras leyes reaccionarias.

Muchos socialistas perdieron sus empleos durante la posguerra, sólo por expresar sus ideas. Cannon mencionó en su libro «The First Ten Years of American Communism» el caso de un veterano discapacitado de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, James Kutcher, que fue despedido de su trabajo como empleado de la Administración de Veteranos en 1948 por ser miembro del Socialist Workers' Party. Tras una lucha de ocho años, en gran parte gracias a los vigorosos esfuerzos del Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Civiles de Kutcher, ganó su caso, volvió a su puesto de trabajo y se le concedieron los salarios atrasados.

Kutcher escribió en el libro sobre su terrible experiencia, «El caso del veterano sin piernas»: «Nuestra victoria, por parcial que fuera, también animó y dio munición a los que no habían sido víctimas directas pero querían detener la represión. Tendió a minar la moral y la confianza en sí mismos de al menos algunos de los cazadores de brujas y sus seguidores o incautos. Y tuvo un impacto saludable en la gran masa de personas que se encontraban en medio y no se habían comprometido activamente con ninguno de los bandos, cuyo apoyo ambos bandos intentaban ganarse.»

Características de una política de defensa eficaz

Nuestra política de defensa reconoce, como en la época de la Defensa Obrera Internacional de Cannon, la necesidad de una solidaridad no sectaria, la idea



de fortalecer nuestras fuerzas construyendo un amplio frente único de todos los que están de acuerdo en la necesidad básica de defensa y de proteger los derechos civiles. Una coalición de defensa grande y bien organizada -que se esfuerce por incluir a líderes y grupos de interés más allá de sus propias filas, como en el movimiento sindical o en las organizaciones eclesíásticas y comunitarias, o incluso a académicos, músicos y escritores conocidos- puede tener la capacidad de llegar a grandes sectores de trabajadores y a sus aliados y ayudar a ponerlos en movimiento.

La actividad de defensa también implica la necesidad de trabajar para ampliar y proteger nuestras libertades civiles dentro de la sociedad capitalista; el trabajo de defensa resulta mucho más fácil si uno puede referirse a una serie de derechos civiles que figuran en los libros de derecho y que siguen estando protegidos hasta cierto punto. El derecho de reunión, la libertad de expresión, la afiliación a sindicatos, etc. son adquisiciones importantes de la clase obrera, que se consiguieron mediante luchas pasadas, pero sin una lucha continua para mantener estos derechos, la clase dominante intentará cercenarlos. Además, la importancia de las libertades civiles es fácilmente aceptada por la mayoría de los trabajadores y otros sectores de la población de este país, y los casos de defensa pueden apelar a amplias capas refiriéndose a estos derechos.

El éxito a la hora de atraer un amplio apoyo se centra en gran medida en que el comité de defensa se esfuerce por mostrar claramente que las personas defendidas son víctimas, no instigadores, y que el estado, la policía, la fiscalía, etc. son quienes actúan de forma injusta e indefendible. Estas *formulaciones defensivas* pueden utilizarse en cualquier tipo de lucha para llegar a un público más amplio entre los trabajadores, los oprimidos y sus aliados, con el fin de señalar el camino a seguir y ayudarles a ver por qué es importante que apoyen la lucha.

Por otro lado, lemas como «no hay libertad de expresión para los racistas» o «aplata a los fascistas» resultan mucho menos atractivos o incluso repulsivos para la mayoría de los trabajadores, o estudiantes, porque parecen abogar por la intolerancia o incluso la violencia. En lugar de aprovechar una oportunidad para educar a la gente sobre cómo trabajan los fascistas para destruir nuestros derechos democráticos, esos eslóganes pueden permitir que

los fascistas aparezcan como las víctimas de un movimiento que quiere limitar la libertad de expresión.

Ante las movilizaciones de racistas y fascistas, nuestro movimiento ha recomendado la táctica de la *contramovilización*. Es decir, en lugar de bloquear físicamente a los fascistas -o intentar que las autoridades o la administración universitaria prohíban que se reúnan o hablen-, podríamos esforzarnos por organizar una concentración grande y visible que eclipsara a las fuerzas reaccionarias. En la concentración, podríamos dar a conocer nuestras propias opiniones antirracistas al público y a los medios de comunicación.

Quizá el uso más notable de esta táctica tuvo lugar en febrero de 1939, cuando las Camisas Plateadas, afines a los nazis, celebraron una gran asamblea en el Madison Square Garden. En respuesta, el SWP fue clave para organizar una concentración masiva de trabajadores en las calles fuera del auditorio. La contraprotesta alcanzó unas 100.000 personas—cinco veces el tamaño de la concentración fascista—y el SWP encabezó la marcha posterior.

Un ejemplo más reciente de la táctica de contramovilización tuvo lugar en Boston en agosto de 2017. Una semana después de la famosa manifestación supremacista blanca «Unir a la derecha» en Charlottesville, Virginia, en la que fue asesinada la contramanifestante Heather Heyer, una serie de grupos de derechas organizaron una marcha y una concentración en el Boston Common. Fue recibida por una movilización de más de 40.000 manifestantes (según la policía), que superaban ampliamente en número a los derechistas. Los manifestantes corearon eslóganes como «Las vidas negras importan» y «¡Ni Trump, ni el KKK, ni el EEUU racista!».

En resumen, La Voz de los Trabajadores, al igual que nuestros predecesores en el movimiento socialista, sitúa el trabajo de defensa en el primer plano de nuestras actividades. Defendemos la solidaridad con *todos los* activistas sindicales y del movimiento político que han sido víctimas, al tiempo que construimos comités de defensa independientes y amplios. Al mismo tiempo, señalamos la necesidad de llevar a cabo actividades de forma abierta y democrática, con tácticas y reivindicaciones fácilmente comprensibles para los trabajadores. Estos métodos pueden contribuir a que nuestros movimientos sean más resistentes a los ataques del gobierno, la patronal y la extrema derecha. ■

¿Cómo podemos defender los derechos de las mujeres y personas LGBTQ+?

Por CHRISTINE EVANS

La administración entrante de Trump se ha comprometido a profundizar los actuales ataques contra los derechos de las mujeres y otros sectores oprimidos de la población. La dirección en la que parecen encaminarse Trump y sus aliados se puede leer en el «Proyecto 2025», un documento redactado el año pasado por algunos de los asesores cercanos del nuevo presidente y bajo los auspicios de la ultraderechista Heritage Foundation.

El Proyecto 2025 expone una visión para atacar directamente los derechos de las mujeres, las personas LGBTQ+ y todas otras personas oprimidas. El documento propone la prohibición de los medicamentos abortivos y el fin del divorcio «sin culpa», relativamente fácil. proyecta una ofensiva ideológica más amplia para estigmatizar la no conformidad de género, normalizando el modelo de familia nuclear «cristiana» y volviendo a la aceptación de la violencia contra las mujeres rebeldes.

Un análisis del plan de la extrema derecha sugiere que ya se está preparando una legislación nacional para penalizar el aborto después de las 12 semanas. Esto se suma al esfuerzo reflejado en la legislación promulgada por 13 de los 50 estados para atacar la autonomía corporal ilegalizando el aborto y a través de la legislación antitrans promulgada por 17 estados. Con este mismo fin, existen esfuerzos estatales y federales para aumentar la criminalización de las mujeres que no llevan a término sus embarazos como asesinas de niños, y para criminalizar a las familias pobres y de clase trabajadora de «no aptas» para la crianza de los hijos, como parte de un proyecto ideológico más amplio para normalizar las nociones patriarcales de la crianza de niños. Y también se nota el creciente número de estados que permiten desde hace poco el trabajo infantil en fabricas



de carnicería y otros sectores.

Además de los ataques directos contra la autonomía corporal y la autodeterminación de las mujeres, el Proyecto 2025 tiene como objetivo 31 estados en los que el equipo de Trump llama por el debilitamiento de las normas sobre trabajo infantil mediante «exenciones» de leyes federales emblemáticas de protección de los trabajadores, como la Ley de Normas Laborales Justas (FLSA). Este proceso está en marcha desde hace tiempo. Coincide con un dramático plan para debilitar la educación pública: eliminar la autoridad del Departamento de Educación federal, reprimir a los maestros y profesores que denuncian la injusticia social y legislar fondos para academias privadas religiosas y racistas, así como para la educación en casa.

Así junto, todo está diseñado para aumentar la vulnerabilidad de las mujeres y de las personas no conformes con el género, para ampliar el grupo de trabajadores dispuestos a trabajar por menos de un salario adecuado, para recortar el gasto social federal y para profundizar en la inculcación de la psicología y las normas del autoritarismo.

¿Porqué están en la agenda ahora estos ataques?

Desde el punto de vista de las clases dominantes de las sociedades capitalistas, las normas y expectativas sociales en torno al cuidado de los niños, la educación, el cuidado de los ancianos, los niveles de consumo individualizado y el número de personas que ganan dinero en un hogar, son cosas que pueden afectar a la rentabilidad de la producción. Los intentos de reforzar los roles de género tradicionales son una respuesta común de la clase capitalista a sus problemas económicos.

El capitalismo es tanto un sistema de producción de valor como de producción de vida. A través de estos procesos, el sistema se reproduce y se remodela física y estructuralmente. En particular, la insistencia de los especuladores en que el cuidado de los niños, los ancianos, el desarrollo emocional y el cuidado de los trabajadores son una responsabilidad personal e individual, y no social, ahorra miles de millones a los patrones. La expectativa de que este trabajo no sea remunerado a través de la familia o a bajo coste por trabajadoras que ganan salarios

cercanos a la esclavitud en entornos institucionales y comerciales permite a los patrones reducir drásticamente los costes laborales. Mantener bajos los salarios en las áreas de reproducción social, donde las mujeres están empleadas de forma desproporcionada a su número y en puestos precarios, repercute en la lucha por los salarios dignos para toda la clase.

El sector de extrema derecha de la clase dominante pretende hacer frente a la actual crisis económica al volver a las normas de reproducción social que prevalecían antes de las conquistas de la Segunda Ola del movimiento feminista en el siglo XX y de la posterior ampliación de los derechos de las personas LGBTQIA+. Lo más ominoso es que la extrema derecha está ansiosa por restablecer las expectativas sociales que facilitan el trabajo no remunerado en las tareas domésticas, el abaratamiento del trabajo femenino en el cuidado comercial de niños y ancianos, el trabajo infantil y el autoritarismo político con una fuerte corriente de misoginia y machismo.

Sin embargo, ambos partidos capitalistas son cómplices de estos retrocesos. Aunque los demócratas defienden de boquilla la protección de la autonomía corporal, han colaborado en el recorte de la asistencia social. Han fracasado a la hora de garantizar la justicia reproductiva legislativa o constitucionalmente a escala nacional, y han utilizado la coacción y las amenazas para expulsar al movimiento de las calles y devolverlo a la política maquinista. Todos los esfuerzos iniciados en 2020, cuando Trump fue elegido por primera vez, se volvieron a canalizar en esfuerzos de «conseguir el voto» para el Partido Demócrata, con pocos resultados para nosotros.

Construir la lucha de la clase obrera

La única solución real al chovinismo, el racismo y el machismo que hay detrás de la ofensiva de la clase dominante es la eliminación del sistema de lucros. La única fuerza social con suficiente poder potencial para hacerlo es la clase obrera organizada, comprometida con la autodeterminación negra y los derechos de los inmigrantes y otros oprimidos, con las mujeres y las personas LGBTQ+ en primera fila. Quienes producen los bienes y dirigen los sistemas de transporte, energía y comunicación son los únicos que pueden poner fin a los métodos egoístas de la clase dominante y anclar firmemente un nuevo orden social que priorizaría las necesidades humanas.

Poner en marcha este proceso requiere simultáneamente construir un movimiento de masas en las calles cuyo poder no pueda ser estrangulado por los partidos políticos de las grandes empresas y crear un ala izquierda de lucha de clases dentro del actual movimiento sindical. Esto ampliaría drásticamente el alcance de los sindicatos y los pondría al servicio de la mayoría de los trabajadores y los oprimidos.

Si conseguimos poner en marcha este tipo de organización, la historia demuestra que podemos impedir los avances reaccionarios e incluso hacer retroceder la ofensiva capitalista hacia la derecha. Y si podemos construir este tipo de movimiento, también habremos avanzado mucho en la creación de las condiciones en las que los trabajadores puedan plantearse y prepararse para la solución más fundamental de sustituir de una vez por todas el sistema sexista y racista con ánimo de lucro. ■

La Voz de los Trabajadores (Workers' Voice)

Quiénes somos

La Voz de los Trabajadores es un grupo de activistas y obreros en los EEUU que está dedicado a la liberación de los trabajadores y los oprimidos. En solidaridad con la Liga Internacional de los Trabajadores, buscamos construir los movimientos sindicales, estudiantiles ambientalistas, contra-guerras, anti-racistas, anti-machistas, y otros. En este proceso esperamos traer junto el pueblo obrero de sus fondos diversos y unirlos en un partido revolucionario de los trabajadores que puede lograr en la lucha contra los ricos.

Nuestra meta final es la construcción de una sociedad verdaderamente democrática, organizada para cumplir con las necesidades de la humanidad y no para ganar lucros para los ricos. ¡Si usted quiere luchar para el socialismo, contacte a nosotros! ¡Únase a La Voz de los Trabajadores hoy!

Por ERNIE GOTTA

¿Qué nos espera para los sindicatos en 2025?

Rederic J. Brown / Getty Images

Miles de trabajadores de Amazon y simpatizantes organizados por el sindicato Teamsters llenaron los piquetes en todo Estados Unidos durante la temporada navideña con una huelga por Prácticas Laborales Desleales (ULP por sus siglas en inglés). Si bien las instalaciones no se cerraron como en una huelga tradicional, las entregas se retrasaron y la designación ULP se utilizó para proteger a los trabajadores que abandonaban el trabajo para unirse a la huelga.

Los Teamsters buscaban construir una campaña de presión pública sobre Amazon para que aceptara el sindicato y también para aumentar los esfuerzos de organización en las tiendas. A medida que los huelguistas regresan al trabajo, Amazon aún no ha acordado sentarse a la mesa y negociar con instalaciones como JFK8 en Staten Island, Nueva York, que votó por el sindicato en 2022. Los trabajadores de las instalaciones contratadas por terceros de Amazon, llamados Delivery Service Partners (DSP), se enfrentan a una batalla cuesta arriba, ya que la empresa no quiere asumir la responsabilidad de esta fuerza laboral.

El éxito de esta lucha dependerá en gran medida de que los Teamsters creen el espacio para que los comités de base en las tiendas se desarrollen y asuman la responsabilidad de organizar a sus compañeros de trabajo.

En Raleigh, Carolina del Norte, el 23 de diciembre, los trabajadores de Amazon RDU1 presentaron una petición ante la NLRB en la que manifestaban su intención de solicitar una elección sindical. Los Amazónicos de Carolina Unidos por la Solidaridad y el Empoderamiento (CAUSE), que no están afiliados a los Teamsters ni a ningún otro sindicato, están liderando este esfuerzo de organización. La organización sureña, especialmente en los estados con 'derecho al trabajo', ha demostrado ser difícil a lo largo de los años. Pero la persistencia y una gran efusión de solidaridad del movimiento laboral en forma de voluntarios y donaciones podrían impulsar una sorpresa, como vimos en 2022 en Amazon JFK8 en Staten Island, Nueva York.

Unos 5.000 trabajadores en más de 300 tiendas en 45 estados realizaron piquetes frente a Starbucks durante cinco días, concluyendo el día de Navidad. Los trabajadores le dijeron a *Workers' Action* que varios lugares en todo el país tenían a todos los trabajadores fuera del taller, y los gerentes estaban esquirolando para tratar de mantener el servicio en marcha.

Silvia Baldwin, barista de Filadelfia y delegada de negociación, dijo en un comunicado de SBWU: "Es hora de finalizar un marco fundacional que incluya inversiones significativas en baristas y resolver los cargos por prácticas laborales injustas". La solidaridad del movimiento obrero y de la comunidad en general ha desempeñado un papel importante en la



popularización de estas luchas. Todavía hay un largo camino por recorrer con la organización seria hasta que veamos que las iniciativas de organización de los trabajadores de Starbucks y Amazon se desarrollen hasta el punto en que puedan cerrar la mayoría de las tiendas y obtener concesiones de los patronos.

¿Qué viene para los trabajadores en 2025?

La administración entrante de Trump ya ha dejado en claro que los trabajadores organizados deben estar preparados para movilizarse no solo para defender a sus miembros sindicales en las luchas económicas, sino también para librar luchas políticas para defender a los trabajadores no organizados e indocumentados en todos los rincones del país.

La lucha por los derechos de los inmigrantes es una cuestión central para los trabajadores organizados. Los sindicatos pueden desempeñar un papel central para detener este asalto contra la clase trabajadora indocumentada. Los sindicatos pueden pedir a sus miembros, que son conductores de autobuses y trabajadores de aerolíneas, que se nieguen a transportar a los inmigrantes detenidos, y los trabajadores de hoteles deben negarse a prestar servicios a los agentes de ICE. Los sindicatos con grandes poblaciones de trabajadores inmigrantes, como SEIU 32BJ, UNITE HERE y UFCW, pueden organizar redes de respuesta rápida que movilicen a las comunidades en todos los lugares donde se realice una redada.

El sindicato United Auto Workers está poniendo sobre aviso a empresas como Stellantis. Recientemente emitieron una declaración que decía: "Miles de miembros del UAW se sacrificaron en la línea de

piquetes para ganar este contrato, y tenemos la intención de hacerlo cumplir, incluso si eso significa volver a la huelga. Es por eso que los residentes de Stellantis UAW en todo el país están presentando quejas contra la empresa por violar el contrato, y se están preparando para tomar medidas, si es necesario, para que Stellantis cumpla su promesa y proteja los buenos empleos estadounidenses de cuello azul».

La disputa de la Asociación Internacional de Estibadores (ILA) con la Alianza Marítima de los Estados Unidos sobre cuestiones de automatización sigue sin resolverse. Esto significa que existe la posibilidad de que se reanude la huelga de 45.000 miembros de la ILA a pesar de que los miembros hayan vuelto al trabajo después de que se alcanzara un acuerdo tentativo en octubre.

Una cuestión más grande y más política para el sindicato se cierne sobre la mente de los activistas de solidaridad con Palestina. ¿Cerrarán completamente los puertos los trabajadores portuarios o harán un trato encubierto para permitir que se envíen bienes militares a Israel? Para una huelga realmente efectiva, y para extender la solidaridad con el pueblo palestino que enfrenta el genocidio a manos de Israel y respaldado por los EE.UU., los miembros de la ILA deben exigir que sus líderes sindicales cierren completamente los puertos para ganar sus demandas contra la automatización y poner fin a la ayuda de los EE.UU. a Israel.

Va a haber mucho más por hacer en 2025. La Voz de los Trabajadores envía nuestra solidaridad a todas las luchas que se avecinan. ■

... Inmigrantes

(desde la página 16)

También es muy posible que la próxima oleada de ataques contra los inmigrantes se dirija contra comunidades que no han sufrido tanta persecución en el siglo XXI. En particular, los inmigrantes chinos ya están siendo denunciados como supuestos «agentes extranjeros» por Trump, como parte de una marcha bipartidista hacia una posible guerra con China. Las redes existentes

de defensa de los derechos de los inmigrantes deben ampliar su alcance y establecer vínculos con todas las comunidades de inmigrantes para fortalecerlos y prepararnos para las posibles amenazas que se avecinan.

Aunque quedan importantes obstáculos por delante y mucho trabajo por hacer, estos retos se han superado en el pasado y los podemos superar de nuevo. Tanto el movimiento obrero estadounidense como el movimiento obrero internacional no existieran si no fuera por las incansables contribuciones de los trabajadores inmigrantes de todo el mundo, que trabajan, se organi-

zan y luchan en condiciones de feroz represión estatal y xenofobia antiinmigrantes.

Ahora nos enfrentamos de nuevo a una terrible amenaza contra nuestra existencia. Pero movilizándonos de manera masiva, con el apoyo de nuestros sindicatos y de la capa más amplia de personas dispuestas a levantarse y enfrentarse a los ataques racistas contra personas inocentes, no sólo podemos hacer retroceder estos ataques, sino también, al mismo tiempo, construir un movimiento dispuesto a ejercer su poder y luchar por el cambio político. ■

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Preparando la lucha contra la política anti-inmigrante de Trump

Frederic J. Brown / AFP



Por CARLOS SAPIR

Aunque aun no quedan claros los detalles específicos de los planes de Donald Trump para su segunda administración, uno de los puntos retóricos clave de su campaña fue un ataque retórico generalizado y brutal contra los inmigrantes. Según la campaña de Trump, la de los políticos cercanos a él, e incluso la de algunos de sus oponentes demócratas, los inmigrantes representan hoy una «invasión» militar literal, además de amenazar supuestamente con destruir la economía y ahogar a EEUU en drogas, tráfico sexual y otros delitos.

Por supuesto, esta «invasión» no existe: los inmigrantes no son elementos antisociales y, al contrario de perjudicar a la economía, son un pilar vital de la

clase trabajadora estadounidense. Pero el hecho de que las acusaciones de Trump contra los inmigrantes sean mentiras no cambia la realidad de que está prometiendo públicamente utilizar todos los recursos del Estado para llevar a cabo deportaciones masivas. No se sabe si en verdad va a conseguir utilizar el ejército para aumentar las deportaciones, pero debemos prepararnos para hacer frente a estos posibles ataques enormes contra nuestras comunidades.

Aunque las amenazas a las que nos enfrentamos son grandes, existe una larga historia de organización comunitaria y sindical para proteger a los inmigrantes indocumentados en este país, una historia que incluye el primer mandato de Trump entre otras administraciones. A lo largo de su primer mandato, los descarados ataques de Trump contra los inmigrantes fueron recibidos con manifestaciones de solidaridad masiva, no sólo de las comunidades inmigrantes que en gran medida dirigieron y soportaron el peso de esta lucha, sino también de la población en general, con momentos como el intento de prohibición musulmana que dieron lugar a movilizaciones masivas espontáneas que ocuparon aeropuertos. Se formaron redes de respuesta rápida que crecieron por todo el país, al mismo tiempo cumpliendo tareas de apoyo inmediato a los inmigrantes y preparando un marco

para la organización política más profunda.

Sin embargo, quizá el momento más significativo del movimiento estadounidense por los derechos de los inmigrantes sigue siendo las movilizaciones masivas del «Día sin Inmigrantes» del 1 de mayo de 2006. En respuesta a una demonización similar por parte de la administración Bush (que a su vez se basaba en las políticas de militarización de las fronteras ampliadas enormemente por Bill Clinton), millones de personas salieron a la calle y demostraron el tamaño y el poder de la comunidad inmigrante trabajadora.

Estas movilizaciones no sólo pusieron fin a las políticas y la retórica reaccionarias, sino que revitalizaron todo el movimiento obrero: tras décadas de represión anticomunista, el Primero de Mayo volvió a su lugar de nacimiento en el movimiento obrero estadounidense como día de celebración, solidaridad y lucha, y desde entonces ha sido reconocido anualmente por los sindicatos y otras organizaciones norteamericanas de la clase obrera.

Ahora es el momento de discutir concretamente cómo nos defenderemos a nosotros mismos, a nuestros compañeros de trabajo y a nuestros vecinos. En los sindicatos, tenemos que prepararnos para responder a las redadas que atacan nuestros sitios de trabajo. Se trata de una tarea vital no sólo para defender a los inmigrantes, sino también para que los sindicatos puedan funcionar: un sindicato que no pueda defender a sus miembros de la deportación arbitraria no podrá defender de forma creíble a ninguno de sus miembros cuando se enfrente a la patronal. Las resoluciones de solidaridad pueden ayudar a educar a los compañeros de trabajo sobre la importancia de esta lucha, y también pueden proporcionar una base para movilizar al sindicato hacia nuevas acciones políticas en defensa de los inmigrantes.

Paralelamente a este esfuerzo, debemos formar y reforzar grupos comunitarios de respuesta rápida que vigilen la actividad de la migra, presten ayuda a las personas perseguidas y permitan a la gente vivir tranquilos con cierta seguridad. Reuniendo a decenas o cientos de personas frente a los intentos de ataques antiinmigrantes, podemos proteger a nuestras comunidades contra las redadas.

Organizando más allá las grandes protestas para exigir el fin de las deportaciones y por plenos derechos para todos los trabajadores, pasamos a la ofensiva. Así demostramos el peso económico y político que tienen realmente los inmigrantes como columna vertebral de la economía, que son nuestras comunidades las que el gobierno está atacando, y que no permitiremos que nuestras comunidades sean destruidas sin luchar.

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