

WORKERS' ACTION

An Internationalist and Socialist Publication of Workers' Voice * Solidarity Donation \$1

DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES! STOP TRUMP'S ATTACK ON WORKERS AND STUDENTS!

DEFEND INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS! JUSTICE FOR ÖZTÜRK, KHALIL, TAAL, AND ALL OTHERS!

STOP ALL DEPORTATIONS! HANDS OFF JUAN LOPEZ-GOMEZ! BRING BACK KILMAR!



*HANDS OFF:
GOVERNMENT WORKERS
AND THEIR UNIONS!*

*LGBTQIA+ RIGHTS ARE
HUMAN RIGHTS! FULL RIGHTS
FOR TRANS PEOPLE NOW!*



Also in this issue:

WHAT WE STAND FOR, Page 2

TRUMP AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT, Page 3

DEFEND VOTING RIGHTS (AGAIN!), Page 4

HOW WE BEAT WANNABE DICTATORS, Page 5

DEFEND CAMPUS PALESTINE ACTIVISTS, Page 6

TRUMP'S ATTEMPT TO DESTROY DUE PROCESS, Page 6

MIGRANTS DEPORTED TO EL SALVADOR, Page 8 & 9

FILM REVIEW: 'NO OTHER LAND,' Page 10

BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATS, Page 11

EN ESPAÑOL, Páginas 12-16



SCAN FOR OUR WEBSITE

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 socialist 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 LGBTQI+ 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!

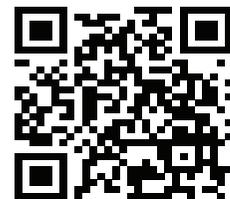
Get involved! Join Workers' Voice!

To learn more about Workers Voice:

www.workersvoiceus.org

www.litci.org/en

workersvoice-lavoz@pro-



The Trump agenda for labor: Destroy the unions

By JAMES MARKIN

The assault from the Trump administration against federal workers has been coming thick and fast ever since his inauguration in January.

First, the administration sent out the now infamous “Fork in the Road” email, which offered federal employees who quit in February a paycheck through September, clearly based on Elon Musk’s similar efforts to clear house at Twitter. When few federal workers accepted this dubious offer, the government began to lay off probationary employees in huge numbers. Then, in early March, Trump’s Department of Homeland Security unilaterally threw out the contract of AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) unionized workers at the Transportation Security Administration, only one year in. The justification? It’s the old union-busting line about how unions prevent meritocracy.

More recently, Trump signed an executive order proclaiming that from now on, a large list of federal departments would no longer recognize or bargain with unions that represent their workers. This list includes many of the critical departments of state, including the Department of Defense (DOD), Veterans Affairs (VA), State Department, Homeland Security (DHS), Department of Energy, ICE, and so on. How did Trump justify throwing out all these union contracts? His Executive Order states that these unions and their contracts are a danger to national security. Notably, the EO makes clear that police unions will be untouched by this assault.

Workers’ Action spoke to a worker at the VA, “R,” who pointed out that this political picking and choosing of whom to attack and whom to leave alone is consistent in Trump’s approach. For example, the Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties faced deep cuts, while ICE did not.

Indeed, Trump’s attack goes further, causing federal employees to be afraid that they might be fired for their political beliefs. According to R, “There is a lot of talk and fear about people being targeted for their political beliefs or for things they’ve said. This has understandably created paranoia.” This climate extends to service delivery, as federal departments strip away any acknowledgement of gender and racial minorities out of fear of retaliatory cuts.

R says that this causes many federal departments to adopt a “two-faced” approach. “Our VAs used to fly the LGBTQ flag on campus. Then Trump comes into office and we have scrubbed every single word related to LGBTQ veterans from every website, sign, and email. The total erasure is chilling.”

According to R, workers are even afraid that they are being surveilled by their employer. R confirms that she has “been told by our leadership that it is possible that our Microsoft Teams meetings are being recorded without our knowledge and that our chats are being monitored.”

These actions reveal the broader two-fold agenda of the Trump administration. First, an attack on public services will cause these services to run poorly, making the case for further privatization. As R points out, “You can’t just gut an entire office or agency and not anticipate an enormous domino effect. There



Alex Wong / Getty Images

is a lot of interdependence. At the VA, how well we care for a veteran depends wholly on how well we can coordinate care across departments like mental health, housing/HUD, substance abuse services—the list goes on. You take out one and the whole structure crumbles.”

Beyond that, the cloud of uncertainty created by Trump’s attacks also degrades the effectiveness of employees’ work. As R puts it, “It is really difficult to focus at work when you know you might be losing your job very soon. It is difficult to do your best work on projects that you know might collapse in the near future. Every federal employee I talk to is now struggling with panic, anxiety, and even depression.”

The second part of Trump’s agenda is a little more obvious; he wants nothing less than the destruction of the current union bargaining system. If contracts can be thrown out unilaterally by Trump, what is to stop any employer from doing so? If contracts aren’t worth the paper they are printed on, then the entire modern approach of “business unionism,” which has dominated organized labor since the 1950s (whereby unions agree to not rock the boat with employers in order to get the best sweetheart contracts possible), seems entirely undone. While federal workers might face this onslaught now, there is little doubt that it will come to the rest of the public sector, and then the private sector, sooner rather than later.

So what is to be done? Workers need to show that their real power lies not in contracts or courthouses, but in their ability to fight back together as a union, and even go on strike. Some of this work is already underway. According to R, even though DOGE and

Trump have tried to “create a working environment where people will feel fearful and rat each other out, so far, they have only succeeded at creating the opposite. People are really coming together and supporting each other right now.”

She continued that as part of this backlash, “there has been an enormous mobilization of federal workers against DOGE and Trump. We are all mad. We all feel disrespected. That shared experience makes us want to stand up for each other. There is a lot of work to be done still in mobilizing federal employees, getting them to join and strengthen their unions, and organize. The Federal Unionists Network (FUN) is helping to build solidarity across the federal sector and teach federal workers how to build movements. It’s also a place our allies can join to support us.”

While the current struggle is, as R puts it, a very uphill battle, it is one that all workers, public or private sector, have investment in. The labor movement in this country has for a long time come to rely on the protections of labor law. With Trump’s complete flouting of these laws, this approach seems doomed. This will require the union movement to re-learn the old methods of mass struggle, like solidarity and sit-down strikes, or perish out of failure to adapt.

The fight to defend AFGE must be the fight of all organized labor and its supporters, using all the tools and tactics that flow from labor’s power at the point of production. In the midst of this battle to defend our rights to union contracts, it will become clear that we also need a workers party, which can mobilize all working people in the streets to fight on every front against the attacks of the capitalist class. ■

Organize to defend voting rights (again!)



(Left) Civil rights activists in the 1960s. Now, reactionaries are again trying to suppress voting rights.

By BRIAN CRAWFORD

August will mark the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Voting Rights Act, one of the major achievements of the civil rights movement. But rather than celebrate this landmark, Donald Trump has signed an executive order that would disenfranchise millions. Registering to vote would require proof of citizenship. Funds would be cut to states not in compliance, and the Justice Department would prosecute so-called “election crimes.”

Invariably, the argument made for this executive order and the hundreds of similar state and federal laws is to protect the “integrity” of the vote. This is premised on the fictitious charge of voter fraud propagated by the Republicans, of which there is no evidence. The real motivation is maintaining and expanding political power.

The GOP base is overwhelmingly white, and demographic shifts threaten the party’s power. Even in the South, particularly in Texas and Georgia, their majorities could be threatened due to the changing racial composition. The presidential election of 2008, the year the first Black president was elected, was a breaking point for the right. Up to this point, the disparity between Black and white voter participation had nearly closed. The right leans heavily on racial animus and hostility towards immigrants to gain support for

its voter suppression.

Republicans have been implementing legislation to restrict the franchise in states in which they control the legislatures. They have resorted to limiting the number of polling places in districts with large Black populations, implementing strict enforcement of polling hours, mandating a reduction of days for early voting and making it a felony to distribute food and water to voters standing in line.

The Safeguard American Voter Eligibility Act (SAVE), recently passed by the House of Representatives, was conceived to prevent noncitizens from voting. This piece of legislation intentionally places obstacles in the way of voter registration. The bill makes proof of citizenship mandatory. You must provide a birth certificate, passport, or other documentation. For married women this would be an extra burden since birth certificates must match one’s current name and identification. Married women who take on their spouse’s last name have no recourse to prove their identities under the SAVE Act. According to the Center for American Progress, this affects 69 million women and 4 million men.

The bill would also force people registering or reregistering to do so in person, which would affect the elderly, disabled people, and those who would have to travel great distances such as Indigenous populations and rural communities. Rather than ensuring “integri-

ty,” the legislation and executive orders will further depress the vote in a country with already low voter participation.

African Americans gained access to the ballot not by begging but by demanding their rights, with the understanding that facing intimidation and terror was more than a possibility. Such repression was the lived experience of Black people throughout the country’s history; no whitewashing will hide America’s racist past or present.

African Americans, especially in the South, engaged in the most courageous of struggles, literally risking life and limb for the democratic right to participate in the country’s political life. From the Reconstruction period into the middle of the 20th century, Southern elites used poll taxes, grandfather clauses, threats, and violence in suppressing Black political power.

In 1965 the Voting Rights Act was signed into law and, as with the history of our liberation struggle, it meant progress for all the working class. It lifted the barriers in a formal sense that prevented full participation in the political and social life of the country. But in practice, to be sure, barriers still exist and progress has been slowed. The reversals of the last few years are evidence of a retreat of the movement and the need for it to revive.

Supreme Court rulings and promises by the Democratic Party will not restore voting rights. The former, which is always subject to political trends rather

than being above the political fray, has a right-wing conservative character. This Roberts’ Court severely weakened the Voting Rights Act in 2013 and is much more conservative today. As for the Democrats, at the moment they have no leadership, no direction, and are inert at a time when action is urgently needed. Their support is always limited and conditional, and their electoral fortunes take precedence over our demands. In the end, they are a party of, by, and for capitalism.

We must demand that voting rights be restored to those who are being removed from voter rolls and criminalized for attempting to vote. We must demand a repeal of all restrictive laws, as they are conceived to deprive the working class of its rights, which extend beyond the franchise.

Labor must organize on behalf of its rank and file and the rest of the working class. Today, it expends enormous resources campaigning for the Democratic Party. Instead, it must play an active role in the defense of voting rights. We fight not for people to vote for Democrats, but for the people’s right to vote. There can be no retreat in defending this most basic and fundamental right in what is supposed to be a democracy.

Elections are not an end in and of themselves. The dominant parties in the nations of the world serve wealth and power. The working class can only succeed by becoming a force worthy of the overwhelming majority to subdue the oppressive minority that rules with casual brutality.

This can be done by emphasizing the common interests of the working class across racial lines. Reductions and cuts to benefits such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid impact the elderly and poor of all races. Voting can be used as a statement, provide a victory for a struggle such as ballot initiatives, or to run candidates with a working-class analysis and politics.

Currently, the intensified efforts to deprive more people of access to the ballot is a power grab by the far right and must be understood as such. Only a class-conscious force can effectively oppose the right. Retreat should be unacceptable to not just the African American population but to the entire working class. ■

By CARLOS SAPIR

How we beat wannabe dictators: Two lessons from 2024

Reading the capitalist press today, it's easy to get the impression that the Trump-Musk government is unstoppable. Raining down a torrent of policies, attacks, and provocations against oppressed communities and government infrastructure alike, the current government acts with a blatant disregard for the existing written laws of the U.S., and gives self-contradictory half-excuses when its actions are challenged by judges or the press.

It is true that the largely symbolic norms supposedly balancing the powers of the liberal state are currently dead letters. So what can keep the government in check? Two examples from last year chart a path forward:

Strikes stopped the chainsaw in Argentina

Elon Musk, who has never heard an idea he didn't want to steal, got his phallic chainsaw circus act from Javier Milei, Argentina's own slash-and-burn tyrant. While the government learns theatrics from Argentina, Argentina's labor movement has demonstrated concretely that the government can't push through policy against the massed forces of organized workers.

When the Milei government tried to advance its reactionary cuts to social spending, the unions called one-day general strikes that sent those policies back to the drawing board. The rubber stamps of Argentina's legislature in favor of the policy didn't matter: Argentina's workers demonstrated that they are vehemently opposed to these changes and that they would not accept them, so the government was forced to retreat.

They did this repeatedly, in January, May, and October 2024, and again against austerity measures in April 2025. Notably, when the largest union, the CGT, neglected to muster its forces in July 2024, an amended version of the cuts was passed.

It is not enough for workers to be organized, we need to be mobilized every time that we are under attack. While the Argentine labor movement can't yet claim total victory over the Milei government, the battles they have won are an example of the power that unions can wield against tyrannical governments. Whereas in the U.S. we are seeing new attacks landing day after day, it took months for Milei to implement even a fraction of his program.

South Korea ended martial law overnight

Beyond the fights against austerity policies, 2024 also saw an even more astounding mobilization of popular forces against capitalist military dictatorship.

At 10 p.m. on Tuesday, Dec. 3, President Yoon Suk Yeol abruptly declared the imposition of martial law, accusing the opposition DPK party of engaging in "anti-state activities" and working with "North Korean communists." He moved to ban all political activity, end freedom of the press, and outlaw strikes, ordering striking medical workers to return to work. South Korean civil society and trade unions erupted in response.

While police and military forces were carrying out orders to lock down state institutions, mass protests erupted in the darkness of midnight. The Korean Central Federation of Trade Unions (KCFTU) called for a general strike.

Within a stunning six short hours, the martial law



order was reversed and Yoon was indicted.

This is not the final battle

Even when we lack the forces to decisively end capitalism once and for all, masses of workers are a force to be reckoned with. Meanwhile, Trump, perhaps even more so than his overseas counterparts, enjoys only the begrudging, half-hearted approval of significant layers of the bourgeoisie. They are willing to give him a chance to enact his vision, in part because his policies give them more legal grounds to repress their own workers, but also because rocking the boat is usually bad for capitalist profits.

If workers up the ante, and make it clear that we are going to put up a fight, layers of the capitalist class will also get cold feet about supporting Trump. But make no mistake: it is only the independent mobilization of working-class forces that can provide the leadership for this change by demonstrating its direct power to mobilize and bring life-as-usual to a standstill.

The immediate militancy of unions in Argentina and Korea in the face of threats to their basic rights is in part due to the recent memory of struggles to defeat entrenched military dictatorships in both countries during the 1970s-80s. In contrast, the U.S. labor movement has languished under decades of business-unionism strategies that tried to play nice with the bosses instead of confronting them head on. No major trade union in the U.S. is currently prepared to call a credible general strike. But that doesn't mean that mass politics are indefinitely postponed until we reach a desired level of union concentration and militancy.

We can build mass mobilizations today by winning the support of union locals and regionals to throw

(Above) Government workers rally in Buenos Aires in October 2024.

their weight behind the grassroots civil liberties, education funding, Queer rights, Palestine solidarity and anti-war protests that are already sprouting all around the country and publicizing them widely to invite the public to join in. In doing so, we will be drawing more and more previously politically inactive people into these movements, making them a force to be reckoned with that can stop government plans in their tracks (and building union membership and militancy in the process).

It will also create the conditions for articulating and achieving political demands that go beyond simply stopping the latest new attack that the capitalists have concocted. This is how we tip the scales of class struggle to our favor.

Winning new demands will require even greater levels of organization. It will require a political party to organize and coordinate militant rank-and-file trade unionists and community organizers who want to fight for a better future, and not just a better-negotiated present, in order to push the labor movement and broader working class to consistently and aggressively take up the fight against oppression and for greater democratic rights, for workers' economic and political control over their living conditions.

This is the party that we are hoping to build today, striding forward to both build the best defense of the rights we are still allotted and prepare the fight for their further expansion, while ultimately organizing the struggle for the working class to take full political power. ■

It's urgent to defend campus Palestine activists and other dissidents against repression!

today. To meet this challenge it is essential that our movements learn what we can from past struggles, and discard unfounded myths that undermine our defense.

First and foremost is the myth that there is no value in protest today because Trump is in office and doesn't care or listen. This myth is derived from another misunder-

standing that other politicians make concessions because they care, or because their base of power is somehow dependent upon those protesting. In reality, all politicians who manage the bosses' state base themselves on the power of the capitalist class and are tasked with serving it. They make concessions when they believe that doing so serves capital.

Repression, for example, is employed to break movements up, to make people feel vulnerable and alone where once they felt confident and part of something larger and more powerful. When a movement responds to repression by growing, by increasing connections and bonds of solidarity, by bringing more people together, and by growing in confidence and independence from ruling institutions, the repression fails. If this response continues, the bosses usually decide at some point to pull back from the strategy of crackdown, and attempt one of cooptation and domestication. Otherwise, a movement can eventually become strong enough to physically halt the repression itself or even remove the organs of bourgeois power altogether. (And so, the question of defense is not a side-issue: A class sufficiently capable of defending itself can take power. One that cannot, will not.)

As much as Trump may try to make it look like he has limitless power at his command, he does not. The extremity of his offensive on basic rights is, in fact, spurred on by weakness, not strength.

Other evidence of his class's limitations may be seen in an episode from Trump's first term, when in the midst of the 2020 uprising over George Floyd's murder, a day of actions to defend Black trans lives emerged on June 14, bringing tens of thousands into the streets in New York and other cities. The next day, a highly conservative Supreme Court voted in favor of protections against job discrimination based on sexuality and gender identity by a vote of 6-3.

The vote was hardly accidental, and in a body that never faces having to run for reelection. In the face of a historic uprising with no end in sight, and the prospect of a new movement for trans rights taking the world stage simultaneously with an anti-racist movement against police brutality, these most far-seeing agents of the ruling class decided to grant a significant concession to calm things down.

And so, yes, it is essential that we respond to every act of repression by organizing ever larger numbers to defend our movements. Sometimes this means organizing a meeting, or a mass forum if people are not ready to take the streets. At other stages people will be ready to call work stoppages. It is not possible to go beyond what people are ready to do at any given moment. But at every moment, the next stage of the fightback must be organized. Mass explosions against repression do not materialize out of nowhere.

The organization of our defense is impeded by the dependence which so many organizations of working and oppressed people have upon one of the parties of big capital and its institutions. Unions, whose natural power lies in workers' ability to refuse to work, have spent decades orienting towards the power of their bosses' parties and their bosses' state. This has produced

(continued on page 7)



By DANIEL ADAM

If the present wave of repression led by Donald Trump today appears to resemble the mid-twentieth century campaign of fear spearheaded by Senator Joseph McCarthy, it is not exactly coincidental. Trump was, after all, mentored by the rabid anti-communist Roy Cohn, who was in turn mentored by McCarthy. In Trump, the ruling class has a figure who comes from a tradition of attack dogs. The broad tolerance for his unprecedented offensive suggests that the ultra-wealthy very much want what they are getting from him.

In McCarthy's time, the American capitalist class enjoyed unrivaled economic and military power. But they faced revolutionary movements around the world that threatened the political and social foundations of that power, and which even had a significant base in the U.S.

Today, the American ruling class is not confronted by an immediate global threat to capitalism itself, so much as rivalry from other rising imperialist powers. Its economic development is not on the rise, but in decline. This class, on the whole, appears to be betting on Trump's ability to bludgeon the working class and its allies into submission and clear away all barriers to raising profitability and pursuing its interests across the globe. It is a desperate gamble.

Like Joe McCarthy (whose crusade was ended years before the flood of anti-communism was stemmed), Trump could very well be discarded as a political instrument while the American ruling class continues to pursue a policy of unbridled repression. Certainly, much of the measures Trump uses (targeting Palestine solidarity activists, mass deportation of immigrants) were prepared legally and politically by his predecessors



(Top) Palestine solidarity protesters at Columbia University. Mahmoud Khalil is 2nd from left.

(Below) Senator Joseph McCarthy (left) huddles with Roy Cohn, later a Trump mentor, at a 1954 hearing.

sors in both parties.

Likewise, the so-called "McCarthy Era" did not just pass naturally out of existence. It was blunted only by the emergence of mass social movements that consciously fought it and qualitatively undermined its effectiveness (most notably, the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, the Black power movement and the Queer liberation movement)

Trump's repressive measures today can be beaten. The task is a test for all social movements and leaders

By ERWIN FREED

“Due process” is an essential term for the working class to understand. Under capitalist rule, our rights are always under threat. In the United States, we are “guaranteed” due process by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Both were won through revolutionary struggle—first against the British feudalism and second against the Southern slaveocracy. Due process is the right of people being charged with a crime to have access to the charges and evidence against them and to be allowed to present their own facts and witnesses in their defense. It is a basic democratic right.

The Trump administration is attempting to destroy popular support and legal precedent for due process. If they are successful, it would mean a major setback for organizations of working-class and oppressed people all over the country. Losing due process as a basic norm, however it might be unevenly applied now, is the larger threat beneath cases such as kidnapping and shipping immigrants to the CECOT torture center in El Salvador and detaining Palestinians for speech the government finds unsavory. The loss of this right generally underlies the propaganda offensive that ensues whenever the far right sees an alleged crime they think fits their racist narratives.

Think about the clips and videos that come out every day, with Karoline Leavitt, Steven Miller, Tom Homan, and the rest of the MAGA clan asserting and doubling down on lies against people being held in ICE and CECOT detention. This is an attempt to shift public discussion toward creating a debate on whether or not certain individuals are “guilty.” To do this, they make baseless accusations—for example, that Mahmoud Khalil is antisemitic or that Kilmar Abrego Garcia is a member of MS-13.

These claims are then repeated and further distorted by an army of right-wing people and bots that “flood the zone” in both social media and the mainstream press. Their goal is to whip up a lynch mob-type atmosphere in which anyone whom they deem to be a threat to “national security” can and should be imprisoned, deported, and even tortured without a trial.

The general logic of the offensive goes like this: First, accuse the victim of supporting violence. Next, repeat some version of: “This person is violent, and therefore anyone who supports their right to due process supports violence.” And all the while, push

Trump officials attempt to destroy support for due process



(Above) Deported prisoners at CECOT, the horrifying Salvadoran mega-prison.

as fast as possible to put the accused outside of normal U.S. criminal jurisdictions or processes (e.g., ICE detention, CECOT, Guantanamo Bay).

Democratic rights occupy a contradictory position in the United States. On the one hand, they are hard won through wars and revolutions worldwide, working-class militancy, and struggles against social oppression (racism, settler colonialism, sexism, etc). On the other, as long as the legal system is controlled by a small ruling class of billionaires and their supporters, no rights are really guaranteed.

The thousands of undocumented immigrants put through ICE detention, of mostly Black and Latino people held in “pre-trial” jails indefinitely—and of the whole history of sites like the infamous Homan Square facility in Chicago—are all testament to

these unfortunate facts.

All community activists, trade unionists, and supporters of democratic rights must stand up and mobilize against the Trump regime’s flagrant attack on due process and all our civil liberties. There is important movement in this direction with fiery statements from IUPAT and SMART General Presidents Jimmy Williams Jr. and Michael Coleman in defense of Mahmoud Khalil and Kilmar Abrego Garcia respectively. But we need to move beyond statements to organizing massive defense campaigns and mobilizations for civil liberties. ■

(continued from page 6)

unions with little experience in organizing a struggle, and where members rarely even have the expectation that they should get to have a say in what their union does.

This means that a central question for today is reintroducing a culture and tradition of a self-acting membership that is capable of working through political questions and organizing defense. This may mean organizing defense meetings through union locals. It may also mean organizing defense through united front efforts that draw a wide variety of organizations into common action through meetings where participants argue out differences and make decisions democratically.

The Palestine solidarity movement can play a critical role in creating these organizational spaces. To do so, participants will need to overcome certain misunderstandings such as the idea that there is something wrong with defending members of the movement or free speech itself.

Or the idea that marches for Palestine have already reached their limits in participation and cannot include new and broader sectors of the U.S. population.

The last idea may come in part from the optical illusions created by social media, where political echo-chambers feel like platforms that face the world. In reality, there are few activist accounts that reach more than .03% of a given community on a good day. And even then, social media is designed to distract and entertain, not to politically engage. The reliance on these platforms for the last year’s actions meant that a very small percentage of people ever even knew about a single demonstration in advance, let alone were engaged in ways that are often necessary to not only get someone to take a side, but to participate in a specific form of action.

Polls show to the contrary (as does anecdotal evidence of efforts where actual in-person organizing

took place) that the vast majority of people in the United States could be won over to the struggle to defend Palestine. This means that defense campaigns of people like Mahmoud Khalil and Rumeysa Ozturk will not be organized in vain. Not only can they become focal points for building a mass fight-back capable of breaking Trump’s offensive, but they can become a means for engaging millions of people more deeply on the question of Palestine’s struggle for liberation. Such defense is not a distraction, it is central.

This also means that our movement must once again learn how to explain the struggle for Palestinian self-determination to working and oppressed people who are still new to it. Our language must be oriented toward politicizing them, not toward pleasing our social network echo-chambers. We have millions of friends and allies we have never known. Now is the time to meet them. ■

Trump officials defy courts, deport migrants to brutal mega-prison in El Salvador



(Photo) Jennifer Vázquez Sura, the wife of Kilmar Abrego García, speaks at news conference for his release.

On April 10, the U.S. Supreme Court partially upheld the rulings of a lower court, stating that the Trump administration must “facilitate” the release of Abrego García. But the Supreme Court stopped short of agreeing with the judge that the administration was obligated to “effectuate” (i.e., put into action) his return. This weak ruling by the Supreme Court bolstered the contention of Trump officials that they were not obligated to heed any court decision to free Abrego García or any other deportee.

During his visit to the White House on April 14, Salvadoran President Bukele indicated in response to questions from reporters that he would refuse to free Abrego García. “How can I return him to the United States?” Bukele said. “Of course I’m not going to do it. The question is preposterous.”

During the meeting, Trump hailed Bukele as “one hell of a president” while reiterating his own refusal to take steps to release Abrego García from prison.

He also told reporters that he was open to deporting U.S. citizens to prison in El Salvador: “If it’s a homegrown criminal, I have no problem.”

Other Trump victims

Jerce Reyes Barrios was another innocent victim of the Trump administration’s cruel deportation program. He is Venezuelan, and a professional soccer player and a youth coach, with no criminal record. He was disappeared one night, and his family only found out what happened to him when they saw him in viral videos of deportees in El Salvador, posted by the Trump administration.

Reyes Barrios was also an asylum seeker, with a hearing due on April 17. It’s believed he would have won asylum due to his background, having been a victim of the Maduro regime. Barrios had marched against the Maduro government, only to be kidnapped and tortured by that very government. He left Venezuela for the United States six months ago, where he was supported by family and friends. But Barrios had tattoos, soccer tattoos, and just like with Hernández, his tattoos were used against him as proof that he was affiliated with a Venezuelan gang known as Tren de Aragua.

This story is similar to what we hear about virtually all of the people who have been sent to El Salvador’s mega-prison; one day they were with family and friends, and the next they were disappeared.

(continued on page 9)

By BEN MARTINEZ

On March 15, President Donald Trump signed an executive order invoking the Alien Enemies Act of 1798, which would supposedly allow the government to detain and deport citizens of an “enemy nation” in wartime. That same night, three planes landed in El Salvador, carrying 261 men. The Trump administration had deported the men from the United States in defiance of an order by a federal court to turn the planes around. Only a few of the deportees were actually from El Salvador; the majority of them were from Venezuela. None of them were given due process. They were to be transported to El Salvador’s super-prison known as the Terrorism Confinement Center, CECOT for short.

The detained prisoners were forced to bend over and walk to their transportations, not even being allowed to look out of the windows of the buses. Once they arrived at the prison in El Salvador, the guards continued to keep them down, slapping the newly arrived prisoners. One young man who had been pushed to the floor sobbed to the guards, “I’m not a gang member. I’m gay. I’m a barber.”

Those words fell on deaf ears. Eventually, he along with the others were taken to the intake room, where they had their heads shaved and were stripped of their clothes. According to his family and Lindsay Toczylowski, founder of the Immigrant Defenders Law Center, the barber’s name is Andry José Hernández Romero. He is 31 years old, and he is a

makeup artist. He had claimed asylum a year ago for being gay and for opposing Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro. He had no criminal record in the U.S. and Venezuela, but his tattoos (two little crowns with the words “Dad” and “Mom”) were enough for immigration officials to have him arrested, without due process.

Kilmar Abrego García

The Trump administration also deported Kilmar Armando Abrego García, a Salvadoran refugee with protected status in the United States. He is a father and union worker, having lived in the country for 14 years, but was detained by ICE and accused of being a gang member—without any evidence. The campaign for his release has had reverberations in the courts and has attracted national attention.

Abrego García’s attorneys stated that he was the victim of a “Kafkaesque mistake” and was in danger of being tortured and killed at CECOT. The government acknowledged its mistake in detaining and deporting Abrego García, but insisted that it was too late to get him back since they have no jurisdiction anymore. U.S. officials have gone even further by refusing to take responsibility, claiming that “Abrego Garcia had a full and fair opportunity to litigate the issue. He had the opportunity to give evidence tending to show he was not part of MS-13 [a Salvadoran gang], which he did not offer.” But how could Abrego Garcia have offered any evidence when he was arrested without due process?

(continued from page 8)

We got to see how these people may have been possibly disappeared when on March 25, Tufts PhD student Rumeysa Ozturk was surrounded, detained, and dragged off by ICE agents. It was all caught on camera, showing the ICE agents masked and in plain clothes, with no marked law enforcement vehicles, and not even announcing that they were ICE agents until after taking her phone and detaining her.

Other innocent people have been swept up in this disaster. Another barber is named Franco José Caraballo Tiapa, age 26; he was detained by ICE in February and accused by the Department of Homeland Security of being a member of Tren de Aragua. Tiapa has no criminal history in the U.S. or in Venezuela, and though he has tattoos, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has not specified whether they thought they signify Tren de Aragua.

The Trump administration claims to have revoked the visas of well over a thousand university students; many have been deported for political reasons.

Nationwide protests have been held on behalf of Palestinian activist and Columbia student Mahmoud Khalil, a green card holder who is married to a U.S. citizen. Khalil was detained by ICE on March 9. In a court filing in the case, the DHS submitted a memo from Secretary of State Marco Rubio asserting that he has the power to decide that a person should be deported even if their actions are "otherwise lawful." Rubio charged that Khalil had a role in "antisemitic protests and disruptive activities" at the university and that his actions undermined "U.S. policy to combat antisemitism around the world." An immigration judge ruled on April 12 that Khalil could be deported on those grounds—even if no supporting evidence had been presented.

On March 26, farmworker and union organizer Alfredo Juarez Zeferino was detained by ICE. On March 19, immigrant rights activist Jeanette Vizguerra was also detained. On April 14, another Columbia student activist and a permanent resident of the U.S. who was born in Palestine, Mohsen Modawi, was arrested after attending his naturalization interview in Vermont. Even as I mention these people, ICE raids and kidnappings continue and it is unknown if these people will actually be deported to the country of origin or to CECOT or if they will rot away in the private prisons that have been used to detain migrants in the past.

The fact that some judges have tried to halt the Trump administration's deportation process to at least allow the accused to have court trials has only caused ICE and the immigration agency to move faster and with more stealth. Some of the court-ordered halts happened when the planes were already in the air.

Trump and El Salvador

Donald Trump made his intentions clear when it came to immigrants, but few expected the ferocity with which he would commit to his goals. How many could have imagined that the Trump administration would not even deport these immigrants to their original countries, but send them to be shut away in El Salvador's super-prison, CECOT?

CECOT was founded in 2023 at the behest of right-wing populist El Salvador's president, Nayib Bukele. What seems to be Bukele's driving force is his war on gangs. He has pushed for more funding for the



police, arming them to the teeth, but his real magnus opus has been CECOT.

CECOT is the largest prison in the Americas, with a capacity for 40,000 inmates, and has become a symbol of the nation's crackdown on crime. It was built to be as brutal as possible. Every cell in the prison is meant to hold 80 inmates each, where men are held for 23.5 hours a day; the only furniture are metal bunks with no sheets, pillows, or mattresses. They have an open toilet, a cement basin and a plastic bucket for washing, and a large jug of water for hydration.

The inmates are not allowed any familial visitation, phone calls, or even letters. They aren't even allowed to contact a lawyer, nor to participate in any sort of activity, except Bible reading. The lights are on 24/7, preventing the inmates from gaining any real sleep, and even when it comes to food, the inmates must grab the food through the spaces between the bars—with a first come, first served mentality. They are not allowed to work, read, or even play card games, and they must face the possibility that they might not ever be released.

In 2022, Bukele declared a state of emergency, with support from the Legislative Assembly, which was led by his party, Nuevas Ideas. This allowed him to suspend constitutional rights, such as due process and the right to an attorney. The measure was only supposed to last for 30 days but has been extended for three years. The crackdowns have been brutal, with thousands of innocent men arrested.

Considering the size of the prison, the lack of essential amenities, the organized cruelty of the system itself, along with Bukele's fawning of Trump and wanting closer ties with the U.S., it makes perfect sense for the Trump administration to work closely with the Bukele government. Moreover, the lack of due process in the country is perfect for the Trump administration, as it makes it incredibly difficult to rescue anyone who was sent to CECOT.

Many lawyers and family members have still not heard back from the men who were sent to CECOT, and the Trump administration has doubled down on its assertions of the guilt of the people they sent. By

actually investigating them, the Trump admin would lose some of the return on the \$6 million they have been sending to Bukele to house the Venezuelans. Not investigating the deported prisoners would be ideal for both governments; the Trump administration wants to get rid of them in the cruelest way possible, and Bukele wants as much money as possible to continue the cruelty. It's a match made in hell.

What is to be done?

We have witnessed nothing but utter cruelty committed by the Trump administration; it is clear that we cannot continue to allow these crimes against humanity to continue. It is in times like these when solidarity is the key to our victory against this immoral institution.

We must also be clear that we will not win this by giving our loyalty to the Democrats, who have refused to fight. Some liberals claim that we don't have to worry since Bernie, AOC, and the rest of the Squad are leading the way. Yes, they are leading us back to the Democrats, who will once again try to silence any independent mass opposition and convince people to vote "blue no matter who." These politicians only want a return to "normalcy," but for the workers of this country, normalcy is working non-union jobs for little to no pay, little to no sick days, and plenty of long hours with little to no overtime pay.

Even if a "progressive" politician is elected, the mask of humanity will slip once again as long as capital is king. We are seeing it now, we've seen it before, and we will see it again unless the workers organize and class consciousness grows. These people being kidnapped and sent off to the tropical gulag have all been workers and allies of the workers!

Trump's deportations are nothing more than a façade, to keep us scared and divided while the rich continue to dig their hands into our pockets—as they've been doing for centuries. This is an illness, but one we can overcome; class consciousness is our medicine. Only through this and massive mobilizations of working people and their allies will the Trump administration feel that black eye they so much deserve. ■

Oscar winner "No Other Land" Shows the True Face of Israeli Violence in the West Bank

By JAMES MARKIN

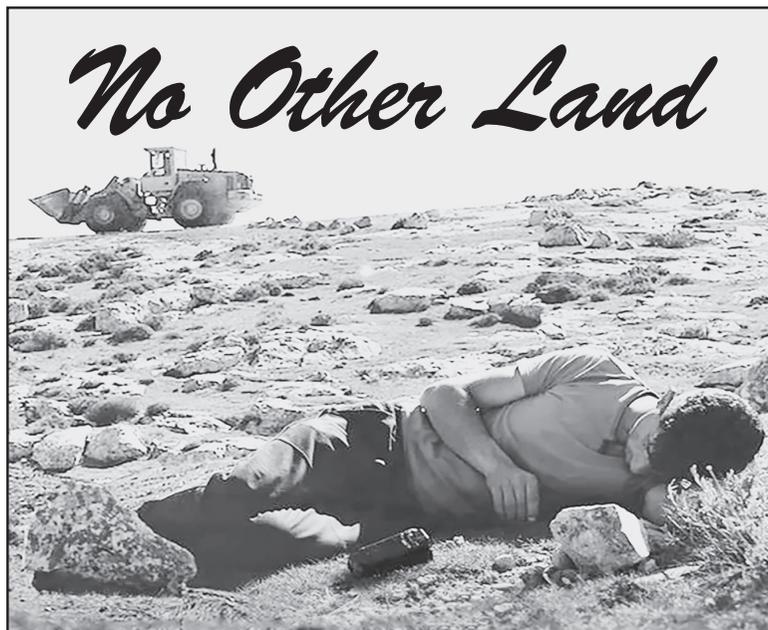
The winner for best documentary at the Academy Awards was a movie that most Americans aren't able to easily watch: "No Other Land." The Palestinian/Israeli documentary failed to find a U.S. distributor ahead of the prestigious Oscar ceremony despite being the favorite to win an award. This was not due to a lack of demand; "No Other Land" actually outpaced all of its Best Documentary rivals in box office sales through independent distributors. Instead, the lack of a distributor is just another example of how corporate America has worked to silence Palestinian narratives in the public discourse, even as the U.S. government channels billions of dollars into the Israeli genocide in Gaza.

Documentary journalism blended with activism

"No Other Land" is a unique film, a fly on the wall documentary that tells the story of the fight by Palestinians to save the rural West Bank community of Masafer Yatta from destruction by the IDF. Since the 1980s, Israel has been seeking to depopulate the area, claiming that it is needed for an IDF training zone.

This project was upheld by the Israeli Supreme Court after Palestinian families sued in the 1990s. Leaked Israeli government documents from the 1980s, however, revealed that since the beginning the IDF training zone was always an excuse used to justify Israel's real goal of depopulating the region as part of a broader plan to expedite Israeli settlement in the area. As part of this effort, Israeli bulldozers are dispatched regularly to far-flung parts of Masafer Yatta to demolish homes, playgrounds, schools, and businesses of Palestinians, as the IDF hopes this will force them to leave their homes and farms.

The film's co-director, the young Palestinian activist Basel Adra, is inextricably linked to the fight to defend Masafer Yatta. Old footage shows Basel's father, Nasser, leading the struggle against the Israeli demolitions in the 1980s and 1990s. Now Basel himself has had to take up a serious degree of leadership in the fight. Despite going to school to be a lawyer, there is not enough legal work in the West Bank for Basel to make a living practicing law. Instead, Basel divides his time between helping in his father's gas station and documenting and leading protests



against Israeli demolitions of homes and businesses in Masafer Yatta.

The documentary shows clearly how much his dedication to the struggle has taken a toll on Basel Adra, who tries to defuse the stress of fighting for the life of his community through heavy smoking and a near compulsive use of his phone. This is in contrast to the Israeli co-director of the film, Yuval Abraham, an Israeli who had his life changed when he learned Arabic and came to the realization that his country's treatment of Palestinians is unconscionable. Sections of the film are dedicated to fly on the wall segments of the two men having conversations, in hookah bars, cars and around Basel's home, where they often spend nights sprawled out next to each other in sleeping bags on the bare floor.

While Yuval's dedication to stopping the Israeli destruction of Masafer Yatta is not questioned, some of the more interesting parts of the film interrogate his role and presence in the Palestinian community. While Basel lives in the rural West Bank and cannot leave, or even drive on roads built for Israeli settlers, Yuval has made the choice to spend much of his time there producing the documentary and writing about the situation that Basel's community is facing. Even so, he is often able to return home to his family, almost in another reality back within Israel.

During one particularly striking moment in the documentary, as Yuval is helping out with the work of carrying heavy equipment in Masafer Yatta, he is confronted by a resident who asks how Abraham can expect to be close with Palestinians in the West Bank when "the people who

are demolishing our homes could be your cousins." Their contentious conversation is then interrupted by another resident, who calls them over to help out elsewhere, declaring that there will be time for debate when the work is done.

Home demolitions: Despair punctuated by ruthless violence

Indeed, the documentary demonstrates that time is often something that the residents of Masafer Yatta lack, and much of the film is dedicated to cell phone footage shot by Basel and Yuval that documents the continued Israeli demolitions in the rural community. At one point during the film, we see one of the men who was earlier helping out and debating with Yuval, Harun Abu Aram, shot at very close range by an IDF soldier during a scuffle at a home demolition.

he shooting leaves Harun paralyzed from the neck down. For the rest of the movie we are shown Harun's mother, forced to take care of her now paralyzed son while living in a cave because their home was demolished. Harun Abu Aram died in 2023 due to bedsores and infections caused by lying on the floor of a cave, unable to move.

We also are shown how the decades-long struggle has impacted Basel and his family, transforming their day-to-day life such that the extraordinary harassment of the IDF is mundane to them. At one point, his mother tells Basel that she has laundered his clothes so that they can be ready if he is arrested. When the soldiers come for him and his father, Basel is able to escape arrest as his family demonstrates that they have

dealt with IDF arrest squads many times and have learned techniques to evade them. Basel's father, however, is not able to escape, and Basel is forced to give up a lot of his activism work in order to take care of the family business.

This leads to a section of the film in which, while Nasser Adra is in prison and Basel is taking care of the gas station, it is Yuval who then takes on the work of confronting and documenting IDF home demolitions. Through the lens of his phone camera, we see how he is received differently by the IDF forces as a Jewish demonstrator. At one point, an angry Jewish man in civilian clothes gets in his face and promises retribution to his family for being a traitor.

A call to action

Indeed, toward the end of the film, the Jewish settlers become a bigger and bigger menace to the community in Masafer Yatta. They often show up to confrontations armed and determined to cause havoc for the Palestinian community. Through Basel and Yuval's footage we see how settler attacks are shadowed by IDF troops who do nothing to prevent the attacks, as they are there merely to discourage retaliation. The film ends with a particularly blood-curdling scene of Jewish settlers, armed with rifles, attacking the very cluster of homes where the Adra family lives.

This lack of closure in the end of the movie is a powerful call to action for those watching it. Throughout the film, the two directors discuss and debate just how much documentation and journalism can help to end the kind of vicious military and settler violence that faces Masafer Yatta. While exactly how the directors would ultimately answer this question is unclear from the film alone, from an activist perspective it does seem apparent that a film like "No Other Land" itself can do very little to change the reality on the ground. It is up to us, the viewers, who are among the working classes of countries like the United States to stop our imperialist government's support for what Israel is doing.

At one point, Basel even directly alludes to the possibility of a potential withdrawal of U.S. support being a turning point in the struggle of Masafer Yatta. That is why, while activists should go to see "No Other Land" at whatever independent theater is showing it near them, the more important thing is to build a large and militant Palestine-solidarity movement that is capable of materially helping the people of Masafer Yatta. ■

Break with the Democrats – The party of disappointment and defeat: **Working people need mass action & their own party**

UE

BY JOHN PRIETO

In recent months, Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez have undertaken their nationwide “Fight Oligarchy Tour” (see photo). Hundreds of thousands of people have attended these events or viewed them online.

Many say that they have been heartened and even inspired to hear these elected representatives voice their opposition to the reactionary policies of the Trump administration. Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez speak of “building community,” “fighting for working people,” “working-class solidarity,” “Medicare for all,” and “taking on the system.” Sanders even blasts the “big money” interests that back candidates of the Democratic Party.

And yet, the Bernie-AOC events deserve some criticism. Both of these politicians have served as sheep-dogs for the Democratic Party, funneling those who are fed up with its policies back into the flock. In fact, the major purpose of their rallies is to get out the vote for Democratic Party candidates running for office. Sanders states that “in the near future,” he will roll out his slate of endorsements of political candidates.

This is a method that fails to fundamentally challenge any of the major problems that working people must face; it maintains a clear delineation between those who are merely allowed to indicate a small preference in the elections—the working class and oppressed—and those who actually wield power.

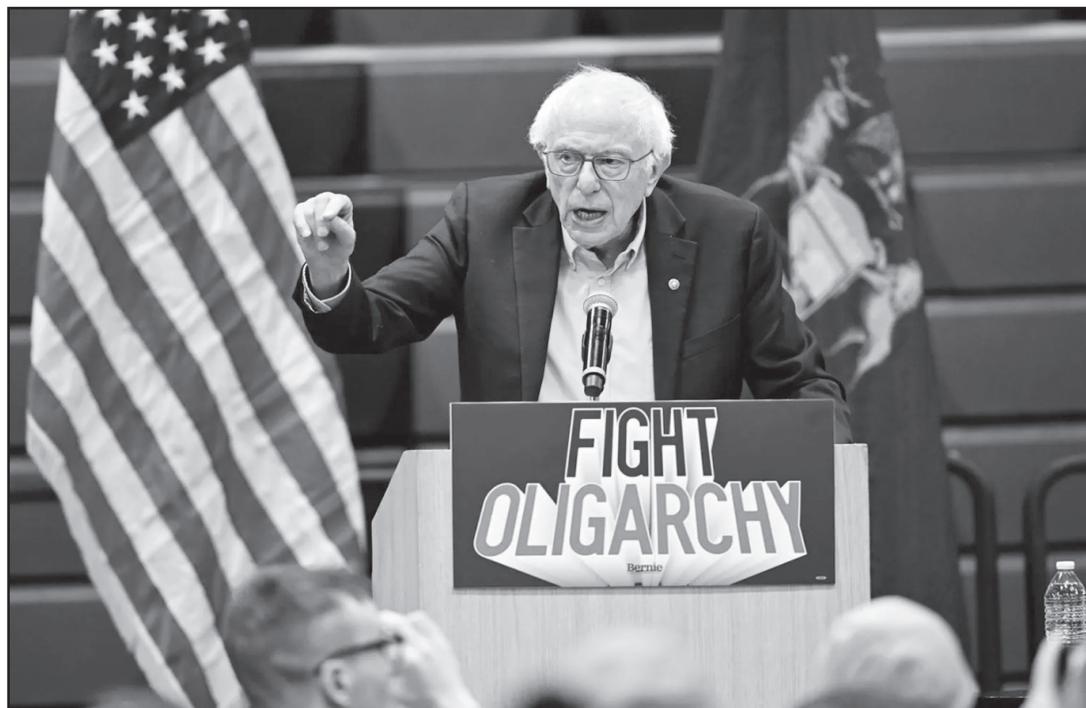
Another event of the early spring was emblematic of the core issues with the Democratic Party and its inability to combat the threat that the Trump administration poses to immigrants, unions, students, and the workers and oppressed more generally. From March 31 to April 1, Senator Cory Booker (D-N.J.) gave the longest speech in U.S. Senate history at 25 hours and five minutes.

Booker’s “filibuster” was a *performance* and not an actual effort to resist the Trump regime. It was one of many auditions for the 2028 Democratic nomination for president that we will continue to see over the next four years. These politicians hope that their feigned motions toward resistance will suffice to endear them to a base that is profoundly disappointed in the Democratic Party and disapproving of its methods. But fear not, billionaires, they will not push the workers and oppressed into motion.

If it’s not for resistance, what is it for?

Those on the socialist left have often referred to the Democratic Party as “the graveyard of social movements.” That is, it is a place where mass movements go to die. Throughout the history of the United States after Reconstruction, the Democratic Party has consistently served as a vehicle for integrating the demands and momentum of mass movements into the institutions of bourgeois politics, and thus cauterizing the festering wounds of capitalism.

When the post-Reconstruction status quo brought questions of civil rights, land ownership, debt, and urban working conditions to the fore of mass politics, a political party, however imperfect, began to chal-



lenge the Democrats and Republicans with a base of workers and farmers. That party—the Populist Party—was successfully courted by the Democrats and brought into their fold; its base was dissipated. The same would occur again and again as mass movements and nascent political parties without a class analysis, and therefore uncommitted to class independence, would be absorbed in moments of crisis by the Democratic Party. These formations include the already mentioned Populist Party in the 1890s, the Farmer-Labor parties of the 1930s and '40s, as well as the civil rights, women’s, and gay movements of the 1960s. The list goes on into the current period.

In moments of crisis and mass political ferment, the role of the Democratic Party has been made clear decade after decade for more than a century: Demobilize, disempower, depoliticize.

A time for mass action

Millions of people have mobilized in recent months in protests across the country. Although often organized by liberal NGOs deeply attached to the Democratic Party, this is a sign of a mass politicization. Booker and other bourgeois politicians recognize the strong yearning for an alternative. These politicians cannot provide one, but they will seek to capture that desire for their own ends.

It is incumbent upon socialist and labor activists to take part in these mass actions, even when they have a liberal character, in order to push independent working-class politics and strategies. Abandoning those brought into motion through these mobilizations will lead to the capture of this momentum by the Democratic Party.

If the Democratic Party is the path to defeat for the mass movement, what is it that we need for victory? In the first place, we need united-front-type mass

actions. A real united front brings together a broad swath of organizations of working-class and oppressed people, and their committed allies, to fight for a specific goal without forcing the organizations composing it to abandon their independent political programs. This is best done in a democratic and transparent fashion, creating unity around specific demands but allowing groups to put forward their own political programs and to suggest strategy and tactics within the front.

We must struggle within these united fronts for concerted mass action. Being mobilized in the class struggle is the best instructor in working-class politics. As Rosa Luxembourge once said, “Those who do not move, do not notice their chains.”

It is the activity of the class struggle in which the working class learns and develops consciousness. As such, we must create the opportunities for this struggle and learning to take place. Mass action, the concentration of large numbers in active struggle, is both the best method to win the demands of the united front as well as a necessary precursor for the development of mass revolutionary consciousness.

There is reason to expect that the mobilized working class and its allies will ultimately turn their backs on both parties of big business—the Democrats and the Republicans. It will become increasingly apparent that working people need their *own* independent party, working side by side with a reborn militant labor movement and with the organizations of oppressed people.

Unlike the Democrats, a new political party that directly represents working people, and is democratically controlled by them, can provide consistent muscle and leadership in organizing the mass struggles against the bosses and their cruel system of war and exploitation. ■

Trump desafía los tribunales y envía inmigrantes a una brutal prisión salvadoreña

Oficina de Prensa Presidencial de El Salvador / AP

Por BEN MARTINEZ

El 15 de marzo, el presidente Donald Trump firmó una orden ejecutiva invocando la Ley de Enemigos Extranjeros de 1798, que supuestamente permitiría al gobierno detener y deportar a ciudadanos de una «nación enemiga» en tiempo de guerra. Esa misma noche, tres aviones aterrizaron en El Salvador, transportando a 261 hombres. El gobierno de Trump había deportado a los hombres de Estados Unidos desafiando la orden de un tribunal federal de dar la vuelta a los aviones. Pero sólo unos pocos de ellos eran realmente de El Salvador; la mayoría de los deportados eran de Venezuela. A ninguno de ellos se le respetó el debido proceso. Iban a ser transportados a la super-prisión de El Salvador conocida como Centro de Confinamiento del Terrorismo, CECOT para abreviar.

Los presos detenidos fueron obligados a agacharse y caminar hasta sus transportes, sin que se les permitiera siquiera mirar por las ventanillas de los autobuses. Una vez que llegaron a la prisión de El Salvador, los guardias continuaron manteniéndolos agachados, abofeteando a los presos recién llegados. Un joven al que habían tirado al suelo sollozaba a los guardias: «No soy miembro de una banda. Soy gay. Soy barbero».

Esas palabras cayeron en saco roto. Finalmente, él y los demás fueron llevados a la sala de admisión, donde les rasuraron la cabeza y les quitaron la ropa. Según su familia y Lindsay Toczyłowski, fundadora del Immigrant Defenders Law Center, el barbero se llama Andry José Hernández Romero. Tiene 31 años y es maquillador. Había solicitado asilo hace un año por ser homosexual y por oponerse al presidente venezolano Nicolás Maduro. No tenía antecedentes penales en Estados Unidos ni en Venezuela, pero sus tatuajes (dos coronitas con las palabras «Papá» y «Mamá») bastaron para que los funcionarios de inmigración lo detuvieran, sin el debido proceso.

Kilmar Abrego García

La administración Trump también deportó a Kilmar Armando Abrego García, refugiado salvadoreño con estatus protegido en Estados Unidos. Es padre y trabajador sindical, lleva 14 años viviendo en el país, pero fue detenido por el ICE y acusado de ser miembro de una banda, sin pruebas. La campaña por su liberación ha trazado los tribunales y ha atraído la atención nacional.

Los abogados de Abrego García declararon que fue víctima de un «error kafkiano» y que corre peligro de ser torturado y asesinado en el CECOT. El gobierno reconoció su error al detener y deportar a Abrego García, pero insistió en que era demasiado tarde para recuperarlo, porque ya no tienen jurisdicción.

El 10 de abril, el Tribunal Supremo de Estados Unidos confirmó parcialmente las sentencias de un tribunal inferior, declarando que la administración Trump debe «facilitar» la liberación de Ábrego García. Pero el Tribunal Supremo no llegó a coincidir con el juez en que la administración estaba obligada a «efectuar» (es decir, poner en marcha) su devolución. Esta débil decisión del Tribunal Supremo reforzó el argumento de los funcionarios de Trump de que no estaban obligados a acatar ninguna decisión judicial de liberar a Abrego García ni a ningún otro deportado.

Durante su visita a la Casa Blanca el 14 de abril, el presidente salvadoreño Bukele indicó, a preguntas de los periodistas, que se negaría a liberar a Ábrego García. «¿Cómo voy a devolverlo a Estados Unidos?», dijo Buke-

le. «Por supuesto que no voy a hacerlo. La pregunta es absurda».

Durante la reunión, Trump elogió a Bukele como «un gran presidente», al tiempo que reiteraba su propia negativa a tomar medidas para excarcelar a Abrego García. También dijo a los periodistas que estaba abierto a deportar a ciudadanos estadounidenses a la cárcel de El Salvador: «Si se trata de un delincuente qué nació aquí, no tengo ningún problema».

Otras víctimas de Trump

Jerce Reyes Barrios fue otra víctima inocente del cruel programa de deportación de la administración Trump. Es venezolano, jugador de fútbol profesional y entrenador de juveniles, sin antecedentes penales. Desapareció una noche, y su familia sólo se enteró de lo que le había ocurrido cuando lo vieron en vídeos virales de deportados en El Salvador, publicados por la administración Trump.

Reyes Barrios era también solicitante de asilo, con una cita legal prevista para el 17 de abril. Se cree que habría obtenido asilo debido a sus antecedentes, al haber sido víctima del régimen de Maduro. Barrios se había manifestado contra el gobierno de Maduro, y fue secuestrado y torturado por ese mismo gobierno. Se marchó de Venezuela a Estados Unidos hace cinco meses, donde recibió el apoyo de familiares y amigos. Pero Barrios tenía tatuajes de fútbol, y al igual que con Hernández, sus tatuajes fueron utilizados en su contra como prueba de que estaba afiliado a una banda venezolana conocida como Tren de Aragua.

Esta historia es similar a lo que oímos sobre prácticamente todas las personas que han sido enviadas a la megacárcel de El Salvador. Pudimos ver cómo estas personas pueden haber sido posiblemente desaparecidas cuando, el 25 de marzo, la estudiante de doctorado de Tufts Rumeysa Ozturk fue rodeada, detenida y arastrada por agentes del ICE. Todo fue grabado por las cámaras, que mostraban a los agentes del ICE enmascarados y sin uniformes, sin vehículos de las fuerzas del orden identificables, y ni siquiera anunciaron que eran agentes del ICE hasta después de quitarle el teléfono y detenerla.

Parece que el gobierno de Trump ha detenido a bastantes personas por motivos políticos. La administración afirma haber revocado los visados de cientos de estudiantes universitarios. El 9 de marzo, el activista palestino y estudiante de Columbia Mahmoud Khalil, titular de un permiso de residencia y casado con una ciudadana estadounidense, fue detenido por el ICE. En una presentación judicial sobre el caso, el DHS presentó un memorando del secretario de Estado Marco Rubio en el que afirmaba que la ley le otorga el poder de decidir que una persona debe ser deportada aunque sus acciones sean «por lo demás lícitas». Rubio escribió que Khalil debía ser deportado por su presunto papel en «protestas antisemitas y actividades perturbadoras» en la universidad y porque sus acciones socavaban «la política estadounidense de lucha contra el antisemitismo en todo el mundo.» Un juez de inmigración dictaminó el 12 de abril que, basándose en esos motivos,



(Foto) Guardias de la prisión trasladan a deportados de Estados Unidos al Centro de Confinamiento contra el Terrorismo en Tecoluca, El Salvador, el 16 de marzo de 2025.

Khalil puede ser expulsado, aunque no se hayan presentado pruebas concretas para verificar las acusaciones.

El hecho de que algunos jueces hayan intentado detener el proceso de deportación de la administración Trump para permitir al menos que los acusados tengan juicios ante los tribunales, sólo ha provocado que el ICE y la agencia de inmigración se muevan más rápido y con más sigilo. Algunas de las detenciones ordenadas por los tribunales se produjeron cuando los aviones ya estaban en el aire.

La prisión CECOT

El CECOT se fundó en 2023 a instancias del presidente populista de derechas de El Salvador, Nayib Bukele. Lo que parece ser la fuerza motriz de Bukele es su guerra contra las bandas. Ha impulsado una mayor financiación de la policía, armándola hasta los dientes, pero su verdadero obra maestra ha sido CECOT.

CECOT es la mayor prisión de América, con capacidad para 40.000 reclusos, y se ha convertido en un símbolo de la represión del crimen en el país. Se construyó para ser lo más brutal posible. Cada celda de la prisión tiene capacidad para 80 reclusos cada una, donde los hombres permanecen reclusos 23,5 horas al día; el único mobiliario son literas metálicas sin sábanas, cojines ni colchones. Disponen de un retrete abierto, una palanquilla de cemento y un cubo de plástico para lavarse, y una gran jarra de agua para hidratarse.

A los reclusos no se les permite ninguna visita familiar, ni llamadas telefónicas, ni siquiera cartas. Ni siquiera se les permite ponerse en contacto con un abogado, ni participar en ningún tipo de actividad, salvo la lectura de la Biblia. Las luces están encendidas 24 horas al día, 7 días a la semana, lo que impide a los reclusos conciliar el sueño, e incluso cuando se trata de comer, los reclusos necesitan coger la comida a través de los espacios entre los barrotes, según el orden de llegada. No se les permite trabajar, leer ni siquiera jugar a las

(vea la página 13)

Cómo derrotar a los aspirantes a dictadores: Dos lecciones de 2024

Por CARLOS SAPIR

Al leer la prensa capitalista actual, es fácil tener la impresión de que el gobierno de Trump y Musk es imparable. Con un torrente de políticas, ataques y provocaciones contra las comunidades oprimidas y la infraestructura gubernamental por igual, el gobierno actual actúa con un desprecio flagrante por las leyes escritas vigentes en Estados Unidos y ofrece excusas contradictorias cuando sus acciones son cuestionadas por jueces o la prensa. Es cierto que las normas, en gran medida simbólicas, que supuestamente equilibran los poderes del Estado liberal son actualmente letra muerta.

Entonces, ¿qué puede mantener al gobierno bajo control? Dos ejemplos recientes del año pasado trazan el camino a seguir.

Paros pararon la motosierra en Argentina

Elon Musk, quien jamás ha escuchado una idea que no quisiera robar, recibió su espectáculo fálico de

motosierra de Javier Milei, el tirano al frente de la destrucción de Argentina. Mientras el gobierno aprende teatro de Argentina, el movimiento obrero argentino ha demostrado concretamente que el gobierno no puede imponer políticas que vayan en contra de las fuerzas masivas de los trabajadores organizados. Cuando el gobierno de Milei intentó avanzar con sus recortes reaccionarios al gasto social, los sindicatos convocaron huelgas generales de un día que obligaron a esas políticas a retroceder. El sello de aprobación de la legislatura argentina no importó: los trabajadores argentinos demostraron su vehemente oposición a estos cambios y que no los aceptarían, por lo que el gobierno se vio obligado a dar marcha atrás.

Lo han hecho repetidamente, en enero, mayo y octubre de 2024, y de nuevo en abril de 2025. En particular, cuando el sindicato más grande, la CGT, no logró reunir sus fuerzas en julio de 2024, se aprobó una versión modificada de los recortes. No basta con que los trabajadores estén organizados, necesitamos movilizarnos cada vez que estamos bajo ataque. Si

bien el movimiento obrero argentino aún no puede reivindicar una victoria total sobre el gobierno de Milei, las batallas que ha ganado son un ejemplo del poder que los sindicatos pueden ejercer contra los gobiernos tiránicos. Mientras que en Estados Unidos vemos nuevos ataques día tras día, a Milei le llevó meses implementar incluso una fracción de su programa.

Corea del Sur levanta la ley marcial

Más allá de las luchas contra las políticas de austeridad, 2024 también vio una movilización aún más asombrosa de las fuerzas populares contra la dictadura militar capitalista. A las 10 p.m. del martes 3 de diciembre, el presidente Yoon Suk Yeol declaró abruptamente la imposición de la ley marcial, acusando al partido opositor DPK de participar en «actividades antiestatales» y trabajar con «comunistas norcoreanos». Moviéndose para prohibir toda actividad política, acabar con la libertad de prensa y proscribir las huelgas,

(vea la página 15)

... Trump y las deportaciones (desde la página 12)

cartas, y deben enfrentarse a la posibilidad de no ser liberados nunca.

En 2022, Bukele declaró el estado de excepción, con el apoyo de la asamblea legislativa dirigida por su partido, Nuevas Ideas. Esto le permitió suspender derechos constitucionales, como el debido proceso y el derecho a un abogado. Se suponía que la medida sólo duraría 30 días, pero se ha prorrogado durante tres años. La represión ha sido brutal, con la detención de miles de hombres inocentes.

Teniendo en cuenta el tamaño de la prisión, la falta de servicios esenciales, la crueldad organizada

del propio sistema, junto con la adulación de Bukele a Trump y el deseo de estrechar lazos con Estados Unidos, tiene mucho sentido que la administración Trump trabaje estrechamente con el gobierno de Bukele. Además, la falta de garantías procesales en el país es perfecta para la administración Trump, ya que hace increíblemente difícil rescatar a cualquiera que haya sido enviado al CECOT. Muchos abogados y familiares aún no han tenido noticias de los hombres que fueron enviados a CECOT, y la administración Trump ha redoblado sus afirmaciones sobre la culpabilidad de las personas que enviaron. Al investigarlos realmente, la administración Trump perdería parte del rendimiento de los 6 millones de dólares que ha estado enviando a Bukele para alojar a los venezolanos. No investigar a los presos deportados sería ideal para ambos gobiernos; la administración Trump quiere deshacerse de ellos de la forma más cruel posible, y Bukele quiere tanto dinero como sea posible para continuar con la crueldad. Es una pareja hecha en el infierno.

¿Qué hacer?

Hemos sido testigos de la crueldad más absoluta cometida por el gobierno de Trump; está claro que no podemos seguir permitiendo que continúen estos crímenes contra la humanidad. Es en momentos como éste cuando la solidaridad es la clave de nuestra victoria contra esta institución inmoral.

También debemos tener claro que no ganaremos esto dando nuestra lealtad a los demócratas, que se han negado a luchar. Algunos liberales afirman que no tenemos que preocuparnos ya que Bernie, AOC y el resto de la Escuadra están abriendo el camino. Sí, nos están guiando de vuelta a los Demócratas, que una vez más intentarán silenciar cualquier



Político Magazine

oposición masiva independiente y convencer a la gente de que vote «azul sin importar a quién». Estos políticos sólo quieren volver a la «normalidad», pero para los trabajadores de este país, la normalidad es trabajar en empleos no sindicados por poco o ningún salario, pocos o ningún día de baja por enfermedad y muchas horas largas con poco o ningún pago por horas extras.

Aunque se elija a un político «progresista», la máscara de la humanidad volverá a caer mientras el capital sea el rey. Lo estamos viendo ahora, lo hemos visto antes y lo volveremos a ver a menos que los trabajadores se organicen y crezca la conciencia de clase. ¡Todas estas personas secuestradas y enviadas al gulag tropical han sido trabajadores y aliados de los trabajadores!

Las deportaciones de Trump no son más que una fachada, para mantenernos asustados y divididos mientras los ricos siguen metiendo las manos en nuestros bolsillos, como llevan haciendo desde hace siglos. Esto es una enfermedad, pero una que podemos superar; la conciencia de clase es nuestra medicina. Sólo con esto y con movilizaciones masivas de los trabajadores y sus aliados conseguirá la administración Trump ese ojo morado que tanto se merece. Pero no nos detendremos ahí; nuestro poder unido puede hacer mucho más, y puede traer la verdadera justicia. ■

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 al 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!

El derecho al voto

Por BRIAN CRAWFORD

En agosto se cumplirá el 60º aniversario de la firma de la Ley del Derecho al Voto, uno de los mayores logros del movimiento por los derechos civiles. Pero en lugar de celebrar este hito, Donald Trump ha firmado una orden ejecutiva que privaría del derecho al voto a millones de personas. Para inscribirse en el censo electoral habría que demostrar la ciudadanía. Se recortarían fondos a los estados que no cumplieran, y el Departamento de Justicia perseguiría los llamados «delitos electorales».

Invariablemente, el argumento esgrimido para esta orden ejecutiva y los cientos de leyes estatales y federales similares es proteger la «integridad» del voto. Esto se basa en la acusación ficticia de fraude electoral propagada por los republicanos, de la que no hay pruebas. La verdadera motivación es mantener y ampliar su poder político.

La base del Partido Republicano es abrumadoramente blanca, y los cambios demográficos amenazan el poder del partido. Incluso en el Sur, sobre todo en Texas y Georgia, sus mayorías podrían verse amenazadas debido a la cambiante composición racial. Las elecciones presidenciales de 2008, el año en que fue elegido el primer presidente negro, supusieron un punto de ruptura para la derecha. Hasta ese momento, la disparidad entre la participación electoral de blancos y negros casi se había cerrado. La derecha se apoya en gran medida en la animadversión racial y la hostilidad hacia los inmigrantes para obtener apoyo a su supresión de votantes.

Los republicanos han estado aplicando legislación para restringir el sufragio en los estados en los que controlan las asambleas legislativas. Han recurrido a limitar el número de colegios electorales en distritos con una gran población negra, a aplicar un estricto cumplimiento del horario electoral, a imponer una reducción de los días de votación anticipada y a nombrar como delito la distribución de comida y agua a los votantes que hacen cola.

La Ley de Salvaguarda de la Elegibilidad del Votante Estadounidense (Safeguard American Voter Eligibility Act, SAVE), aprobada recientemente por la Cámara de Representantes, fue concebida para impedir que votaran los no ciudadanos. Esta ley obstaculiza intencionadamente el registro de votantes. La ley hace obligatoria la prueba de ciudadanía. Debes presentar un certificado de nacimiento, pasaporte u otra documentación. Para las mujeres casadas, esto supondría una carga adicional, ya que los certificados de nacimiento deben coincidir con el nombre y la identificación actuales. Las mujeres casadas que adopten el apellido de su cónyuge no tienen ningún recurso para demostrar su identidad en virtud de la Ley SAVE. Según el Center for American Progress, esto afecta a 69 millones de mujeres y 4 millones de hombres.

El proyecto de ley también obligaría a las personas que se inscribieran o volvieran a inscribirse a hacerlo en persona, lo que afectaría a ancianos, discapacitados y a quienes tuvieran que recorrer



grandes distancias, como las poblaciones indígenas y las comunidades rurales. En lugar de garantizar la «integridad», la legislación y las órdenes ejecutivas deprimirán aún más el voto en un país con una participación electoral ya de por sí baja.

Los afroamericanos consiguieron el acceso al voto no mendigando, sino exigiendo sus derechos, sabiendo que enfrentarse a la intimidación y el terror era más que probable. Tal represión fue la experiencia vivida por los afroamericanos a lo largo de la historia del país; ningún blanqueamiento ocultará el pasado o el presente racista de Estados Unidos.

Los afroamericanos, especialmente en el Sur, emprendieron la más valiente de las luchas, arriesgando literalmente la vida y la integridad física por el derecho democrático a participar en la vida política del país. Desde el periodo de la Reconstrucción hasta mediados del siglo XX, las élites del Sur utilizaron impuestos electorales, cláusulas de derechos adquiridos, amenazas y la violencia para suprimir el poder político de los negros. En 1965 se promulgó la Ley del Derecho al Voto y, al igual que en la historia de nuestra lucha de liberación, significó un progreso para toda la clase trabajadora. Levantó las barreras en un sentido formal que impedían la plena participación en la vida política y social del país. Pero en la práctica, sin duda, siguen existiendo barreras y el progreso se ha ralentizado. Los retrocesos de los últimos años evidencian el retroceso del movimiento y la necesidad de que resurja.

Las sentencias del Tribunal Supremo y las promesas del Partido Demócrata no restablecerán el derecho de voto. El primero, que siempre está sujeto a las tendencias políticas en lugar de estar por encima de la contienda política, tiene un carácter conservador de derechas. Este Tribunal de Roberts debilitó gravemente la Ley del Derecho de Voto en 2013 y hoy es mucho más conservador. En cuanto a los demócratas, de momento no tienen liderazgo ni dirección, y están inertes en un momento en que se necesita actuar con urgencia. Su apoyo es siempre limitado y condicional, y sus fortunas electorales tienen prioridad sobre nuestras demandas. En definitiva, son un partido de, por y para el capitalismo.

(Foto) El presidente Lyndon Johnson estrecha la mano de Martin Luther King Jr. después de firmar la Ley del Derecho al Voto de 1965.

Debemos exigir que se restituya el derecho de voto a quienes están siendo eliminados de los censos electorales y criminalizados por intentar votar. Debemos exigir la derogación de todas las leyes restrictivas, ya que están concebidas para privar a la clase obrera de sus derechos, que van más allá del sufragio.

Los sindicatos deben organizarse en nombre de sus bases y del resto de la clase obrera. Hoy en día, gastan enormes recursos haciendo campaña por el Partido Demócrata. En lugar de ello, debe desempeñar un papel activo en la defensa del derecho al voto. No luchamos para que la gente vote a los demócratas, sino por el derecho del pueblo a votar. No se puede retroceder en la defensa de este derecho tan básico y fundamental en lo que se supone que es una democracia.

Las elecciones no son un fin en sí mismas. Los partidos dominantes en las naciones del mundo están al servicio de la riqueza y el poder. La clase obrera sólo puede triunfar convirtiéndose en una fuerza digna de la inmensa mayoría para someter a la minoría opresora que gobierna con una brutalidad casual.

Esto puede lograrse haciendo hincapié en los intereses comunes de la clase obrera por encima de las líneas raciales. Las reducciones y recortes de prestaciones como la Seguridad Social, Medicare y Medicaid afectan a los ancianos y a los pobres de todas las razas. El voto puede utilizarse como una plataforma de propaganda, para dar salida a una lucha a través de medidas electorales, o para presentar candidatos con un análisis y una política de clase obrera.

Actualmente, la intensificación de los esfuerzos para privar a más personas del acceso a las urnas es una toma de poder por parte de la extrema derecha y debe entenderse como tal. Sólo una fuerza con conciencia de clase puede oponerse eficazmente a la derecha. La retirada debe ser inaceptable no sólo para la población afroamericana, sino para toda la clase obrera. ■

... Dictaduras

(desde la página 13)

ordenando a los trabajadores médicos en huelga que regresaran al trabajo. La sociedad civil y los sindicatos surcoreanos estallaron en respuesta. Mientras la policía y las fuerzas militares cumplían órdenes de cerrar las instituciones estatales, estallaron protestas masivas en la oscuridad de la medianoche. La Federación Central Coreana de Sindicatos (KCFTU) convocó a una huelga general. En tan solo seis horas, la orden de la ley marcial fue revocada y el presidente Yoon fue procesado.

Esta no es la lucha final

Incluso cuando carecemos de las fuerzas para acabar decisivamente con el capitalismo de una vez por todas, las masas obreras son una fuerza a tener en cuenta. Mientras tanto, Trump, quizás incluso más que sus homólogos extranjeros, goza solo de la aprobación, a regañadientes y poco entusiasta, de importantes capas de la burguesía. Están dispuestas a darle la oportunidad de implementar su visión, en parte porque sus políticas les dan más fundamentos legales para reprimir a sus propios trabajadores, pero también porque agitar las aguas suele ser perjudicial para las ganancias capitalistas. Si los trabajadores subimos la apuesta y dejamos claro que vamos a oponer resistencia, capas de la clase capitalista también se acobardarán ante la idea de apoyar a Trump. Pero no nos equivoquemos: solo la movilización independiente de las fuerzas obreras puede liderar este cambio, demostrando su poder directo para movilizar y paralizar la vida normal.

La militancia inmediata de los sindicatos en Argen-

tina y Corea ante las amenazas a sus derechos fundamentales se debe en parte al recuerdo reciente de las luchas para derrotar a las dictaduras militares arraigadas en ambos países durante las décadas de 1970 y 1980. En contraste, el movimiento obrero estadounidense ha languidecido bajo décadas de estrategias sindicales empresariales que intentaron ser amables con los patrones en lugar de enfrentarlos directamente. Ningún sindicato importante en Estados Unidos está actualmente preparado para convocar una huelga general creíble. Pero eso no significa que la política de masas se posponga indefinidamente hasta que alcancemos el nivel deseado de concentración y militancia sindical.

Podemos impulsar movilizaciones masivas hoy mismo consiguiendo el apoyo de las secciones locales y regionales de los sindicatos para que apoyen las libertades civiles, la financiación de la educación, los derechos queer, la solidaridad con Palestina y las protestas contra la guerra que ya están surgiendo por todo el país, y dándoles amplia difusión para invitar a la ciudadanía a unirse. De esta forma, atraeremos a estos movimientos a cada vez más personas que antes no eran políticamente activas, convirtiéndolas en una fuerza a tener en cuenta capaz de frenar los planes del gobierno (y, de paso, fomentando la afiliación y la militancia sindical). También crearemos las condiciones para articular y concretar reivindicaciones políticas que van más allá de simplemente detener el último ataque que los capitalistas han urdido. Así es como inclinamos la balanza de la lucha de clases a nuestro favor.

Conquistar nuevas reivindicaciones requerirá niveles



Jung Yeon-Je / AFP via Getty Images

(Foto) La ley marcial en Corea del Sur.

aún mayores de organización. Requerirá un partido político que organice y coordine a sindicalistas militantes de base y organizadores comunitarios que desean luchar por un futuro mejor, y no solo por un presente mejor negociado, para impulsar al movimiento obrero y a la clase trabajadora en general a que luchen de forma consistente y agresiva contra la opresión y por mayores derechos democráticos, por el control económico y político de los trabajadores sobre sus condiciones de vida.

Este es el partido que esperamos construir hoy, avanzando con paso firme tanto para construir la mejor defensa de los derechos que aún se nos otorgan como para preparar la lucha por su mayor expansión, organizando al mismo tiempo la lucha para que la clase trabajadora tome el pleno poder político. ■

... La agenda de Trump (desde la página 16)

sienta temerosa y se delate mutuamente, hasta ahora sólo han conseguido crear lo contrario. Ahora mismo la gente se está uniendo y apoyando de verdad».

Continuó diciendo que, como parte de esta reacción, «se ha producido una enorme movilización de los trabajadores federales contra el DOGE y Trump. Todos estamos enfadados. Todos nos sentimos irrespetados. Esa experiencia compartida hace que queramos defendernos unos a otros. Aún queda mucho trabajo por hacer para movilizar a los empleados federales, conseguir que se afilien y refuercen sus sindicatos y se organicen. La Red Federal de Sindicalistas (Federal Union Network, FUN) está ayudando a construir la solidaridad en todo el sector federal y a enseñar a los trabajadores federales a construir movimientos. También es un lugar al que nuestros aliados pueden unirse para apoyarnos».

La lucha para defender a AFGC debe ser la lucha de todos los trabajadores organizados y sus aliados, utilizando todas las herramientas y tácticas que se derivan del poder de los trabajadores en el punto de la producción. En medio de esta batalla para defender nuestros derechos a los contratos sindicales, quedará claro que también necesitamos un partido obrero, que pueda movilizar a todos los trabajadores en las calles para luchar en todos los frentes contra los ataques de la clase capitalista.

Mientras tanto, en la campaña electoral, Harris imitó a Biden, señalando de vez en cuando con el dedo a los israelíes y haciendo llamamientos sin amenaza concreta a un «alto el fuego», al tiempo que seguía abogando por armar a Israel hasta los dientes. Los demócratas -al

igual que Trump y los republicanos- no están dispuestos a negar su apoyo al principal socio menor del imperialismo estadounidense en Oriente Próximo.

¿Por qué hizo tanto Harris para desmovilizar a su «base» y perder estas elecciones? La respuesta es sencilla. Todos nosotros—inmigrantes, personas de color, personas LGBTQ+ y la clase trabajadora—no somos su base. Nunca lo hemos sido. La base del Partido Demócrata, su base verdadera, es la misma que la del Partido Republicano. Se sientan juntos en los consejos de administración de las empresas, envían juntos a sus hijos a escuelas de élite enclaustradas y se benefician juntos de la guerra y la inmisericordia.

Los liberales tenían razón al decir que «no había alternativa» en las elecciones. No ofrecieron ninguna, y sus intereses de clase significan que los demócratas nunca podrían ofrecer una de forma seria. Pero lo que esto indica es que tenemos que mirar más allá de los límites del sistema capitalista y luchar por una alternativa política real que esté dirigida por y para los trabajadores.

Para afrontar el momento, nosotros -socialistas, sindicalistas y la clase obrera en general- debemos construir nuestra propia alternativa. León Trotsky identificó el crecimiento del fascismo a principios del siglo XX como el resultado del fracaso del movimiento obrero a la hora de afrontar el momento de crisis capitalista. La democracia burguesa estaba en crisis, la oleada revolucionaria había terminado, los Partidos Comunistas estalinizados no consiguieron proporcionar un liderazgo político eficaz, por lo que la clase media especialmente, pero también algunos miembros de la clase obrera, re-

currieron a las respuestas fáciles del fascismo.

Hoy, en Estados Unidos, es muy posible que la victoria de Trump amplíe el alcance de las fuerzas de extrema derecha. Pero el auge de los grupos políticos reaccionarios se debe en gran medida al fracaso del Partido Demócrata -y de la burocracia obrera que les sigue- a la hora de proporcionar cualquier tipo de alternativa a la crisis del capitalismo.

Para hacer frente al momento Trump, para luchar contra el crecimiento de la política reaccionaria, la clase obrera y los oprimidos necesitamos construir nuestra propia alternativa. Vimos un ejemplo de cómo responder a Trump en las protestas militantes de masas que se opusieron a la «prohibición de los musulmanes» en 2016. Pero el impulso político anti-Trump fue absorbido por las ONG liberales, que finalmente lo canalizaron hacia el Partido Demócrata.

Debemos construir nuestras propias organizaciones, independientes de los Demócratas, porque los Demócratas, a pesar de las disputas partidistas en época de elecciones, están unidos brazo con brazo con Trump y los Republicanos en la gestión conjunta del capitalismo y el imperialismo estadounidenses.

Debemos luchar contra Trump y las políticas reaccionarias que con toda seguridad se avecinan, pero no debemos permitir que esa lucha quede subsumida bajo las mismas instituciones y líderes políticos que crean las condiciones para el ascenso de Trump.

Lo que necesitamos es un partido independiente de la clase obrera. Aprovechemos este momento para cohesionar las fuerzas que pueden construirlo y llevarlo a la victoria. ■

ACCIÓN OBRERA

Una publicación internacionalista y socialista de La Voz de los Trabajadores * Donación solidaria \$1

La agenda de Trump para los trabajadores: *Destruir los sindicatos*

Por JAMES MARKIN

El ataque de la administración Trump contra los trabajadores federales ha sido intenso y rápido desde su toma de posesión en enero. Una lista completa de ataques sería demasiado larga para incluirla en este artículo, así que aquí van algunos puntos destacados.

En primer lugar, la administración envió el ahora tristemente célebre correo electrónico «Fork in the Road» (Bifurcación en el camino), que ofrecía a los empleados federales que renunciaran en febrero una paga hasta septiembre, claramente basado en los esfuerzos similares de Elon Musk para reorganizar a Twitter. Cuando pocos trabajadores federales aceptaron esta dudosa oferta, el gobierno empezó a despedir a un gran número de empleados a prueba. Luego, a principios de marzo, el Departamento de Seguridad Nacional de Trump anuló unilateralmente el contrato de los trabajadores sindicados de la AFGE (Federación Americana de Empleados Gubernamentales) en la Administración de Seguridad en el Transporte, con sólo un año de antigüedad. ¿La justificación? Es el mismo material recalentado para romper sindicatos, de cómo los sindicatos impiden la meritocracia.

Más recientemente, Trump firmó una orden ejecutiva proclamando que, a partir de ahora, una larga lista de departamentos federales ya no reconocerían ni negociarían con los sindicatos que representan a sus trabajadores. Esta lista incluye muchos de los departamentos estatales más importantes, como el Departamento de Defensa (DOD), Asuntos de Veteranos (VA), Departamento de Estado, Seguridad Nacional (DHS), Departamento de Energía, ICE, etc. Entonces, ¿cómo justifica Trump el despido de todos estos contratos sindicales? Su Orden Ejecutiva afirma que estos sindicatos y sus contratos son un peligro para la seguridad nacional. En particular, la OE deja claro que los sindicatos policiales no se verán afectados por este ataque.

Acción Obrera habló con una trabajadora anónima del VA, «R», que señaló que esta selección política de a quién atacar y a quién dejar en paz es coherente con el enfoque de Trump. También señaló que, mientras la Oficina de Derechos Civiles y Libertades Civiles se

enfrentaba a fuertes recortes, pero el ICE no.

De hecho, el ataque de Trump va más allá, provocando que los empleados federales teman ser despedidos por sus creencias políticas. Según R, «se habla mucho y se teme que la gente sea objeto de ataques por sus creencias políticas o por cosas que han dicho. Esto, comprensiblemente, ha creado paranoia».

R afirma que esto hace que muchos departamentos federales adopten un enfoque de «dos caras». «Un día nos dedicamos a apoyar a los veteranos LGBTQ. Nuestras VA solían enarbolar la bandera LGBTQ en el campus. Luego llega Trump al poder y hemos borrado todas y cada una de las palabras relacionadas con los veteranos LGBTQ de todos los sitios web, carteles y correos electrónicos. El borrado total es escalofriante». Según R, los trabajadores temen incluso ser vigilados por su empleador. R confirma que «nuestra dirección le ha dicho que es posible que nuestras reuniones de Microsoft Teams estén siendo grabadas sin nuestro conocimiento y que nuestros chats están siendo vigilados». Esto, por supuesto, conduce a una mayor paranoia.

Estas acciones revelan la doble agenda general de la administración Trump: en primer lugar, un ataque a los servicios públicos hará que estos servicios funcionen mal, lo que aboga por una mayor privatización. R señala: «No puedes destripar toda una oficina o agencia y no prever un enorme efecto dominó. Hay mucha interdependencia. En la VA, lo bien que atendemos a un veterano depende totalmente de lo bien que podamos coordinar la atención entre departamentos como los de salud mental, vivienda/ HUD, servicios de abuso de sustancias... la lista es interminable. Si eliminas a uno, toda la estructura se desmorona».

De hecho, la pérdida de algunos empleados críticos dificulta mucho más el trabajo de los departamentos federales. Según R, «es difícil explicar realmente el impacto que la pérdida de conocimientos o experiencia puede tener en el trabajo que hacemos. Sólo los puestos administrativos requieren tantos conocimientos específicos de nuestra agencia que se aprenden a lo largo de los años. Los pierdes y te das cuenta de que ni siquiera tu supervisor sabe lo que ellos saben. Así que, en ese sentido, nadie es

realmente sustituible. Incluso antes del RIF, los trabajadores federales ya sentían que sus equipos estaban escasos de personal».

La segunda parte de la agenda de Trump es un poco más obvia: quiere nada menos que la destrucción del actual sistema de negociación sindical. Si los contratos pueden ser anulados unilateralmente por Trump, ¿qué impide a cualquier empresario hacerlo? Si los contratos no valen ni el papel en el que están impresos, entonces todo el enfoque moderno del «sindicalismo empresarial», que ha dominado el trabajo organizado desde la década de 1950 (por el que los sindicatos acuerdan no agitar el barco con los empresarios para conseguir los mejores contratos ventajosos posibles), parece totalmente deshecho. Aunque los trabajadores federales puedan enfrentarse ahora a esta embestida, no cabe duda de que llegará al resto del sector público, y luego al sector privado, más pronto que tarde.

Entonces, ¿qué hay que hacer? Los trabajadores tienen que demostrar que su poder real no reside en los contratos ni en los tribunales, sino en su capacidad para luchar juntos como sindicato, e incluso para hacer huelga. Parte de este trabajo ya está en marcha. Según R, aunque la DOGE y Trump han intentado «crear un ambiente de trabajo en el que la gente se

(vea la página 15)

Audrey Richardson/Chicago Tribune



Sección en español:

- 12 — El derecho al voto
- 13 — Trump envía inmigrantes a una brutal prisión salvadoreña
- 15 — Cómo derrotar a los aspirantes a dictadores
- 16 — La agenda de Trump