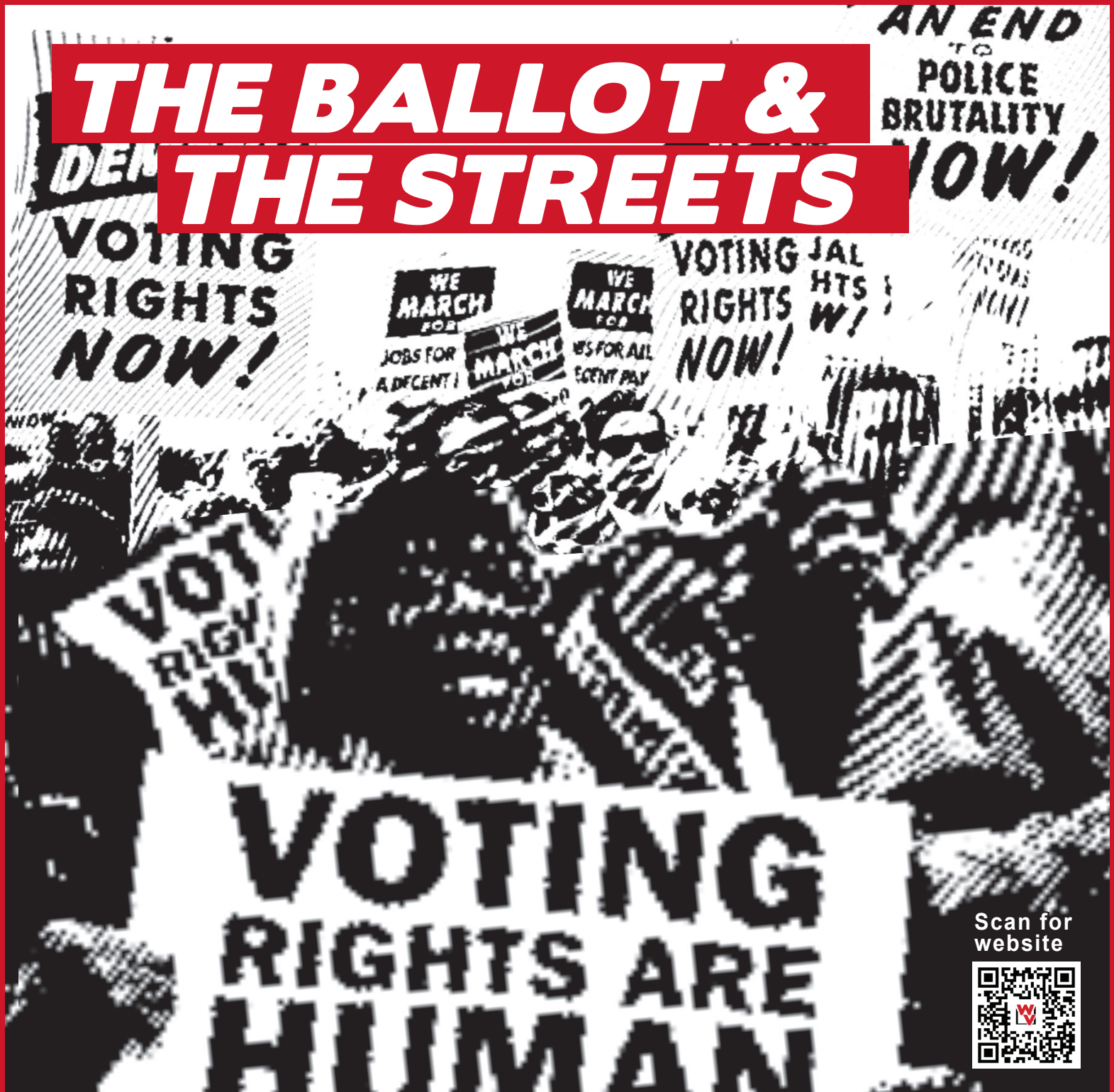


WORKERS' VOICE

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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!

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Workers Voice —**

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Africa as a dumping ground for migrants

By BRIAN CRAWFORD

In April the Democratic Republic of Congo began receiving third-country nationals deported from the United States. It is one of many African countries receiving these deportees. The Trump administration has forcibly removed migrants and asylum seekers without informing them of their destination. Mass deportation is attempted through repatriation, and when this is not an option because detainees refuse to be repatriated or their country of origin refuse to receive them, “Asylum Cooperative Agreements” or “third-country” agreements have become the administration’s welcome alternative. For Trump and his band of bigots, no effort can be spared in their accomplishing mass deportation.

The threat of deportation to “third countries” is also used to leverage asylum seekers into relinquishing their rights and leaving the U.S. “voluntarily.” Even when detainees have protective court orders, immigration officials have been non-compliant. The Associated Press documented 250 cases of noncompliance.

The 1951 Refugees Act and the United Nations Convention Against Torture oblige countries to take into consideration the prospect of ill treatment of refugees at the hands of the state receiving them. The protection applies regardless of legal status. It is illegal to send a detainee to a country where they may face human rights abuses. But Trump’s administration is clearly indifferent to legality. Its approach has been to deny individuals the right to due process. They negotiate secret agreements and whisk detainees away on secret flights.

A Senate foreign relations committee found that the Trump administration had sent over \$32 million to African countries. These pacts between countries are also known as “safe third-country agreements.” Yet there is nothing “safe” about the countries in question. Eswatini continues to hold 19 men in unlawful detention after they arrived from the U.S. South Sudan is plagued by war and famine, and violence against civilians is rampant.

There is also the threat of the war in Sudan encroaching from the north. U.S. officials approached the South Sudanese government to accept eight deportees, with only one originally from South Sudan. In return, the government asked the U.S. to remove visa restrictions and lift sanctions on South Sudanese nationals, according to *Politico*. The U.S. had revoked visas in April of 2025 after demanding that the country accept return of their citizens.

Cameroon received 17 men and women from other African countries. The government detained the 17 and pressured them to return to



Spencer Platt / AFP / Getty Images

(Above) Federal agents drag away a man after his immigration hearing in New York City.

their native countries. While some of the detainees were ineligible for asylum in the U.S., they were under an order of protection from the courts. The U.S. deported West Africans to Ghana, who later were left stranded in Togo without documentation. The Trump administrations is not particular where they are sent, so long as they no longer reside in the United States.

The administration has resorted to bribery. Eswatini has accepted \$5 million to accept deportees, even those designated as “criminals and terrorists.” Equatorial Guinea received \$7 million. The Uganda Legal Society is acting on behalf of detainees who have been reduced to “little more than chattel, for the benefit of unnamed interests, on either side of the Atlantic” (“Externalizing Asylum”). The agreement between Uganda and the U.S. does not disclose whether there was any monetary compensation.

Trump’s administration made Rwanda a targeted destination (or dumping ground) for mass deportation. The country agreed to accept 250 deportees. Despite the claims of the previous British government, Rwanda by most accounts is not a safe country. In response to an inquiry regarding the killing of refugees, a Rwandan official stated, “It might have happened, so what?” (see Cristiano d’ Orsi, externalizingasylum.info). Security forces act with impunity and opposition forces are crushed.

Besides deaths in custody there are forced disappearances and threats to Rwandans living abroad. Yet, Trump’s commitment to the largest mass deportation in U.S. history outweighs concerns for human rights. All deference to civil and human rights are cast aside in accomplishing the administration’s ethnic and racial cleansing.

Like Trump, the Zionist project of ethnic cleans-

ing proceeds apace as well. Netanyahu’s government has proffered multiple African nations as a disposal point for the population of Gaza. Last year, Israel recognized the breakaway state of Somaliland. The motivation was twofold: establishing a foothold in east Africa and resettling Palestinians. Israel also floated the idea of sending the surviving population to Egypt and Sudan.

African is now a dumping site for the refugees of wars, racial and ethnic persecution, climate change, and famine. Conditions in much of the world are contributing to an exodus of biblical proportions worldwide. Meanwhile, rival imperialists continue to exploit Africa’s resources. The wealthy countries are not the solution but the source of the problem. Where does Africa fit within the world economy? Where it has always been, as a supplier of raw materials. It remains underdeveloped and reliant on extractive industry.

The European and U.S. relationship to the continent is proof of the barbaric nature of capitalism. After hundreds of years of hunting and kidnapping its people and plundering its resources, they now use Africa as a receptacle for the stateless.

Containing the African working class through exploitation, oppression, and the further cultivation of a corrupt bureaucracy is the modus operandi of imperialism. The workers and oppressed of Africa must reject these dehumanizing imperialist deportation treaties and organize against the comprador governments that accept them. Workers of the world must demand an end to the racist and barbaric immigration policies on both sides of the Atlantic. ■

May Day Strong's 'Affordability Agenda' —

Workers need a program of far-reaching action that is independent of the Democrats

Lisa Lake / Getty Images for May Day Strong



(Left) Workers Stand Up to Billionaires rally in Philadelphia on May 1, 2025.

By JOHN LESLIE

May Day Strong initiated a coalition of hundreds of trade unions and social justice groups to organize this year's May 1 walk-outs and protests. The nationwide actions centered on antiwar, pro-democracy, pro-labor, and immigrant rights demands.

A couple of months earlier, May Day Strong, together with sympathetic legislators from the Democratic Party and other allies, issued a programmatic document, "The Real Affordability Agenda," which tries to address the growing economic and social polarization between the rich and the working class.

For working-class people, the crisis of affordability has become more dire. Prices have been rising, rents are out of control, and many people work more than one job just to run in place. Many young workers are saddled with high debt from student loans. It's not lost on them that the government, which is quick to bail out banks and corporations, has done nothing to help them.

The Affordability Agenda highlights the basic bread and butter questions that form the affordability crisis, calling for affordable housing, good well-paying jobs and an end to wage stagnation, affordable universal needs such as "child care with fair provider wages, free school meals and expanded food assistance alongside anti-gouging measures." The Agenda also calls for free higher education, comprehensive health care for all, free public transit, and publicly controlled utilities.

While the planks in this program are both correct and supportable, there are limitations. If there is one lesson of the recent gutting of the Voting Rights Act, it is that no reform, no matter how hard won it might be, is permanent as long as capitalism continues to exist.

The growth of wealth inequality and the affordability crisis are the result of ruling-class attacks on working-class living standards. Capitalism delivers austerity for us and tax cuts for the ruling rich. U.S. workers, and workers around the world, have been subjected to more than 50 years of one-sided class war, with both capitalist parties complicit in these attacks. These attacks have accelerated during Trump's second term.

The limits of reformism

The response of the Democratic Party establishment has been tentative and inadequate. Failing to come to grips with their 2024 defeat by Donald Trump, the Democrats have decided that they have to move rightward and deemphasize social issues that could be seen as "woke."

While the base of the Democrats has increasingly rejected U.S. support for apartheid Israel, the party leadership has at best issued some mild criticisms of Israeli policy. Meanwhile, pro-Palestine progressives running in Democratic primaries have faced a massive funding onslaught by pro-Israel donors.

Formerly loyal Democratic constituencies—including many LGBTQ people, women, and Black people—should be prepared to be thrown under the bus if they haven't been already. The Democratic Party's social democratic wing has put forward alternatives similar to the Affordability Agenda, but these reforms will find little support inside a party that is fundamentally in service of capitalism.

Past gains made by African Americans, women, and LGBTQ people are under increasing attack. Key social safety net reforms like Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security itself are in peril. Much of the pushback against these attacks has been expressed in opposition to Trump. While Trump is an odious figure, many attacks on Trump fail to understand

the systemic problem that underlies this ruling-class offensive. To be clear, Trump could not achieve his horrific goals without the support of at least a section of the capitalist class. It's capitalism that's the problem, not the politicians who serve our rulers.

Does this mean that socialists oppose reforms and merely want to "wait for the revolution" to achieve change? No, socialists understand that it is necessary to fight for gains for the oppressed and working class now. In fact, the fight for these reforms will radicalize many of the activists leading these fights. As revolutionaries, we want to work side by side with all steadfast fighters for economic and social justice while explaining that reforms alone won't make fundamental change.

One essential ingredient of a strategy for fundamental change is the political independence of workers and the oppressed from ruling-class parties. Time and again, the Democrats have proven themselves to be a brake on social movements. The same is true of Democratic Party aligned NGOs, which serve to divert movements into the safe waters of electoralism and reform. Many movement leaders, from labor bureaucrats to the abortion rights movement and the Black freedom struggle, have subordinated themselves to the Democrats.

Emergency action program for class struggle

The capitalist system is in a crisis that is environmental, political, and economic. Our ruling class wages wars overseas, has financed and supported a genocide in Palestine, and is waging war against working-class people here at home. Democratic rights are quickly eroding and the gains of the Civil Rights Movement are in danger of reversal.

The emergency we face, caused by the acceleration of the ruling-class offensive, must be combated with working-class methods of struggle and a program that goes beyond reforms and points towards revolutionary change. Workers and the oppressed have the social and economic power to bring the system to halt. During the resistance to ICE thugs in Minneapolis, the movement demonstrated this by organizing the Jan. 23 walkouts, combined with a mass action of tens of thousands marching in the streets.

While Jan. 23 was not a true general strike, it did illustrate the potential of such a strike and helped a layer of workers to visualize their potential social power.

A Workers' Action Program to meet the current crisis must harness the power of workers, students, and the oppressed in a united fightback. Such a movement should be based on local, regional and national assemblies of trade unionists, community organizations, and organizations of the oppressed working to hammer out a program and course of action. ■

The deepening wars at home and abroad

Despite the massive nationwide resistance manifested in No Kings and May Day actions, the Trump regime continues to escalate its assault on working people at home and abroad. And in the face of truly heroic resistance by the Palestinian, Lebanese, Iranian, and Cuban people, the MAGA-controlled U.S. government is demanding additional billions of tax dollars be directed from social spending to assert the global dominance of the U.S. billionaire class.

To replace the stockpile of weapons depleted bringing misery to the Iranian people and bolstering Israel's power grab of Arab lands, the US government has begun demanding that job safety protections be gutted by terminating collective bargaining with two unions at the Portsmouth New Hampshire Naval Shipyard. As a warning

to all who are protesting these moves, the Trump administration recently appointed a new head of the federal immigration agency who comes out of the private prison industry and played a role in easing the prison to deportation pipeline. The move signals plans to increase the illegal use of ICE as Trump's political police in our cities and at the border, a border now meaningless to the US military operating inside Mexico.

And in a move common to all developing authoritarian regimes, on May 14, the MAGA-dominated Department of Justice indicated it would be creating a \$1.7 billion "judgment fund" to line the pockets of allies who were supposedly mistreated by the Biden administration. The creation of this kind of slush fund is a common way for "wannabe" dictators to buy compliance with

their anti-democratic plans.

In this issue of *Workers Voice* are articles explaining the logic of Trump's moves, the sad reality of Democratic Party complicity, and growing movement efforts to respond. A major article on the many local fights against data centers suggests that this is becoming a front against the tech oligarchy's dystopian vision for our country. A look at a victorious moment in labor history provides lessons for those who hope for a general strike as part of our fightback. And an analysis of the defeat of Hungarian authoritarian Victor Orban provides insight for our struggle.

If you find these articles useful, please share this issue with your friends and fellow activists.

— THE EDITORS

Mifepristone ruling means a huge fight ahead

By CHRISTINE MARIE

On May 14, the U.S. Supreme Court "kicked the can down the road" on medical abortion, saving some votes for Trump cronies in the mid-term elections but signaling to the rest of us that tele-health prescribing of mifepristone remains in danger. The Court decided that a lower-court decision from Louisiana that required patients, including those living in states with complete abortion bans, to visit a doctor's office to get a mifepristone prescription would remain "paused."

In the meantime, the issue would continue to be litigated in the lower courts and the part of the Republican base that remains pro-abortion would not be stirred up before voting. This maneuver has allowed the high court to expediently delay, but be ready use its powers to further erode the availability of reproductive health care when it is more politically convenient.

Simultaneously, on another front, the MAGA-run Food and Drug Administration, or FDA, is slow-walking an unnecessary and highly suspect review of mifepristone's safety that is expected to provide the right-wing opponents of reproductive justice more ammunition. Mifepristone is one-half of a first trimester medical abortion regimen that also includes the drug misoprotol, and has been proven safe after wide use. On March 25, 2024, *The New York Times* reviewed more than 100 scientific studies "spanning continents and decades" that found this practice safe.

MAGA action has not yet been suc-

cessful in reducing the total number of people who have been able to access abortion. Twenty-two states and Washington, D.C., where abortion remains legal, have enacted shield laws that offer some kind of protection to providers and patients in their jurisdiction from out-of-state law enforcement. States, providers, and abortion funds have been stocking up on supplies to prepare for a total ban. Because mifepristone is part of the preferred medical practice, but not absolutely essential for medical abortion, providers are preparing protocols for medical abortions using only misoprotol, a drug whose use is not currently under siege.

Yet, the Society for Maternal-Fetal Medicine has found that women in states with five or more abortion restrictions have had higher rates of maternal death than those states with fewer restrictions. Maternal death is strongly correlated with bans on Medicaid funding for abortion, ACA insurance coverage bans, mandated waiting periods, ultrasound requirements, biased counseling laws, and second trimester abortion bans.

The Gender Policy Institute reports that mothers living in states that banned abortion were nearly two times as likely to die during pregnancy, childbirth, or soon after giving birth. Black women in banned states are three times as likely to die in these circumstances. In Texas, maternal mortality rose 56% in the first full year of that state's abortion ban.

With unintended irony, on May 10, 2024, the day designated "Mother's Day" in the U.S., the Department of Health and Human Services launched

a website called "Moms.gov." This new government service directs women "who are navigating difficult or unexpected pregnancies" to crisis pregnancy centers, or what feminists call "fake clinics." These centers try to scare or shame women out of seeking abortions under the guise of support.

The handwriting is on the wall. MAGA forces hope to use their new authoritarian powers to gut reproductive health care and control of their bodies by people who can get pregnant.

When fully unleashed, these forces intend to end not only abortion access but hormonal birth control and in-vitro fertilization. According to journalist Emily Amick, the conservative women's media outlet *Evie Magazine*, backed by far-right tech billionaire Peter Thiel, averages one anti-birth-control article per month.

The new Heritage Foundation report called "Saving America by Saving the Family" argues for replacing science-backed infertility treatments like IVF with the ideologically-loaded practice of "restorative reproductive medicine" (RRM). To ensure population growth, the "Saving the Family" report even advocates taking student loans away from women so that they do not delay childbirth by trying to get an undergraduate college degree or establish a career.

The sheer scale and completeness of the MAGA vision for ending individual control over reproduction must be absorbed. The far right, flush with new political power, is beginning the fight for a national natal policy. They are proposing to fund measures that stimulate the growth of a regressive

AFP / Getty Images



system of patriarchal families, birthing and raising children who will thrive in an authoritarian society.

Only a truly mass movement, in the streets, and daily organizing new millions to struggle for a reproductive justice can effectively defeat this reactionary drive. Women's organizations that subordinate our struggle to a Democratic Party electoral strategy oppose this mass action strategy, but they must be overcome, first by local organizing and then by local grassroots groups connecting to build an independent national movement.

Let's begin. ■



Gutting of Voting Rights Act attempts to deny democracy to all working people

By CHRISTINE MARIE

On April 29, the U.S. Supreme Court, ruling on the case of *Louisiana v. Callais*, granted Louisiana the right to gerrymander voting districts to make Black representation to Congress nearly impossible. Within days of the verdict, other white Southern state governors and legislators rushed to use the ruling to squash the electoral voice of the Black community. This includes efforts in Alabama, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

These moves signaled that Section 2, a 1982 amendment to the 1965 Voting Rights Act that strengthened the act by requiring that the courts need not prove “intentional discrimination,” but only “the presence of discriminatory effects,” was dead. With this act and the resulting rush of a number of the former states of the Confederacy to dismantle Black voting districts, the Court and the Republican Party are attempting to render void one the great conquests of the U.S. Civil Rights movement and put the political rights of all working people in greater danger than any time in the recent past.

In the course of this rush to dismantle democratic norms, the Speaker of the Alabama House, Nathaniel Ledbetter, expressed his hope—undoubtedly nurtured in far-right think tanks—that the Supreme Court would next “overturn the 14th Amendment” to the U.S. Constitution. That is the one that includes birthright citizenship, but also says that no state should deny anyone in their jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

In addition, it states that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

The 14th Amendment was ratified after the Civil War, and supporters of civil rights and Black self-determination have been trying to implement it ever since. The white supremacists who were given new momentum by the High Court ruling are imagining being relieved of all restrictions to their attempt to turn back the clock and to gaining new legal support to limit political rights on a scale beyond what is afforded by diluting the Black vote.

In this dystopian, white supremacist scenario, the disenfranchisement of millions of Black, Chicano, and other oppressed populations will create the circumstances in which a growing pool of low-waged workers will have little capacity to make an electoral impact on government policy affecting wages, working conditions, and social support in the realm of education, health care, housing, and unionization.

Overtaking the gains of the Civil Rights movement has been on the agenda of the U.S. far right since the day that the schools were first ordered desegregated. As Nancy McLean wrote in her 2017 “Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right’s Stealth Plan for America,” when the U.S. Supreme Court issued a second *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1956, it immediately prompted right-wing intellectuals committed to the then current political economy of the South to set up an academic center at the University of Virginia under the leadership of Patrick M. Buchanan.

These forces feared that future Supreme Court rulings might interfere with other state action said to be in violation of the 14th Amendment’s guarantee of equal protection under the law, a scheme that they saw as replacing “state’s rights” with “individual rights,” and they specifically worried about the potential for changes to labor law and their ability to ma-

Marching in Alabama

Thousands joined marches in Selma and Montgomery, Ala., on May 16 to protest redistricting by Republican-majority state legislatures in the South. The measures will severely restrict voting rights and curtail representation by several Black Democratic members of Congress.

The events included a march by some 400 people over the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma (see photo) evoking the historic marches from Selma to Montgomery for Black voting rights.

In February 1965, on “Bloody Sunday,” police attacked the marchers as they crossed the bridge. Later that year, following a third Selma march led by Martin Luther King, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act.

Following the Selma commemoration on May 16, a rally took place outside the state capitol building in Montgomery—where the Confederacy was formed in 1861. It drew over 5000 people and featured politicians, activists, and veterans of the civil rights movement.

The two events were a focus of the All Roads Lead to the South campaign. The actions were called soon after the U.S. Supreme Court, in deciding the *Louisiana v. Callais* case, gutted the Voting Rights Act, which bans racial discrimination in voting and election laws.

nipulate elections.

This moment, McLean argues, stands as one of the ideological beginnings for the current drive of the billionaire-backed far right to undo the level of democratic governance won by working people to date. The Heritage Foundation’s “Project 2025,” while born directly from the global economic crises of the early 21st century, is also the intellectual product of nearly 70 years of planning to stop the increased democratization of the U.S. that began with the fight to desegregate the schools.

As Quinn Slobodian, the author of “Hayek’s Bastards” (2025), puts it, right-wing economists believed that the civil rights movement begat the movements for feminism, affirmative action, and ecological consciousness, and these, in turn, resulted in millions demanding “redress of inequality” at the expense of profit. The ideological right saw these movements, which argued that inequality was systemic rather than genetic and which legitimized demands for government social spending, as posing an existential threat to the efficient workings of capitalism.

The parts of the capitalist class rooted in white supremacist ideology have always seen the Black movement for equality as opening the door to unwanted advances by labor, women, and environmentalists as well. The current efforts to dilute the Black vote are just the beginning of their efforts to retool the U.S. economy in interests of their flailing profit system and against the interests of all working people.

Thus, the whole movement against the Trump regime must put everything into the fight to push back that attack on Black voting rights. The struggle of the Black community must become the struggle of all workers and supporters of civil liberties. ■

By DAN ADAM

On May 9, the Hungarian parliament inaugurated Peter Magyar as prime minister, officially ending 16 years of rule by Viktor Orban and his Fidesz party. The election has implications well beyond Hungary as Orban has played a major role in right-wing politics globally. Not only has his nationalist offensive on democratic rights and institutions become a leading model for rightist projects, but it has helped to develop an international network of ethno-nationalist and far-right forces, including shared think tanks and media resources.

Project 2025, for instance, is not merely influenced by Orban's work; his organizations helped craft it. In turn, J.D. Vance (and other MAGA figures) helped campaign for Orban—though in vain. On Election Day, Orban's Fidesz party won a mere 38.6% of the vote to Tisza's 53.2%

Making sense of Orban's electoral defeat—what it means and how it happened—is important for all seeking to defeat rising reactionary movements around the globe.

Orban's dominance of the Hungarian political apparatus began in 2010, in the midst of a crisis of the neoliberal project brought on by the 2008/2009 financial crash. He directed outrage away from the capitalist class as such, and toward foreign elites, immigrants, progressive social values, the LGBTQI+ community, Muslims, Jews, and other scapegoats. He promised economic development for Hungary through greater independence from Western economic and political powers, national renewal and a rejection of progressive values and rights. He used a landslide victory to restructure much of Hungary's political structure, including the constitution.

Orban developed relationships with powers outside the EU and NATO and made progress towards integrating Hungary into the supply chains of economic powers like Germany. Still, in a world-capitalist system wracked by competition, low profit rates, plague, war, and instability, these strategies could only go so far.

By 2026, Orban's project had suffered through protracted crises. Facing sustained inflation and worsened prospects, workers had left the country in droves, depopulating Hungary by roughly half a million since 2011 (about 5% of the country!). Movements emerged to challenge Orban's program, with mass protests in 2018 against the so-called "slave law" (which allows employers to mandate compulsory overtime, whose payment they can delay up to three years), mass protests and strikes by teachers in 2022, and unprecedented Pride marches in June of 2025.

Meanwhile, the corruption of Fidesz became more visible and onerous across classes, and estrangement from Western powers led the EU to block billions of euros in aid. For many, the regime's rot was expressed vividly by child abuse in state institutions and the government moves to cover it up.

Peter Magyar, Hungary's new prime minister, comes out of the higher ranks of Orban's Fidesz party, starting in its youth organization and marrying (later divorcing) Judit Varga, the justice minister under Fidesz. Magyar left Fidesz and took over the previously obscure Tisza Party two years ago. Magyar has rhetorically distinguished himself from Fidesz through promises to weed out corruption, restore democratic norms, and reconnect with Western powers in the EU and NATO. He has also promised to repair the health-care system and to renationalize and democratize higher education.

Magyar has committed to continue the same anti-immigrant policies promoted by Fidesz, even promising to go further than his former party by sending more troops to the Serbian border. On labor, Magyar (like Orban) refused to even meet with trade unions to hear

Elections in Hungary: Does Magyar's victory point to major policy changes?



(Above) Peter Magyar, the new premier of Hungary.

their demands. He is quite close with heads of industry, several of whom have already been awarded government posts. Despite pledging to arrest the war criminal Benjamin Netanyahu if he came to Hungary, upon winning the election, Magyar made sure that Netanyahu was the first foreign head of state he spoke to by phone.

Magyar stayed away from the massive Pride march of June 2025 and avoided speaking about LGBTQI+ rights (for or against) during his campaign. In his acceptance speech, he said that "everyone can live with, and love, whomever they want, as long as they do not violate the laws and do not harm others"—a Janus-faced statement if ever there was one.

More than just being vague, Magyar here provides the pretext to violate the rights he professes to defend in the very same statement. His own former party has passed laws which outlaw pride parades and distribution of materials depicting LGBTQ people or culture under the guise of preventing harm to children. In Hungary today, defending the right of everyone "to live with and love whomever they want" means violating the law.

As the independent Budapest-based scholar Anita Zsurzsan puts it: "The Magyar government represents not a break with Orbanism, but its reformulation: a more disciplined, EU-compatible, technocratic version of the same nationalist, exclusionary order. The project has changed hands, not foundations."

The import of Orban's program for working people is not the narrowing of decision-makers and exploiters to a smaller clique, or the orientation towards one or another great power, but the use of racism, nationalism, xenophobia, transphobia, homophobia and other reactionary ideologies to redirect anger away from capital and to atomize and discipline the working class.

For those who wish to be more than observers, it is important to draw a tricky but critical distinction. Orban's defeat in the election does represent a temporary set-back for authoritarianism, in that it was made necessary by the exhaustion of Fidesz's program and the rise of mass movements to oppose it. But the support that Magyar received from this opposition creates a setback for these movements and the working class, as

they have handed much political credibility to a party committed to continuing the same social program as Orban—despite any tactical retreats it might make.

Consider the extent of the opposition. The labor protests of 2018 drew 15,000 at their peak and raised the question of general strikes. The 2022 teachers' strikes brought some 40,000 out for an indefinite strike and 50,000 for solidarity protests. The Pride march of 2025 put between 100,000 and 200,000 on the street—in defiance of a law against Pride marches that the government promised to enforce using facial recognition software. After the action, the government backed down and declined to prosecute marchers.

And so, by the time of Orban's electoral defeat, his power to divide and intimidate had already been fatally undermined. And the Queer community had already won more rights in action than Magyar would ever promise them.

Meanwhile, in order to support Magyar, the Hungarian Socialist Party withdrew from elections altogether. And so, Magyar was handed the same authoritarian apparatus and the same two-thirds majority as Orban, but without any visible left opposition. The only other parties in parliament are to his right, and unlike Orban, much of the left has endorsed him!

The movements to defend the rights of working people will need to find their bearings once again. If they do not do so quickly, they might find their good names dragged down with Magyar's as his program meets the realities of today's capitalist decay. After all, it is the left's association with the neoliberal offensive in Hungary and elsewhere that created the openings for figures like Orban and Trump in the first place.

This experience reveals the power of mass movements to upend the power of authoritarians even when their position appears secure. It also puts in bold the need for independent working-class political organization that can help such struggles to grow in power, rather than be driven into the arms of those who wish to make a meal of them. ■

Struggles intensify against data centers

NBC News



By M.A. AL-GHARIB

The explosion of artificial intelligence over the past couple of years has been breathtaking. Seemingly from nothing, it has now become the carrier not only of Big Tech's most unhinged fantasies but also that of capital more generally. The claims of its most fervent believers—that it will replace most human labor and that it will initiate a new age of unlimited capitalist growth—will inevitably fall short of expectations. But even if we won't see multibillion-dollar corporations run entirely by AI agents anytime in the near future, the future AI that capital foresees for the rest of humanity reveals itself in its new "satanic mills," the AI data centers popping up all over the United States. Marx once wrote that mechanization under class society provides new weapons by which the ruling class can dominate the working class.

Companies like Apple, Meta, Alphabet, Microsoft, Nvidia, and Amazon, "all of which have staked their futures on the use of artificial intelligence," now make up about 30 percent of the S&P 500. AI spending is not only a main driver of global profitability; it is propping up the real economy in both the U.S. and globally. Spending by tech companies on AI infrastructure was \$375 billion globally in 2025 and is projected to rise to over \$700 billion in 2026. Moreover, as *The New York Times* reported last summer, asset management firms estimate such spending to reach \$7 trillion in the next decade.

The ancillary industries forecasting AI-data center related growth include infrastructure analytics and imaging, energy suppliers (for example, battery makers) and storage services, nuclear energy, construction and building materials, as well as electrician services, engineering, and heavy-equipment

firms. All of this enthusiasm, however, has industry insiders already warning of an imminent bust.

Similar to other cycles of "irrational exuberance," the AI boom rests on a house of cards: debt, speculation, and financial chicanery. In reality, the industry is groaning under hundreds of billions of dollars of debt. Tech giants are accruing this debt through the same "highly securitized" financial instruments that brought down the 2008 housing bubble. It's an understatement to say that their profit expectations are highly optimistic and that a bust would devastate not only the aforementioned industries servicing it, but the wider real economy as well.

Opposition to data centers is spreading

The top tech firms, or "hyperscalers" as they're referred to in industry jargon, are expected to spend approximately \$710 billion on data centers across North America in 2026. To outcompete their rivals, hyperscalers must construct data centers as quickly as possible. The computing power needed for this is gargantuan, putting enormous burdens on existing power grids and water sources. Alternatively, hyperscalers can opt to build their own onsite power generation facilities. But either way, they are usually required to go through local permitting application processes.

That's where the resistance has come in places as diverse as California's central valley, Georgia, Maine, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin—along with sovereign Indigenous lands. There are moratorium bills in over a dozen state legislatures, and the number is set to grow. A Pew Research poll recently found that Americans have more negative views of AI than people in any other country it has polled.

In 2025, local protests in the U.S. succeeded in

blocking 48 projects worth over \$150 billion. Grassroots local protests have stiffened the backs of local councils and legislative bodies, which have put up increasingly disruptive (from the perspective of corporate hyperscalers) legislative hurdles to new centers. One industry insider, Aniket Shah, a managing director at the investment bank Jefferies, expects even deeper resistance and mounting legislative pushback in the future.

In Maine, the Democratic Party-controlled legislature passed an 18-month statewide moratorium that would have only affected "large" centers—those using more than 20 megawatts of power. The bill reflected the resistance of Mainers. Localities all over the state have pushed back not only on the potential environmental impacts of proposed centers, but also on potential blackouts and lack of transparency and community participation. In April, however, Democratic Governor Janet Mills vetoed the bill.

Virginia is another telling example. The commonwealth was one of the earliest places in the U.S. where data centers—servicing federal government cloud computing demands—were built. However, as the centers' enormous demands on electricity and water along with their negative impacts, such as increased noise levels and poorer air quality, became clearer to local communities, they rose up in resistance. One prominent slogan in the Virginia data center protests has focused on community control of local policy.

Environmental racism

It is not just their electricity demands that are raising these communities' hackles. (One such center consumes as much energy as 100,000 households, the largest as many as 2 million.) These energy "needs" indirectly promote other polluting and dangerous forms of energy, such as coal and nuclear. These centers run super hot and require oceans of water: by 2028, it is estimated that data centers will consume as much water as the indoor needs of 18.5 million U.S. households (a U.S. household, it should be remembered, is itself an enormously disproportionate contributor to the global carbon footprint). The residents of one Georgia county expect their water bills to rise over 33 percent over the next two years. A typical annual increase is 2 percent.

Air pollution, dumped by centers sited in working-class and racialized communities; the depletion of public funds owing to tax breaks by "business friendly" state legislatures; the e-waste and heavy metals that will likely be dumped onto semicolonial and Global South workers; the undermining and imminent devastation of working conditions—material and psychological—among white-collar workers.

As a result of the aforementioned resistance, tech companies are increasingly targeting more vulnerable racialized, rural, and Indigenous communities as locations for new data centers.

In Mississippi and Tennessee, the NAACP is suing

(continued on page 9)

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Elon Musk's X, whose xAI data centers are dumping massive amounts of methane and other toxins in historically Black communities with long experience of environmental racism. The region's "Colossus" and "Colossus II," the xAI data centers running on makeshift power plants, are gargantuan facilities. Colossus II covers 1 million square feet in Southaven, Miss. *The Guardian* points out that Colossus I, in the industrial zone of Memphis, Tenn., is only a few miles from "residential neighborhoods that have long dealt with harmful pollution, including Boxtown, a neighborhood that was established by formerly enslaved people after emancipation in the 19th century." The over two dozen gas turbines at Southaven together have capacity to emit 1700 tons per year of chemicals, including nitrogen oxides and formaldehyde. Community members and organizers have been mobilizing protests at both sites around slogans such as the right to clean air.

Hyperscalers also target Native American communities who have experienced centuries of colonial violence and environmental racism. These companies see Indigenous sovereignty practices and laws as opportunities to evade the legislative resistance mentioned above. While companies promise to bring new employment to such communities, in fact these centers threaten displacement and the undermining of Indigenous food and care systems. As reported in a recent article in *Mother Jones*, this has been the experience of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation in Oklahoma, whose Looped Square Ranch, "a 5,570-acre plot of land where the tribe runs its food sovereignty initiative" is currently under threat.

Activists with Honor the Earth, an Indigenous nonprofit, explain that there are currently "at least 106 proposed data center projects near or on Native lands." Native activists see proposed data centers as a part of the long history of ongoing colonialism, of Indigenous dispossession, and the despoliation of Indigenous lands, a recent example being the Dakota Access Pipeline in 2016.

Similar to other parts of the United States, Indigenous communities have organized to fight what they rightly see as colonial invasions. Along with founding the Stop Data Colonialism coalition, Honor the Earth has helped organize local Indigenous resistance movements with some success: under pressure from the movement, the movement has won moratoriums or outright bans passed in both Tulsa and Coweta, Okla., and in the Seminole Nation in the northern part of the state.

Threats of mass unemployment

Since 1980, we've seen a widening split between white-collar wage workers and blue-collar wage workers. As the U.S. imperial project began to decline in the 1970s, the latter grouping was hit particularly hard, seeing wage stagnation and even regression along with massive declines in unionization. The former, white-collar wage workers, actually benefited as a sector of the working class, partaking in the rise of financialization (debt) to power its credentialing in universities and its consumerism. However, since the 2008 financial crisis, white-collar wage earners too have started seeing their gains disappear under the neoliberal regime, with more and more members of this sector falling into unpayable debt and unemployment.

Now, with the emergence of AI as a mass consumer technology over the past two to three years, we see increasingly onerous disruptions of the work process and threats of imminent mass unemployment



(Photo) Trump touts a new Meta data center that would be the size of Manhattan.

in the white-collar sector. Figures like OpenAI chief Sam Altman are becoming more open and vocal about their ultimate goal: corporations valued in the multibillions run entirely by AI agents.

White-collar workers now see a near future, if not a present, of deskilling, mass unemployment, and material and mental devastation. As this sector becomes proletarianized, it loses the privileged place it once had under neoliberalism and joins blue-collar workers already thrashed by decades of neoliberal deindustrialization. This opens the possibility for a truly powerful united movement of the two sectors, around slogans like "democratic" or "community" control of tech, democratic control of the economy, the centering of human needs over profits, universal socialized health care and other care work, etc.

Despite the splits that Trumpism has been causing between the two ruling-class parties and the real contradictions between the respective social bases of those parties, the U.S. capitalist class and the bourgeois parties are united in their promotion of artificial intelligence and the tech sector more broadly as weapons in the inter-imperialist conflict with China. We mean weapons in both the literal and metaphorical senses: AI is at the vanguard for development of military and surveillance technologies for use in current and future military confrontations and is also seen by the U.S. ruling class as an instrument for the maintenance of U.S. hegemony. Dystopian phenomena like AI-agents/cops and "predictive" warfare have surged beyond the borders of speculative fiction into contemporary reality for colonized and working-class people.

Marx argues in *Capital*, vol. 1, that it is possible to compose a "whole history" of innovations in machinery since the early days of the industrial revolution "for the sole purpose of providing capital with weapons against working-class revolt" (p. 563). This insight resonates with the existential level of threat felt by the entire working class, regardless of credentials, in our own times. But more than this, data centers and the larger explosion of exuberance around AI are symptomatic of a more general crisis, a crisis expressed not only by the devaluing of work, but also in attacks on local communities and the environment along with attacks on Indigenous and racialized communities.

In *Capital*, Marx already saw the emerging "metabolic rift" caused by machinery and large-scale industry as the deepest contradiction of capitalism.

This was expressed during Marx's time, and to great extent also during our own, in the industrialization of agriculture and in the overproduction crises in the capitalist heartlands that, in turn, impel capitalist powers to engage in colonialism.

We can extrapolate directly from agricultural mechanization in the 19th century to robotics and AI in our own time. As Marx writes in *Capital*, "Capitalist production collects the population together in great centres, and causes the urban population to achieve an ever-growing preponderance. This has two results. On the one hand it concentrates the historical motive power of society; on the other hand, it disturbs the metabolic interaction between man and earth [...] Capitalist production, therefore, only develops the techniques and the degree of combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the worker" (vol. 1, pp. 637 - 638). Presciently, Marx saw that this dynamic, set loose by the capitalist mode of production, would inevitably lead to ever more devastating crises.

The inherent tendency of capitalism toward crises, along with the far more frequent and severe crises since the 1970s, relative to the post-World War II Keynesian *trente glorieuses*, is well known. The dynamics we see today with AI not only echo the post-1970s era. Like seemingly everything else AI touches, it speeds these up: already, more sober economists and business strategists are warning of an imminent collapse. The madness of AI's boosters and sobriety of its skeptics are nearly simultaneous.

The attacks that AI visits on communities, the working class, and the planet—the deep disruptions so obviously benefitting only the wealthy few—are so broad and widely felt that these have the potential to unite all sectors of the working class along with Indigenous and racialized communities across disparate national regions and international borders.

The task for revolutionaries is to clarify these connections and articulate these sentiments into a unified struggle. Only a unification of these struggles under a revolutionary program for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a system that serves human needs and planetary health over the profits of a tiny minority can lead our class, and our planet, out of the crisis. ■

Immigrant workers fight back at JBS

A three-week strike in Greeley, Col. of some 3800 union meatpacking workers at the Swift Beef Co. plant owned by JBS USA was the first major strike in the industry since the 1985 year-long shut-down of Hormel in Austin, Minn. Between March 16 and April 4 of this year, a predominately immigrant workforce shut down one of the largest beef processing plants in the country.

Beyond the “bread and butter” issues of wages, healthcare and safety, this strike had political implications about the ability of immigrant workers to organize and fight back against employer and government attacks in the workplace and community.

A major highlight of this strike is how an industrial union workforce, made up of dozens of differ-

ent ethnicities, with varying degrees of immigration status, under a repressive Trump government stood up to the Batista brothers, who run JBS. The brothers are one of Trump’s major corporate donors and allies and in today’s political climate certainly represent an added danger to immigrant workers. JBS will revoke immigrant workers’ visas just like it did in Ottumwa, Iowa, in 2025, when 200 workers from Haiti, Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua were asked to self-deport after Trump ended Temporary Legal Status (TPS) for over 500,000 refugees from those countries.

However, one antidote to Trump and ICE’s terror of immigrant communities is collectively walking off the job and hitting the picket line to stand up to

the bosses and politicians. Immigrant workers in unions fighting for economic gains and protections on the job can give the immigrant community a powerful vehicle for waging a more potent political struggle against attacks on civil liberties.

Prior to the strike UFCW Local 7 partnered with the Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition and other immigrant rights groups to address abuses of workers at JBS, following an influx of new members from Haiti and French-speaking African countries.

The strike raised questions about the difficulties workers face in winning contracts that deliver big economic packages and make meaningful long term-gains. But what the strike lacked in financial impact it made up for as an example of fearless union members coming together from dozens of different ethnic backgrounds to stand up and fight.

— ERNIE GOTTA



Minnesota Historical Society

1933: Workers take on Hormel and win

By ERNIE GOTTA

In reviewing the prospects for a renewed union struggle in the meatpacking industry, it is worthwhile to consider the strategies and tactics employed by militant workers in the industry almost a century ago.

In *Workers’ Voice*, we often point to the Trotskyist-led 1934 Teamster strike in the Minneapolis coal yards—and the general strike that followed—as an example for workers to follow. At the same time, about an hour and 45 minutes up the road, workers led by former IWW militant Frank Ellis were organizing meatpackers at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minn.

The two organizing efforts would join forces to win wage, safety, and benefit standards previously unheard of in these industries. The victories in this era gave a large immigrant workforce from predominantly Scandinavian countries a leg up in their fight against the bosses.

Workers in this period faced low wages, unsafe conditions, and abuses from the bosses. In order to change Hormel’s

practices, Frank Ellis organized workers to take bold action. When the workers realized that people were scabbing and allowing the production to continue, hundreds stormed the plant and chased out the managers and either won over or evicted scabbing workers. This is widely seen as the first sit-down strike in the U.S., a tactic that would define the rise of industrial unionism under the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the pre-war and post-war strike waves.

The strike ended after a three-day siege of the plant. The result was the formation of the Independent Union of All Workers, organized on an industrial basis, and included significant economic gains for both the men and women working in the plant. Perhaps most important was the ability of the workers to shut down production for any reason. This precedent of workers’ power on the shop floor helped keep the abuses of the bosses in check.

In “Organizing ‘Wall-to-Wall’” by Peter Rachleff, Frank Ellis is quoted as saying: “Most of our strikes were sit-down, sit-down right on the job and not do a

damn bit of work until we got it settled. ... We had strikes every day. Hell, if a fellow farted crooked we would strike about it.”

Hired in 1928 at the Hormel plant as a foreman, Ellis was able to keep a low profile and help veteran socialists and trade unionists get hired. Rachleff again quotes Ellis: “I’d send out and get rebels that I knew from other towns to come in and go to work, and I’d work them during the rush season, see. Then, when it came to lay off time, instead of laying them off, I’d go to some other boss and say, ‘Here, I’ve got a good man. And I hate like hell to lay him off. Can you use him? And I’ll take him back as soon as business starts up.’ And I’d place him in the plant and scatter him out.

“Well, he was an old union man. He knew what to do. I didn’t have to tell him. He knew the idea was to get in there with the gang and to get them emotionally moved so they’d be ready to organize when the time came.”

The victories in meatpacking in the 1930s would undo the decades of abuse suffered under the Hormel family, who were known as “Benevolent Dictators.”

The ability of rank-and-file workers to take ownership of the fight and beat the bosses was directly related on their ability to organize using an independent, militant, and democratic union model built from the shop floor. What does this mean for the struggle meatpacking and all union workers today?

The perspective of socialists and class-conscious labor militants going in to organize a shop and develop shop-floor militancy, trade-union democracy, and a politicization of the workforce is an essential part of developing the class struggle. This is what creates lasting and meaningful gains for the class.

The fact that today so many socialists—from *Workers’ Voice* to the DSA—are developing perspectives for the labor movement and trying to put them into practice is important. All of these different efforts will be tested in the course of developing a class-struggle left-wing in organized labor, and the working class will begin to utilize the best examples that are effective and build massive strike picket lines that scabs are unable to cross.

What would be possible if union immigrant workers ready to strike linked up with the millions around the country mobilizing against Trump’s attacks on immigrants and civil liberties? The powerful combination of labor and the mass movement could deliver a blow to the MAGA/America First agenda and at the same time deliver meaningful wage, safety, and retirement benefits in the dangerous meatpacking industry.

A few words of caution: Such a movement to make a lasting impact cannot be hustled into the Democratic Party come election time. The Democrats have shown again and again that their party is pro-war, anti-immigrant, and anti-worker. To hustle the masses at election time for a vote for Democrats would lead our efforts to the graveyard of all social movements.

We need to keep the movement independent and in the streets, and keep working through common struggle toward building a political party of the working class. ■

By B. COOPER

In the imperialist war initiated by the U.S. and Israel, the environmental consequences have been particularly vile for the Iranian people. The consequences will last for decades and affect the whole region. Indeed, in the near future we can expect more environmentally destructive and ultimately pointless wars to be waged by U.S. imperialism, powered by AI and justified by genocidal rhetoric.

Israel's bombing of Tehran's oil depot on March 8 will be remembered as one of history's worst environmental disasters and war crimes. Four storage sites and one logistics hub were hit, causing huge amounts of oil to burn and fill the sky as thick black smoke. It returned to the Earth as acidic *oil rain*. This is because the oil chemically converts to sulfur and nitrogen compounds when mixed with rain.

This resulted in life-threatening effects for working people, who were advised by Iranian health and environmental authorities to shelter indoors to protect themselves from the acid rain, protect or discard exposed food, and wear masks if it were necessary to go outdoors. Horrid accounts from working people (Tehran alone has a population of 10 million) complain of black rain, difficulty breathing, burning eyes and throats.

Much of the city was covered in a thin layer of soot. There are cancer risks associated with lung and skin exposure to fossil fuels and their byproducts, especially if these byproducts enter the municipal water system or exposed surface water (a problem for communities located near oil production in the U.S.). This attack also led to longer term environmental harms. The whole region will also have to contend with the possible long-term effects on agriculture. Several locals observed the disappearance of local wildlife, mainly birds.

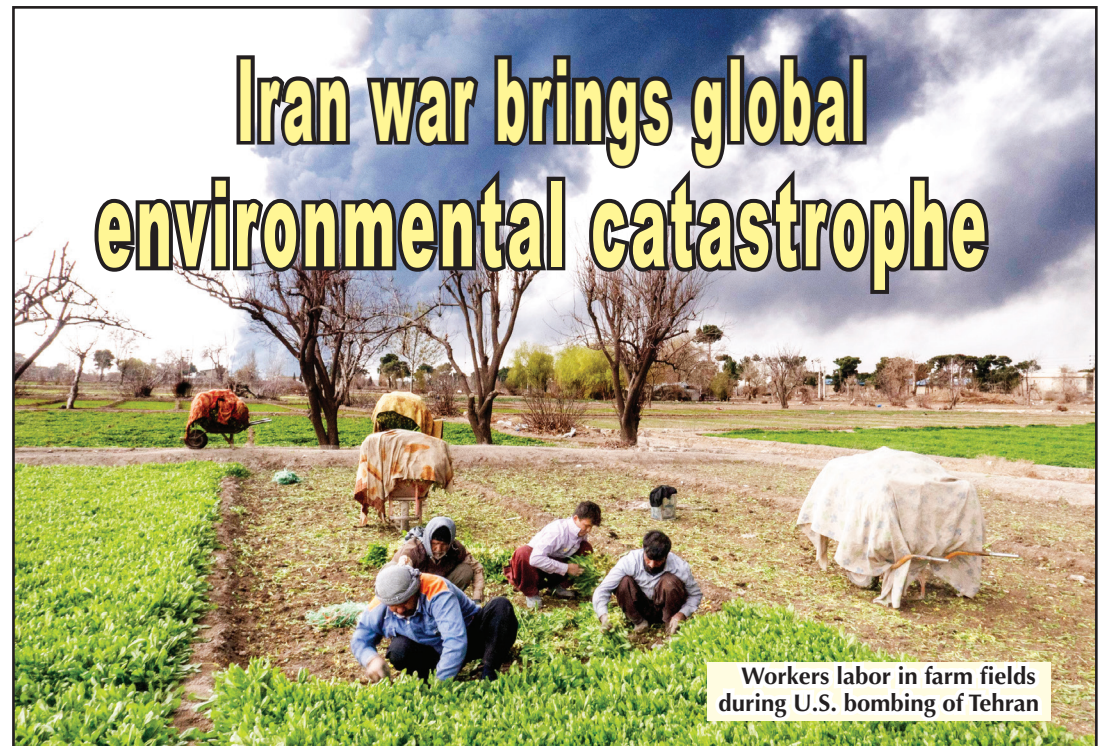
Due to retaliatory attacks on regional oil production by Iran (not being in a position to directly retaliate against the U.S. militarily), these direct environmental harms have engulfed the Middle East. Fuel production in Bahrain, Iraq, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Oman have been attacked, as well as multiple tankers in the Persian Gulf. So besides the direct environmental harms to people described above, this war—whose responsibility lays totally at the feet of the U.S. and Israel—adds unacceptable levels of CO2 emissions to the Earth's atmosphere as a whole, and thus represents an attack on the health of the whole planet, not simply on any given nation or set of nations.

The U.S. military is estimated to have released over 2 billion metric tons of greenhouse gases merely during the first week of the war, according to the Greeney carbon accounting platform. In a period when all the world's nations should be working in concert to reduce fossil fuel emissions and safeguard the vitality of future generations, the insanity of capitalism leads us to do the opposite; fossil fuel pollution explodes, as do Israeli bombs, over the heads of the children of the Middle East.

Releasing chemicals; bombing water facilities

Explosions and burning of industrial installations or farms can release untold chemical compounds into the atmosphere or the soil. Experts are concerned by the possible long-term implications of hitting ammonia plants, rubber production, storage for fertilizers, burning building materials (like asbestos), etc. The U.S. and Israel to date have hit over 16,000 targets in Iran, and Iran in turn has retaliated on thousands of targets across the region.

The question of nuclear material still lingers. After all, the previous round of attacks on Iran in June 2025 were for the stated purpose of ending Iran's nuclear program (a program they have every right to



Workers labor in farm fields during U.S. bombing of Tehran

Majid Saeedi / Getty Images

pursue!) which had only questionable success.

Today, in 2026, both the Iranian authorities and Trump (in harangues on Truth Social) have made threats against civilian infrastructure, notably water salinization plants and power plants. The people of the Gulf states, including Iran, live in arid climates, and it is a technical and cultural achievement in itself that millions of people can get potable water in a desert. That requires desalination plants, which take seawater and convert it to drinking water and the energy that keeps them going. Anyone attacking a desalination plant would be committing a war crime.

What's worse is that the Persian Gulf states, including Iran, are facing an historic drought. Iran already claims that the U.S. attacked one desalination plant, so far. A mass attack on desalination plants and their power plants in Iran by the U.S. and Israel would be a direct attack on the lives of the people of Iran. Furthermore, given Iran's current position militarily and its prevailing tactic of targeting U.S. proxies in the region, such a move by the Trump administration could provoke a counterattack by Iran on desalination plants regionally.

It would constitute one of history's worst humanitarian crises, laid again at the feet of the U.S. and Israel. Working people in the U.S. must oppose this with all their might!

In addition to humans, the animal and plant inhabitants of the region suffer from the war as well. Marine biologists are concerned for several critically endangered species of marine wildlife in both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Normal container/tanker traffic alone produces plenty of noise and collisions that injure or kill marine animals.

But exploding bombs and ships on the surface of the water, as well as undersea mines, produce enormous shockwaves that cause injury, disorientation, and even deafness in animals. Of course, if the ships carry oil, fertilizer or other chemical compounds not normally found in the ecosystem, this puts life at risk.

Several species that use the Strait of Hormuz as a migration route, such as whales, manatees, sharks, turtles, and dugongs are under attack. Species of fish vital to local commercial fishing may be at risk too—including over 700 species in the Persian Gulf, such as mackerels and tuna.

Worse still is how war causes the economics of

capitalism to chew away at the global environment, which we see with deforestation occurring because of the Iran war. How so? Because of rising fuel costs due to the war (and market volatility due to tariffs that impact U.S. farmers), the Trump administration is mandating a boost in biofuel production. Biofuels require the growth of more crops like soybeans and corn, which generally require the cutting of forests (and encroachment on prairie lands) to make room. The U.S. doesn't have enough domestic production of vegetable oil and so must import vegetable oil. Research finds that this will encourage 7 million additional acres of global deforestation. Here's the kicker: that would create more carbon emissions than the added biofuels would save.

Under global capitalism, nature is considered a "free lunch" as it were, *external to production, rather than a vital component of reproduction*. So go-getting entrepreneurs look at any war as another opportunity to make a profit, which our government encourages. Because ordinary people—the working class—do not control production democratically, the social and environmental consequences of capitalist production go continually out of control.

Workers' organized response

One of the obvious evils of imperialism and Zionism is that these horrors are not a concern from their point of view. Their goal is the strategic defeat of "the enemy," and the devastation to either civilian life (of which Israel and Trump make no distinction) or to the health of the Earth as a whole does not enter the calculation.

Only narrow strategic calculations matter to our immoral ruling class. Their outlook and their actions will by necessity lead to our mutual and collective destruction. The modern world cannot long survive this lack of wisdom and lack of respect for nature.

These ecological and humanitarian concerns are reason enough why working people in the United States must organize to dismantle the military machine and also end all aid to Israel. At the same time, Iranian workers need to mobilize in defense of their country. The warmongers who have rained death on Iran and who wish to plunder its resources and ravage its environment must be defeated in order to secure any sort of real freedom or liberation. ■



Por DANIEL ADAM

El 9 de mayo, el Parlamento húngaro investió a Peter Magyar como primer ministro, poniendo fin oficialmente a los 16 años de gobierno de Viktor Orbán y su partido Fidesz. Las elecciones tienen implicaciones que van mucho más allá de Hungría, ya que Orbán ha desempeñado un papel fundamental en la política de derecha a nivel mundial. Su ofensiva nacionalista contra los derechos y las instituciones democráticas no solo se ha convertido en un modelo de referencia para los proyectos de extrema derecha, sino que ha contribuido a desarrollar una red internacional de fuerzas etnonacionalistas y de extrema derecha, que incluye think tanks y recursos mediáticos compartidos.

El Proyecto 2025, por ejemplo, no solo está influenciado por el esfuerzo de Orbán; sus organizaciones ayudaron a diseñarlo. A su vez, J. D. Vance (y otras figuras del movimiento MAGA) apoyaron la campaña de Orbán, aunque fue en vano. El día de las elecciones, el partido Fidesz de Orbán obtuvo apenas un 38,6 % de los votos frente al 53,2 % de Tisza.

Entender la derrota electoral de Orbán —qué significa y cómo ocurrió— es importante para todos aquellos que buscan derrotar a los movimientos reaccionarios en auge en todo el mundo. ¿Qué permitió a Orbán lanzar una ofensiva contra los derechos democráticos, los inmigrantes, la comunidad LGBTQI+, los trabajadores y otros grupos oprimidos? ¿Qué provocó la caída de Orbán? ¿Qué lo está sustituyendo? ¿Qué significa esto para los movimientos sociales en Hungría? ¿Qué podemos aprender en Estados Unidos y en otros lugares?

El dominio de Orbán sobre el aparato político húngaro comenzó en 2010, en medio de una crisis del proyecto neoliberal provocada por la crisis financiera de 2008/2009. Desvió la indignación contra la clase capitalista como tal y la dirigió hacia las élites extranjeras, los inmigrantes, los valores sociales progresistas, la comunidad LGBTQI+, los musulmanes, los judíos y otros chivos expiatorios. Prometió el desarrollo económico de Hungría mediante una mayor independencia de las potencias económicas y políticas occidentales, la renovación nacional y el rechazo de los valores y derechos progresistas. Aprovechó una victoria aplastante para reestructurar gran parte del sistema político húngaro, incluida la Constitución.

Orbán entabló relaciones con potencias ajenas a la UE y la OTAN y avanzó en la integración de Hungría en las cadenas de suministro de potencias económicas como Alemania. Aun así, en un sistema capitalista mundial azotado por la competencia, las bajas tasas de ganancia, las plagas, la guerra y la inestabilidad, estas estrategias solo podían llegar hasta cierto punto.

Elecciones en Hungría: ¿Supone la victoria de Magyar un gran cambio político?

(Foto) El primer ministro húngaro, Peter Magyar.

Para 2026, el proyecto de Orbán había sufrido crisis prolongadas. Ante una inflación sostenida y unas perspectivas cada vez peores, los trabajadores habían abandonado el país en masa, lo que había despoblado Hungría en aproximadamente medio millón de personas desde 2011 (¡alrededor del 5 % del país!). Surgieron movimientos para desafiar el programa de Orbán, con protestas masivas en 2018 contra la llamada «ley de la esclavitud» (que permite a los empleadores imponer horas extras obligatorias, cuyo pago pueden retrasar hasta tres años), protestas masivas y huelgas de docentes en 2022, y marchas del Orgullo sin precedentes en junio de 2025.

Mientras tanto, la corrupción del Fidesz se hizo más visible y onerosa en todas las clases sociales, y el distanciamiento de las potencias occidentales llevó a la UE a bloquear miles de millones de euros en ayudas. Para muchos, la podredumbre del régimen se manifestaba de forma vívida en los abusos a menores en las instituciones estatales y en las medidas del Gobierno para encubrirlos.

Peter Magyar, el nuevo primer ministro de Hungría, procede de las altas esferas del partido Fidesz de Orbán, donde comenzó en su organización juvenil y se casó (y luego se divorció) con Judit Varga, la ministra de Justicia bajo el Fidesz. Magyar abandonó el Fidesz y se hizo cargo del hasta entonces desconocido Partido Tisza hace apenas dos años.

Magyar se ha diferenciado retóricamente del Fidesz principalmente a través de promesas de erradicar la corrupción, restaurar las normas democráticas y restablecer los vínculos con las potencias occidentales de la UE y la OTAN. En segundo lugar están las promesas de reformar el sistema sanitario y renacionalizar y democratizar la educación superior.

Magyar se ha comprometido a continuar con las mismas políticas antiinmigrantes promovidas por el Fidesz, llegando incluso a prometer ir más allá que su antiguo partido enviando más tropas a la frontera con Serbia. En materia laboral, Magyar (al igual que Orbán) se negó incluso a reunirse con los sindicatos para escuchar sus reivindicaciones. Mantiene una estrecha relación con los líderes empresariales, varios de los cuales ya han recibido cargos en el Gobierno. A pesar de prometer que detendría al criminal de guerra Benjamin Netanyahu si este visitaba Hungría, tras ganar las elecciones, Magyar se aseguró de que Netanyahu fuera el primer jefe de Estado extranjero con el que habló por teléfono.

Magyar se mantuvo al margen de la multitudinaria marcha del Orgullo de junio de 2025 y evitó hablar de los derechos LGBTQI+ (a favor o en contra) durante su campaña. En su discurso de aceptación, afirmó que «todo el mundo puede vivir con quien quiera y amar a quien quiera, siempre que no viole las leyes y no haga daño a los demás», una declaración esencialmente con dos caras.

Más allá de ser simplemente ambiguo, Magyar ofrece aquí el pretexto para violar los derechos que profesa defender en esa misma declaración. Su propio antiguo partido ha aprobado leyes que prohíben los desfiles del Orgullo y la distribución de material que represente a personas o la cultura LGBTQ con el pretexto de prevenir daños a los niños. En la Hungría actual, defender el derecho de todos a «vivir con y amar a quien quieran» significa infringir la ley.

Como afirma la investigadora independiente con

sede en Budapest Anita Zsurzsan: «El Gobierno de Magyar no representa una ruptura con el orbanismo, sino su reformulación: una versión más disciplinada, compatible con la UE y tecnocrática del mismo orden nacionalista y excluyente. El proyecto ha cambiado de manos, no de fundamentos».

La importancia del programa de Orbán para la clase trabajadora no radica en la reducción de los responsables de la toma de decisiones y los explotadores a una camarilla más pequeña, ni en la orientación hacia una u otra gran potencia, sino en el uso del racismo, el nacionalismo, la xenofobia, la transfobia, la homofobia y otras ideologías reaccionarias para desviar la ira del capital y atomizar y disciplinar a la clase trabajadora.

Para quienes deseen ser algo más que observadores, es importante establecer una distinción delicada pero fundamental. La derrota de Orbán en las elecciones representa un revés temporal para el autoritarismo, en la medida en que fue necesaria por el agotamiento del programa de Fidesz y el auge de los movimientos de masas que se le oponían. Pero el apoyo que Magyar recibió de esta oposición supone un revés para estos movimientos y para la clase trabajadora, ya que han otorgado mucha credibilidad política a un partido comprometido con continuar el mismo programa social que Orbán —a pesar de cualquier retroceso táctico que pueda hacer.

Consideremos el alcance de la oposición. Las protestas laborales de 2018 reunieron a 15 000 personas en su momento álgido y plantearon la cuestión de las huelgas generales. Las huelgas de docentes de 2022 movilizaron a unas 40 000 personas en una huelga indefinida y a 50 000 en protestas de solidaridad. La marcha del Orgullo de 2025 reunió entre 100 000 y 200 000 personas en las calles, desafiando una ley contra las marchas del Orgullo que el Gobierno prometió hacer cumplir utilizando software de reconocimiento facial. Tras la acción, el Gobierno dio marcha atrás y se negó a procesar a los manifestantes.

Y así, en el momento de la derrota electoral de Orbán, su poder para dividir e intimidar ya se había visto fatalmente socavado. Y la comunidad LGBTQ+ ya había conseguido con la acción más derechos de los que Magyar jamás les habría prometido.

Mientras tanto, para apoyar a Magyar, el Partido Socialista Húngaro se retiró por completo de las elecciones. Así, a Magyar se le entregó el mismo aparato autoritario y la misma mayoría de dos tercios que a Orbán, pero sin ninguna oposición de izquierda visible. Los únicos otros partidos en el Parlamento están a su derecha y, a diferencia de Orbán, ¡gran parte de la izquierda le ha dado su respaldo!

Los movimientos para defender los derechos de los trabajadores tendrán que reorientarse una vez más. Si no lo hacen rápidamente, podrían ver su buen nombre arrastrado junto al de Magyar a medida que su programa se enfrente a las realidades de la decadencia capitalista actual. Al fin y al cabo, fue la asociación de la izquierda con la ofensiva neoliberal en Hungría y en otros lugares lo que creó las oportunidades para figuras como Orbán y Trump en primer lugar.

Esta experiencia pone de manifiesto el poder de los movimientos de masas para derrocar a los autoritarios, incluso cuando su posición parece segura. También resalta la necesidad de una organización política independiente de la clase trabajadora que pueda ayudar a que esas luchas ganen fuerza, en lugar de verse empujadas a los brazos de quienes desean aprovecharse de ellas. ■

Por JOHN LESLIE

May Day Strong puso en marcha una coalición de cientos de sindicatos y grupos de justicia social para organizar las huelgas y manifestaciones del 1 de mayo de este año. Las acciones a nivel nacional se centraron en reivindicaciones contra la guerra, a favor de la democracia, a favor de los derechos de los trabajadores y de los derechos de los inmigrantes.

Un par de meses antes, May Day Strong, junto con legisladores afines del Partido Demócrata y otros aliados, publicó un documento programático, «The Real Affordability Agenda» (La verdadera agenda de la asequibilidad), que intenta abordar la creciente polarización económica y social entre los ricos y la clase trabajadora.

Para la clase trabajadora, la crisis de la asequibilidad se ha vuelto más grave. Los precios han subido, los alquileres están fuera de control y muchas personas tienen más de un trabajo solo para mantenerse a flote. Muchos jóvenes trabajadores están agobiados por las elevadas deudas de los préstamos estudiantiles. No se les escapa que el gobierno, que se apresura a rescatar a bancos y corporaciones, no ha hecho nada para ayudarlos.

La Agenda de Asequibilidad destaca las cuestiones básicas de subsistencia que conforman la crisis de la asequibilidad, reclamando viviendas asequibles, buenos empleos bien remunerados y el fin del estancamiento salarial, así como necesidades universales asequibles como «cuidado infantil con salarios justos para los proveedores, comidas escolares gratuitas y una ampliación de la ayuda alimentaria, junto con medidas contra la especulación». La Agenda también reclama educación superior gratuita, asistencia sanitaria integral para todos, transporte público gratuito y servicios públicos controlados por el Estado.

Aunque los puntos de este programa son correctos y defendibles, tienen sus limitaciones. Si hay una lección que se puede extraer del reciente desmantelamiento de la Ley del Derecho al Voto, es que ninguna reforma, ni siquiera las que se ganaron a través de las luchas más históricas, es permanente mientras siga existiendo el capitalismo.

El aumento de la desigualdad económica y la crisis de la vivienda asequible son el resultado de los ataques de la clase dominante al nivel de vida de la clase trabajadora. El capitalismo nos impone austeridad y recortes fiscales a los ricos gobernantes. Los trabajadores estadounidenses, y los trabajadores de todo el mundo, han sido sometidos a más de 50 años de una guerra de clases unilateral, con ambos partidos capitalistas como cómplices de estos ataques. Estos ataques se han acelerado durante el segundo mandato de Trump.

Los límites del reformismo

La respuesta de la cúpula del Partido Demócrata ha sido vacilante e insuficiente. Incapaces de asimilar su derrota de 2024 frente a Donald Trump, los demócratas han decidido que deben girar hacia la derecha y restar importancia a las cuestiones sociales que podrían considerarse «progresistas».

Mientras que la base de los demócratas ha rechazado cada vez más el apoyo de EE. UU. al apartheid israelí, la dirección del partido, en el mejor de los casos, ha emitido algunas críticas moderadas a la política israelí. Mientras tanto, los progresistas pro-palestinos que se presentan a las primarias demócratas se han enfrentado a una avalancha masiva de financiación por parte de donantes pro-israelíes.

Los antiguos electores leales a los demócratas —incluidas muchas personas LGBTQ, mujeres y personas negras— deben estar preparados para ser sacrificados si es que aún no lo han sido. El ala socialdemócrata del Partido Demócrata ha presentado alternativas similares a la Agenda de Asequibilidad, pero estas reformas

Los trabajadores necesitan un programa de acción



encontrarán poco apoyo dentro de un partido que está fundamentalmente al servicio del capitalismo.

Los logros alcanzados en el pasado por los afroamericanos, las mujeres y las personas LGBTQ están siendo objeto de ataques cada vez más intensos. Reformas clave de la red de seguridad social como Medicare, Medicaid y la propia Seguridad Social están en peligro. Gran parte de la resistencia contra estos ataques se ha expresado en oposición a Trump. Aunque Trump es una figura odiosa, los ataques contra él no comprenden el problema sistémico que subyace a esta ofensiva de la clase dominante. Para ser claros, Trump no podría alcanzar sus horribles objetivos sin el apoyo de al menos una parte de la clase capitalista. El problema es el capitalismo, no los políticos individuales.

¿Significa esto que los socialistas se oponen a las reformas y simplemente deben «esperar a la revolución» para lograr el cambio? No, los socialistas entendemos que es necesario luchar ahora por conquistas para los oprimidos y la clase trabajadora. De hecho, la lucha por estas reformas radicalizará a muchos de los activistas que lideran estas luchas. Como revolucionarios, queremos trabajar codo a codo con todos los que luchan por la justicia económica y social, al tiempo que explicamos que las reformas por sí solas no traerán un cambio fundamental.

Un ingrediente esencial de una estrategia para el cambio fundamental es la independencia política de los trabajadores y los oprimidos frente a los partidos de la clase dominante. Una y otra vez, los demócratas han demostrado ser un freno para los movimientos sociales. Lo mismo ocurre con las ONG alineadas con el Partido Demócrata, que sirven para desviar a los movimientos hacia las aguas tranquilas del electoralismo y la reforma. Muchos líderes de movimientos, desde los burócratas sindicales hasta el movimiento por el dere

cho al aborto y la lucha por la libertad de los negros, se han subordinado a los demócratas.

Programa de acción de emergencia

El sistema capitalista se encuentra en una crisis que tiene dimensiones ambientales, políticas y económicas. La clase dominante libra guerras en el extranjero, ha financiado y apoyado un genocidio en Palestina y está librando una guerra contra la clase trabajadora aquí, en nuestro país. Los derechos democráticos se están erosionando rápidamente y los logros del Movimiento por los Derechos Civiles corren peligro de ser eliminados.

La emergencia a la que nos enfrentamos, causada por la aceleración de la ofensiva de la clase dominante, debe combatirse con métodos de lucha de la clase trabajadora y un programa que vaya más allá de las reformas y que apunte hacia un cambio revolucionario. Los trabajadores y los oprimidos tienen el poder social y económico para detener el sistema. Durante la resistencia contra los matones del ICE en Minneapolis, el movimiento lo demostró organizando las huelgas del 23 de enero, combinadas con una acción masiva de decenas de miles de personas marchando por las calles.

Aunque el 23 de enero no fue una verdadera huelga general, sí ilustró el potencial de una huelga de ese tipo y ayudó a un sector de los trabajadores a visualizar su potencial poder social.

Un Programa de Acción Obrera para hacer frente a la crisis actual debe aprovechar el poder de los trabajadores, los estudiantes y los oprimidos en una lucha unida. Dicho movimiento debería basarse en asambleas locales, regionales y nacionales de sindicalistas, organizaciones comunitarias y organizaciones de los oprimidos que trabajen para elaborar un programa y un curso de acción. ■

Africa como vertedero de migrantes

Por BRIAN CRAWFORD

En abril, la República Democrática del Congo comenzó a acoger a ciudadanos de terceros países deportados desde Estados Unidos. Es uno de los muchos países africanos que acogen a estos deportados. La Administración Trump ha expulsado por la fuerza a migrantes y solicitantes de asilo sin informarles de su destino. Se intenta llevar a cabo la deportación masiva mediante la repatriación, y cuando esto no es posible porque los detenidos se niegan a ser repatriados o su país de origen se niega a recibirlos, los «acuerdos de cooperación en materia de asilo» o los acuerdos con «terceros países» se han convertido en la alternativa preferida de la administración.

Para Trump y su banda de intolerantes, nada es demasiado duro para llevar a cabo la deportación masiva.

La amenaza de la deportación a «terceros países» también se utiliza para presionar a los solicitantes de asilo a que renuncien a sus derechos y abandonen los EE. UU. «voluntariamente». Incluso cuando los detenidos cuentan con órdenes judiciales de protección, los funcionarios de inmigración han incumplido dichas órdenes. La Associated Press documentó 250 casos de incumplimiento.

La Ley de Refugiados de 1951 y la Convención de las Naciones Unidas contra la Tortura obligan a los países a tener en cuenta la posibilidad de que los refugiados sufran malos tratos a manos del Estado que los acoge. La protección se aplica independientemente de la situación legal. Es ilegal enviar a un detenido a un país donde pueda sufrir abusos contra los derechos humanos. Pero a la administración de Trump claramente no le importa la legalidad. Su enfoque ha consistido en negar a las personas el derecho a un proceso justo. Negocian acuerdos secretos y se llevan a los detenidos en vuelos secretos.

Una comisión de relaciones exteriores del Senado descubrió que la administración Trump había enviado más de 32 millones de dólares a países africanos. Estos pactos entre países también se conocen como «acuerdos de tercer país seguro». Sin embargo, no hay nada «seguro» en los países en cuestión. Eswatini sigue manteniendo a 19 hombres en detención



Migrantes expulsado desde los EE. UU. Llegan en Ghana.

ilegal tras su llegada desde EE. UU. Sudán del Sur sufre la guerra y la hambruna, y la violencia contra la población civil es rampante. También existe la amenaza de que la guerra en Sudán se extienda desde el norte. Funcionarios estadounidenses se dirigieron al Gobierno de Sudán del Sur para que aceptara a ocho deportados, de los cuales solo uno era originario de Sudán del Sur. A cambio, el Gobierno pidió a EE. UU. que eliminara las restricciones de visado y levantara las sanciones a los ciudadanos de Sudán del Sur, según *Politico*. EE. UU. había revocado los visados en abril de 2025 tras exigir al país que aceptara el retorno de sus ciudadanos.

Camerún recibió a 17 hombres y mujeres procedentes de otros países africanos. El Gobierno detuvo a los 17 y los presionó para que regresaran a sus países de origen. Aunque algunos de los detenidos no reunían los requisitos para obtener asilo en EE. UU., estaban bajo una orden de protección de los tribunales. EE. UU. deportó a africanos occidentales a Ghana, quienes posteriormente quedaron abandonados en Togo sin documentación. A la Administración Trump no le importa especialmente adónde se les envíe, siempre y cuando ya no estén en Estados Unidos.

La administración ha recurrido al soborno. Eswatini ha aceptado 5 millones de dólares para acoger a los deportados, incluso a aquellos designados como «criminales y terroristas». Guinea Ecuatorial recibió

7 millones de dólares. La Sociedad Jurídica de Uganda actúa en nombre de los detenidos que han sido reducidos a «poco más que muebles, en beneficio de intereses anónimos, a ambos lados del Atlántico» (según «Externalizing Asylum»). El acuerdo entre Uganda y EE. UU. publicado no revela si hubo alguna compensación monetaria.

La administración de Trump convirtió a Ruanda en un destino específico (o vertedero) para la deportación masiva. El país aceptó acoger a 250 deportados. A pesar de las afirmaciones del anterior Gobierno británico, Ruanda, según la mayoría de los informes, no es ningún país seguro. En respuesta a una pregunta sobre el asesinato de refugiados, un funcionario ruandés declaró: «Puede que haya ocurrido, ¿y qué?» (Cristiano d'Orsi, externalizingasylum.info). Las fuerzas de seguridad actúan con impunidad y las fuerzas de la oposición son aplastadas. Además de las muertes bajo custodia, se producen desapariciones forzadas y amenazas a los ruandeses que viven en el extranjero.

Sin embargo, el compromiso de Trump con la mayor deportación masiva de la historia de EE. UU. pesa más que las preocupaciones por los derechos humanos. Todo respeto por los derechos civiles y humanos se deja de lado para llevar a cabo la limpieza étnica y racial de la administración.

Al igual que Trump, el proyecto sionista de limpieza étnica también se avanza. El gobierno de Netanyahu ha propuesto a múltiples naciones africanas como destino para la población de Gaza. El año pasado, Israel reconoció al estado separatista de Somalilandia. La motivación era doble: establecer un punto de apoyo en África Oriental y reasentar a los palestinos. Israel también planteó la idea de enviar a la población superviviente a Egipto y Sudán.

África es ahora un vertedero para los refugiados de las guerras, la persecución racial y étnica, el cambio climático y la hambruna. Las condiciones en gran parte del mundo están contribuyendo a un éxodo de proporciones bíblicas a escala mundial. Mientras tanto, los imperialistas rivales siguen explotando los recursos de África. Los países ricos no son la solución, sino la fuente del problema.

¿Qué lugar ocupa África en la economía mundial? El mismo que siempre ha ocupado: el de proveedor de materias primas. Sigue estando subdesarrollada y dependiendo de la industria extractiva.

La relación de Europa y Estados Unidos con el continente es prueba de la naturaleza bárbara del capitalismo. Tras cientos de años de cazar y secuestrar a su población y saquear sus recursos, ahora utilizan África como receptáculo para los apátridas.

Contener a la clase trabajadora africana mediante la explotación, la opresión y el fomento de una burocracia corrupta es el modus operandi del imperialismo. Los trabajadores y oprimidos de África deben rechazar estos tratados de deportación imperialistas y deshumanizantes, y organizarse contra los gobiernos compradores que los aceptan. Los trabajadores del mundo deben exigir el fin de las políticas de inmigración racistas y bárbaras a ambos lados del Atlántico.

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!

La decisión sobre la mifepristona indica una gran lucha por delante

El 14 de mayo, el Tribunal Supremo de EE. UU. «dejó la decisión para más adelante» en lo relativo al aborto médico, lo que permitió a los allegados de Trump conservar algunos votos de cara a las elecciones de mitad de legislatura, pero nos dejó claro al resto que la prescripción de mifepristona a través de la telemedicina sigue en peligro. El Tribunal decidió que una decisión de un tribunal inferior de Luisiana, que exigía a las pacientes—incluidas aquellas que viven en estados con prohibiciones totales del aborto— acudir a la consulta de un médico para obtener una receta de mifepristona, permanecería «en suspenso».

Mientras tanto, la cuestión seguiría litigándose en los tribunales inferiores y la parte de la base republicana que sigue siendo proaborto no se vería agitada antes de votar. Esta maniobra ha permitido al alto tribunal retrasar oportunamente la decisión, pero estar listo para usar sus poderes para erosionar aún más la disponibilidad de la atención de salud reproductiva cuando sea más conveniente políticamente.

Al mismo tiempo, en otro frente, la Administración de Alimentos y Medicamentos (FDA), dirigida por el movimiento MAGA, está retrasando una revisión innecesaria y altamente sospechosa de la seguridad de la mifepristona, que se espera que proporcione más

munición a los oponentes de derecha de la justicia reproductiva. La mifepristona es la mitad de un régimen de aborto médico en el primer trimestre que también incluye el fármaco misoprostol, y se ha demostrado que es segura tras un amplio uso.

Las medidas de MAGA aún no han logrado reducir el número total de personas que han podido acceder al aborto. Veintidós estados y Washington, D.C., donde el aborto sigue siendo legal, han promulgado leyes de protección que ofrecen algún tipo de protección a los proveedores y pacientes de su jurisdicción frente a las fuerzas del orden de otros estados. Los estados, los proveedores y los fondos para el aborto han estado acumulando suministros para prepararse ante una prohibición total. Dado que la mifepristona forma parte de la práctica médica preferida, pero no es absolutamente esencial para el aborto médico, los proveedores están preparando protocolos para abortos médicos utilizando únicamente misoprostol, un fármaco cuyo uso no se ve actualmente amenazado.

Sin embargo, la Sociedad de Medicina Materno-Fetal ha constatado que las mujeres de los estados con cinco o más restricciones al aborto han presentado tasas de mortalidad materna más elevadas que las de los estados con menos restricciones. La mortalidad materna

está fuertemente correlacionada con las prohibiciones de financiación del aborto por parte de Medicaid, las prohibiciones de cobertura de seguro de la ACA, los períodos de espera obligatorios, los requisitos de ecografía, las leyes de asesoramiento sesgado y las prohibiciones del aborto en el segundo trimestre.

Hay que asimilar la magnitud y el alcance de la visión de MAGA para acabar con el control individual sobre la reproducción. La extrema derecha, con su nuevo poder político, está iniciando la lucha por una política natal nacional. Proponen financiar medidas que estimulen el crecimiento de una familia patriarcal regresiva que dé a luz y críe a niños que prosperarán en una sociedad autoritaria.

Solo un movimiento verdaderamente de masas, en las calles, que organice a diario a millones de personas para luchar por la justicia reproductiva, puede derrotar eficazmente este impulso reaccionario. Las organizaciones de mujeres que subordinan nuestra lucha a una estrategia electoral del Partido Demócrata se oponen a esta estrategia de acción de masas, pero deben ser superadas, primero mediante la organización local y luego mediante la conexión de grupos locales para construir un movimiento nacional independiente. Ya es la hora de empezar. — CHRISTINE MARIE

Trabajadores inmigrantes paralizaron la planta de JBS en Colorado

Una huelga de tres semanas en Greeley (Colorado), en la que participaron unos 3.800 trabajadores sindicalizados de la planta de procesamiento cárnico Swift Beef Co., propiedad de JBS USA, fue la primera huelga importante del sector desde el cierre de Hormel en Austin (Minnesota) en 1985, que se prolongó durante un año. Entre el 16 de marzo y el 4 de abril de este año, una plantilla compuesta en su mayoría por inmigrantes paralizó una de las mayores plantas de procesamiento de carne del país.

Más allá de las cuestiones básicas de salarios, asistencia sanitaria y seguridad, esta huelga tuvo implicaciones políticas sobre la capacidad de los trabajadores inmigrantes para organizarse y defenderse de los ataques de los empleadores y del gobierno en el lugar de trabajo y en la comunidad.

Uno de los aspectos más destacados de esta huelga es cómo este sindicato industrial, compuesta por docenas de etnias

diferentes, con diversos grados de estatus migratorio, bajo un gobierno represivo de Trump, se enfrentó a los hermanos Batista, que dirigen JBS. Los hermanos están entre los principales donantes y aliados corporativos de Trump y, en el clima político actual, representan sin duda un peligro añadido para los trabajadores inmigrantes.

JBS revocará los visados de los trabajadores inmigrantes tal y como hizo en Ottumwa, Iowa, en 2025, cuando se pidió a 200 trabajadores de Haití, Cuba, Venezuela y Nicaragua que se autoexpulsaran después de que Trump pusiera fin al Estatus Legal Temporal (TPS) para más de 500 000 refugiados de esos países.

Sin embargo, un antídoto contra el terror que Trump y el ICE infunden a las comunidades de inmigrantes es salir colectivamente del trabajo y unirse a la línea de piquete para plantar cara a los patrones y a los políticos. Los trabajadores inmigrantes afiliados a sindica-

tos que luchan por mejoras económicas y protecciones en el trabajo pueden proporcionar a la comunidad inmigrante un poderoso vehículo para librar una lucha política más eficaz contra los ataques a las libertades civiles.

Antes de la huelga, la sección local 7 de la UFCW se asoció con la Coalición por los Derechos de los Inmigrantes de Colorado y otros grupos defensores de los derechos de los inmigrantes para abordar los abusos contra los trabajadores de JBS, tras la llegada de nuevos miembros procedentes de Haití y de países africanos francófonos.

La huelga planteó las cuestiones de las dificultades a las que se enfrentan los trabajadores para conseguir convenios que ofrezcan importantes paquetes económicos y logren avances significativos a largo plazo. Pero lo que le faltó a la huelga en impacto financiero lo compensó como ejemplo de miembros sindicales intrépidos que se unieron,

procedentes de docenas de orígenes étnicos diferentes, para plantar cara y luchar. — ERNIE GOTTA



... El Tribunal Supremo desmantela la Ley del Derecho al Voto

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14ª Enmienda, un plan que consideraban que sustituía los «derechos de los estados» por los «derechos individuales», y les preocupaba específicamente la posibilidad de que se produjeran cambios en la legislación laboral y la capacidad para manipular las elecciones.

Este momento, argumenta McLean, se erige como uno de los inicios ideológicos del actual impulso de la extrema derecha, respaldada por multimillonarios, para deshacer el nivel de gobernanza democrática conquistado por la clase trabajadora hasta la fecha. El «Proyecto 2025» de la Heritage Foundation, aunque surgió directamente de las crisis económicas mundiales de principios del siglo XXI, es también el producto

intelectual de casi 70 años de planificación para detener la creciente democratización de Estados Unidos que comenzó con la lucha por la desegregación de las escuelas.

Como señala Quinn Slobodian, autor de «Hayek's Bastards» (2025), los economistas de derecha creían que el movimiento por los derechos civiles dio lugar a los movimientos por el feminismo, la acción afirmativa y la conciencia ecológica, y que estos, a su vez, provocaron que millones de personas exigieran la «corrección de la desigualdad» a expensas de los beneficios. Según la derecha ideológica, estos movimientos, que argumentaban que la desigualdad era sistémica y no genética y que legitimaba las demandas de gasto social por parte del gobierno, suponían una amenaza existencial para

el funcionamiento eficiente del capitalismo.

Los sectores de la clase capitalista arraigados en la ideología de la supremacía blanca siempre han visto el movimiento negro por la igualdad como una puerta abierta a avances por parte de los trabajadores, las mujeres y los ecologistas. Los actuales intentos de diluir el voto negro son solo el comienzo de sus esfuerzos por reestructurar la economía estadounidense en interés de su tambaleante sistema de beneficios y en contra de los intereses de toda la clase trabajadora.

Por lo tanto, todo el movimiento contra el régimen de Trump debe poner todo su empeño en la lucha para repeler ese ataque a los derechos de voto de la comunidad negra. La lucha de la comunidad negra debe convertirse en la lucha de todo el movimiento. ■

LA VOZ DE LOS TRABAJADORES

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El Tribunal Supremo desmantela la Ley del Derecho al Voto

Por CHRISTINE MARIE

Cerca de 5000 manifestantes se reunieron en Montgomery, Alabama, el sábado 16 de mayo, en el marco de la movilización de emergencia denominada «Todos los caminos llevan al sur». La concentración de Montgomery siguió a la recreación de un tramo de la primera marcha de Selma a Montgomery de 1965, cuando 600 manifestantes fueron atacados por la policía estatal en el puente Edmund Pettis de Selma, un suceso que ha pasado a conocerse como el «Domingo Sangriento». Líderes religiosos, políticos y activistas se unieron a figuras como la «soldado de a pie más anciana» de aquella travesía original, Annie Mae Avery, de 84 años, y Sheyann Webb-Christburg, que era una participante de ocho años y víctima de la agresión policial.

Estas movilizaciones fueron una respuesta a la sentencia del Tribunal Supremo del 29 de abril sobre el caso *Louisiana contra Callais*, que concedió a Luisiana el derecho a manipular los distritos electorales para hacer casi imposible la representación negra en el Congreso. A los pocos días del veredicto, otros gobernadores y legisladores de estados sureños blancos se apresuraron a utilizar la sentencia para acallar la voz electoral de la comunidad negra. Esto incluye iniciativas en Alabama, Tennessee y Carolina del Sur.

Estas medidas señalaron que la Sección 2, una enmienda de 1982 a la Ley de Derechos Electorales de 1965 que reforzó la ley al exigir que los tribunales no tuvieran que demostrar «discriminación intencional», sino solo «la presencia de efectos discriminatorios», había quedado obsoleta. Con esta sentencia y la consiguiente prisa de varios de los antiguos estados de la Confederación por desmantelar los distritos electorales negros, el Tribunal Supremo y el Partido Republicano están intentando anular una de las grandes conquistas del movimiento por los derechos civiles de EE. UU. y poner los derechos políticos de toda la clase trabajadora en mayor peligro que en cualquier otro momento del pasado reciente.

En el transcurso de esta carrera por desmantelar



George Walker IV / AP

las normas democráticas, el presidente de la Cámara de Representantes de Alabama, Nathaniel Ledbetter, expresó su esperanza—sin duda diseñada en los think tanks de extrema derecha— de que el Tribunal Supremo «anule la 14ª Enmienda» de la Constitución de los Estados Unidos. Esa es la que incluye la ciudadanía por nacimiento, pero también establece que ningún estado debe negar a nadie dentro de su jurisdicción la igualdad de protección ante la ley. Además, establece que ningún estado privará a ninguna persona de la vida, la libertad o la propiedad sin el debido proceso legal.

La 14.ª Enmienda fue ratificada tras la Guerra Civil, y los defensores de los derechos civiles y la autodeterminación negra llevan intentando aplicarla desde entonces. Los supremacistas blancos, impulsados por la sentencia del Tribunal Supremo, imaginan que se les liberará de todas las restricciones a su intento de dar marcha atrás en el tiempo y que obtendrán un nuevo respaldo legal para limitar los derechos políticos a una escala que va más allá de lo que permite la dilución del voto negro.

En este escenario distópico y supremacista blanco, la privación del derecho al voto de millones de personas negras, chicanas y otras poblaciones oprimidas creará las circunstancias en las que un creciente grupo de trabajadores con salarios bajos tendrá poca capacidad para influir electoralmente en las

(Foto) Una manifestación en Nashville, Tennessee, contra la sesión especial de la Asamblea Legislativa estatal para redistribuir los mapas de votación parlamentaria, el 5 de mayo de 2026.

políticas gubernamentales que afectan a los salarios, las condiciones laborales y el apoyo social en los ámbitos de la educación, la sanidad, la vivienda y la sindicalización.

Revocar los logros del movimiento por los derechos civiles ha estado en la agenda de la extrema derecha estadounidense desde el día en que se ordenó por primera vez la desegregación de las escuelas. Como escribió Nancy McLean en su libro de 2017 «Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America», cuando el Tribunal Supremo de EE. UU. dictó una segunda sentencia en el caso *Brown contra la Junta de Educación* en 1956, esto impulsó inmediatamente a los intelectuales de derecha comprometidos con la economía política del sur de entonces a crear un centro académico en la Universidad de Virginia bajo el liderazgo de James Patrick Buchanan.

Estas fuerzas temían que futuras sentencias del Tribunal Supremo pudieran interferir en otras medidas estatales que, según se decía, violaban la garantía de igualdad de protección ante la ley de la

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