

WORKERS' VOICE

An Internationalist and Socialist Publication * \$1 - Solidarity Donation \$2

NO WAR IN IRAN!

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What We Stand For

WORKERS' VOICE 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



WORKERS' VOICE

interests 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! Repeal Taft-Hartley! No support for Democrats and Republicans!**
- 2) Stop all deportations now! Equal rights for immigrants! Close the camps! Papers for all! Abolish ICE!**
- 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: Legal, free, accessible contraception and abortion on demand.**
- 5) Free quality universal public health care now! Quality free public child care and elder care for all, 24-7! Free education for a lifetime!**
- 6) Full civil and human rights for the LGBTQIA+ community!**
- 7) For climate justice! Public ownership of the energy and mining industries—under workers', community, and Indigenous control—to achieve emergency conversion to 100% renewable energy! For sustainable food production! Stop and reverse the destruction and degradation of forests, wetlands, and oceans! End plastic pollution!**
- 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, democratic, and secular Palestine!**
- 9) For the full integration of disabled people into social, political, and economic life. Extend and enforce the American Disability Act (ADA)!**
- 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 —

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U.S. war on Iran puts the entire Middle East in crisis

By FLORENCE OPPEN

The coordinated U.S.-Israeli assault on Iran marks a major escalation in the Middle East. Presented as a strike on military and nuclear infrastructure, the operation quickly shifted toward open talk of “regime change.” U.S. and Israeli strikes hit over 130 cities across Iran in the opening days of the bombing campaign, causing high civilian casualties. Meanwhile, Israel undertook military operations in Lebanon with airstrikes and a ground invasion. As Iran retaliated with missile and drone strikes across the region, over 12 countries were drawn into direct military conflict.

Iran has the right to defend itself

Regardless of the atrocities and repression committed by the Iranian regime against its people, the U.S. and Israel’s imperialist aggression threatens the fundamental right of self-determination of Iran as a legitimate nation. The right to remove the regime belongs to the Iranian people, and only to them.

Iran’s foreign minister made this contradiction visible when responding to threats from Washington on March 1: “Nobody can tell us that you don’t have any right to defend yourselves. We are defending ourselves, whatever it takes, and we see no limit for ourselves to defend our people, to protect our people.”

The challenge is that this regime cannot “defend its people” while also continuing the brutal repression against them. In order to be able to truly oppose the U.S. and Israeli aggression, the regime should stop all judicial proceedings against the protesters, stop the executions, free the political prisoners, and disband the forces responsible for the mass murders.

“Regime change” and self-determination

Reactions among Iranian people have been deeply divided and intense, as this attack unfolded a month after the brutal repression of Iranian mass protests by the regime. The Western aggression occurred when the country was still mourning the bloodbath carried out by Ali Khamenei and witnessing the slow death executions of at least 50 protesters. Likewise, Iranians appeared conflicted over the choice of the new supreme leader, Mojtaba Khamenei, in early March.

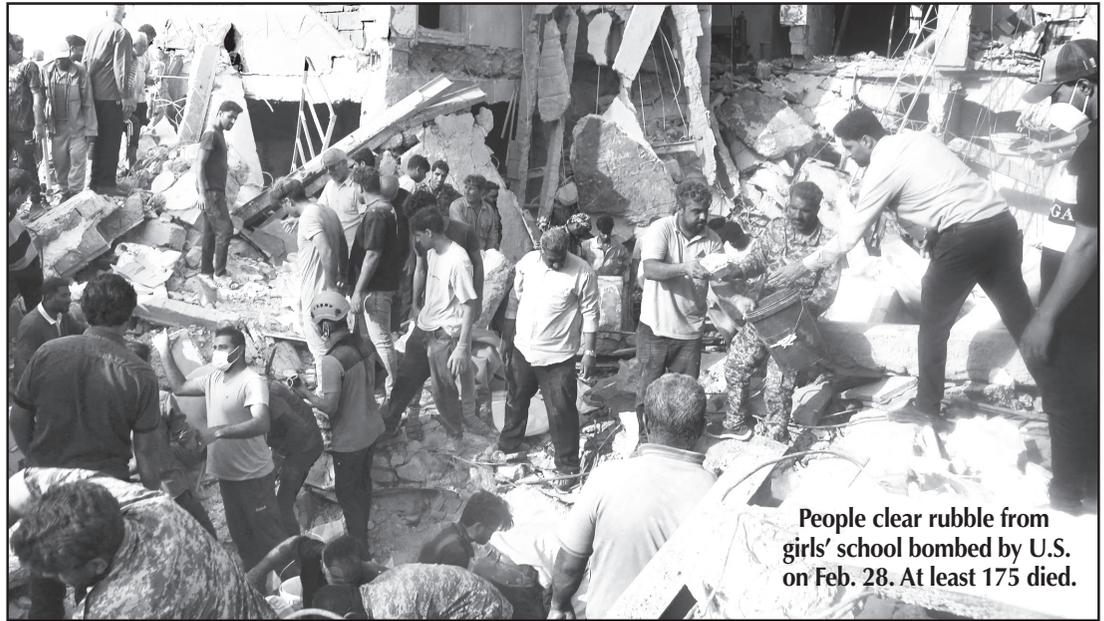
Only a minority of Iranians backed the U.S. offensive, and yet, only a minority of Iranians support the Islamic Republic regime. The way out cannot entail a return to the U.S.-backed monarchy or a renewed status quo with a new layer of the IRGC remaining in power.

Regime change in Iran can occur via two very different paths, with opposing outcomes. One possibility is for the independent elements of the democratic and grassroots movement that have been articulated since 2017 to build a political alternative that takes up the fight against both the U.S. and Israeli invasion and the local regime. Alternatively, it is possible that the U.S. and Israel could carry out regime change with troops or a covert CIA and Mossad operation, aligning themselves with the reactionary elements of the Iranian diaspora and the pro-Pahlavi monarchical sectors in Iran.

Of course, only the first path of regime change will guarantee real political and economic self-determination for Iranians. Any alliance with U.S.-backed anti-regime sectors today will only lead to the further impoverishment and oppression of Iranians.

The only durable and reliable road to genuine liberation from this multi-faceted nightmare is the independent self-organization of the Iranian people—through workplace committees, strike councils, neighborhood assemblies, and democratic bodies of self-defense.

Abbas Zakeri/Mehr News/WANA/Reuters



People clear rubble from girls’ school bombed by U.S. on Feb. 28. At least 175 died.

These were the class forces activated in the uprisings in early 2026. In some sectors, especially among transport workers, the question of independent working-class leadership emerged explicitly, with calls for workers’ and neighborhood councils that drew on earlier traditions of grassroots self-organization in Iran.

The conundrum for China and Russia

The U.S.–Israeli assault on Iran cannot be understood without being also situated within sharpening inter-imperialist rivalries in a period of global capitalist crisis and sharp decay of U.S. hegemony. Thus far, China and Russia, two rival imperialist powers to the U.S., have largely confined themselves to verbal denunciations of the attack against Iran, although Russia has supposedly supplied Iran with intelligence.

China now accounts for roughly 30 percent of Iran’s total trade, largely through energy flows: Iranian oil and gas in exchange for Chinese manufactured goods. However, Beijing avoids direct intervention, partly because it is expanding major economic relations with Israel, now its second-largest trading partner, including infrastructure and port projects.

A similar dynamic shapes Iran-Russia relations. After Western sanctions intensified following Russia’s 2022 invasion of Ukraine, Moscow and Tehran formalized ties through a 2025 strategic partnership treaty aimed at expanding trade, diplomatic coordination, and sanctions evasion. Putin’s defense of Iranian “stability” during protests highlights Moscow’s priority: preserving regime continuity and strengthening its geopolitical bloc rather than supporting popular self-determination.

Saudi Arabia and the Gulf monarchies

The war is unfolding within the framework of the Abraham Accords and the consolidation of a regional counterrevolutionary bloc aligned with U.S. imperialism: normalization with Israel, security coordination, and a military architecture aimed both against Iran and against their own working classes. Although some governments publicly call for “moderation,” their structural role is that of an operational platform: airspace, bases, logistical corridors, and intelligence integrated into U.S. operations.

Against this counterrevolutionary bloc, the only progressive alternative is solidarity among the workers and

oppressed of the entire region to first defeat the Western imperialist aggression, and then open the road for a more complete liberation of the region. This entails the recovery of the 1948 Palestinian territory for its people as well as the downfall of the capitalist monarchies and clerical-military dictatorships that stifle working people, especially women, youth and national and religious minorities in the region.

For a free, workers’ Iran

In the U.S., a principled antiwar movement must be built as a broad united front through the independent mobilization of unions, youth groups, feminist groups, Palestinian solidarity networks, migrant and immigrant communities, and anti-racist organizations. The movement should put at the center the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces, and the dismantling of the vast network of U.S. military bases that encircle the Middle East. It must demand the lifting of all sanctions. It must oppose any ground invasion, covert operations, or any other attempt to subordinate Iran to imperialist domination.

Only through united, visible, and militant mobilizations—linking the struggle against war abroad with the fight against exploitation, racism, and austerity at home—can we create a force capable of challenging both imperialist aggression and the reactionary regimes it sustains around the globe.

At the same time, opposing imperialist aggression does not mean political support for the Iranian ruling class. The IRGC and the clerical-military apparatus are not truly anti-imperialist in any sense. Over decades, they have overseen neoliberal restructuring, privatization waves, and the consolidation of vast parastatal conglomerates for their own enrichment.

We should both manifest our military opposition to U.S. imperialism and extend our full solidarity with the Iranian people’s right of self-defense while maintaining political independence from the regime. We reject any U.S.- or Israeli-backed “soft coup,” exile project, or right-wing diaspora scheme that would install a compliant government under foreign dominion.

The future of Iran cannot be decided in Washington, Tel Aviv, Riyadh, or Beijing. To defend Iran’s right to self-determination is in the last instance to fight for a workers’ and popular alternative to the Islamic Republic. ■



Trump threatens to disrupt the midterm elections

By JOHN LESLIE

Many activists and observers have predicted that Trump will attempt to subvert the 2026 midterm elections in order to thwart the Democrats' election chances. *The Washington Post* has reported that people around Trump "are circulating a 17-page draft executive order that claims China interfered in the 2020 election as a basis to declare a national emergency that would unlock extraordinary presidential power over voting." While the China claim is not credible, Trump could use this as the basis for what would essentially be a self-coup, allowing him to deepen his authoritarian turn.

Since retaking the White House, Trump has launched military attacks on Iran and Venezuela, commenced an assault on civil liberties, undermined due process, attacked union rights, sought to dismantle the "administrative state. Trump's anti-immigrant onslaught includes the expansion of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) as an unaccountable national political police with a budget larger than some countries' militaries.

Working-class people are still suffering from high consumer prices and an uncertain jobs market. While the stock market is doing well, we are experiencing what some economists are calling a "jobless boom." Meanwhile, Trump has been battered by controversy and scandal. He has faced questions about his role in the Epstein sex trafficking scandal and his popularity ratings have hit rock bottom.

Trump: "I'll get impeached!"

The Democratic Party has tried to make excuses for its weak response to Trump's reactionary offensive by declaring that a victory in the midterm elections of 2026 will be essential to its efforts to stop Trump. Speaking to a House Republican retreat in

January, Trump said, "You (have) got to win the midterms because if we don't win the midterms, it's just going to be—I mean, they'll find a reason to impeach me. I'll get impeached."

In this context, Trump has doubled down on his posturing regarding election integrity and has repeated false claims of electoral fraud while presenting little actual evidence of illegal voting.

The Justice Department has demanded the voter rolls of almost every state. According to the Brennan Center, "At least 47 states and Washington, DC, have received requests for their complete voter registration lists. Most states have provided a publicly available version (which does not include Social Security numbers and driver's license numbers) or have not provided the voter registration lists at all. The DOJ has sued Washington, DC, and 24 states for refusing to provide their statewide voter registration lists with driver's license and Social Security numbers ... cases in California, Michigan, and Oregon have been dismissed."

Despite claims by Trump and his minions, voter fraud in the U.S. is very rare. In Pennsylvania, for example, the Heritage Foundation says that, based on 30 years of data, across which 32 elections were held, only 39 cases of voter fraud were identified out of over 100 million ballots cast in those elections.

Rhetoric from Trump and his supporters has increased the fear that he may try to steal the midterm elections or use force to intimidate voters. Former Trump advisor Steve Bannon suggested the use of ICE agents to "surround" polling places on election day and on Feb. 18, Trump suggested sending National Guard troops to Atlanta, saying, "We could take care of Atlanta so fast." Guard troops remain in DC, Memphis, and New Orleans—all cities with significant Black populations.

Further, Trump has called on the GOP to take over

or "nationalize" elections in 15 states. Some have raised the alarm that voting machines could be seized in November—just as Trump's spy chief, Tuli Gabbard, did in Puerto Rico in February. Trump told *The New York Times* in January that he regrets not seizing the machines in swing states in 2020.

The SAVE Act

The so-called SAVE Act is another step toward the disenfranchisement of eligible voters through stricter voter ID requirements, restrictions on voter registration drives, the possible reduction of early voting days, restrictions on mail-in voting, and the purge of voter rolls will impact constituencies most likely to vote for Democrats; Black voters and women. Since passage of the SAVE Act has stalled, Trump has tried to get the same results by executive order.

Some Democrats in the House voted for the SAVE Act. Since Trump's return, the record of the Democrats has been one of acquiescence to his policies coupled with oppositional rhetoric. For example, the Democrats have criticized ICE enforcement as heavy-handed and violent but have refused to vote to disband ICE.

Why defend the elections against the right?

All the rights working people have in terms of union rights, free speech and assembly are under attack. This is a bipartisan effort that began under Biden, but has deeper roots in the so-called War on Terror (WoT). The WoT meant the growth and consolidation of the national security state. This includes the formation and expansion of ICE as a national political police force. The Democrats helped build ICE and will now only commit to "reforming" it. But body cameras and badges will not address the fundamental institutional problem.

As socialists, we have no illusions about bourgeois elections. We understand that elections do not fundamentally change anything. No reforms won through elections are permanent as long as capitalist parties control the political system. We also understand that the two major parties, which are both capitalist political institutions, can never serve the interests of the oppressed and exploited. We disagree with the notion that socialists can capture or realign the Democratic Party. By assimilating themselves into the Democratic Party, radicals must necessarily adapt to that party.

Yet elections are a basic democratic right, which needs to be protected. Working-class and oppressed peoples need our own political party—a party that leads the struggle every day of the year in workplaces, in the street, and in elections.

Elections alone will not stop Trump from instituting his reactionary program or from trying to steal the election. The struggle ahead will require working-class methods—strikes, boycotts, factory or workplace occupations and, importantly, united-front mass actions built by the unions and other popular organizations.

There has been resistance in the streets to Trump's repression and anti-immigrant crackdown, first in Los Angeles, DC, and Chicago, and then in Minneapolis. We can learn from these protests—and take even further steps.

Building a broad popular movement against Trump and authoritarianism requires that we build a movement on a democratic foundation with popular assemblies in workplaces and neighborhoods. Ultimately, we need a broad-based congress of labor and its allies among the oppressed to mobilize working people nationwide. ■

Let's not underestimate the danger!

By the EDITORS of WORKERS' VOICE

We are in the midst of one of the most challenging historical moments ever faced by the working-class and oppressed communities resident in the United States since the Civil War.

Without the development of truly mass resistance, which begins to make use of the fundamental power of organized labor, it is unlikely that the drive by the MAGA-oriented section of the ruling class toward the consolidation of an authoritarian, white-supremacist government carrying out brutal imperialist war will be stopped. Our resistance movement is growing in size and capacity but is not yet capable of significantly slowing the drive.

The MAGA politicians are determined to normalize the deployment of a massive political police force and illegal detentions of working people. They have undertaken the subversion of the midterm elections for congressional representatives and senators that is to occur in November 2026.

By attacking Venezuela and now Iran, the MAGA administration has demonstrated that the goal of consolidating an authoritarian regime is rooted in the need of the ruling elite to try to hold onto U.S. global hegemony through inhuman exercises of military power. Such wars are always the occasion for ever more drastic attacks on our unions and standard of living. The big business elite supporting Trump knows that an era of new and imperialist wars, exponentially more costly in dollars and lives,

will engender an even more determined challenge by working people to their terrifying rule. They are preparing to stop us by any means necessary.

Although there are rifts and points of dissension within the MAGA coalition, there is yet no indication that any of the key Republican political players intend to stall the drive toward authoritarian rule. And while a few big business executives have voiced criticisms of some of the administration's economic policies, the non-MAGA section of the capitalist financial elite has failed to present any serious obstacles to the Project 2025 playbook.

The response of the wing of the ruling class whose political views are seemingly reflected by the Democratic Party has been acquiescence. Democratic representatives voice public criticisms, but their actions are not in accord with their words. This is not surprising, since many of the early versions of these violations of democratic rights were crafted into policy under their rule.

There is a great danger of underestimating the determination of the U.S. corporate elite to drive through this effort. We cannot rely on court rulings or upcoming elections to save us. We must organize now, not only for mass demonstrations and community networks against ICE violence, but to find our way to building a new working-class party through which we can organize our political defense on every plane and on every day. The challenge is to begin now, to utilize the call for nationwide actions on March 28 and on May Day to-

ward this end of independent political action. Join **Workers' Voice**, where you can work together with people who agree with this perspective! ■



Epstein affair exposes the crimes of the ruling-class elite

By COCO SMYTH

Since the *Miami Herald's* expose, "Perversion of Justice," brought knowledge of the Epstein conspiracy to the mainstream in November 2018, we have entered a period in which elements of the most lurid conspiracy theories are revealed to be realities. Jeffrey Epstein, once referred to glowingly as a mysterious "New York financier," was revealed to be the organizer of a massive pedophilia and sex trafficking operation servicing many of the most powerful figures of international capitalism—from politicians to CEOs and intellectuals.

Though the ruling class has tried to kill and bury the Epstein case through all possible means, its reverberations keep pulling it back up to the surface in all its grotesqueness. The shocking details of the case would have attracted mass interest in themselves, but the depth of the affair and the way in which it implicates and exposes the ruling class have ensured that it won't leave public consciousness.

The Epstein case has incited a pro-

tracted crisis of legitimacy in which the facade of bourgeois society has slipped and revealed the true nature of the system to millions. It has revealed that the ruling class stands above the law, and the principles of bourgeois law and order are nothing but a weapon against working and oppressed people and a shield for the political and economic elites. It has shown that the capitalists are willing not only to commit heinous crimes, but have the power and the will to cover them up.

That there are Epsteins, Maxwells, and their elite clients is sadly nothing new. What is new is the knowledge of the real workings of the ruling class and the mass outrage of millions across the world. For socialists, it is our duty to connect with this anger and channel it toward the struggle for justice.

Our immediate demands are for full transparency and for justice for the multitude of survivors of Epstein's crimes. It is thanks to the advocacy of these survivors at great risk to themselves that Epstein's apparatus and the ruling class's support for it have been revealed in all their brutality. All the

capitalists and politicians who sexually abused women and girls must face the legal consequences that the bourgeois justice system promises but rarely delivers. Getting justice will depend on continued exposure of the already publicly known crimes and pressuring the system to reveal all the information they have hidden to protect the ruling class.

The method to secure justice is through organized struggle. It is clear that public knowledge of the crimes and mass outrage are insufficient to win justice. We are seeing movement in this direction, particularly in Ohio, where Les Wexner, one of Epstein's primary backers, resides. Local leftist organizations and students have called rallies demanding justice and the removal of Wexner's name from the many buildings that are adorned with it. Most notably, the Ohio Nurses Association and the AFL-CIO called a rally outside Wexner Medical Center to expose Wexner. Bringing unions into the movement and organizing workers and the community to strengthen the calls for justice will be essential to get trials

or any other measures implemented.

Beyond the immediate demands of the moment, the Epstein Affair calls on us to wage a systematic struggle against world capitalism as a whole. The patriarchy and impunity of the ruling class are endemic features of capitalism and can only be mitigated as long as capitalism itself hasn't been eliminated. The complicity and cover-ups of Epstein's ring extends through all wings of bourgeois politics from the right to the left—from the Republican Party, through the Democratic Party, to the UK Labour Party.

We need an independent and radical working-class party, which is committed to exposing every crime perpetrated by the ruling class and which seeks to encourage mass struggle by the working class to wrest power from our oppressors and exploiters.

Today, the unbridled decadence of the ruling class is recognized by the masses. We must turn this knowledge into action to win justice for the survivors and achieve a world where a Jeffrey Epstein is an impossibility. That world is socialism. ■

Feds and local cops, one and the same



By ERWIN FREED

Three thousand federal agents tasked with terrorizing Minneapolis are said to be on the path towards withdrawal. Meanwhile, *Wired* and other outlets report that ICE is purchasing new or expanding bureaucratic office spaces and their network of concentration camps “at breakneck speeds.”

The spectacle of the Fed’s occupation of Minneapolis obscures immigration enforcement operations all over the country, and also clarifies basic questions for working class and oppressed communities to understand our terrain of struggle. In particular, the actions of police and the Democratic Party from top to bottom are exposing who exactly these organizations work for.

Kieran Frazier Knutson, president of CWA 7250 in Minneapolis, put it clearly in a statement that appeared in *Payday Report* (Feb. 12): “[T]he mayor, the governor, and other officials—described ICE as ‘an occupation’ who they said should ‘get the fuck out,’ but actually began working with ICE in an ‘unprecedented level of cooperation’ including specifically protecting ICE agents and the Whipple Federal Building from the resistance.

“I saw with my own eyes MPD and Hennepin County Sheriffs protect ICE’s flank while ICE fired hundreds of rounds of tear gas, rubber bullets, and flash-bang grenades at the resistance in the immediate aftermath of the execution of Alex Pretti.”

These instances of collaboration between Democratic Party officials and local and state police, and the Feds are no accident. The Democratic Party is completely integrated with the ruling class’s repressive apparatus. Local police are, in reality, the big capitalists’ strongest and most active foot soldiers.

The vast majority of the 1300+ annual reported police murders are not committed by the Feds.

Intelligence fusion and an infinity of cops

Modern policing in the United States is based on the principles of intelligence fusion and intelligence-led policing. These are fancy ways of saying that all of the various police agencies are in communication and organization with each other using methods of mass surveillance, informant networks, and community engagement to enforce capitalist social order. The ways that this is organized are concrete and easy to identify, but largely undiscussed by politicians and the mainstream press. They are also more expansive than the police, or even the state, including in their networks large corporations’ and other private surveillance as well as executives and other elites.

Task forces and fusion centers are the core. Federal task forces include the FBI’s Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTF), the DEA/DHS’s High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas, and many other similar bodies. To give an example of the scope of federal task forces, there are over 200 JTTFs alone, with field offices around the country. Fusion centers are very similar to task forces, but in theory are supposed to coordinate between them as well as organize information sharing and operational coordination between the local and federal police and the “intelligence community.” The “intelligence community” is a nice way of saying the Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, and other spy agencies carrying out the dirty deeds of U.S. imperialism.

Fusion centers and federal task forces both have participating officers from federal and local police departments as well as working agreements for data and information sharing. Any information received

by a task force can be assumed to be available to not only the entire policing system, but also the military.

Organizations like the International Association of Chiefs of Police, police foundations, and business interest groups work with the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security to structure and set policy around mass surveillance and policing strategy. They are joined at the hip with private surveillance firms like Flock. All of the private ALPRs, as well as video and other electronic surveillance, are usually linked to local and federal police programs that join together huge amounts of data.

The Atlanta Police Foundation’s Operation Shield, for example, is a “network of more than 20,000 public and private sector cameras, [which] monitors Atlanta’s neighborhoods, business centers, major public spaces, and thoroughfares. The cameras are integrated into [Atlanta Police Department’s] Video Surveillance Center, which provides real-time monitoring and dispatching of police to trouble spots. Some 80% of the cost is borne by the private sector.” Similar programs, often under the name Connect [City], are run all over the country.

Crisis management & law and order

Fusion centers and federal task forces have been developed over long periods of time and include in their genesis the experiences of Indigenous genocide, anti-Black terror gangs, organized violent strike breaking, and colonial occupation. They are based on a longstanding strategy known in bourgeois circles as “counter-insurgency.” The basic idea is to identify, isolate, and “neutralize” potential social movement leaders that can organize working and oppressed people independently of capital and its agents.

Expanding police powers is fundamentally aimed at attacking the organizations of Black and other oppressed and working people. Often this is justified through capitalist moral panics around “crime” or “terrorism.” FBI Joint Terrorism Task Forces were initiated in part due to the failure of J. Edgar Hoover to catch the Weather Underground and the growing desire by the U.S. ruling class to amplify surveillance and “counter-intelligence” activities in Muslim communities.

The construction of a nationwide policing system was first formed in an ad-hoc way through Joint Terrorism and other task forces like HDTAs, and then systematically with the formation of DHS. The Sept. 11 attacks were used to justify reconstructing the whole federal police system.

The basic structure of that model is to have a geographic hierarchy of intelligence sharing, starting from the local and moving up to the national, each with their own CIA or similar overseer. In the U.S., this looks like real-time crime centers and/or municipal fusion centers (district/local) and DHS-backed fusion centers (state/province) all combined in various networks, particularly DHS’s Intelligence and Analysis division.

Although these police entities have the official purpose of fighting crime and terrorism, they almost exclusively surveil oppressed communities and pol-

(continued on page 7)

Trump's environmental rollbacks hurt the Black community

By BRIAN CRAWFORD

Upon returning to power, Donald Trump wasted no time in resuming his environmental destruction. With a stroke of his felt-tip pen, Trump revoked Executive Order 12898, the "Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations." As a result, no longer will the federal government address racial discrimination in environmental policy considerations.

The Environmental Protection Agency closed the Office of Environmental Justice, as if to add another exclamation point to the administration's racist policies. It allows corporations to continue to pollute in the Black community unchallenged. Even with significant evidence, Black communities rarely have received anything approximating justice, whether Trump was in the White House or not.

As was the case in his first term, Trump eliminated or weakened nearly a hundred environmental regulations, according to the Sierra Club. One of the more significant was the "endangerment finding" that provided the legal basis for the federal government to regulate greenhouse gas emissions. These emissions are the cause of the warming of the planet.

Regarding the "endangerment finding," Samantha Gross and Ryan Beane write in a commentary for the Brookings institute: "They want to remove it root and branch in a way that will make it more difficult for future administrations to reverse." The president and his administration argue that regulations hinder growth and place undue burdens on business.

EPA's "endangerment finding" has its origins in the Supreme Court's 2006-2007 case, *Massachusetts v. EPA*. The agency argued that the Clean Air Act

did not mandate it to enforce regulations to address climate change, and that causal links between global heating and greenhouse gases had not been established. The agency lost that argument; the court affirmed that greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, qualify as air pollutants.

Two years later, the EPA accepted the scientific belief that greenhouse gases were health hazards and contributing to the climate crisis. In January 2026, however, the EPA reversed that finding, removing the legal basis for regulating emissions from vehicles. Previously, in 2012, the majority of the Supreme Court ruled in *West Virginia v. EPA* that the agency does not have the authority under the Clean Air Act to broadly limit greenhouse gas emissions in a way that would change the country's power system.

The EPA "has a deplorable record of responding to discrimination complaints" (Equal Justice Initiative: "Environmental Injustice in the Black Belt"). In 2018, it dismissed a complaint against Alabama's Department of Environmental Management (ADEM) for failure to address the effect of toxic and radioactive materials on poor Black communities. When the ADEM rescinded its civil rights policy, this became the basis for the EPA to dismiss the complaint. ADEM's abolition of its policy raises the question: what environment is it managing? The same could be asked of EPA.

The city of Uniontown, Ala., (predominantly Black) has environmental hazards that include coal ash containing arsenic and radioactive material, and numerous sources of water contamination. That should be more than enough evidence to pursue the case.

Louisiana's "Cancer Alley," which encompasses the region between New Orleans and Baton Rouge, is so named for its high rates of cancer. In 2023, Jeff

Landry who served as Attorney General (now governor of Louisiana) sued to stop EPA from investigating environmental racism. The agency dropped the case. Governor Landry is a key ally of the state's oil and gas industry.

St John the Baptist Parish exemplifies the racial history of the U.S. "As the regional economy has shifted from chains and plantation slavery to smokestacks and petrochemical plants," the descendants of the former slaves who founded the cities bear the brunt (capitalbnews.org, "The Court Ruling that Guaranteed a Future of Environmental Racism"). In August 2024 a Trump-appointed federal judge in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Louisiana ruled that the Department of Justice could not enforce the disparate impact requirements under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The courts as an avenue to fight against environmental discrimination is becoming a much narrower street.

These communities must fight to survive. Scientific research established links between climate change and hazards to human health, as well as a correlation between the geographical proximity of predominantly Black communities near polluting industries and high rates of disease.

Exposure to particulate matter (PM2.5) is a significant contributor to a wide range of illnesses. PM2.5 are tiny particles, often emitted from oil and gasoline emissions, that enter the body through the respiratory system and into the bloodstream. Black communities are disproportionately affected by this exposure and are more likely to die than other racial and ethnic groups, according to a study conducted by Stanford Medicine. Proximity to polluting industries was the primary contributing factor to higher rates of disease.

African Americans have historically been trapped in locations populated by



refineries, and other industrial polluters. Black communities "suffer more from storms and flood events, extreme heat, infectious disease and disruptions to labor markets, all of which are occurring more frequently because of climate change" (clasp.org, "The Trump Administration, Earth Day and Environmental Racism").

This is not a result of the neglect of one agency or even the malevolence of the government. It follows the logic of capitalist production. From primitive accumulation of capital, which snatched resources from native populations (and continues today), dispossession and displacement, forced labor, and the creations of ghettos and reservations all are features of capitalism. Affected communities are condemned to a slow death. They personify what is to come as the crisis becomes more acute. Trump is just the front man for this band of destroyers. He represents a system that extols the virtues of "creative destruction." This is destruction for the sake of economic growth.

"Growth for the sake of growth is the ideology of the cancer cell," wrote Edward Abby. To save the patient, radical medicine is necessary. Defeating environmental racism is a victory for the entire working class. We must demand an end to the system that like a metastatic cell dooms us and the planet. ■

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itical activists while creating fake propaganda whipping up moral panics that go to all of the police departments in a particular state. One example of the latter was a May 2024 bulletin sent by the Connecticut Intelligence Center that claimed May 14, the day before Nakba Day, was being promoted by "social media accounts" as an anti-Israel "Burning Day." This was fabricated but served to give a plausible reason why local police should be on alert about potential "domestic violent extremists" on Nakba Day.

Mobilize against nationwide police apparatus!

U.S. history includes ongoing anti-Indigenous eth-

nic cleansing, growing border authoritarianism, and the largest prison population in the world. Many of the worst atrocities of the last 100 years were carried out by U.S. federal forces or armed groups trained and directed by them. The police are often on the frontlines of these atrocities.

"Reforms" to the policing system often are not only ineffective but actually tend to increase police power. Automated License Plate Readers and bodycams are both examples of this phenomenon. Similarly, attempts to paper over the many mechanisms of local and federal police cooperation without addressing the basic facts of state policing tend to build illusions in the local police, who are no ally of working and oppressed peoples.

Instead of following the path laid out by capitalist politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, who support the cops every step of the way, the millions in the streets struggling against ICE and FBI terror need to recognize what the migrant community has always said "La policia, la migra, la misma porquería!" ("The police, the immigration enforcement, the same bullshit").

That means responding politically to every act of police violence and every attempt to frame up our community members in struggle. Building a movement capable of defeating the MAGA agenda and the domestic terrorism carried out by federal police entails being clear-eyed about the inseparability between all the violent arms of the capitalist state. ■

The new policy of U.S. imperialism



(Left) The U.S. declared war on Spain after intervening in the Cuban independence struggle in 1898. Here Uncle Sam stands over the peoples of the newly won U.S. colonial empire.

ternationally as an expression of U.S. economic hegemony.

The Yalta and Potsdam agreements, together with the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, ensured countless defeats in the workers' struggles of the postwar period. Even so, some revolutions were victorious and gave rise to new workers' states, which soon became bureaucratized, such as Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, and Vietnam.

In the 1980s and 1990s, globalization, neoliberal policies, and the restoration of capitalism in the former workers' states made possible a new rise of capitalism. Neoliberal policies, the opening of countries' economic borders, and the formation of international supply chains were then imposed. After restoring capitalism, China and Russia integrated themselves in a subordinate manner into the upward curve of imperialism. But then, in this century, they became new emerging imperialist powers.

By EDU ALMEIDA and FLORENCE OPPEN

In November 2025, the Trump administration published the document "National Security Strategy," in which it announced the new strategic foundations of imperialist action in this period to impose its hegemony in the "Western Hemisphere." This plan comes as no surprise, since Trump, in his inauguration speech, announced that "the United States will once again consider itself a growing nation—one that increases our wealth, expands our territory, builds our cities, raises our expectations, and carries our flag into new and beautiful horizons."

The document details, with Trump's typical shamelessness, the strategy of the far-right government that stands at the head of the still hegemonic but declining imperialist power, which seeks by all means to consolidate a regional base to compete with and confront China. This policy, in turn, further deepens the crisis of the imperialist world order and social, economic, and political polarization.

From Monroe Doctrine to "Trump Corollary"

The document explicitly vindicates the Monroe Doctrine and affirms a "Trump Corollary" to that doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine, announced by U.S. President James Monroe in 1823, was a defensive expression against the intervention of hegemonic European countries in America, in a context of countries newly liberated from the domination of England, Spain, and Portugal.

Subsequently, this doctrine changed in character, reflecting the country's transformation into an imperialist power with an offensive stance and military interventions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Spanish-American War of 1898 marked this turn. The U.S. not only seized the former Spanish colonies

(Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico) and imposed a protectorate on Cuba, but also annexed Hawaii, began exploration of what would become the Panama Canal, and in the following months acquired more than 7000 islands in the Pacific.

In 1904, the "Roosevelt Corollary" (President Theodore Roosevelt) to the Monroe Doctrine blatantly advocated an aggressive imperialist policy, referred to as the "Big Stick." This policy was expressed in successive military interventions to control the Panama Canal between 1903 and 1925, as well as in more than six interventions in Honduras between 1903 and 1925, and in military occupations in Nicaragua (1912-33), Haiti (1915-34) and the Dominican Republic (1916 and 1924). With this shift, the U.S. began its ideological campaign to position itself as an "international police power," with the moral and military authority to repress the "misconduct" of other governments and defend the values of Christian "civilization" and liberal democracy.

The United States became hegemonic after World War I, which it entered near the end, in alliance with British imperialism (which had been hegemonic until then). The United States took advantage of its expansionist process and the fact that it had not suffered major losses in the war. After World War II, U.S. imperialism consolidated its global hegemony. Crucial to this were the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, a counterrevolutionary pact between the U.S. and Stalin's Soviet bureaucracy that guaranteed U.S. hegemony.

For more than five decades, the economic hegemony of the United States was based on its technological, financial, and military dominion. Its industrial oligopolies used ideologies such as "free trade" to expose the fragile industries of other countries to their dominance. International economic and financial institutions, such as the IMF and the WTO, operated in-

U.S. seeks to curb China in region

Since the beginning of the 21st century, U.S. imperialism has shown increasing signs of decline. Although it remains the hegemonic imperialist power in the economic, financial, technological, and military spheres, its hegemony has been diminishing, losing important economic ground, particularly to China. Since 2010, China has surpassed the United States in industrial production and today accounts for 31.8% of global industrial GDP.

The National Security Strategy document responds to this reality. U.S. imperialism remains hegemonic, but it is in decline and its hegemony is diminishing. Far from abandoning the struggle for world hegemony, the "Trump corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine is an aggressive expression, the "Big Stick" of decadent hegemonic imperialism to rebuild its global dominance in the face of rising Chinese imperialism.

Although Latin America is not the place where China accumulates most of its investments and disputes hegemony, as it does in Southwest Asia and Africa, China's investment in the region that the U.S. considers its backyard has taken a qualitative leap in the last two decades.

First, the region's trade ties with the Asian giant have grown: In 2000, the Chinese market accounted for less than 2% of Latin American exports, but China's rapid growth and the resulting demand fueled the subsequent commodity boom in the region. Over the next eight years, commerce grew at an annual rate of 31%. In 2024, trade grew to a record \$518,000 million, with some economists predicting that it could exceed \$700,000 million by 2035. In the case of some countries, such as Chile, trade dependence on China is very significant, as in 2023, 38% of its total exports

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went to that country.

Obviously, this is a highly unequal trade that benefits Asian imperialism; while Latin America exports soybeans and other vegetable products, meat products, copper, oil, lithium, and other minerals that are key to Chinese development, the region imports high value-added manufactured goods, thus providing a market for Chinese industry and ruining domestic industry in the region.

Beyond unequal trade, China has increased its direct investment (\$8.5 million in 2024) in the more than 20 Latin American countries that it has incorporated into the Silk Road (BRI). This investment focuses on strategic sectors, such as energy resources, or on “dual-use” (commercial and military) infrastructure, which is of increasing concern to Washington. China’s strategic investment in the Lithium Triangle (Chile, Bolivia, Argentina) is well known, as the region is home to between 60% and 70% of the world’s lithium reserves, which are essential for electric batteries. Between 2018 and 2024, Chinese mining multinationals have invested more than \$16 billion in its exploitation. Chinese companies are estimated to control nearly 40% of global lithium production through their operations in South America. China currently has investments and total or partial control of more than 40 ports in the region, some in key strategic sectors.

Trump seeks to impose puppet governments

The U.S. National Security Strategy document explains the strategy of imposing puppet governments in the Western Hemisphere to achieve its economic and military objectives: “We want to ensure that the Western Hemisphere remains reasonably stable and well-governed enough to prevent and discourage mass migration to the United States; we want a Hemisphere whose governments cooperate with us against narco-terrorists, cartels, and other transnational criminal organizations; we want a Hemisphere that remains free of hostile foreign incursion or ownership of key assets, and that supports critical supply chains; and we want to ensure our continued access to key strategic locations. In other words, we will assert and enforce a ‘Trump Corollary’ to the Monroe Doctrine.”

At this moment, Venezuela is the central focus of this policy. Contrary to its claims, Maduro’s government was devoted to U.S. imperialism. Chevron remained fully involved in the exploitation of Venezuelan oil. In fact, in October 2025, Maduro, according to a *New York Times* report, offered to “open up all existing and future oil and gold projects to American companies, give preferential contracts to American businesses, reverse the flow of Venezuelan oil exports from China to the U.S., and slash his country’s energy and mining contracts with Chinese, Iranian and Russian firms” in exchange for remaining in power.

But Trump did not accept because his goal is not only oil, but also to implement a more global national security strategy. The Maduro government, despite being pro-imperialist, was not a puppet government, but rather reflected the contradictory and opportunistic interests of the corrupt Bolivarian bourgeoisie built up around the state. Trump, on the contrary, wants a government completely subjugated to his interests in the region, which is why he invaded and kidnapped Maduro.

This invasion could open the door to its repetition in other countries, such as Colombia, Cuba, and others. And it poses a great threat to the new revolution-



ary processes in the region. The meaning of “recruiting and engaging” allied governments is very precise: pro-imperialist bourgeois governments are not enough; far-right puppet governments are needed. As the National Security Strategy document states:

“American policy should focus on enlisting regional champions that can help create tolerable stability in the region, even beyond those partners’ borders. These nations would help us stop illegal and destabilizing migration, neutralize cartels, nearshore manufacturing, and develop local private economies, among other things. We will reward and encourage the region’s governments, political parties, and movements broadly aligned with our principles and strategy. But we must not overlook governments with different outlooks with whom we nonetheless share interests and who want to work with us.”

To this end, Trump openly and cynically uses economic pressure, making loans conditional on the electoral victories of his allies, such as Milei in Argentina and Nasry Asfura (of the National Party in Honduras). It is undeniable that Trump has achieved results with this policy. Taking advantage of the disasters committed by class-collaborationist governments, such as those of Xiomara (Honduras), Boric, Petros, and others, the far right is making significant advances in Latin America. It can already count on the governments of Milei (Argentina), Kast (Chile), Bukele (El Salvador), and Asfura (Honduras), as well as victory in the 2026 elections in Colombia.

Sheinbaum (Mexico) has completely adapted to Trump’s pressure, as the Mexican economy is totally subordinate to its relationship with the U.S.: around 80% of Mexico’s exports, 55% of its imports, and 41% of its foreign direct investment depend on the United States.

In this context, it is essential to fight in all Latin American countries against this new aggression by Trump, who seeks to annex the continent. To this end, it is important that all parties that truly fight for socialism raise a program for the Second Independence of Latin America that proposes to confront all imperialisms, both U.S. and European, as well as Chinese imperialism, which presents itself as a “friend.”

We must seek the broadest unity of action to mobilize the working class and its allies, such as Indigenous peoples, against military interventions, such as that in Venezuela, against extractivist or overexploitation projects, and against other attacks on national sovereignty, such as indebtedness and unequal trade agreements, whoever the imperialism that proposes and imposes them may be. Once again, we must show

that only an independent solution for the working class can achieve true independence that guarantees the social and political rights of the working class and stops the destruction of the environment.

Contradictions of the “Donroe Doctrine”

While the Trump administration is determined to exercise firm despotic domination over the continent, this does not mean that the success of its policy is guaranteed. On the one hand, this new policy will encounter resistance from the masses; on the other, it will have to contend with inherent limitations, or what we might call the “hidden corollaries” of this imperialist doctrine.

First, it must be considered that oil exploitation in Venezuela is neither an easy nor an automatic task. Venezuela’s oil production is in decline: at the end of the 1990s, 3.5 million barrels per day were produced, compared to just 800,000 today. Analysts say that at least five years of massive investment are needed to recover equivalent production levels.

Nor is it enough to invest in oil and mining resources to drive China out of the region. In fact, as we have shown, China has managed to insert itself into the continent’s supply chains and into the energy and digital infrastructure sectors. To “reconquer” the continent, the U.S. will need to invest much more than just in sectors that suit it and propose itself as an economic alternative in other sectors.

Also, there is a domestic “corollary”: most Americans do not support another drawn-out war. Polls conducted in January 2026 show that only 33% of Americans agreed with military action to kidnap Maduro, while 72% feared that such intervention would lead to prolonged intervention in Venezuela.

Another risk of the deepening of this aggressive U.S. policy toward the American continent (and Europe) is that it could increase China’s popularity among the masses as a factor of balance and development. While we know that China is another imperialist and plundering power, the fact that it is in an emerging dynamic and has more capital to invest allows it to appear as the power that offers “economic development” to its semi-colonial allies, while the U.S. only offers coercion and oppression.

The most important contradiction is that it will exacerbate social and political polarization in Latin America and the U.S. The mass movement has not been defeated, and sooner or later, there will be large mobilizations and even revolutionary explosions. This points to a more convulsive period of class struggle. ■

Music review: 'Days of Ash' by U2

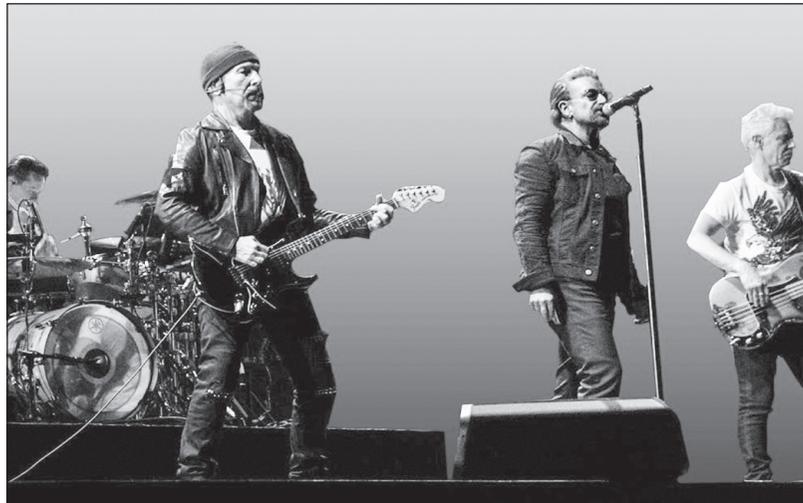
By CARLOS SAPIR

Veteran Irish rockers U2 are back with a 23-minute, six-song EP that is here to face the dark and chaotic times we find ourselves in. Or at least, that's clearly what U2 believes and wants you to think. The reality is that U2's listless liberal, pacifist, religious politics are less poignant than ever, and the band retreads similar sonic ground to prior work that is less able to make up for the lyrics' weaknesses than it did in the '80s.

U2 are no strangers to political music. "Sunday Bloody Sunday," the band's breakout hit from the 1983 album *War*, is a direct expression of shock and dismay at the actions of British soldiers opening fire on an unarmed protest in Derry, Northern Ireland. The song's iconic military drum attack and symphonic electric guitar composition made it an instant hit as its lyrics struck a chord with the public.

But even then, as young people living at the geographic epicenter of The Troubles (although it cannot be said that they themselves suffered much oppression, as the band formed at a Protestant state school, and half the band is of British origin), their politics were essentially pacifist, and the closest thing the song has to a call to action is an appeal to specifically Christian brotherhood ("How long, how long must we sing this song/How long, to win the war that Jesus won").

The band, and particularly frontman Bono, would go on to be outspoken against apartheid in South Africa and criticize oppression and war on various songs—including a condemnation of



U.S. intervention in Nicaragua on "Bul-let the Blue Sky." They have frequently engaged in activism around HIV/AIDS as well as being outspoken against poverty and hunger around the world. Their main mode of political action, however, is distinctly ruling class—do-nate money and make nice with celebrities and the leaders of imperialist countries.

So perhaps it's no surprise that U2 would weigh in on today's political moment. In a certain sense, it's maybe worth applauding that household name superstars are writing songs about the murder of Renee Good. But the message of U2's song to that effect, "American Obituary" is "I love you more / than hate loves war" and "America will rise / against the people of the lie." Somehow, I don't think either of these will become the next "el pueblo unido, jamás será vencido."

Regrettably, the political content is only downhill from the opening track. "The Tears of Things" runs circles of Biblical allusions to pray to God (the Christian one) for an end to holy wars, but for some reason the only specific conflict that Bono mentions in the lyrics besides David and Goliath is ... the Holocaust, with "Six million voices silenced in just four years." After 50-odd years, the quintessential '80s stadium rock band has finally addressed the most well-known genocide in history. Antisemites, your days are numbered!

Perhaps nothing sums up the milque-toast politics of *Days of Ash* better than its fourth track, "Wildpeace," based on a poem written by Israeli soldier turned poet Yehuda Amichai in 1971, arguably turning the album into a BDS violation. "At least he wanted peace," you could say, and Amichai was certainly tired of war. But is it any surprise that a former

soldier of a military occupation wanted "A peace / without the big noise of beating swords into ploughshares / without words, without / the thud of the heavy rubber stamp: let it be / light, floating, like lazy white foam." How nice it would be for a foot soldier of apartheid to be able to just forget and let everything slip into the past!

This is the same peace, "the absence of tension" that Martin Luther King named and denounced so many decades ago. But U2 finds it compelling, apparently, and dresses up the poem in an electronic soundscape that could charitably be called "experimental," and has the words be recited by Nigerian-French singer Adeola.

Does *Days of Ash* make up for its political weaknesses with compelling musical compositions? In a word, no. While nothing on the album is pointedly terrible, the music plays like a remix of the blander moments of the last 30 years of U2. There's no riff on this album that you haven't heard before, if not on a past U2 album, then on an album by Muse. The one exception is the final track, "Yours Eternally," which features Ed Sheeran and Ukrainian artist Taras Topolia, and somehow manages to sound more like a One Direction song than any of the more varied output Sheeran has produced in the last decade.

Ultimately, *Days of Ash* is not worth your time. While it is in a sense good that big name pop stars are writing and releasing music that is critical of the current political crisis while appealing to the idea of large groups of people resisting authority, at least abstractly, that doesn't mean it's important for you to listen to it. At least this time around, U2 was nice enough to give us that option, instead of automatically putting it on every iPhone and iTunes library—like last time. ■

MAGA prepares a darker patriarchal order

As the Trump administration unrolls a new imperialist war, working women must be prepared to fight a brutal gendered assault in the offing. In military actions like the war on Iran, the government daily burns up millions of dollars in fuel and destroyed weaponry, and moves quickly to get rid of non-military costs deemed expendable. Trump's Big Beautiful Bill set the pattern. Even before Washington had launched the war on Iran, the government had budgeted \$1 trillion for war, while simultaneously cutting \$1 trillion from funds previously won by working people for health, education, and housing support.

Now, with the cost of the Iran war approaching \$1 billion a day, the MAGA forces are preparing to offload the costs of any social welfare benefits still intact onto the backs of individual working-class households.

How do the right-wing capitalist think tanks advise the government to do this? A deeply reactionary Jan. 8, 2026, Heritage Foundation report, "Saving America by Saving

the Family: A Foundation for the Next 250 Years," lays it out in painful detail. This policy document, a pendant to Project 2025, suggests that, for the MAGA crowd, the recent restriction of access to abortion and the bans on gender-affirming care for the trans community are only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to their patriarchal goals.

"Saving the Family" argues that the Second Wave of women's liberation and the 1964 War on Poverty were the beginning of the destruction of America. The women's liberation movement, by legitimizing the desire of women to go to college and develop skills for the kind of employment that would give them financial independence from the family, is here deemed a monstrous perversion. Because of that movement, they argue, women were less likely to get married early, and more likely to delay childbearing. The struggle for basic support for poor women, the authors claim, with obvious racist bias, was equally destructive, leading to families without fa-

thers and dire social decay.

The solution, "Saving the Family" argues, is the restoration of a society anchored by a nuclear family, composed of one cis-gender man and one cis-gender woman. This patriarchal unit must function as a patriotic core of society, training wives and children to respect authority, imbuing a work ethic that will reduce the need for government social support, and producing warriors. To "save" this "family," the report proposes "Manhattan Project" scale social engineering that includes cutting almost all supports going to unmarried women, eliminating student loans for college, providing cash stipends to women who bear children while in their 20s, delegitimizing "unmarried coupling" and no-fault divorce, and getting rid of surrogacy and gay marriage.

"Saving the Family" signals the opening of the most massive assault on the rights of women and the LGBTQI community since the Nazi era. Working women and their allies must be ready to create a fightback anchored by mass demonstrations, concerted labor action at points of production where it really hurts the bosses, and a decision to stay independent of the electoral machinations of the big business parties. — CHRISTINE MARIE

San Francisco teachers strike and win

Mariana García / Mission Local

REPORT BY A S.F. TEACHER

Educators and school workers won our first strike here in nearly 50 years. The strike galvanized our union, garnered support from the City's working class, and forced a long-intransigent district to concede on our key demands for better working and living conditions. The tentative agreement was ratified by UESF members following a 92% "yes" vote in a 73% turnout.

Our 6000 members held the picket lines for four days, between Feb. 9 and 12. We showed that through strike action, workers can win improvements in our lives. Such a victory further empowers our union to continue the fight for fully-funded schools and in defense of our democratic rights in an increasingly authoritarian society.

During the months of negotiations, the San Francisco Unified School District said that it was broke and that it could not meet our demands. Our union called them on their lie and showed via our own financial analysis that the district was actually sitting on a huge reserve fund that could be invested in our schools. The district's responses to our proposals fell far below what we deemed acceptable. Thus, after two strike votes held in December and January, respectively, our members voted overwhelmingly to strike—for the first time since 1979. Our leadership set the strike date for Feb. 9, even after newly-elected Mayor Daniel Lurie urged the union to hold off for three days.

Solidarity

Between early morning and midday, union members alongside community supporters and students picketed in front of our school sites. We marched, chanted, broke bread, and connected in ways never before possible.

Very significantly, two other unions declared a sympathy strike. SEIU Local 1021—representing our school's cafeteria, clerical, and janitorial staff—marched alongside us in their purple colors. United Administrators of San Francisco, the principals' union, also became the first administrators' union in California history to declare a sympathy strike with a teachers' strike.

Parents, students, and community supporters showed up to picket, to march, and to bring needed supplies to sustain the strikers. In San Francisco's Excelsior District, a working-class, immigrant neighborhood, a coalition of community organizations and non-profits organized a protest titled "Excelsior Community Action: In Solidarity with the UESF Strike!"



About 100 youth and community organizers rallied, framing the strike as one step in a larger struggle of all the City's workers against the billionaires who continue to accumulate more power and profit at our expense.

After four days of strike action, our union declared victory. We won salary increases for all members, sanctuary district protections for immigrant youth, guardrails for AI use in schools, full-time hours for security guards, and fully-funded district health care. Whereas union members with families were paying up to \$1500 a month on health coverage, our strike forced the district to cover that expense. In a country where health-care costs are rising and becoming a central concern for workers, our strike can inspire others to engage in similar action.

While salary increases for certificated staff will barely keep up with inflation, it is important that our lower-paid classified educators won a higher percentage increase that begins to bridge the wide gap between certificated and classified staff.

San Francisco is one of the country's wealthiest regions and is increasingly so as a result of the boom in the artificial intelligence industry. The cost of housing and living increases for workers while tech capitalists invest billions in infrastructure to develop cutting-edge technology to lay off workers and surveil our communities. Nationwide, inequality in the United States has reached levels not seen since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Our victorious strike is a beacon of hope for all workers that

collective action can begin to shift the relation of forces between the haves and the have-nots.

Layoffs

Now that our strike is over, we will need to turn our attention to addressing the severe budget cuts the district will try to implement this school year. The district has come forward with 42 preliminary layoff notices. In addition, SFUSD has announced plans to drastically reduce newcomer program services for newly arrived immigrant students at three schools. It is important for educators and the community to fight against these cuts and to especially fight any future plan for the district to "balance the budget" at the cost of working-class and immigrant students' right to a good education.

While the district's concession around sanctuary district policies didn't require economic investment and is thus symbolic, it nonetheless is a victory for our side given that the district originally refused to bargain over this demand, which they deemed to be outside of the scope of bargaining. Our winning of sanctuary district policies must be applied to the concrete defense of immigrant students' needs, and to connect this fight with the broader fight against austerity, arrests, and deportations of immigrants, and growing war budgets to threaten workers around the world, such as in Venezuela, Iran, and Cuba.

Furthermore, the City's 35,000 public sector employees will soon have the opportunity to engage in economic strikes. The California Public Employ-

ees' Relations Board overruled last fall a long-standing San Francisco law that prohibited public sector employee strikes. With SFUSD intent on further layoffs and cuts, and Mayor Lurie planning layoffs of public workers, our unions can unite to fight austerity by taxing the rich.

Other California districts

Finally, there are tens of thousands of other educators in California poised to strike. From Oakland to the Sacramento-area to Los Angeles, we're in the midst of a strike wave of educators across our state fighting for the same things. While we hope for similar wins for educators in these other locals, we need to prepare a statewide educators' strike that takes on the state government.

Local fights against individual districts are limited due to the small pot of money we have to fight over. To introduce the fundamental changes in our schools—such as significant reductions in class sizes, appropriately staffing our schools with educators and support staff, and funding robust student programs—we must coordinate with the hundreds of thousands of educators across California and their respective locals to tap into state funding sources, which is where about 60% of our funds come from.

The Red State Revolt, where educators in states such as West Virginia and Arizona engaged in statewide strikes against their states in 2018 that resulted in significant increases in public school funding, are models for us to build upon. ■

La nueva política del imperialismo estadounidense

Natacha Pisarenko / AP



Por EDU ALMEIDA y FLORENCE OPPEN

En noviembre de 2025, la administración Trump publicó el documento «Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional», en el que anunciaba los nuevos fundamentos estratégicos de la acción imperialista en este periodo para imponer su hegemonía en el «hemisferio occidental». Este plan no es ninguna sorpresa, ya que Trump, en su discurso de toma de posesión, anunció que «Estados Unidos volverá a considerarse una nación en crecimiento, que aumenta nuestra riqueza, expande nuestro territorio, construye nuestras ciudades, eleva nuestras expectativas y lleva nuestra bandera a nuevos y hermosos horizontes».

El documento detalla, con el descaro típico de Trump, la estrategia del gobierno de extrema derecha que encabeza la potencia imperialista aún hegemónica, pero en declive, que busca por todos los medios consolidar una base regional para competir y enfrentarse a China. Esta política, a su vez, profundiza aún más la crisis del orden mundial imperialista y la polarización social, económica y política.

De la Doctrina Monroe al «Corolario Trump»

El documento reivindica explícitamente la Doctrina Monroe y afirma un «Corolario Trump» a dicha doctrina. La Doctrina Monroe, anunciada por el presidente estadounidense James Monroe en 1823, fue una expresión defensiva contra la intervención de los países hegemónicos europeos en América, en un contexto de países recién liberados del dominio de Inglaterra, España y Portugal.

Posteriormente, esta doctrina cambió de carácter, reflejando la transformación del país en una potencia imperialista con una postura ofensiva e intervenciones militares a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX. La guerra hispano-estadounidense de 1898 marcó este giro. Estados Unidos no solo se apoderó de las antiguas colonias españolas (Guam, Filipinas, Puerto Rico) e

impuso un protectorado sobre Cuba, sino que también anexó Hawái, comenzó la exploración de lo que se convertiría en el Canal de Panamá y, en los meses siguientes, adquirió más de 7000 islas en el Pacífico.

En 1904, el «Corolario Roosevelt» (del presidente Theodore Roosevelt) a la Doctrina Monroe abogaba abiertamente por una política imperialista agresiva, conocida como el «Big Stick» (el garrote). Esta política se expresó en sucesivas intervenciones militares para controlar el Canal de Panamá entre 1903 y 1925, así como en más de seis intervenciones en Honduras entre 1903 y 1925, y en ocupaciones militares en Nicaragua (1912-1933), Haití (1915-1934) y la República Dominicana (1916 y 1924). Con este cambio, Estados Unidos inició su campaña ideológica para posicionarse como una «potencia policial internacional», con la supuesta autoridad moral y militar para reprimir la «mala conducta» de otros gobiernos y defender los valores de la «civilización» cristiana y la democracia liberal.

Estados Unidos se convirtió en hegemónico después de la Primera Guerra Mundial, en la que entró cerca del final, en alianza con el imperialismo británico (que había sido hegemónico hasta entonces). Estados Unidos aprovechó su proceso expansionista y el hecho de no haber sufrido grandes pérdidas en la guerra. Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, el imperialismo estadounidense consolidó su hegemonía mundial.

Para ello fueron cruciales los acuerdos de Yalta y Potsdam, un pacto contrarrevolucionario entre Estados Unidos y la burocracia soviética de Stalin que garantizaba la hegemonía estadounidense.

Durante más de cinco décadas, la hegemonía económica de Estados Unidos se basó en su dominio tecnológico, financiero y militar. Sus oligopolios industriales utilizaron ideologías como el «libre comercio» para exponer las frágiles industrias de otros países a su dominio. Las instituciones económicas y financieras internacionales, como el FMI y la OMC, operaban a nivel internacional como expresión de la hegemonía

económica de Estados Unidos.

Los acuerdos de Yalta y Potsdam, junto con el papel de la burocracia estalinista, aseguraron innumerables derrotas en las luchas obreras de la posguerra. Aun así, algunas revoluciones salieron victoriosas y dieron lugar a nuevos Estados obreros, que pronto se burocratizaron, como Yugoslavia, China, Cuba y Vietnam.

En las décadas de 1980 y 1990, la globalización, las políticas neoliberales y la restauración del capitalismo en los antiguos Estados obreros hicieron posible un nuevo auge del capitalismo. Se impusieron entonces las políticas neoliberales, la apertura de las fronteras económicas de los países y la formación de cadenas de suministro internacionales. Tras restaurar el capitalismo, China y Rusia se integraron de manera subordinada en la curva ascendente del imperialismo. Pero luego, en este siglo, se convirtieron en nuevas potencias imperialistas emergentes.

Estados Unidos busca frenar a China en la región

Desde principios del siglo XXI, el imperialismo estadounidense ha mostrado signos crecientes de decadencia. Aunque sigue siendo la potencia imperialista hegemónica en las esferas económica, financiera, tecnológica y militar, su hegemonía ha ido disminuyendo, perdiendo un importante terreno económico, especialmente frente a China. Desde 2010, China ha superado a Estados Unidos en producción industrial y hoy representa el 31,8 % del PIB industrial mundial.

El documento de la Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional responde a esta realidad. El imperialismo estadounidense sigue siendo hegemónico, pero está en declive y su hegemonía está disminuyendo. Lejos de abandonar la lucha por la hegemonía mundial, el «corolario Trump» a la Doctrina Monroe es una expresión agresiva, del «gran garrote» del imperialismo hegemónico decadente para reconstruir su dominio global frente al imperialismo chino en ascenso.

Aunque América Latina no es el lugar donde China acumula la mayor parte de sus inversiones y disputa la hegemonía, como lo hace en el suroeste de Asia y África, la inversión china en la región que Estados Unidos considera su patio trasero ha dado un salto cualitativo en las últimas dos décadas.

En primer lugar, han crecido los lazos comerciales de la región con el gigante asiático: en 2000, el mercado chino representaba menos del 2 % de las exportaciones latinoamericanas, pero el rápido crecimiento de China y la demanda resultante impulsaron el posterior auge de las materias primas en la región. Durante los ocho años siguientes, el comercio creció a una tasa anual del 31 %. En 2024, el comercio creció hasta alcanzar la cifra récord de 518 000 millones de dólares, y algunos economistas predicen que podría superar los 700 000 millones de dólares en 2035. En el caso de algunos países, como Chile, la dependencia comercial de China es muy significativa, ya que en 2023 el 38 % de sus exportaciones totales se destinaron a ese país.

Obviamente, se trata de un comercio muy desigual que beneficia al imperialismo asiático; mientras que América Latina exporta soja y otros productos vegetales, productos cárnicos, cobre, petróleo, litio y otros minerales clave para el desarrollo chino, la región importa productos manufacturados de alto valor agregado, lo que proporciona un mercado para la industria china y arruina la industria nacional de la región.

Más allá del comercio desigual, China ha aumentado su inversión directa (8,5 millones de dólares en 2024) en los más de 20 países latinoamericanos que ha incorporado a la Ruta de la Seda (BRI). Esta inversión se centra en sectores estratégicos, como los recursos energéticos, o en infraestructuras de «doble uso» (comercial

(vea la página 13)

y militar), lo que preocupa cada vez más a Washington. Es bien conocida la inversión estratégica de China en el Triángulo del Litio (Chile, Bolivia, Argentina), ya que la región alberga entre el 60 % y el 70 % de las reservas mundiales de litio, esenciales para las pilas eléctricas. Entre 2018 y 2024, las multinacionales mineras chinas han invertido más de 16 000 millones de dólares en su explotación. Se estima que las empresas chinas controlan casi el 40 % de la producción mundial de litio a través de sus operaciones en América del Sur. Actualmente, China tiene inversiones y control total o parcial de más de 40 puertos en la región, algunos de ellos en sectores estratégicos clave.

Trump busca imponer gobiernos títeres

El documento de la Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional de Estados Unidos explica la estrategia de imponer gobiernos títeres en el hemisferio occidental para lograr sus objetivos económicos y militares: «Queremos garantizar que el hemisferio occidental se mantenga generalmente estable y bien gobernado para prevenir y desalentar la migración masiva a Estados Unidos; queremos un hemisferio cuyos gobiernos cooperen con nosotros contra los narcoterroristas, los cárteles y otras organizaciones criminales transnacionales; queremos un hemisferio que permanezca libre de incursiones extranjeras hostiles o de la propiedad de activos clave, y que apoye las cadenas de suministro críticas; y queremos garantizar nuestro acceso continuo a lugares estratégicos clave. En otras palabras, afirmaremos y aplicaremos un «corolario Trump» a la Doctrina Monroe».

El caso de Venezuela es, en este momento, el foco central de esta política. Contrariamente a lo que difunde la propaganda estalinista, Maduro ha sido un gobierno entregado al imperialismo norteamericano. Chevron seguía presente, con toda su fuerza, en la explotación del petróleo venezolano. De hecho, en octubre del 2025, Maduro, según un reportaje del *New York Times*, ofreció «abrir todos los proyectos petroleros y auríferos existentes y futuros a las empresas estadounidenses, otorgar contratos preferenciales a las empresas estadounidenses, revertir el flujo de las exportaciones petroleras venezolanas de China a Estados Unidos y recortar los contratos energéticos y mineros de su país con empresas chinas, iraníes y rusas» a cambio de permanecer en el poder.

Pero Trump no aceptó porque su objetivo no es solo el petróleo, sino también implementar una estrategia de seguridad nacional más global. El gobierno de Maduro, a pesar de ser proimperialista, no era un gobierno títere, sino que reflejaba los intereses contradictorios y oportunistas de la corrupta burguesía bolivariana construida alrededor del Estado. Trump, por el contrario, quiere un gobierno completamente sometido a sus intereses en la región, por lo que invadió y sequestró a Maduro.

Esta invasión podría abrir la puerta a su repetición en otros países, como Colombia, Cuba y otros. Y supone una gran amenaza para los nuevos procesos revolucionarios de la región. El significado de «reclutar y comprometer» a gobiernos aliados es muy preciso: los gobiernos burgueses proimperialistas no son suficientes; se necesitan gobiernos títeres de extrema derecha. Como afirma el documento de la Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional:

«La política estadounidense debe centrarse en reclutar a líderes regionales capaces de contribuir a crear una estabilidad tolerable en la región, incluso más allá de las fronteras de esos socios. Estas naciones nos ayudarían a detener la migración ilegal y desestabilizadora, neutralizar los cárteles, fomentar la fabricación cercana a la costa y desarrollar las economías

La Voz de los Trabajadores (Workers' Voice)

Quiénes somos

La Voz de los Trabajadores es un grupo de activistas y obreros en los EEUU que está dedicado a la liberación de los trabajadores y los oprimidos.

En solidaridad con la Liga Internacional de los Trabajadores, buscamos construir los movimientos sindicales, estudiantiles, ambientalistas, contra-guerras, anti-racistas, anti-machistas, y otros.

En este proceso esperamos traer junto el pueblo obrero de sus fondos diversos y unirlos en un partido revolucionario de los trabajadores que puede lograr en la lucha contra los

ricos. Nuestra meta final es la construcción de una sociedad verdaderamente democrática, organizada para cumplir con las necesidades de la humanidad y no para ganar lucros para los ricos.

¡Si quieres luchar por el socialismo, ponte en contacto con nosotros!

¡Únate a La Voz de los Trabajadores hoy!

privadas locales, entre otras cosas. Recompensaremos y alentaremos a los gobiernos, partidos políticos y movimientos de la región que estén ampliamente alineados con nuestros principios y nuestra estrategia. Pero no debemos pasar por alto a los gobiernos con perspectivas diferentes, con quienes, no obstante, compartimos intereses y que quieren trabajar con nosotros.»

Para ello, Trump utiliza abierta y cínicamente la presión económica, condicionando los préstamos a las victorias electorales de sus aliados, como Milei en Argentina y Nasry Asfura (del Partido Nacional, en Honduras). Es innegable que Trump ha obtenido resultados con esta política. Aprovechando los desastres cometidos por los gobiernos de colaboración de clases, como los de Xiaomara (Honduras), Boric, Petros y otros, la ultraderecha está avanzando mucho en América Latina. Ya cuenta con los gobiernos de Milei (Argentina), Kast (Chile), Bukele (El Salvador) y Asfura (Honduras), y con la victoria en las elecciones de 2026 en Colombia.

Sheinbaum (México) se ha adaptado por completo a la presión de Trump, ya que la economía mexicana está totalmente subordinada a su relación con EE. UU.: alrededor del 80 % de las exportaciones de México, el 55 % de sus importaciones y el 41 % de su inversión extranjera directa dependen de Estados Unidos.

En este contexto, es imprescindible luchar en todos los países latinoamericanos contra esta nueva agresión de Trump, que busca anexarse el continente. Para ello, es importante que todos los partidos que realmente luchan por el socialismo levanten un programa por la Segunda Independencia de América Latina que plantee enfrentar a todos los imperialismos, tanto al estadounidense como a los europeos y al imperialismo chino que se presenta como «amigo».

Debemos buscar la más amplia unidad de acción que logre movilizar a la clase trabajadora y sus aliados, como los pueblos indígenas, contra las intervenciones militares, como la de Venezuela, contra los proyectos extractivistas o de sobreexplotación, y contra los demás ataques a la soberanía nacional, como el endeudamiento y los acuerdos comerciales desiguales, sea quien sea el imperialismo que los propone e impone. Una vez más, debemos mostrar que sólo una salida independiente de la clase trabajadora puede lograr una verdadera independencia que garantice los derechos sociales y políticos de la clase trabajadora y pare la destrucción del medio ambiente.

Contradicciones de la «Doctrina Donroe»

Si bien el gobierno de Trump está decidido a ejercer con firmeza la dominación despótica sobre el continente, ello no significa que el triunfo de su política esté garantizado. Por un lado, esta nueva política se encontrará con la resistencia de las masas; por otro, deberá

lidiar con limitaciones inherentes, es decir, lo que podemos llamar los «corolarios ocultos» de esta doctrina imperialista.

Primero, hay que considerar que la explotación del petróleo en Venezuela no es una tarea fácil ni automática. La producción de petróleo de Venezuela está en caída: a finales de los 90 se producían 3,5 millones de barriles diarios y hoy apenas 800.000. Los analistas afirman que se necesitan al menos 5 años de inversiones masivas para recuperar una producción equivalente. La consultora Rystad Energy, por ejemplo, afirma que se necesitarían al menos \$53,000 millones durante los próximos 15 años para aumentar la producción a 1,1 bpd.

Para ser rentable, la operación que hoy Trump vende como fácil y rápida requiere asegurar tanto la inversión económica como el control político del país durante, al menos, las dos próximas décadas. Muchos de los yacimientos petroleros ya habían sido concedidos a China mediante contratos legales, y estas multinacionales imperialistas van a exigir que sus derechos sean reconocidos o que sean indemnizadas.

De hecho, como hemos mostrado, China ha logrado insertarse en las cadenas de producción del continente y en los sectores energéticos y de infraestructura digital. Para lograr «reconquistar» el continente, EE. UU. va a necesitar invertir mucho más que sólo en los sectores que le convengan y proponerse como alternativa económica en otros sectores.

Además, hay una «consecuencia» interna: la mayoría de los estadounidenses no apoyan otra guerra prolongada. Las encuestas realizadas en enero de 2026 muestran que solo el 33 % de los estadounidenses estaba de acuerdo con una acción militar para secuestrar a Maduro, mientras que el 72 % temía que dicha intervención condujera a una intervención prolongada en Venezuela.

Otro riesgo de la profundización de esta política agresiva de Estados Unidos hacia el continente americano (y Europa) es que podría aumentar la popularidad de China entre las masas como factor de equilibrio y desarrollo.

Aunque sabemos que China es otra potencia imperialista y saqueadora, el hecho de encontrarse en una dinámica emergente y de poseer más capital para invertir le permite aparecer como la potencia que ofrece «desarrollo económico» a sus aliados semicoloniales, mientras que los EE. UU. sólo ofrecen coerción y opresión.

La contradicción más importante es que va a ampliar la polarización social y política en Latinoamérica, así como en Estados Unidos. El movimiento de masas no está derrotado y, más temprano o más tarde, habrá grandes movilizaciones y, incluso, explosiones revolucionarias. Eso apunta a un periodo más convulsivo de la lucha de clases. ■

La contaminación medioambiental y la comunidad negra



Por BRIAN CRAWFORD

Al regresar al poder, Donald Trump no perdió tiempo en reanudar la destrucción medioambiental. Con un trazo de su pluma, Trump revocó la Orden Ejecutiva 12898, las «Medidas federales para abordar la justicia medioambiental en las poblaciones minoritarias y de bajos ingresos». Como resultado, el gobierno federal ya no abordará la discriminación racial en las consideraciones de política medioambiental.

La Agencia de Protección Ambiental cerró la Oficina de Justicia Ambiental, agregando otro punto exclamativo a las políticas racistas de la administración. Esto permite a las empresas seguir contaminando en la comunidad negra sin que nadie les haga frente. Incluso con pruebas significativas, las comunidades negras rara vez han recibido algo parecido a la justicia, independientemente de si Trump estuviera en la Casa Blanca o no.

Al igual que en su primer mandato, Trump eliminó o debilitó casi un centenar de regulaciones medioambientales, según el Sierra Club. Una de las más significativas fue la «declaración de peligro», que proporcionaba la base legal para que el gobierno federal regulase las emisiones de gases de efecto invernadero. Estas emisiones son la causa del calentamiento del planeta.

En relación con la «declaración de peligro», Samantha Gross y Ryan Beane escriben en un comentario para el Brookings Institute: «Quieren eliminarla de raíz de una manera que dificulte que las futuras administraciones la reviertan». El presidente y su administración argumentan que las regulaciones obstaculizan el crecimiento y suponen una carga indebida para las empresas.

La «declaración de peligro» de la EPA tiene su origen en el caso 2006-2007 del Tribunal Supremo, Massachusetts contra la EPA. La agencia argumentó que la Ley de Aire Limpio no le obligaba a aplicar regulaciones para abordar el cambio climático y que no se había establecido una relación causal entre el calentamiento global y los gases de efecto invernadero. La agencia perdió ese argumento; el tribunal

afirmó que los gases de efecto invernadero, como el dióxido de carbono, se consideran contaminantes atmosféricos.

Dos años más tarde, la EPA aceptó la creencia científica de que los gases de efecto invernadero eran peligrosos para la salud y contribuían a la crisis ambiental. Sin embargo, en enero de 2026, la EPA revirtió esa conclusión, eliminando la base legal para regular las emisiones de los vehículos. Anteriormente, en 2012, la mayoría de la Suprema Corte dictaminó en el caso *West Virginia contra la EPA* que la agencia no tiene la autoridad, en virtud de la Ley de Aire Limpio, para limitar de manera general las emisiones de gases de efecto invernadero de una forma que cambie el sistema energético del país.

La EPA «tiene un historial deplorable en cuanto a la respuesta a las denuncias de discriminación» (Iniciativa por la Igualdad en la Justicia: «Injusticia medioambiental en el Cinturón Negro»). En 2018, desestimó una denuncia contra el Departamento de Gestión Ambiental de Alabama (ADEM) por no abordar el efecto de los materiales tóxicos y radiactivos en las comunidades negras pobres. Cuando el ADEM derogó su política de derechos civiles, esto se convirtió en la base para que la EPA desestimara la denuncia. La abolición de la política del ADEM plantea la pregunta: ¿qué medio ambiente está gestionando? Lo mismo podría preguntarse de la EPA.

La ciudad de Uniontown, Alabama (predominantemente negra), tiene múltiples riesgos medioambientales, entre los que se incluyen las cenizas de carbón que contienen arsénico y material radiactivo, y numerosas fuentes de contaminación del agua. Eso debería ser prueba más que suficiente para seguir adelante con el caso.

El «Cancer Alley» (callejón del cáncer) de Luisiana, que abarca la región entre Nueva Orleans y Baton Rouge, recibe este nombre por sus altas tasas de cáncer. En 2023, Jeff Landry, que ocupó el cargo de fiscal general (ahora gobernador de Luisiana), presentó una demanda para impedir que la EPA investigara el racismo medioambiental. La agencia abandonó el caso. El gobernador Landry es un aliado clave de la industria petrolera y gasística del estado.

La parroquia de San Juan Bautista es otro ejemplo de la historia racial de Estados Unidos. «A medida que la economía regional ha pasado de las cadenas y la esclavitud en las plantaciones a las chimeneas y las plantas petroquímicas», los descendientes de los antiguos esclavos que fundaron las ciudades son los más afectados (capitalnews.org, «La sentencia judicial que garantizó un futuro de racismo medioambiental»).

En agosto de 2024, un juez federal nombrado por Trump en el Tribunal de Distrito de los Estados Unidos para el Distrito Oeste de Luisiana dictaminó que el Departamento de Justicia no podía hacer cumplir los requisitos de impacto desigual del Título VI de la Ley de Derechos Civiles. Los tribunales se están convirtiendo en una vía mucho más estrecha para la lucha contra la discriminación medioambiental. Estas comunidades necesitan luchar para sobrevivir. Las investigaciones científicas han establecido vínculos entre el cambio climático y los riesgos para la salud humana, así como una correlación entre la proximidad geográfica de las comunidades predominantemente negras a las industrias contaminantes y las altas tasas de enfermedad. La exposición a las partículas en suspensión (PM_{2,5}) contribuye de manera significativa a una amplia gama de enfermedades. Las PM_{2,5} son partículas diminutas, a menudo emitidas por el petróleo y la gasolina, que entran en el cuerpo a través del sistema respiratorio y pasan al torrente sanguíneo.

Las comunidades negras se ven afectadas de manera desproporcionada por esta exposición y son más propensas a morir que otros grupos raciales y étnicos, según un estudio realizado por Stanford Medicine. La proximidad a las industrias contaminantes fue el principal factor que contribuyó a las tasas más altas de enfermedades. Los afroamericanos han estado históricamente atrapados en lugares poblados por refinerías y otros contaminantes industriales.

Las comunidades afroamericanas «sufren más las tormentas y las inundaciones, el calor extremo, las enfermedades infecciosas y las perturbaciones en los mercados laborales, todo lo cual ocurre con mayor frecuencia debido al cambio climático» (clasp.org, «La administración Trump, el Día de la Tierra y el racismo medioambiental»).

Esto no es el resultado de la negligencia de una agencia o ni siquiera de la malicia del gobierno. Es consecuencia de la lógica de la producción capitalista. Desde la acumulación primitiva de capital, que arrebató los recursos a las poblaciones nativas (y continúa hoy en día), hasta el despojo y el desplazamiento, el trabajo forzoso y la creación de guetos y reservas, todas son características del capitalismo. Las comunidades afectadas están condenadas a una muerte lenta. Personifican lo que está por venir a medida que la crisis se agudiza. Trump es solo el líder de esta banda de destructores. Representa un sistema que ensalza las virtudes de la «destrucción creativa». Se trata de una destrucción en aras del crecimiento económico.

«El crecimiento por el crecimiento es la ideología de la célula cancerosa», escribió Edward Abby. Para salvar al paciente, es necesaria una medicina radical. Derrotar el racismo ambiental es un reto para toda la clase trabajadora. Debemos exigir el fin de un sistema que, como una célula metastásica, nos condena a nosotros y al planeta. ■

¡No desestimen el peligro!

Por LOS EDITORES

Nos encontramos en medio de uno de los momentos históricos más difíciles a los que se han enfrentado la clase trabajadora y las comunidades oprimidas residentes en Estados Unidos desde la Guerra Civil estadounidense.

Sin el desarrollo de una resistencia verdaderamente masiva, que comience a utilizar el poder fundamental de los trabajadores organizados, es poco probable que se detenga el impulso de la sección de la clase dominante orientada al MAGA hacia la consolidación de un gobierno autoritario y supremacista blanco que lleva a cabo una brutal guerra imperialista. Nuestro movimiento de resistencia está creciendo en tamaño y capacidad, pero aún no es capaz de frenar ese impulso.

Los políticos del MAGA están decididos a normalizar el despliegue de una fuerza policial política masiva y las detenciones ilegales de los trabajadores. Han emprendido la subversión de las elecciones intermedias para representantes del Congreso y senadores que se celebrarán en noviembre de 2026.

Al atacar a Venezuela y ahora a Irán, la administración MAGA ha demostra-

do que el objetivo de consolidar un régimen autoritario se basa en la necesidad de la élite gobernante de intentar mantener la hegemonía global de Estados Unidos mediante la aplicación inhumana de poder militar. Estas guerras siempre son motivo de ataques cada vez más drásticos contra nuestros sindicatos y nuestro nivel de vida.

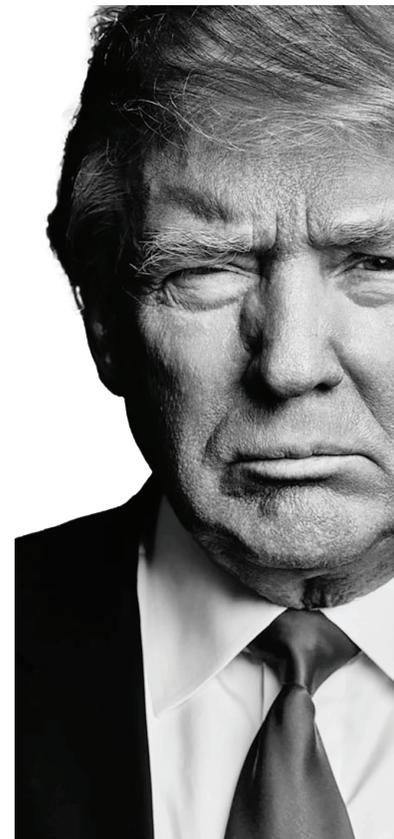
La élite empresarial que apoya a Trump sabe que una era de nuevas guerras imperialistas, exponencialmente más costosas en dólares y vidas, generará un desafío aún más decidido por parte de los trabajadores a su dominio tiránico. Se están preparando para detenernos por cualquier medio necesario. Aunque existen divisiones y puntos de desacuerdo dentro de la coalición MAGA, todavía no hay indicios de que ninguno de los principales actores políticos republicanos tenga la intención de frenar el impulso hacia un régimen autoritario.

Y aunque algunos ejecutivos de las grandes empresas han expresado críticas a algunas de las políticas económicas de la administración, la sección no MAGA de la élite financiera capitalista no ha presentado ningún obstáculo serio al plan del Proyecto 2025.

La respuesta del ala de la clase domi-

nante cuyas opiniones políticas parecen reflejarse en el Partido Demócrata ha sido la aquiescencia. Los representantes demócratas expresan críticas públicas, pero sus acciones no concuerdan con sus palabras. Esto no es sorprendente, ya que muchas de las primeras versiones de estas violaciones de los derechos democráticos se elaboraron como políticas bajo su gobierno.

Existe un gran peligro de subestimar la determinación de la élite empresarial estadounidense de llevar a cabo esta iniciativa. No podemos confiar en que las sentencias judiciales o las próximas elecciones nos salven. Debemos organizarnos ya, no solo para llevar a cabo manifestaciones masivas y crear redes comunitarias contra la violencia del ICE, sino también para encontrar la manera de construir un nuevo partido de la clase trabajadora a través del cual podamos organizar nuestra defensa política en todos los ámbitos y todos los días. El reto es ya empezar, aprovechar la convocatoria de acciones a nivel nacional el 28 de marzo y el Primero de Mayo con el fin de llevar a cabo una acción política independiente. Únete a **La Voz de los Trabajadores**, donde podrás trabajar junto a personas que comparten esta perspectiva. ■



Nigel Parry / CPI

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La guerra contra Irán pone la región en crisis

liderazgo independiente de la clase obrera, con llamamientos a la creación de consejos de trabajadores y vecinales que se inspiraban en las tradiciones anteriores de autoorganización de base en Irán.

El dilema para China y Rusia

El ataque estadounidense-israelí contra Irán no puede entenderse sin situarlo también en el contexto de las crecientes rivalidades interimperialistas en un período de crisis capitalista mundial y de fuerte decadencia de la hegemonía estadounidense. Hasta ahora, China y Rusia, dos potencias imperialistas rivales de Estados Unidos, se han limitado en gran medida a denuncias verbales del ataque contra Irán, aunque Rusia supuestamente ha proporcionado información de inteligencia a Irán.

China representa ahora aproximadamente el 30% del comercio total de Irán, en gran parte a través de los flujos de energía: petróleo y gas iraníes a cambio de productos manufacturados chinos. Sin embargo, Pekín evita la intervención directa, en parte porque está ampliando sus importantes relaciones económicas con Israel, ahora su segundo socio comercial, incluyendo proyectos de infraestructura y portuarios.

Una dinámica similar configura las relaciones entre Irán y Rusia. Tras la intensificación de las sanciones occidentales tras la invasión rusa de Ucrania en 2022, Moscú y Teherán formalizaron sus lazos mediante un tratado de asociación estratégica para 2025 destinado a ampliar el comercio, la coordinación diplomática y la evasión de sanciones.

La defensa de Putin de la «estabilidad» iraní durante las protestas pone de relieve la prioridad de Moscú: preservar la continuidad del régimen y fortalecer su bloque geopolítico en lugar de apoyar la

autodeterminación popular.

Arabia Saudí y las monarquías del Golfo

La guerra se desarrolla en el marco de los Acuerdos de Abraham y la consolidación de un bloque contrarrevolucionario regional alineado con el imperialismo estadounidense: normalización con Israel, coordinación en materia de seguridad y una arquitectura militar dirigida tanto contra Irán como contra sus propias clases trabajadoras. Aunque algunos gobiernos piden públicamente «moderación», su papel estructural es el de una plataforma operativa: espacio aéreo, bases, corredores logísticos e inteligencia integrados en las operaciones estadounidenses.

Contra este bloque contrarrevolucionario, la única alternativa progresista es la solidaridad entre los trabajadores y los oprimidos de toda la región para derrotar primero la agresión imperialista occidental y luego abrir el camino para una liberación más completa de la región. Esto implica la recuperación del territorio palestino de 1948 para su pueblo, así como la caída de las monarquías capitalistas y las dictaduras clericales y militares que oprimen a los trabajadores, especialmente a las mujeres, los jóvenes y las minorías nacionales y religiosas de la región.

Por un Irán libre y obrero

En Estados Unidos, debe construirse un movimiento antibélico basado en principios como un amplio frente unido a través de la movilización independiente de sindicatos, grupos de la juventud, grupos feministas, redes de solidaridad con Palestina, comunidades de migrantes e inmigrantes y organizaciones antirracistas. El movimiento debe centrarse en la retirada inmediata de todas las fuerzas estadounidenses y el

desmantelamiento de la vasta red de bases militares estadounidenses que rodean Oriente Medio. Debe exigirse el levantamiento de todas las sanciones. Debe oponerse a cualquier invasión terrestre, operaciones encubiertas o cualquier otro intento de someter a Irán al dominio imperialista.

Solo a través de movilizaciones unidas, visibles y militantes, que vinculen la lucha contra la guerra en el extranjero con la lucha contra la explotación, el racismo y la austeridad en el país, podremos crear una fuerza capaz de desafiar tanto la agresión imperialista como los regímenes reaccionarios que esta sostiene en todo el mundo.

Al mismo tiempo, oponerse a la agresión imperialista no significa apoyar políticamente a la clase dominante iraní. El CGRI y el aparato clerical-militar no son verdaderamente antiimperialistas en ningún sentido. Durante décadas, han supervisado la reestructuración neoliberal, las oleadas de privatizaciones y la consolidación de vastos conglomerados paraestatales para su propio enriquecimiento.

Debemos manifestar nuestra oposición militar al imperialismo estadounidense y extender nuestra plena solidaridad con el derecho de autodefensa del pueblo iraní, manteniendo al mismo tiempo la independencia política del régimen. Rechazamos cualquier «golpe blando» respaldado por Estados Unidos o Israel, cualquier proyecto de exilio o cualquier plan de la diáspora de derecha que instale un gobierno complaciente bajo dominio extranjero.

El futuro de Irán no puede decidirse en Washington, Tel Aviv, Riad o Pekín. Defender el derecho de Irán a la autodeterminación es, en última instancia, luchar por una alternativa obrera y popular a la República Islámica. ■

LA VOZ DE LOS TRABAJADORES

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La guerra contra Irán pone toda la región en crisis

Por FLORENCE OPPEN

El ataque coordinado de Estados Unidos e Israel contra Irán supone una importante escalada en Oriente Medio. Presentada como un ataque contra infraestructuras militares y nucleares, la operación pasó rápidamente a hablar abiertamente de «cambio de régimen».

Los ataques de Estados Unidos e Israel alcanzaron más de 130 ciudades de Irán en los primeros días de la campaña de bombardeos, causando un elevado número de víctimas civiles. Mientras tanto, Israel llevó a cabo operaciones militares en el Líbano con ataques aéreos y una invasión terrestre. Cuando Irán respondió con ataques con misiles y drones en toda la región, más de 12 países se vieron envueltos en un conflicto militar directo.

Irán tiene el derecho a defenderse

Independientemente de las atrocidades y la represión cometidas por el régimen iraní contra su pueblo, la agresión imperialista de Estados Unidos e Israel amenaza el derecho fundamental a la autodeterminación de Irán como nación legítima. El derecho a derrocar al régimen pertenece solamente al pueblo iraní.

El ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Irán puso de manifiesto esta contradicción al responder a las amenazas de Washington el 1 de marzo: «Nadie puede decirnos que no tenemos derecho a defendernos. Nos defendemos, cueste lo que cueste, y no vemos ningún límite para defender a nuestro pueblo, para proteger a nuestro pueblo».

El reto es que este régimen no puede «defender a su pueblo» mientras continúa con la brutal represión contra él. Para poder oponerse verdaderamente a la agresión de Estados Unidos e Israel, el régimen debería detener todos los procedimientos judiciales contra los manifestantes, detener las ejecuciones, liberar a los presos políticos y disolver las fuerzas responsables de los asesinatos en masa.

El «cambio de régimen» y la autodeterminación

Las reacciones entre el pueblo iraní han sido pro-



Amirhossein Khorgooei / Reuters

fundamente divididas e intensas, ya que este ataque se produjo un mes después de la brutal represión de las protestas masivas iraníes por parte del régimen. La agresión occidental se produjo cuando el país aún lloraba por la masacre perpetrada por Jamenei y era testigo de la lenta ejecución de al menos 50 manifestantes.

Solo una minoría de iraníes respaldó la ofensiva estadounidense y, sin embargo, solo una minoría de iraníes apoya al régimen de la República Islámica. La salida no puede implicar el retorno a la monarquía respaldada por Estados Unidos ni un nuevo statu quo con una nueva capa del CGRI en el poder.

El cambio de régimen en Irán puede producirse por dos vías muy diferentes, con resultados opuestos. Una posibilidad es que los elementos independientes del movimiento democrático y popular que se han articulado desde 2017 a través de sucesivas oleadas de protestas y represión construyan una alternativa política que asuma la lucha contra la invasión estadounidense e israelí y contra el régimen local, abriendo un nuevo camino hacia adelante en Irán.

Por otra parte, es posible que Estados Unidos e Israel lleven a cabo un cambio de régimen mediante tropas sobre el terreno o mediante una operación

(Foto) Mujeres asisten al funeral de niñas asesinadas en una escuela bombardeada por EE.UU.

encubierta de la CIA y el Mossad, alineándose con los elementos reaccionarios de la diáspora iraní y los sectores monárquicos pro-Pahlavi en Irán. Por supuesto, solo la primera vía de cambio de régimen garantizará la verdadera autodeterminación política y económica de los iraníes.

Cualquier alianza con los sectores antirregímenes respaldados por Estados Unidos hoy en día solo conducirá a un mayor empobrecimiento y opresión de los iraníes.

El único camino duradero y fiable hacia la verdadera liberación de esta pesadilla multifacética es la autoorganización independiente del pueblo iraní, a través de comités de empresa, consejos de huelga, asambleas vecinales y órganos democráticos de autodefensa.

Estas fueron las fuerzas de clase que se activaron en los levantamientos de principios de 2026. En algunos sectores, especialmente entre los trabajadores del transporte, surgió explícitamente la cuestión del

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