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WORKERS' VOICE

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STAND UP TO REPRESSION! DEFEND OUR RIGHTS!

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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 big business 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.



WORKERS' VOICE

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 and war moves against 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!

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Trump administration challenges Black voting rights

By BRIAN CRAWFORD

As the United States staggered toward the 2026 mid-term elections, desperation overwhelmed the White House with the prospect of losing Republican majorities in Congress. As multiple crises spun out of control—exacerbated by the administration's own doing—support for the party steadily fell.

The administration tried to put government agencies to work to influence the elections. Efforts to suppress the vote reached an unprecedented degree of intensity as the election drew near.

Voter suppression is not an alien concept in the United States. Trump's version is just its latest iteration. Invariably, Black political participation is threatened in every election. While the Democratic Party offers itself as a foil to Trump and his authoritarian tendencies, the party has betrayed African Americans when in power.

Black participation in the electoral process was achieved through the historic Black liberation struggles over two centuries. While we seem trapped in the vice grip of the two-party system, no progress is made solely through electoralism. Abolition of chattel slavery was a revolutionary accomplishment. From its ashes rose Reconstruction, which fell victim to not just white terror but the betrayal of the Northern "allies" in the Republican Party. For the sake of uniting the Northern and Southern ruling classes and consolidating U.S. capitalism, the promise of the "second American Revolution" was sacrificed.

This was a treachery forged by both political parties. One party has origins in the slavocracy, the other in industrial capital. Democrats of the 19th century represented the planter class and later instituted a regime closely resembling slavery. The Republican Party was an heterogenous organization that included Northern industrial capital but also the abolitionists.

Black political power was defeated with the fall of Reconstruction, disenfranchising the Black population and solidifying white ruling-class hegemony. Many methods were used, including voter fraud on a massive scale. Black Republicans were blacklisted; ballot boxes were stolen and ballots destroyed. Poll taxes and grandfather clauses were instituted; intimidation and murder were part of a full-scale white terror campaign.

History now repeats itself as the past rears its ugly head. The seizure of ballot boxes, restricting mail-in voting are all part of the Trump administration's arsenal. Republicans conjured conspiracies of fraud, crafting a convenient narrative in case they lost the election. And yet, instances of voter fraud, according to studies by the conservative Heritage Foundation and *The New York Times,* represent .000008% of votes cast.

Measures to institute voter I.D. were on the ballot in several states. The impact of these laws disproportionately affects African Americans. Likewise, reducing the number of early voting days and eliminating Sunday voting can reduce voter participation. Combined with reductions in the number of polling stations, these methods create longer wait times in Black districts. Trump considered deploying federal agents to monitor the polls and the president did not rule out declaring as state of national emergency—a move synonymous with authoritarian regimes.



Tyrone Turner / NPR

(Photo) **Members of Atlanta NAACP cheer during Aug. 28 March for Voting Rights in Washington, D.C. Thousands took part in events in several cities, on the 58th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington.**

Democrats are not a solution

The Democratic Party made huge gains in the mid-terms. However, neither party is popular, and the Democrats fail to distinguish themselves where it really matters: changing the conditions of the working class.

The party of slavery and segregation transformed into the party of New Deal and Great Society programs under Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson. But neither program flowed from great beneficence, and neither provided a guarantee to Black people. The party tolerated the segregationists for political expediency. This state of affairs prevented anti-lynching legislation from passing while African Americans were trapped in the South's house of horrors, all to appease Southern segregationists.

Asa Phillip Randolph, who formed the first Black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threatened a march on Washington in 1941 in response to discrimination in federal hiring practices and the Jim Crow system of segregation. President Roosevelt applied constant pressure on Randolph and other Black leaders to call off the march. Finally, Roosevelt offered the concession of signing an executive order that banned racial discrimination in defense industries—while ignoring segregation in the armed forces and government departments. The Black leadership relented and called off the march.

In the 1960s, although Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act and the Civil Rights Act under the pressure of the civil rights movement, he was more committed to the Vietnam War. Great expectations can often lead to great demoralization; African Americans place hopes in Democratic candidates, but once they are elected we are told to lower our expectations.

Politics of the possible

After a dozen years of Reagan and Bush, there was great anticipation with the arrival of Bill Clinton. Another promise of change; more promises broken! Reagan had deployed the racist caricature of the "welfare queen" to undermine the benefit system. But where the Republican Reagan failed, Clinton, "the New Democrat," succeeded. He proudly proclaimed "the end of Welfare as we know it." Clinton's liberal supporters remained reticent to oppose him. Katha Pollitt of *The Nation* magazine noted: "These liberals [. . .] preach the gospel of the lesser of two evils [. . .] that will doubtless end with liberals in hell organizing votes for Satan because Beelzebub would be worse."

This road to hell is well traveled. Black Lives Matter, the mass movement of 2020, suffered a counter-offensive from the right. Democrats not only increased funding for policing but renounced the demands of the movement.

Between African Americans and the ballot was every obstacle the Jim Crow South could conceive. Under Trump these tactics are resurrected, and more are being devised. There will be no surrender to the threat.

Several weeks before the mid-term elections, North Carolina Agriculture and Technical University, the largest HBCU in the country, protested the removal of early voting sites. They marched 45 minutes to prove they would not be deterred. The assertiveness of struggle remains and the vision of liberation is the motive force.

African Americans can lead as the vanguard against Trump's aggressions. Voting is not a privilege; it is a right. It must be defended; we cannot take another step backward. And in doing so, we must take a giant step toward socialism as the only real and lasting alternative. ■

The fightback steadily builds as gov't deepens its crackdown on civil liberties

Yuki Iwamura / AP



By ERWIN FREED

(*Above*) Anti-ICE protesters rally before the Minneapolis City Hall on Jan. 17, 2026. The Justice Dept. is now prosecuting 15 local activists for "conspiracy" to impede ICE enforcement.

Dozens of activists are accused by the federal government of contributing to bogus "criminal conspiracies." In Minnesota, two separate conspiracy cases accuse 54 people of participating in illegal conspiracies for participating in protest and journalistic activities. The Minnesota 15, Righteous 39, Michigan 8 (now 12), Spokane 3, and Prairieland Defendants are the most well known cases in the crackdown. All of these cases are attacks on organized labor.

The California Faculty Association and the Graduate Employee Organization at University of Michigan (GEO-AFT 3550) are facing frontal attacks on their unions by the right-wing press and FBI. Doctored video of a CFA meeting was leaked to Trump booster Bari Weiss's *Free Press* in an attempt to scandalize the union with false accusations of antisemitism. The Department of Justice first charged GEO President Hiab Teshome with felonious financial crimes. Those bogus charges were dropped the same day that a grand jury subpoenaed GEO's books, including all member lists, meeting minutes, and financial records. The union is fighting to retain basic privacy rights.

Fueled by National Security Presidential Memorandum-7, U.S. intelligence and police apparatuses are being explicitly targeted at anyone standing for basic democratic rights, immigrant communities, and racial justice. As the world drifts closer to major inter-imperialist conflict and expanding zones of overt imperialist military occupation takes hold in the semi-colonies, Western imperialisms are tightening restrictions on protest, speech, and organizing for progressive movements.

The Prairieland case

While there are many additional cases of "lawfare" and anti-protest policing, it is worth taking a moment to review two of the cases mentioned above to understand the tactics and scope of the current crackdown.

Around two dozen protesters held a noise demonstration on July 4, 2025, outside of the Prairieland Detention Center in Texas. As the protest was winding down and many of the participants had left, Alvarado Police Officer Thomas Gross sped onto the scene and almost immediately aimed his gun at a demonstrator moving away from him. Video evidence indicates that Gross discharged his weapon, something that would appear to have been covered up by the judge and prosecutors.

In response to seeing a potentially lethal attack on a protester, Marine Corps veteran Benjamin "Champagne" Song let out a warning shot into the ground away from the officers. Gross went to the hospital for superficial wounds that the government alleges resulted from being shot by Song, but video evidence released after sentencing indicates Gross was likely hit by shrapnel produced from his own weapon's discharge.

Using the presence of guns and defensive action of Song as a pretext, 22 people were ultimately indicted as part of an alleged conspiracy to attack cops and carry out an armed prison break. One person, Daniel "Des" Rolando Sanchez Estrada, was not at the protest at all. Des was convicted for "corruptly concealing a document or record" and sentenced to 30 years for possessing legally protected political materials.

After arrests, pressure and legal sabotage was mounted by the judicial system against the defendants. Many were initially held in solitary confinement, with one reporting that human feces coated their cell. U.S. District Judge Mark Pittman blocked the defendants from retaining a private attorney, meaning they had to use public defenders. Song's legal team was not allowed to make an argument that the warning shot was taken in self-defense. Eight defendants became cooperating witnesses, providing coerced testimony to validate the government's made-up conspiracy theories.

Before the trial even began, the deck was stacked against non-cooperating defendants. In an explicit "warning" to the left, Judge Pittman laid down ridiculously high sentences of between 30-100 years to non-cooperating defendants.

From war on drugs to the war on speech: Minn. 15

The Minnesota 15 are 15 activists accused of a "conspiracy to impede or attack federal agents." The majority are current or recent union members and all are community activists. They are not accused of participating in or coordinating any acts of violence. Instead, the original 92-page indictment against them lists "evidence" including participating in rapid response group chats, protests, and mutual aid activities. Any successful convictions on the basis of these charges would be a tremendous blow to freedom of speech and association.

The white supremacist structure of U.S. law and society lays the foundations that are shaping today's repression. Discovery materials released in connection with the Minnesota 15 case show that a longstanding multi-state ICE undercover program, "Operation Keyhole," was effortlessly transformed into a political policing operation. According to court documents, Operation Keyhole has carried out at least 77 investigations into "narcotics trafficking, child sexual abuse, financial investigations, and counter-proliferation" since it began in 2008.

Conspiracy cases, informant networks, and mass surveillance all have deep roots in the "war on drugs." As large pharmaceutical companies profit off addiction and U.S. police and military operators protect "illicit" drug trafficking at every level, locking up street dealers and mostly Black and Latino users are the major justifications for expanding the surveillance state. Alongside fear-mongering about "Islamist terrorism," the steady growth of policing technology and methods based on military occupation is made through criminalizing working-class people of color.

These methods include the exact "guilt-by-association" dragnet investigations now mobilized against the political left, particularly in the Minnesota 15 and Prairieland "conspiracies." Journalist Ali Winston shows that Reaper drones, private data brokers, and financial audits are all being used to "investigate" any type of potential organization, including trade unions. Documents connected with the MN15 case show that even SEIU regions have been targeted for federal investigations.

When we fight, we win

Democratic rights are never guaranteed for the working class. Our ability to speak and organize are constantly under threat. The Trump administration is in continuity with all other U.S. administrations in functioning first and foremost to ensure capitalist class rule. Police state methods are always used against workers and oppressed people whenever the big owners think they can get away with it.

Capitalism utilizes both coercion and consent to continue exploitation and oppression. In normal times in an imperialist "democratic" republic, the police and military are focused on combating "crime" and claim to be apolitical. Obviously this posture is a fraud, but it serves the role of allowing people to maintain illusions in some "impartial" system.

Trump's NSPM-7 and the overtly partisan transformation of virtually the entire federal government's media operations breaks this illusion for many who would otherwise be or have been passive in the face of extreme police terror in Black and Brown communities. The government's efforts to link all types of political beliefs as broad targets for repression shows that everyone in the U.S. interested in the basic principles of free speech and free thought needs to be marching alongside each other.

Minnesota 15 defendants are bravely showing the way toward a real mass defense of democratic rights. In the face of major conspiracy charges, under constant surveillance by the state, all 15 are committed to speaking out publicly and have been doing just that around the country. Alongside screenings of the documentary "When ICE Melts," defendants are speaking to faith groups, unions, community organizations, and assemblies of all kinds, explaining not only their case but also the tremendous organizing that pushed ICE out of the Twin Cities. In Connecticut, the persistence of activists raising MN15 everywhere led to Senator Richard Blumenthal publicly calling the charges against the MN15 "bogus" and demanding they be immediately dropped.

These efforts need to be deepened and expanded all over the country and internationally. Every activist organizing for solidarity with victims of repression needs to think about how we can bring this case to the biggest audience possible. And how can the desire for solidarity be turned into mobilizations on the shop floor and in the streets? ■

Victory in immigration fight: Martín Soto released from detention

By ERWIN FREED

Martin Soto walked free from Elizabeth Detention Center (EDC) around 7 p.m. on Oct. 6. Gabriela, his wife and fierce advocate, ran to embrace him. Martin was taken into ICE detention in February while purchasing diapers for his two children. In late May, ICE violently transferred him from Delaney Hall in Newark to Elizabeth in retaliation for his role in helping to lead the heroic detention center strike launched by at least 24 detainees. The strike quickly grew to include close to 300.

Hundreds of community members mobilized in protest against his transfer. Community mobilizations opposed to Soto's transfer brought increased national awareness and support to the strike. Detainees around the country were inspired by the example at Delaney Hall to start at least six additional strikes in detention centers. Protesters inside and outside detention center walls faced violent retaliation. Martin and his legal team state that he was held in solitary confinement for at least four months at EDC.

Gabriela suffered a miscarriage due to the stress of the psychological and physical torture Martin suffered. Her and her young children lost their home due to the loss of Martin's income.

During Martin's confinement, Gabriela spent every waking moment advocating for his release, taking care of her family, and attempting to visit Martin. Most days she would wait hours to find out she would not be let into the facility. Her daughter's whole worldview became shaped by Martin's absence and the constant presence of police and prisons. Gabriela took every opportunity to speak out, demanding Martin's release. Activists around New Jersey began to see her everywhere. She traveled to California, Connecticut, and many other places to bring attention to the ongoing repression against strikers and their families.

The Delaney Hall strike began in May against the horrible labor and living conditions in ICE's GEO Group-managed detention centers. In their letter announcing and explaining the strike, 24 detainees stated, "We feel vulnerable and, in a way, kidnapped—detained without justification—not to mention that we are being tortured physically and psychologically due to the poor food resources provided in these detention centers." The strikers centered the basic violation of their political rights under the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Amendments and pointed to public health dangers, including "a high spread of COVID-19 in detention centers, and the flu is constant among detainees, which could lead to outbreaks of illnesses or epidemics."

Detained strikers inspired solidarity in Newark and around the country. Protesters inside the detention center walls showed the bravery and ability of immigrant workers to fight for freedom and an end to the deportation-repression machine. They followed in the footsteps of other important struggles within detention centers, including the 2022 strikes at Mesa Verde and Golden State Annex in California.

Outside, a broad range of supporters from trade unions to clergy to unaffiliated individuals maintained a constant solidarity vigil. Police regularly attacked and arrested strike supporters on the outside.

Gabriela Soto / The City Reporter



(*Photo*) Gabriela and Martín Soto in a selfie taken before Martín was detained by ICE.

Both federal and local agencies carried out the often violent crackdowns, causing a political crisis for the Democratic Party in Newark and New Jersey, where that organization claims to stand in solidarity with immigrants against the Trump regime. After release, FBI agents visited activists at their homes attempting to intimidate them and turn them into informants.

Martin was released after a judge approved a Habeus Corpus petition submitted on Sept. 15. Soto's attorney Selanie Destefani stated to *NJ.com*, "Our central argument was mental state because he had been held in solitary confinement for four months and that is a crime." That article points out that New Jersey law prohibits solitary confinement in state prisons and jails beyond 20 days in a row or 30 days in a 60-day period.

In addition, an unnamed representative of the New Jersey Department of Labor signed a certification in support of Martin receiving a U Visa from the USCIS, a bureau within the Department of Homeland Security. U Visas are a special type of visa that undocumented people can receive if they are victims of or witnesses to certain crimes by U.S. citizens. The Sotos' legal team is arguing that his and other inmates forced labor within Delaney Hall, paid at a rate of $1 per day, constitute a violation of their Fourteenth Amendment rights.

Detention centers rely on detainees' labor to maintain the facilities. Shifts are often 10-12 hours and basic cleaning products are not provided. One example asserted by Destefani is not being given gloves to clean bathrooms. The vast majority of detainees are accused of no crimes, as immigration violations are generally a civil matter.

The Sotos' campaign for a U Visa was originally targeted at New Jersey Attorney General Jennifer Davenport. Davenport is one in a group of Democratic AGs posing as the "resistance" to Trump. Many figures in the New Jersey state government, including Governor Mikie Sherill, have called for shutting down Delaney Hall. Despite that posture, only an unknown figure in the Department of Labor would sign a document to support Martin's U Visa.

If Martin does receive a U Visa, it would create a tremendous precedent for all who have been coerced into forced labor in immigrant detention. The significance of the leadership role that the Sotos and all Delaney Hall strikers have played in the immigrant justice movement—resistance to Trumpian reaction and exposing Democratic Party wavering—is hard to overstate.

Martin and Gabriela's bravery was on full display as soon as he was released. The couple and their supporters' highly public advocacy did not slow but increased. Less than 24 hours after leaving solitary confinement, Martin sat for an interview with Gabriela on Status Coup. In that interview, they detailed the horrible conditions in ICE detention and advocated for building a mass movement to free all detainees and shut down the system of concentration camps.

Translating for Martín, who spoke in Spanish, Gabriela said, "The food was expired, or had mold, or contained worms. … You had to request on a tablet before you could get three weeks into getting just a simple pill. That was their medication."

She continued: "[Martín says that] he's gonna fight until the very end; he obviously wants to stay here because of the injustice that he went through."

"It's not just about me; it's about everybody else," Gabriela translated for Martín. "And I want people to know about more cases, because there are hundreds of more cases."

On Oct. 10, Gabriela spoke at a packed Philadelphia forum in solidarity with the Minnesota 15. The event was sponsored by a coalition of trade-union, anti-ICE, and civil liberties groups.

Martin's release shows that even in the most intense conditions of repression, working-class organizing, mobilization, and solidarity can concretely defend our communities. That lesson needs to be felt in the bones of everyone interested in civil liberties and in ending ICE terror against immigrants. ■

Solidarity with Ukrainian working people!

In October, the U.S. decided to cut its Starshield satellite-based logistical support for Ukraine. Ukraine suddenly lost access to key components of its missile defense system, as well as its ability to communicate and spot enemy movements across the front line and into Russian territory.

The Trump administration followed this with the announcement that the U.S. would lift its sanctions against Russian exports of diesel oil, and quickly affirmed that the U.S. has arranged a deal to buy oil from Russia. In addition, the White House announced that—for at least a 60-day period—it was waiving sanctions that Congress passed last month against Russian institutions. At the same time, Russia appears to be wooing Trump with promises of business deals and joint ventures.

U.S. support for Ukraine, similar to its relationships to dozens of other semi-colonial states around the world, is based on maintaining Ukrainian dependency on the U.S. But imperialist "aid" comes with devilish strings attached, in the form of crippling debt, ceding control over domestic economic policy, and the vulnerabilities that accompany reliance on the U.S.-NATO military apparatus.

Ukrainians have the right to seek arms and aid wherever they can find them, and we do not withhold our solidarity because of their having received such support from NATO's imperialists. But at the same time, even as we denounce this awful blackmail and betrayal by U.S. imperialism, we cannot simply advocate for the U.S. to keep Starshield running and send more Patriot missiles and other weapons to Ukraine. To do so would be to provide cover for the re-establishment of the same imperialist ploy; it would further subordinate Ukraine's autonomy to the whims of the U.S. ruling class. True autonomy for Ukraine can only come from the development of nationalized, local defense production under the democratic control of the Ukrainian working class.

Our vision of solidarity needs to be organized and led by working people, separate from the machinations of imperialist governments. It takes the form of convoys that both provide a modest amount of direct aid as well as strengthening political ties that can endure in these times of crisis. These ties are not formed with the Zelensky government but with Ukrainian unions and other working-class organizations.

As Ukraine fights day after day, we must support them with our working-class methods and forces, to help where we can while we join forces internationally to grow stronger.

— CARLOS SAPIR

John Leslie / Workers' Voice



Cornell protests: Jane Doe is not alone!

By CARLOS SAPIR

Outrage swept across the United States and around the world in response to the emergence of the details of a horrific gang rape in a frat house at Cornell, one of the country's most prestigious academic institutions. Soon afterwards, almost on the other side of the country in Arizona, the story broke that a candidate for Congress had been raped by two men while fixing road signs for her campaign. Separated by thousands of miles and differing circumstances, they illustrate the pervasiveness of sexual violence in our society.

As Cornell and the local layers of police and government traded blame and made excuses for failing to investigate the case thoroughly when it first occurred in 2024, students demanded answers, with anti-rape rallies called at Cornell and in solidarity at other institutions. In doing so, they joined forces with broader movements against sexual violence and gender oppression that have been taking up this vital struggle around the world.

What they teach you at Cornell

Hastily reopening the case in response to the public furor, Cornell's administration and local authorities in New York pointed to legal and procedural reasons for why this case slipped under the rug in 2024, identifying two obstacles in particular. First, the police who conducted the incident interview with the victim in 2024 failed to relay to state prosecutors that the victim had asserted, "I can say with 100% confidence I was raped." Despite this clear accusation, such a charge was apparently not passed on to the prosecutors entrusted with the case and not considered at the time.

Second, it has been identified that current New York law has very weak provisions for protecting victims of sexual assault who are attacked while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Per the still active law, if the initial consumption of intoxicants was consensual, then no further actions that occurred while under the influence can be considered rape. This flies completely in the face of today's general understanding of consent, and belies the victim's own testimony that very clearly identifies how, despite consenting to certain activities at the frat house, she did not consent to later acts and even lost the physical capacity to consent as the night went on and she was pressured to consume more and more drugs, particularly ketamine, a powerful dissociative.

These legal and procedural obstacles are important, and speak volumes about the untrustworthiness of the police and law-enforcement system more broadly. But exclusively focusing on these procedural problems would miss the broader picture of sexual violence in society, and on college campuses in particular. An astounding 26% of women (and 7% of men) experience sexual violence at some point in their four years of undergraduate college. These statistics are horrifying in any context, but they are particularly shocking given that attending college is portrayed as a pivotal right of passage for a significant chunk of the population, including much of the working class. Our society systematically sends our children through an academic process where more than one in four of the girls will be raped.

This violence has a class component as well. The modern university serves a dual role: It educates and indoctrinates the working class to enter the professional workforce, and it also serves as a finishing school for the children of the rich to socialize and network with each other in order to build ties to reproduce their class (universities also serve as investment funds, landlords, and as nexus points for the military-industrial complex). It is not an accident that this case took place at an elite school, and in a fraternity house. If the university as a whole is a factory for the reproduction of class society, fraternities are the executive suites where rich men are taught to indulge in the impunity that their class gives them.

While the U.S. has never had a formal aristocracy, North American fraternities (and sororities, their female counterparts) are organized in a distinctly aristocratic fashion. They present themselves as charitable societies, but their focus is to be social clubs for the rich. Membership often runs in families, with sons and younger brothers essentially guaranteed entry into their predecessors' fraternity. These organizations function on a national level, beginning as bourgeois secret societies in the 19th century and evolving into their institutionalized forms since then, with chapters on nearly every college campus in the country.

The fraternities are well-represented in alumni donor networks that gild university funding and drive student recruitment for the university. High membership fees and social screening preserve their upper-class character, and membership initiation traditionally involves severe hazing rituals of systemic abuse, a practice that effectively conditions many of these men into a culture of control and abuse that directly primes them to commit sexual assault.

On any given night, frat houses across the country are full of ketamine, cocaine, and other hard drugs, all while these boys' parents continue to order the deaths and arrests of countless victims of the war on drugs. This phenomenon is intergenerational, and well-known on campuses: Whether you attended college in the 1960s or today, you're likely to hear a joke that the initials of SAE, a particularly notorious fraternity, stand for "Sexual Assault Expected."

Attention also needs to be given to the role of the capitalist university administration, which tries to present itself as an investigative body, and occasionally even pretends to be an opponent to the influence of the fraternities. But the university administration is neither an ally to the oppressed, nor even a disinterested neutral arbiter. It has an immediate conflict of interest in that its priority is to preserve the reputation of the school, and with it, new student applications. Rape reporting procedures are not designed to accommodate the victim, they are designed to minimize liability for the university, whether that's in the form of public negative press or the private question of pleasing the wealthy friends of individuals who committed terrible crimes.

Speaking with survivors of campus sexual assault and friends who accompanied them through these processes, they describe how these processes involve repeat re-traumatization of the victims whose testimony is interrogated. At the end of the process, the best that a victim can typically hope for is that their attacker will be subject to a restraining order barring them from the university campus. Consequently, and together with other social pressures that discourage sexual assault reporting, most cases go unreported and unaddressed.

Images from the Cornell protests show how students made connections between the university's cowardly attempts to avoid responsibility for the rape and its heavy-handed action against student protesters for Palestine. Signs said, "Expel rapists, not protesters!" Cornell's and other universities' attacks on student activists at the government's behest and their failure to respond to sexual assault on campus are two sides of the same corrupt coin, the systematic prioritization of protecting the reputation of the university and its richest patrons over the needs and safety of the students and workers on the campus.

The rapist in chief and his cronies

Rape and sexual oppression are not new. But the specter of a president who palled around with Jeffrey Epstein, who bragged about molesting women on public television in the run-up to his first election, who appointed the rapist Brett Kavanaugh to the highest judicial office, and who has presided over the wholesale hollowing out of reproductive rights and gender-affirming health care, does have a direct impact on the incidence of sexual assault and a climate that tolerates it. For his part, the president's comments on the Cornell case are to say that he "feels bad" for the defendants—that is to say, the accused rapists. Wrapped up in MAGA's almost cartoonish obsession with male virility and aggression is a valorization of crude braggadocio misogyny that is a license and a threat for real violence to follow.

This appears to be the pattern at hand in the assault and rape of Democratic Party candidate Bernadette Greene-Placentia, who challenged a MAGA Republican, Rep. Abe Hamadeh, for his congressional seat. Greene-Placentia was knocked unconscious, raped, and left bleeding in an empty parking lot at 3 a.m. on Aug. 14 while she went about her routine of fixing campaign signs. She has said that she seems to remember that among other sexual comments, her attackers called her a "Democratic bitch." The circumstances strongly suggest that these men were encouraged to carry out sexual violence against any woman that represents even the slightest deviation from MAGA's patriarchal, eclectic norms of masculine dominance, in politics or elsewhere.

How do we fight back?

While Trump is a fitting poster child for sexist impunity, confronting sexual oppression requires more than just voting in a different party. This impunity has firm roots inside police forces on a national level: the police themselves are highly likely to be the perpetrators of sexual assault or intimate partner violence. Even when they are not literally the perpetrators of the case at hand, they are liable to be dismissive of victims and to do little to redress their concerns.

Beyond concerns at the law enforcement level, it is the economic and social fabric of capitalism that reinforces sexist oppression**.** Capitalists directly rely on a sexist division of labor in order to divest themselves of responsibility for covering social reproduction—the "free" labor of childcare, eldercare, and day-to-day domestic tasks that are necessary for the working class to make it from one day to the next, which is disproportionately foisted on to women—thus reducing labor costs. This is then reinforced through the propagation and commodification of sexist ideologies and social arrangements in order to maintain divisions in society and justify the exploitation**,** with institutions like fraternities, university administrations and the police existing to protect and uphold the status quo.

Thus, it's not enough to vote for a different capitalist to fix this. It's not enough to just organize education programs about sexism on campus. We need to organize mass movements demanding the restoration of the right to abortion, the right to bodily autonomy, the right to gender-affirming care, and the right to quality reproductive health care, and for punishment for the rapists, because securing these rights and norms provides the minimal basis for women and gender minorities' participation in society. ■

Book review: Mahmoud Khalil tells his story in '*No Land to Stand On*'

By JOHN LESLIE

"No Land To Stand On" is essential reading for anyone fighting for democratic rights or active in the Palestine solidarity movement. At times claustrophobic, at other times hopeful, this book chronicles Mahmoud Khalil's arrest and 104 days in ICE detention at the behest of the Trump regime. Khalil's writing style is clear and the book is fascinating; I could not put it down.

Khalil was born in a Palestinian refugee camp, Khan Eshier, in Syria and fled to Lebanon at 18. At the time of his arrest, on March 8, 2025, he had a green card giving him legal status to live and work in the United States. During the student movement against Israel's U.S.-financed genocide in Gaza, Khalil participated in the pro-Palestinian protests at Columbia University, where he was asked to act as a negotiator between the protesters and the university administration. Mahmoud's wife, Noor, was eight months pregnant with their first child when agents snatched him from his home.

To be clear, Khalil was arrested and faced deportation not for any crime but for speaking up against the genocide in Gaza. In 2020, Trump campaigned on the promise to crack down on and deport pro-Palestine protesters during a right-wing, pro-Zionist intimidation campaign against the movement. It's noteworthy that the attacks on Palestine solidarity activism, especially on the campus-based movement, ramped up not with Trump but with Joe Biden's full-throated defense of Israel and false claims that students speaking against genocide were being "blatantly antisemitic."

Khalil was vilified by Zionist organizations and the press, including the *New York Post*. "The language was always the same," he writes, "I was a pro-terror, pro-Hamas, anti-American protest leader. A few of the posts tagged Rubio, the White House, or the Department of Homeland Security demanding my arrest."

"White House is requesting an update"

Following his arrest, Mahmoud was quickly moved from New York to a detention center in New Jersey and then transported to an ICE detention center in Jena, La., far from family, friends, and his lawyers. Initially, Mahmoud thought the arrest was a mistake and would be easily cleared up. His request for a phone call and a lawyer was denied.

During his initial processing, he overheard an agent saying, "The White House is requesting an update." The meaning of this was soon apparent. The paperwork he was asked to sign, and refused to do so, stated, "The Secretary of State [Marco Rubio] has determined that my 'presence or activities in the U.S. would have seriously adverse foreign policy consequences for the United States." In just over 24 hours, he was in Louisiana. It was only after reaching the detention center in Louisiana that Mahmoud was able to call Noor. It was then that he learned that he had a legal team and of the broader outcry raised against his arrest.

Meeting with his lawyers four days after his arrest, Mahmoud learned the full import of his arrest and detention. He was informed by attorneys that this sort of action was "unprecedented" in their experience. It became clear that "this was deliberate and planned at the highest levels of government. The president has tweeted my picture. The secretary of state had invoked obscure powers. Multiple agencies had worked together to snatch me from my home and transport me across the country in less than a day."

He continues, "This was the turning point, the moment I grasped that this was bigger than me. It was bigger than my case, my green card, my deportation. I had not been detained for a crime I committed. They knew I never committed a crime. I was detained for what I represent, for saying something the king and his courtiers didn't like. … I was the messenger, sent to everyone who might consider speaking out. … The message was simple: this could be you." Offered the chance to self-deport, Mahmoud refused, knowing that he "would be handing them the roadmap for silencing dissent."



Alternating chapters describe Khalil's life before detention. He writes of his time in Lebanon, where he worked in refugee camps, managed an education program for refugees at the age of 19, and his desire to continue his education. Later, he pursued his degree at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA). Khalil missed Columbia's graduation in May 2025 because of his detention. He had received an offer to work as a Palestine/Middle East policy advisor for an international organization at their UN offices.

Columbia

Khalil enrolled at Columbia anticipating what he thought would be "two quiet years" seeking to finish his education to further his career in his chosen field. "I had been doing work on human rights and development for five years by then, mostly improvising and without formal education. I knew the field from the ground up and wanted to solidify that with academic knowledge."

It was at Columbia that Khalil became involved in activist work; first raising funds for earthquake relief in Turkey and Syria. He soon joined SIPA's Palestine Working Group. "At Columbia, I expected an environment that was not necessarily friendly to Palestine. But I thought, at a minimum, freedom of speech and academic freedom were sacred. I was disabused of this within a semester."

Palestine activity at Columbia was met with obstructions and conditions not placed on other student organizations. This was before the mass explosion of activity after the Oct. 7 events and the subsequent genocidal onslaught in Gaza. Deeply tied to Zionism and U.S. military interests, the university acted to suppress Palestine solidarity protests in ways not seen since the Vietnam War era or the Free South Africa movement.

Detention

"No Land To Stand On" also offers the reader a rare glimpse inside the machinery of immigrant detention. A complex of federal agencies and private for-profit corporations like the GEO group oversee a system that seems to inexorably swallow up working-class immigrants, who have no voice and little hope of successfully challenging their detention and deportation.

Khalil reveals his own emotional struggles in detention—the anxiety, the guilt he felt because he was not by Noor's side during her pregnancy, the anger at a system that is rigged against its victims.

He also humanizes his fellow detainees. Men from Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe, who were all thrown together. Khalil understands that his case, with the publicity it generated and the expansive legal effort on his behalf, made him different from his fellow prisoners. They didn't get to meet Congress members, and their cases were not discussed on CNN.

Still fighting

Released from detention, Mahmoud Khalil is still fighting to remain in the United States. He is preparing to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to hear his deportation case while fighting ongoing removal efforts by the Trump administration and pursuing a civil rights lawsuit against Columbia University. He has also filed suit against the Heritage Foundation, through the Center for Constitutional Rights, alleging that he was the target of a conspiracy between private actors and federal officials who coordinated their efforts "to target, detain, and attempt to deport him because he is Palestinian and he advocated for Palestinian rights."

"No Land To Stand On" is a must-read book for all of us who are fighting back against rising authoritarianism. Mahmoud Khalil offers us all an example of the type of courage and perseverance needed to continue this fightback. We must build a broad, democratic, and unconditional political defense of all victims of government repression. This defense cannot rely on court action alone and requires a strategy that harnesses the independent activity of the working class and its allies in the streets. ■

More pregnant women criminalized by fetal personhood laws

The research team at Pregnancy Justice, a non-profit that advances and defends the rights of pregnant people, no matter if they give birth, experience a pregnancy loss, or have an abortion, has just issued a frightening new report. It documents 902 cases in which people were charged with crimes related to their pregnancy, pregnancy loss, or birth. The researchers believe that this likely represents a significant undercount.

According to Pregnancy Justice, "Each of these 902 cases represents a woman who faced an invasive investigation, arrest, and trauma. They may have sought healthcare for a medical emergency, prenatal care, or pregnancy loss, only to have police called. Many were jailed or separated from their babies."

PJ further reports that 70 of the 900 women were criminalized due to a pregnancy loss. "Prosecutors charged people in at least 23 states, mostly with child abuse, neglect, or endangerment," they say, "for acts that occurred before there was even a child." The majority of cases involved pregnant people of low income and initiated in the deep South. Around 34% of cases were mounted against pregnant people of color. The full report can be read at pregnancyjusticeus.org under "Publications."

The criminalization of failed pregnancies is just one of the many tools that right-wing state governments are using to kill reproductive justice. The practice has become part of the prison pipeline in the South and a tool against immigrant women as well. Like the other policies supported by the right in their misogynist report "Saving America by Saving the Family," it is meant to discipline women to conform to far-right notions of gender roles and to punish those who do contribute to their natalist visions of the future.

The Democratic Party victories in the midterm elections for Congress will have no impact on states' use of child endangerment laws and the notion of "fetal personhood" to make low-income women and other pregnant people vulnerable to unfair prison terms. It is time to rebuild a mass movement in the streets to make reproductive justice a reality.

— CHRISTINE MARIE

After the mid-term elections: Let's continue to build the mass movement to defend our rights



Rachel Moody / WFDD

(*Left*) Students from North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University march through Greensboro, N.C., on Oct. 22, demanding democratic voting rights.

By DANIEL ADAM

Despite the efforts of the Trump regime to interfere with the elections, the Democrats won nationwide in a "blue wave." But how meaningful will the victory of another Big Business party be for working people?

The 2026 congressional elections were the most expensive in U.S. history, with over $11.9 billion in spending—topping the 2024 vote. Yet, eleven-figure spending on campaigns has done little to hide the missing enthusiasm and confidence for those in charge. War, genocide, mass surveillance, lawless state terror, AI everywhere, the explosion of data centers, staggering costs of health care, housing, fuel, necessities and pleasures, corruption, growing climatic disasters, the resurgence of a thousand bigotries—no one in office can claim exemption from shared responsibility in these. And neither party presents a vision with a viable way out.

MAGA offers a fantasy in which a few authentic angry individuals stand up to the criminals in power (drain the swamp, release the Epstein list, etc.) while simultaneously giving supporters the opportunity to participate vicariously, or even directly, in some of the more vicious crimes against those at the bottom through broadcast footage of ICE raids and concentration camps.

Two years of reality and mass opposition have taken the sheen off this fantasy for many. It's not a dead movement by any means, but a crisis is undeniable. Its crisis can also make it all the more desperate and dangerous.

The elections themselves were plagued by attacks on voting rights and challenges to results. The Trump administration opened investigations of several figures in the few weeks and days before the election, including FBI head James Comey and Senator Ilhan Omar (breaking standard Justice Department practice to abstain from investigating candidates in the 60 days before an election).

It attempted to use the postal service to obstruct mail-in ballots, impounded 20,000 California ballots under suspicion of immigrant votes, issued grand jury subpoenas to California elections officials, and preemptively sued to prevent Alaska from certifying the election of a Democrat for senator should the Republican lose by more votes than that obtained by another candidate with the same first and last name. Trump even proposed criminal charges (though, yes, the Democratic Party apparently did seek out someone with the same name as their candidate's opponent and helped get him on the ballot, itself a completely bankrupt maneuver).

Anger mounts toward Trump's policies

But Trump's threats to voting rights appear to have backfired, swelling the numbers who are challenging these undemocratic maneuvers. And the attempts by the Republicans to raise racist and anti-Muslim barbs against their opponents or to blast them as favoring the rights of trans people or being "Marxists," "socialists," or "pro-terrorist" failed to galvanize voters.

Instead, anger toward Trump and his party was overwhelming, handing Democrats big gains: Seven new Senate seats, a hefty majority in the House, governors, and a larger presence in state legislatures. Perhaps most notable are the Senate and gubernatorial victories in Kansas and Texas, neither of which has seen Democrats win statewide office for decades; Kansas hasn't had a Democratic Party senator for close to a hundred years.

Overall, the Democratic Party won the popular vote in the House elections by 13 points, the largest margin that either party has won since 1976—50 years. That earlier lead came on the heels of Nixon's Watergate scandal and the Vietnam War.

Of course, this historical comparison must give working and oppressed people reason for pause. What followed the Democrats' resounding victory in 1976 was the opening of a many-sided offensive on working people here and around the world that continues to this day, from neoliberalism to mass-incarceration to the so-called war on terror. But the Democrats quickly lost their majority in the Senate in the next election, in 1980, while the Democratic president, Jimmie Carter, was defeated in a landslide vote for Ronald Reagan. Some unions, such as the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) broke with the Democrats and supported Reagan. But the next year, Reagan "paid back" the labor unions for their support. He turned on PATCO, broke their strike, and fired the entire workforce.

The essential question was not the party in office, but the crisis of profitability faced by big business, and which both parties agreed to solve through war against working and oppressed people—in the U.S. and around the world.

Today as well, the Republicans' defeat at the polls affects the timing and character of the current offensive on working people, but not its continuation.

The Democrats' victories are not ours. As in the past, they can be expected to institutionalize recent attacks on working and oppressed people's rights (see, for instance, Guantanamo Bay, the 2010 NDAA and Obama's fusion of ICE with local police through "Secure Communities"), disorient current defensive struggles, and prepare the ground for future offensives against us.

Working and oppressed people must organize to stop attacks on voting rights and on basic democratic procedure. It is clear that the Big Tech bosses want to do away with the current limited freedoms that working people still have, and replace it with an AI-powered panopticon. Their drive to expand surveillance and automation will continue until they are defeated for good.

There is no question that Trump has been carrying out a historic offensive on working and oppressed people. And he cannot be passed off as a passing fad. He has had firm backing from several layers of the ultra-rich, and many of his policies have been given the green light by large sections of the power structure, including courts. Most major institutions (most dramatically universities and the Republican Party) have folded without a fight before Trump's offensive or joined in gleefully.

His program has been undermined only by the entry of millions of ordinary people into political action on the street and in workplaces, the highest point of which remains Minnesota's response to the wave of ICE repression earlier this year, which saw entire communities mobilize to defend their neighbors and co-workers, tens of thousands march in sub-zero weather, and the specter of political work stoppages emerge—however modest they may have turned out to be in January. These public mass actions have frequently discouraged the state from backing Trump's actions (largely through court rulings) and forced the Trump administration into several tactical retreats.

The war in Iran may have qualitatively undermined Trump's personal clout. But support for his program—in one form or another—will not disappear so easily.

Big business values Trump's political project for its willingness to smash organization of workers, oppressed communities and political dissidents, for its ability to displace class war with race war, and for its readiness to remove barriers to unregulated AI and fossil fuel in-

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Interview with Rosa Pepper-Macias on the fight for a workers' party

***Rosa Pepper-Macias**, a socialist and Workers' Voice member who ran for State Senate in Connecticut, starts with a simple question: If workers would never let the boss run their union, why let the bosses run their politics? In an interview (with major excerpts below), we spoke about the Democratic Party, the limits of electoral reform, and what it would take to build a workers' party with real muscle.*

— WORKERS' VOICE EDITORS

Paul Bass / New Haven Independent



(*Left*) Pepper-Macias speaking on WNHH radio.

Q. What do you mean by a labor or workers' party?

Rosa: Consider what working people must do to exercise power on the most elementary level—on the shop floor. Bosses use threats and promises to fragment workers and keep them under management's thumb. There are lost hours, demotion, firing, black-listing, and sometimes deportation and imprisonment on one side, and special privileges granted in exchange for loyalty on the other.

Bosses know how to play both sides: threaten the workers who organize and reward those who keep quiet. At my union shop in a restaurant, my chef agreed not to schedule me on Sundays. That arrangement lasted until I started organizing delegations and filing grievances. Suddenly, my Sundays off were considered a contract violation. He wrote me up and warned me: "If you want to keep your job, you better come to work this Sunday." What looks like a favor can become a weapon the minute you fight back.

That is why unions keep management out of their meetings. Workers need room to organize without the boss dangling favors or threatening retaliation. A union worth its name fights for gains everyone can defend, not perks that management can withdraw one by one. Put the boss inside the union and sooner or later the boss runs it. There's a name for that: a company union.

The same principle applies to politics. At work we face individual bosses; in politics we face the capitalist class, its parties and its state. A workers' party would turn the independence we fight for on the shop floor into a national political organization.

We wouldn't invite the manager to chair our union meeting. So why hand our political organization to the bosses? Big business doesn't merely influence the Democratic Party; it has enormous power over its priorities and leadership. Working people cannot build independent political power inside a party dominated by the interests that they are fighting. At best, labor bargains for concessions while its own organizing resources help elect politicians it cannot control. We need our own party.

That doesn't mean turning down reforms. We fight for every improvement. But there is a difference between a favor handed down to a few and a right won for everyone. A favor can be withdrawn quietly; a universal right gives millions a stake in defending it. Our goal is not to trade political loyalty for temporary concessions. It is to build the power to win and defend rights for the whole class.

Q. What is the difference between a labor party and a socialist campaign like yours? And how would it differ from a democratic socialist campaign like that of Mamdani in New York City?

Rosa: Well, first, these are not necessarily the same thing. A socialist candidate is a candidate who fights for a socialist program. A labor party would entail a question of class organization: whether working people have an independent political organization based on our own organizations and struggles rather than one controlled by the capitalist class. Such a party would be a tremendous step forward in working-class political independence, but it would not automatically be a revolutionary socialist party. A struggle would still occur inside it over its program, its leadership, and ultimately whether it seeks to administer capitalism or fight for workers' power.

Our campaign tries to bring those two things together. We are socialists running independently of the capitalist parties, and we use the campaign to argue that the working class needs its own political organization. We don't think an election campaign substitutes for the entire process of building a mass workers' party, and obviously our campaign itself is not that party. However, an independent socialist campaign can show in practice what political class independence looks like, help organize workers around a program based on their own needs, and fight to create a mass workers' party.

From our perspective, Mamdani is neither a workers' candidate nor a socialist in the way we understand it. Mamdani calls himself a "democratic socialist," but he ran a campaign through and governs as a part of the Democratic Party. So the disagreement is not simply over whether one candidate has better reforms than another. It is about whether socialism can be advanced through a capitalist party and by administering the existing capitalist state, or whether workers must build their own political power independently of both.

Take Mamdani's proposal for five municipal grocery stores offering basic goods at lower prices. Cheaper food is welcome. But five stores leave the corporations that control food production and distribution untouched. The issue is not whether a reform helps someone; it is whether workers are organized to win it, extend it, and defend it as a right rather than depend on a politician's goodwill. And that question gets sharper when the same administration confronts movements in the streets.

The point is not whether a politician can offer a useful reform. It is whether workers can organize to win rights that outlast the politician. A discount at five stores is not the same thing as the right to affordable food that millions are prepared to defend.

Mamdani can promise relief with one hand, and police protest with the other. He talked about arresting Israeli Premier Netanyahu when he visited New York City, yet his NYPD protected Netanyahu while arresting protesters outside. That contradiction matters more than any campaign slogan. The danger is that modest reforms become a reason to stand down just when independent movements need to press harder.

Mamdani's joint statements with the NYPD leadership equating far-left and far-right extremism raise the same problem. Working with the police intelligence apparatus does not make that apparatus less dangerous to organizers. It risks giving repression a friendlier public face.

And there is another cost: When a Democratic administration brands a handful of concessions "socialism," it invites workers to judge socialism by what that administration delivers—and by what it takes away. If those reforms collapse while movements have been demobilized, the right wing will be ready to exploit the disappointment. Socialism should mean workers exercising power, not being asked to applaud from the sidelines.

Q. We hear many activists saying that a labor party will never work because of the relatively debilitated state of the labor movement and the entrenched bureaucracy. How do you respond to that?

Rosa: It is true that the labor movement is not as strong as it could be; unions have been, after all, stuck in building the bosses' political projects for many years now. And we do know that in order to build a strong labor party capable of fighting for our demands, we will need unions that are more democratic, more fully engaged in the social movements, and more capable of wielding the strike weapon. But this doesn't mean that we should take an abstentionist attitude toward the unions of today.

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TAKING ON THE TECH BILLIONAIRES

Ryan Collerd / AFP / Getty Images



By CHRISTINE MARIE

The rapid buildout of data centers designed to support generative AI has alerted many working people in the U.S. to the tech industry's threat to our quality of life. The intrusion on the landscape of over 4000 giant, environmentally damaging centers for large language model training has fueled outrage and organized opposition across the country. Similarly, AI-enhanced surveillance via license plate tracking and Palantir products that allow unprecedented monitoring of everyone's daily lives have sparked a growing movement, with fights in hundreds of towns.

The use of this new surveillance capacity to target immigrant workers and those trying to protect them has motivated many local campaigns against the cameras. Environmentally destructive data centers and automated license plate readers are, however, just the most widely acknowledged manifestations of a much more substantive attempt by this super-rich part of the ruling class to completely reorganize the economy and society to the great loss of working people.

The tech billionaire game plan includes a dramatic bid to drive down wages through the threat of massive layoffs, qualitatively enhanced workplace discipline, and 24-7 surveillance of the workforce off the job site. They talk openly of reorganizing as much work as possible onto platforms, individualizing wage negotiations, and reducing the capacity for the onsite organizing of unions. Their plan includes lowering the offerings of public education for non-elites by pushing the argument that generative AI can replace teachers. Along with hospitals and insurers, they are cutting the availability of health services by means of computerized decision-making.

The tech CEOs' popularization of a kind of eugenic thinking called "longtermism" is meant to provide an ideological excuse for further gutting the conditions of life for the low-waged, the underemployed, and the oppressed. Increasingly, they have been integrated into the Pentagon, where they have stimulated more spending on autonomous weaponry. This war spending, of course, will lead to ruling-class demands to more deeply gut social programs.

Such big dreams require a political game. Big Tech CEOs regularly pine in print manifestos for a political system in which they would not be impeded by the democratic norms that working people have won in struggle. To this end of narrowing our political rights, they make outsized donations to MAGA candidates, but also use their power to win friends in the Democratic Party.

In Connecticut, for example, the Democratic governor and the majority Democratic Party legislature have been offering tax credits for data center development. To make Connecticut more even more attractive for data center development, the governors of the five overwhelmingly "blue" New England states have agreed to cooperate to incentivize a new nuclear power buildout that could fuel more data centers for lower electrical costs.

Currently, there is no unified movement to push back against the rapid-fire series of attacks implemented by Big Tech. In Connecticut, activists are working toward a remedy for that (*see ad on page 2*). Activists from many arenas of struggle are coming together in a panel on Dec. 5 to explore the roots—economic, political, and ideological—of the tech billionaire offensive, to learn from each other, and to consider the possibility of a united fightback.

The Connecticut State AFL-CIO president, Ed Hawthorne, will speak to the federation's efforts to pass legislation to protect workers from replacement by AI tools. James Saccardo, the political director of Amazon Labor Union, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 1, will explain how Amazon uses AI-enhanced surveillance of warehouse workers' "productivity" and firings to try to destroy the union. Leslie Blatteau, the president of the New Haven Federation of Teachers, will share her knowledge of the cognitive damage to students wrought by the industry's coercive integration of generative AI tools into schools.

A leader in the Beacon Falls, Conn., fight against a data center project will be partnered with a Sierra Club volunteer leading a campaign for a state moratorium. A member of Surveillance Off Our Streets will report on the "No Cameras. No Collaboration. No Compromise" state day of action on Nov. 12. Dan Piper of the Connecticut Civil Liberties Defense Committee will present the global economic and political situation driving this offensive against working people and introduce plans for a state winter conference open to all activists called Standing Up to the Tech Billionaires.

Unifying these struggles and moving toward democratically shaped mass protests that are independent of the corporate political parties is an important next step. Ultimately, working people need to develop the political power to turn this industry into a public one—run through worker and community control bodies that could decide what new tech creations truly serve humanity and the planet, and which ones belong in the garbage can of history. ■

… Rosa Pepper-Macias: On the workers' party

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The union bureaucracy is not the same thing as the union membership. If we want a fighting trade-union movement, we have to advocate it! This means putting all our forces into ground-level organizing, so our unions will succeed in economic struggles, and develop a conscious participation in crucial political struggles of our times, like the defense of civil liberties, immigrant rights, trans rights, or the fight against ongoing wars and environmental devastation. This is what we have been doing through the electoral campaign: We talk to our coworkers, meet trade unionists in social movements, and raise these issues on the campaign trail.

One place to start is with endorsements. Why should a union executive board decide behind closed doors which Democrat gets the membership's money and volunteers? Let the rank and file debate and vote! A campaign for an independent working-class candidate can become a fight for democracy inside the union itself.

We do not have to wait for perfect unions before fighting for a workers' party. Independent campaigns can help organize a fighting current inside unions; rank-and-file victories can give a future party its backbone. And a workers' party would do far more than run candidates. It could organize the unorganized, coordinate strikes, defend immigrants against raids, support struggles for abortion rights, and link workplace battles to the fight against war and environmental destruction.

Workers keep society running. When they stop, the bosses notice. A party rooted in that power could make the whole political system notice, too.

Q. ***The calls for a labor party in the 1920s, and especially in the 1930s and '40s, were based on a historical labor insurgency, with the rise of the CIO—yet we don't see that today. Is now the right time to call for a labor party? Shouldn't we wait for a better moment and, in the meantime, run progressive or socialist candidates wherever we can, regardless of the ballot line?***

Rosa: Why wait? Unions already devote enormous amounts of money, staff time, and door-knocking to electing Democrats. Imagine those resources backing candidates answerable to workers instead. Even the fight to build such a party would change how members think about their unions—not as campaign machinery for someone else but as organizations with their own political future.

Imagine a party fighting for full employment, a three-day weekend, single-payer health care, free public higher education, the abolition of ICE and mass surveillance, and papers for all—and backing those demands with workplace organizing and strikes. That would be something worth knocking on doors for.

There is an audience for it. Workers have shown their appetite for organizing at Amazon and Starbucks, in the UAW strike and the UPS contract fight, and in mobilizations for immigrants and Palestine. Too much of that energy is funneled back into the same two parties. Some workers who once backed Obama or Sanders later turned to Trump; others are now disillusioned with him. We cannot write them off or leave the right to recruit them. We have to offer a political home rooted in shared class interests and collective struggle.

Look to the immigrant-worker mobilizations of May Day 2006 and the uprisings of 2020, not to the Democratic Party's campaign consultants. The question is how to turn moments of mass action into durable working-class organization. …

It's true, the trade unions really only organize a small minority of the working class, and they disproportionately represent highly skilled and highly paid workers, so we really shouldn't fetishize them, but we can't abandon them either. In many cases, the most exploited workers fall outside of the unions. Take for example, the immigrant working class; in the U.S., immigrant workers are statistically less likely to be unionized than workers who are born in the U.S. And yet right now immigrant workers are the layer of the class that is the most willing to stand up and fight back. Just like in 2006, the immigrant rights struggle is showing us the way forward with mass actions on the streets of LA, Chicago, and Minneapolis.

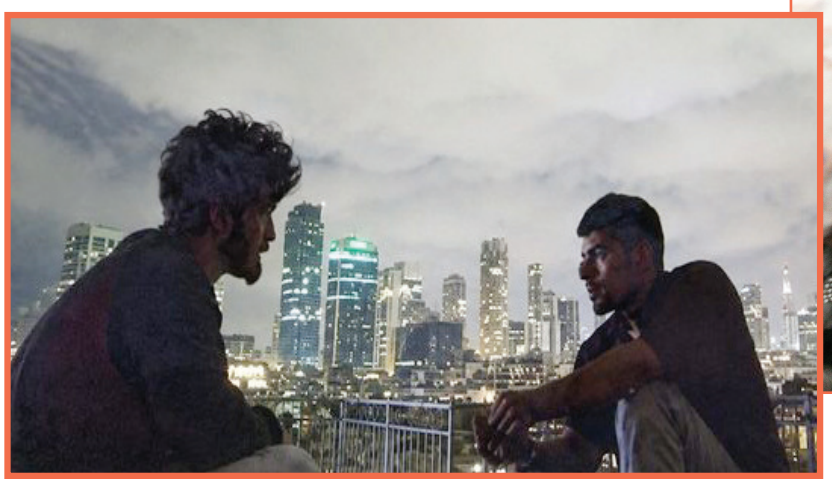
This is why a labor party would only be successful if it built upon and related to the upsurges in the fight for immigrant rights. Imagine a fighting labor party that could build on these days of no work, no school, no shopping and organize coordinated work stoppages around the country on an indefinite basis to win our demands. Imagine if it were able to send political strike leaders across the country to inspire workers to take on ever more ambitious projects. A movement organized like that could go far beyond merely defensive struggles (defending migrants who have already been victimized) and would actually be able to win a program that calls for an end to the raids, detentions, and deportations, and for papers for all. …

A workers' party must organize the employed and unemployed, union and nonunion, documented and undocumented, around a program they can fight for together. ■

Israeli operatives divulge details of their crimes in the documentary film, ‘NAZA’

Israeli Defense Force via AP





CNN



(*Clockwise*) • Israeli soldiers mark their targets in Gaza. • Palestinian casualties at Al-Shifa Hospital, Gaza City. • Israeli officer interviewed in the film, “NAZA.”

By JAMES MARKIN

“NAZA,” a British documentary film by Yuaval Abraham and Rachel Szor. Coproduced by The Guardian and JW Films.

“NAZA” is a film cloaked in darkness and secrecy. As Israeli intelligence officers testify to the crimes they committed in the line of duty, they speak with their faces hidden by shadow, huddled on the roofs of Tel Aviv high rises rather than under the lights of a film studio. This is by necessity. One of the officers points to the fact that if it were known that he was speaking out, he would face jail time.

Much of what the officers testify is not new. They speak out about their role in designing and operating Israel’s Lavender and “Where’s Daddy” AI targeting systems, which helped Israeli soldiers find Hamas operatives in their homes at night, killing thousands of Palestinian noncombatants in their beds. NAZA, the Israeli acronym for “collateral damage,” after all, gave its name to the film. The officers also speak to the phases of the war that came next, the systematic destruction of Gaza, neighborhood by neighborhood, Israel’s attempt to depopulate northern Gaza through the creation of “kill zones,” and how Israel turned food distribution sites into massacres.

And yet, “NAZA” has more ambition than to merely report on these crimes; it puts Tel Aviv itself on trial. In one of its brief forays into archival footage, it debunks the notion that the city was “built from nothing” on sand dunes, instead showing the reality that multiple Palestinian settlements had to be demolished to make way for the Zionist state’s gleaming proof of a concept city. The movie also points to the closeness between the two cities of Tel Aviv and Gaza City, just a little over 40 miles apart along the same coastline.

Tel Aviv fills nearly the entire lens of the film. Clips from Israeli television are shown as if being watched through half-open windows into swanky Tel Aviv apartments. The residents of the city are shown making dinner, working out, and watching television with their families. Meanwhile, Palestinians in Gaza struggle for survival, besieged by hunger, disease, death squads, and killer drones, unseen until the last few minutes of the film.

“NAZA” is more ambitious than being just a journalistic exposé of the crimes of Israel in Gaza. After all, most of the specific allegations made in the film—from the use of the AI tools Lavender and “Where’s Daddy” to the creation of kill zones and the massacre of hungry Palestinians—have all been reported on before. What “NAZA” does is allow the criminals behind these acts to speak to the mindset necessary to commit them. In this regard, the film is universal. In another time and place, these men and women could easily be SS officers, or British colonial officials, or Young Turks.

And yet there is much about the Israeli genocide depicted in “NAZA”that is specific to this time and place. The officers interviewed describe a genocide committed remotely, from behind a computer screen. After an Israeli intelligence officer submits plans for strikes against women and children, they can step away for a smoke, or go out for lunch or drinks in the city of Tel Aviv. This represents a whole new chapter in the history of genocide and mass killing.

As the Marxist thinker Abraham Leon, himself a victim of the Holocaust, put it, under capitalism, “the progress of technology and science has become the progress of the science of death and its technology. The development of the means of production is nothing but the growth of the means of destruction.” Thus, while the same forces of racism behind the genocides of the Native Americans, the Armenians, etc, were behind the Holocaust, the character and ideology of Nazi “total extermination” was different. Thomas Jefferson and his ilk dreamed of removal of the Native American population through strategic removals and eventual cultural assimilation. The capacity to utterly exterminate a population was not yet available.

This new means of destruction brought with it an ideology of utter destruction. Only the development of industrial capitalism gave Hitler the power to destroy European Jewry, nearly totally. While the medieval European antisemite hated Jews and wanted to kill them, and pogroms led to mass killings of Jews, the new industrial antisemitism of Nazi German militarism now could finally dream of a Europe that was *judenfrei*.

Similarly, “NAZA” shows how, once again, capitalist development of the means of destruction has created a whole new form of the same old species of extermination. The old colonial genocidaire at least had to get their hands dirty. Now, according to “NAZA,” their Israeli descendant watches from a drone as death squads shoot starving Palestinians on their orders. One of the officers interviewed in “NAZA” even stated that others in his unit would use the drones to watch dogs eat Palestinian bodies as a sick form of entertainment. Another said that the video-game-like nature of the software tools used to plan air force strikes against Gaza made the whole thing “insanely fun.”

To the Israeli audience, this revelation has been the most shocking aspect of the film. Within Israeli society the “excesses’ of the IDF have been largely blamed on the “Arab-hating” yokels, the poor Jews of Middle Eastern origin who speak Hebrew the “wrong way” and who are drafted directly into front-line infantry units.

Meanwhile, the elite denizens of Tel Aviv who work in the tech sector, who are snapped up by the elite intelligence units, see themselves as a cut above. One of the officers interviewed brags about how difficult being selected for his unit is, calling himself “the best of the best.” Another describes how intelligence operatives are treated by the right-wing government with suspicion, snobby Tel Aviv “leftists” who will go on to high paying tech jobs after the end of their service. And yet, when one of the officers interviewed in the film tries to defend his conduct by saying that “most of us are left-wing ... there aren’t really any Arab haters in my unit,” the director fires back that surely his unit killed more Arabs than any of these “Arab-haters” ever did.

This is the face of the new ideology of techno-genocide in Israel. The cold-blooded hatred that exterminates block after block of innocent people in Gaza, that seeks to exterminate the people from the land, just as their ancestors did to the former residents of Tel Aviv. And yet, now the forces that carry out this genocide and their method of killing has been changed. Whereas those who “cleaned out” old Jaffa to build Tel Aviv were the sons and daughters of the European Jewish industrial working class, the new “protagonist” of genocidal violence is the elite engineer of the tech sector, drafted into the military and turned against the enemies of the state.

Whereas before the Zionists used the rifle, the leaflet, and the radio to create fear amongst the Palestinians and cause them to flee behind Egyptian lines to Gaza, now their descendants have come back to exterminate them entirely, in cold blood, sitting behind a LED monitor sipping a latte while directing hellfire from above. Once again, developments in the means of production have created horrifying new developments of the means of destruction. The AI-assisted genocide continues every day in Gaza. ■

Cornell: Jane Doe no está sola





Por CARLOS SAPIR

La ira corre por todo Estados Unidos y el mundo entero a raíz de la revelación de los detalles de un horrible estupro en grupo ocurrida en una residencia de una fraternidad en Cornell, una de las instituciones académicas más prestigiosas del país. Apenas una semana después, casi al otro lado del país, en Arizona, se dio a conocer la noticia de que una candidata al Congreso fue violada por dos hombres mientras areglaba los letreros de su campaña. A pesar de estar separadas por miles de kilómetros y de que muy distintas circunstancias, ambas historias ilustran que tan generalizada está la violencia sexual en nuestra sociedad.

Mientras la Universidad Cornell y las autoridades locales de policía y gobierno buscan deshacerse de la culpa y ponen excusas por no haber investigado el caso a fondo cuando ocurrió por primera vez en 2024, los estudiantes exigen respuestas, con manifestaciones contra la violación convocadas en Cornell y, en solidaridad, en otras instituciones. Al hacerlo, unen sus fuerzas con movimientos más amplios contra la violencia sexual y la opresión de género que han asumido esta lucha vital en todo el mundo.

Lo que te enseñan en Cornell

Al reabrir el caso en respuesta a la indignación pública, la administración de Cornell y las autoridades locales de Nueva York han señalado razones legales y procedimentales por las que este caso se ignoró inicialmente en 2024, identificando dos obstáculos en particular. En primer lugar, la policía que llevó a cabo la entrevista con la víctima en 2024 no transmitió a los fiscales estatales que la víctima había afirmado: "Puedo decir con un 100% de certeza que fui violada." A pesar de esta clara acusación, no se transmitió a los fiscales a quienes se les había encomendado el caso y no fue considerado en su decisión. En segundo lugar, se ha notado que las leyes vigente de Nueva York cuenta con protecciones muy débiles para las víctimas de agresión sexual que son atacadas mientras se encuentran bajo los efectos de drogas o alcohol. Según la ley aún vigente, si el consumo inicial de sustancias intoxicantes fue intencional, ninguna acción posterior que haya ocurrido bajo los efectos de dichas sustancias puede considerarse estupro. Esto contradice por completo la comprensión general actual del consentimiento y desmiente el propio testimonio de la víctima, quien identifica muy claramente cómo, a pesar de haber consentido ciertas actividades en la casa de la fraternidad, no dio su consentimiento para actos posteriores e incluso perdió la capacidad física para darlo a medida que avanzaba la noche y se la presionaba para que consumiera cada vez más drogas, particularmente ketamina, un disociativo fuerte.

Estos obstáculos legales y procedimentales son importantes y explican bastante sobre la falta de confiabilidad de la policía y del sistema de aplicación de la ley en general. Sin embargo, centrarse exclusivamente en estos problemas procesales significaría pasar por alto el panorama más amplio de la violencia sexual en la sociedad y, en particular, en las universidades. Un asombroso 26% de las mujeres (y el 7% de los hombres) sufren violencia sexual en algún momento durante sus cuatro años de estudios universitarios de pregrado. Estas estadísticas serían espantosas en cualquier contexto, pero resultan particularmente impactantes dado que asistir a la universidad se presenta como un rito de iniciación fundamental para una parte significativa de la población, incluida gran parte de la clase trabajadora. Nuestra sociedad envía sistemáticamente a nuestros jóvenes a un proceso académico en el que más de 1 de cada 4 de las niñas será violada.

Esta violencia también tiene un componente de clase. La universidad moderna cumple una doble función: educa e indoctrina a la clase trabajadora para que ingrese al mercado laboral profesional, y también sirve como escuela de refinamiento para que los hijos de los ricos socialicen y establezcan contactos entre sí con el fin de forjar vínculos que reproduzcan su clase (las universidades también funcionan como fondos de inversión, propietarios de inmuebles y puntos de conexión para el complejo militar-industrial). No es casualidad que este caso haya ocurrido en una institución de élite y en la sede de una fraternidad. Si la universidad en su conjunto es una fábrica para la reproducción de la sociedad de clases, las fraternidades son las oficinas ejecutivas donde se enseña a los muchachos ricos a disfrutar de la impunidad que les da su clase.

Aunque Estados Unidos nunca ha tenido una aristocracia formal, las fraternidades norteamericanas están organizadas de una manera profundamente aristocrática. Su retórica pública las presenta como sociedades caritativas, pero el objetivo de las fraternidades (y de las sororidades, sus contrapartes femeninas) es ser clubes sociales para los ricos.

La membresía suele ser hereditaria, y a los hijos y hermanos menores se les garantiza prácticamente la entrada a la fraternidad de sus predecesores. Estas organizaciones operan a nivel nacional; surgieron como sociedades secretas burguesas en el siglo XIX y, desde entonces, han evolucionado hacia sus formas institucionalizadas, con grupos en casi todos los campus universitarios del país. Las fraternidades están bien representadas en las redes de exalumnos donantes que enriquecen el financiamiento de las universidades e impulsan el reclutamiento de estudiantes para estas instituciones.

Las altas cuotas de membresía y la selección social preservan su carácter de clase dominante, y la iniciación de los miembros tradicionalmente implica severos rituales de novatadas que constituyen abuso sistemático, una tradición que, en la práctica, condiciona a muchos de estos hombres a una cultura de control y abuso que los predispone directamente a cometer agresiones sexuales. Cualquier noche, las residencias de las fraternidades en todo el país están llenas de ketamina, cocaína y otras drogas duras, mientras que los padres de estos jóvenes continúan ordenando la muerte y el arresto de innumerables víctimas de la guerra contra las drogas. Este fenómeno es intergeneracional y bien conocido en los campus: ya sea que haya asistido a la universidad en los años 1960 o en la actualidad, es probable que escuche una broma de que las iniciales de SAE, una fraternidad particularmente notoria, significan «Se Anticipa Estupro» (en ingles: «Sexual Assault Expected»).

También hay que prestar atención al papel de la propia administración universitaria capitalista, que intenta presentarse como un organismo de investigación y, en ocasiones, incluso pretende oponerse a la influencia de las fraternidades. Sin embargo, la administración universitaria no es ni un aliado de los oprimidos, ni siquiera un árbitro neutral e imparcial. Tiene un conflicto de intereses inmediato, ya que su prioridad es preservar la reputación de la institución y, con ello, las solicitudes de admisión de nuevos estudiantes. Los procedimientos para denunciar violaciones no están diseñados para atender a la víctima, sino para minimizar la responsabilidad de la universidad, ya sea en forma de evitar publicidad negativa en los medios o al tratar de complacer en el ámbito privado a los ricos amigos de quienes cometieron crímenes atroces. Al hablar con sobrevivientes de agresiones sexuales en la universidad y con sus amigos que las acompañaron a lo largo de estos procesos, estas personas describen cómo dichos procesos implican una repetida retraumatización de las víctimas, cuyo testimonio es sometido a interrogatorios.

Al final del proceso, lo mejor que una víctima puede esperar, por lo general, es que su agresor sea objeto de una orden de alejamiento que le prohíba el acceso al campus universitario. En consecuencia, y junto con otras presiones sociales que desalientan la denuncia de agresiones sexuales, la mayoría de los casos no se denuncian.

Las imágenes de las protestas en Cornell muestran cómo los estudiantes han establecido el vínculo entre los cobardes intentos de la universidad por eludir la responsabilidad por la violación y su mano dura contra los estudiantes que se manifestaban en apoyo a Palestina, portando pancartas que decían: «¡Expulsar a los violadores, no a los manifestantes!». Los ataques de Cornell y otras universidades contra los activistas estudiantiles a instancias del gobierno y su falta de respuesta ante las agresiones sexuales en el campus son las dos caras de la misma moneda corrupta: la priorización sistemática de proteger la reputación de la universidad y de sus patrocinadores más acaudalados, por encima de las necesidades y la seguridad de los estudiantes y trabajadores del campus.

El violador en jefe y sus compinches

La violación y la opresión sexual no son nada nuevo. Pero el espectro de un presidente que se codeaba con Jeffrey Epstein, que se jactó de acosar sexualmente a mujeres en la televisión pública en el período previo a su primera elección, que nombró al violador Brett Kavanaugh para el cargo público más alto del país y que ha presidido el desmantelamiento generalizado de los derechos reproductivos y la atención médica que afirma la identidad de género, sí tiene un impacto directo en la incidencia de las agresiones sexuales y en un clima que las tolera.

Por su parte, los comentarios del presidente sobre el caso de Cornell consisten en decir que "siente lástima" por los acusados, es decir, los presuntos violadores. Envuelta en la obsesión casi de caricatura de MAGA por la virilidad y la agresividad masculinas se encuentra una valorización de la misoginia grosera y presumida que se convierte en una licencia y una amenaza para que se produzca violencia real.

Este parece ser lo que sucedió en el ataque y la violación de una candidata al Congreso por el Partido Demócrata, Bernadette Greene-Placentia, quien fue atacada por detrás, dejada inconsciente, violada y abandonada sangrando a las 3 de la madrugada en un estacionamiento vacío mientras realizaba su rutina de arreglar los carteles de su campaña. Entre otros comentarios sexistas, parece que sus agresores la llamaron «perra demócrata».

La intención es clara: a estos hombres se les ha alentado a cometer violencia sexual contra cualquier mujer que represente incluso la más mínima desviación de las normas patriarcales y eclécticas de dominación masculina de MAGA, ya sea en la política o en cualquier otro ámbito.

¿Cómo podemos defendernos?

Si bien Trump es un ejemplo paradigmático de la impunidad machista, enfrentar la opresión sexual requiere más que simplemente votar por un partido diferente. Esta impunidad tiene raíces profundas dentro de las fuerzas policiales a niv-

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Después de las elecciones, necesitamos seguir construyendo un movimiento para defender nuestros derechos

Por DAN ADAMS

Las elecciones de 2026 fueron las más costosas en la historia de Estados Unidos, con un gasto de más de 11,6 mil millones de dólares, superando así a las elecciones presidenciales de 2024. Sin embargo, un gasto de once cifras en las campañas ha servido de poco para ocultar la falta de entusiasmo y confianza en quienes están al mando. La guerra, el genocidio, la vigilancia masiva, el terrorismo de Estado sin ley, la inteligencia artificial omnipresente, la explosión de los centros de datos, los costos astronómicos de la atención médica, la vivienda, el combustible, los productos de primera necesidad y los placeres, la corrupción, los crecientes desastres climáticos, el resurgimiento de mil formas de intolerancia: nadie en el poder puede alegar estar exento de la responsabilidad compartida en todo esto. Y ninguno de los dos partidos presenta una visión con una salida viable.

MAGA ofrece una fantasía en la que unos pocos individuos auténticamente enojados se enfrentan a los criminales en el poder (drenar el pantano, dar a conocer la lista de Epstein, etc.), al tiempo que brinda a sus seguidores la oportunidad de participar de manera vicaria (o incluso directa) en algunos de los crímenes más atroces contra quienes se encuentran en los niveles más bajos de la sociedad (transmisión de imágenes de redadas del ICE y de campos de concentración).

Dos años de realidad y oposición masiva han desvanecido el brillo de esta fantasía para muchos. No es un movimiento muerto en absoluto, pero la crisis es innegable. Su crisis también puede hacerlo aún más desesperado y peligroso.

Las elecciones en sí mismas se vieron plagadas de ataques contra los derechos de voto y impugnaciones de los resultados. La administración de Trump inició investigaciones contra varias figuras en las semanas y días previos a las elecciones, entre ellas James Comey e Ilhan Omar (rompiendo la práctica habitual del Departamento de Justicia de abstenerse de investigar a los candidatos en los 60 días previos a una elección). Intentó utilizar el servicio postal para obstruir los votos por correo, confiscó 20 000 boletas electorales de California bajo sospecha de votos de inmigrantes, está emitiendo citaciones de un gran jurado a funcionarios electorales de California y está entablando una demanda preventiva para impedir que Alaska certifique la elección de una senadora demócrata en caso de que el candidato republicano pierda por más votos que los obtenidos por otro candidato con el mismo nombre y apellido. Trump ahora incluso propone presentar cargos penales. (Y sí, la candidata demócrata buscó a alguien con el mismo nombre que su oponente y ayudó a que figurara en la boleta electoral, lo cual es en sí mismo una maniobra completamente descabellada).

Sin embargo, las amenazas de Trump contra los derechos de voto parecen haber resultado contraproducentes, ya que aumentaron el número de personas que acudieron a las urnas o salieron a las calles para oponerse a estas maniobras antidemocráticas. Y los intentos de los republicanos de lanzar ataques racistas y antimusulmanes contra sus oponentes, o de acusarlos de apoyar a las personas transgénero o de ser «marxistas», «socialistas» o «proterroristas», tampoco lograron movilizar a los votantes.

Maryanne Casas-Perez / San José Spotlight)



(*Foto*) Líderes comunitarios se reunieron en el este de San José, Calif., el 2 de noviembre para animar a los residentes latinos e inmigrantes a votar.

En cambio, la indignación hacia Trump y su partido fue abrumadora, lo que le otorgó a los demócratas grandes avances: siete nuevos escaños en el Senado, una amplia mayoría en la Cámara de Representantes, gobernadores y una mayor presencia en las legislaturas estatales. Quizás lo más notable sean las victorias en el Senado y en las elecciones para gobernador en Kansas y Texas, estados en los que los demócratas no habían ganado un cargo a nivel estatal en décadas; Kansas no ha tenido un senador del Partido Demócrata desde hace casi cien años.

En general, el Partido Demócrata ganó el voto popular en las elecciones a la Cámara de Representantes por 13 puntos, el margen más amplio que ha obtenido cualquiera de los dos partidos desde 1976 —hace 50 años—. Esa ventaja anterior se produjo inmediatamente después del escándalo del Watergate de Nixon y la guerra de Vietnam.

Pero esta comparación histórica debe también dar a la clase trabajadora y a los oprimidos motivos por pausar.

Lo que siguió a la rotunda victoria de los demócratas en ese período fue el inicio de una ofensiva multifacética contra la clase trabajadora, tanto aquí como en todo el mundo, que continúa hasta el día de hoy, desde el neoliberalismo hasta el encarcelamiento masivo y la llamada «guerra contra el terrorismo».

Pero los demócratas perdieron rápidamente su mayoría en el Senado en las siguientes elecciones, en 1980, mientras que el presidente demócrata, Jimmy Carter, fue derrotado por una mayoría aplastante a favor de Ronald Reagan. Algunos sindicatos, como la Organización Profesional de Controladores de Tráfico Aéreo (PATCO), rompieron con los demócratas y apoyaron a Reagan. Pero al año siguiente, Reagan «recompensó» a los sindicatos por su apoyo. Se volvió contra la PATCO, rompió su huelga y despidió a toda la fuerza laboral.

La cuestión fundamental no era el partido en el poder, sino la crisis de rentabilidad que enfrentaban las grandes empresas, y que ambos partidos acordaron resolver mediante una guerra contra los trabajadores y los oprimidos, tanto en Estados Unidos como en todo el mundo.

Hoy también, la derrota de los republicanos en las urnas afecta el momento y el carácter de la ofensiva actual contra los trabajadores, pero no su continuación.

Las victorias de los demócratas no son nuestras. Al igual que en el pasado, cabe esperar que institucionalicen los recientes ataques contra los derechos de los trabajadores y los oprimidos (véanse, por ejemplo, la Bahía de Guantánamo, la NDAA de 2010 y la fusión que llevó a cabo Obama entre el ICE y la policía local a través de «Comunidades Seguras»), desorienten las luchas defensivas actuales y preparen el terreno para futuras ofensivas en nuestra contra.

La clase trabajadora y los oprimidos deben seguir organizándose para detener los ataques contra los derechos de voto y contra los procedimientos democráticos básicos. Es evidente que los jefes de las grandes empresas tecnológicas quieren acabar con las limitadas libertades que aún tiene la clase trabajadora y sustituirlas por una gigantesca cárcel a aire libre impulsado por inteligencia artificial. Su impulso por expandir la vigilancia y la automatización continuará hasta que sean derrotados de una vez por todas.

No hay duda de que Trump ha estado llevando a cabo una ofensiva histórica contra la clase trabajadora y los oprimidos. Y no se le puede descartar como una simple aberración. Ha contado con el firme respaldo de varios sectores de los ultra-ricos, y muchas de sus políticas han recibido luz verde de amplios sectores de la estructura de poder, incluidos los tribunales.

La mayoría de las instituciones importantes (sobre todo las universidades y el Partido Republicano) se han rendido sin oponer resistencia ante la ofensiva de Trump o se han sumado a ella con regocijo.

Su programa solo se ha visto socavado por la participación de millones de personas comunes en la acción política en las calles y en los lugares de trabajo, cuyo punto más alto sigue siendo la respuesta de Minnesota a la ola de represión del ICE a principios de este año, en la

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... After the elections

(continued from page 8)

dustries, for expanding the reach of a repressive apparatus in preparation for super-exploitation and war. Whether or not it is a priority, some layers clearly do believe that it is practical and necessary for the U.S. to retreat from its past role of hegemon and global arbiter.

But Trump could not carry out his program if not for the groundwork laid by the Democratic Party in the labor and social movements. The failure to respond with the most modest levels of urgency to Trump's many-sided offensive on labor (open war on immigrants, removing collective bargaining rights and mass layoffs in the federal workforce) is a symptom of rot accumulated over decades. Voting Democrats into office one more time would not have prevented this moment. The return of Democrats to office will not prevent the continued weakening of labor and social movements.

To the contrary: Continued support for the Democratic Party means the further degradation of our movements and an even more favorable ground for current or future movements towards authoritarianism.

The mobilizations organized by grassroots activists to defend polling booths and take the streets against any attempt by Trump to interrupt the election were an important step in the right direction. The key to defending ourselves against Trump's remaining attacks against democratic rights and working class living conditions, as well as the attacks that will follow, is to build unions and grassroots organizations that can mobilize working people in our millions, to demand a right to live and a say over our society. A mass mobilization can stop a coup even when politicians are ready to throw in the towel.

Beyond securing the elections, this kind of organizing is necessary to fight for the change that we need as working people. To stop the creeping expansion of surveillance AI, to win back rights for immigrants and queer people, to expand rights for the oppressed even further, and to challenge the rich's control over society at the roots, this is the movement that we need. ■

Solidaridad con el pueblo de Ucrania

En octubre, Estados Unidos decidió suspender su apoyo logístico basado en satélites «Starshield» para Ucrania. De repente, Ucrania perdió el acceso a componentes clave de su sistema de defensa antimisiles, así como su capacidad para comunicarse y detectar los movimientos del enemigo a lo largo de la línea del frente y en territorio ruso.

A esto le siguió el anuncio de la administración de Trump de que Estados Unidos levantaría sus sanciones contra las exportaciones rusas de diesel, y rápidamente confirmó que Estados Unidos había llegado a un acuerdo para comprar petróleo a Rusia. Además, la Casa Blanca anunció que, por un período de al menos 60 días, suspendería las sanciones que el Congreso aprobó el mes pasado contra instituciones rusas.

Al mismo tiempo, Rusia parece estar cortejando a Trump con promesas de acuerdos comerciales y empresas conjuntas.

El apoyo de EE. UU. a Ucrania, al igual que sus relaciones con docenas de otros estados semicoloniales en todo el mundo, se basa en mantener la dependencia de Ucrania respecto a EE. UU. Sin embargo, la «ayuda» imperialista viene acompañada de condiciones endiabladas, que se manifiestan en forma de una deuda agobiante, la cesión del control sobre la política económica interna y las vulnerabilidades que conlleva la dependencia del aparato militar de EE. UU. y la OTAN.

Los ucranianos tienen derecho a buscar armas y ayuda donde puedan encontrarlas, y no les negamos nuestra solidaridad por el hecho de haber recibido dicho apoyo de los imperialistas de la OTAN. Pero al mismo tiempo, aun cuando denunciamos este terrible chantaje y traición por parte del imperialismo estadounidense, no podemos simplemente decir que Estados Unidos debe mantener el sistema Starshield y enviar más misiles Patriot y otras armas a Ucrania. Hacerlo equivaldría a brindar cobertura para el restablecimiento de la misma estratagema imperialista; subordinaría aún más la autonomía de Ucrania a los caprichos de la clase dominante estadounidense. La verdadera autonomía de Ucrania solo puede provenir del desarrollo de una producción de defensa local y nacionalizada, bajo el control democrático de la clase trabajadora ucraniana.

Nuestra visión de la solidaridad debe ser organizada y dirigida por los trabajadores, fuera de las maquinaciones de los gobiernos imperialistas. Esto toma la forma de convoyes que, además de proporcionar una modesta cantidad de ayuda directa, fortalecen los lazos políticos que pueden perdurar en estos tiempos de crisis. Estos lazos no se establecen con el gobierno de Zelensky, sino con los sindicatos ucranianos y otras organizaciones de la clase trabajadora.

Mientras Ucrania lucha día tras día, debemos apoyarla con nuestros métodos y fuerzas de la clase trabajadora, para ayudar en lo que podamos al tiempo que unimos fuerzas a nivel internacional para hacernos más fuertes.

—CARLOS SAPIR

Impacto Latino



... Después de las elecciones

(desde la página 13)

que comunidades enteras se movilizaron para defender a sus vecinos y compañeros de trabajo, decenas de miles de personas marcharon en temperaturas bajo cero y surgió el espectro de los paros políticos, por muy modestos que hayan resultado ser en enero. Estas acciones públicas masivas han disuadido con frecuencia al Estado de respaldar las medidas de Trump (en gran parte a través de fallos judiciales) y han obligado a la administración de Trump a realizar varias retiradas tácticas.

Es posible que la guerra en Irán haya socavado cualitativamente la influencia personal de Trump. Sin embargo, el apoyo a su programa —de una forma u otra— no desaparecerá tan fácilmente.

Las grandes empresas valoran el proyecto político de Trump por su disposición a aplastar la organización de los trabajadores, las comunidades oprimidas y los disidentes políticos; por su capacidad para sustituir la lucha de clases por la guerra racial; y por su disposición a eliminar las barreras que frenan a las industrias no reguladas de inteligencia artificial y combustibles fósiles, con el fin de ampliar el alcance de un aparato represivo en preparación para la superexplotación y la guerra. Independientemente de si es o no una prioridad, algunos sectores creen claramente que es pragmático y necesario que Estados Unidos renuncie a su papel anterior de hegemón y árbitro global.

Pero Trump no podría llevar a cabo su programa sin el terreno preparado por el Partido Demócrata en los movimientos laborales y sociales.

El hecho de no haber respondido con el más mínimo nivel de urgencia a la ofensiva multifacética de Trump contra los trabajadores (guerra abierta contra los inmigrantes, eliminación de los derechos de negociación colectiva y despidos masivos en la fuerza laboral federal) es un síntoma de la podredumbre acumulada a lo largo de décadas. Votar una vez más por los demócratas no habría evitado este momento. Y no impedirá el continuo debilitamiento de los movimientos laborales y sociales.

Por el contrario: el apoyo continuado al Partido Demócrata significa una mayor degradación de nuestros movimientos y un terreno aún más propicio para los movimientos actuales o futuros hacia el autoritarismo.

Un movimiento de masas

Las movilizaciones organizadas por activistas de base para defender las urnas electorales y salir a las calles contra cualquier intento de Trump de interrumpir las elecciones fueron un paso importante en la dirección correcta. La clave para defendernos de los restantes ataques de Trump contra los derechos democráticos y las condiciones de vida de la clase trabajadora, así como de los ataques que vendrán después, es construir sindicatos y organizaciones de base que puedan movilizar a millones de trabajadores y trabajadoras, para exigir el derecho a vivir y a tener voz y voto en nuestra sociedad. Una movilización masiva puede detener un golpe de Estado incluso cuando los políticos estén dispuestos a tirar la toalla.

Más allá de garantizar las elecciones, este tipo de organización es necesaria para luchar por el cambio que necesitamos como clase trabajadora. Para detener la expansión de la inteligencia artificial y la supervigilancia, para recuperar los derechos de los inmigrantes y las personas LGBTQI+, para ampliar aún más los derechos de los oprimidos y para desafiar de raíz el control de los ricos sobre la sociedad, este es el movimiento que necesitamos. ■

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!

... Jane Doe no está sola

(desde la página 12)

el nacional: es muy probable que los propios policías sean los autores de agresiones sexuales o de violencia de pareja. Incluso cuando no son literalmente los autores del caso en cuestión, tienden a menospreciar a las víctimas y a hacer muy poco para atender sus inquietudes.

Más allá de las preocupaciones a nivel de las fuerzas del orden, lo que refuerza la opresión machista es el tejido económico y social del capitalismo. Los capitalistas dependen directamente de una división machista del trabajo para eludir la responsabilidad de pagar por la reproducción social —el trabajo «gratuito» de cuidar a los niños y a las personas de tercera edad, así como las tareas domésticas cotidianas que son necesarias para que la clase trabajadora pueda ir para trabajar día a día, y que recae de manera desproporcionada sobre las mujeres—, reduciendo así los costos laborales. Esto se ve reforzado a su vez mediante la propagación y la mercantilización de ideologías y estructuras sociales sexistas, con el fin de mantener las divisiones en la sociedad y justificar la explotación, con instituciones como las fraternidades, las administraciones universitarias y la policía que existen para proteger y defender el statu quo.

Por lo tanto, no es suficiente votar por un capitalista diferente para resolver esto. No es suficiente solo organizar programas educativos sobre el machismo en las universidades. Necesitamos organizar movimientos de masas que exijan el restablecimiento del derecho al aborto, el derecho a la autonomía corporal, el derecho a la atención médica que afirme la identidad de género y el derecho a una atención de salud reproductiva de calidad, así como castigos para los violadores, ya que garantizar estos derechos y normas proporciona la base mínima para la participación de las mujeres y las minorías de género en la sociedad. Los sindicatos y otras organizaciones de la clase trabajadora deben asumir la responsabilidad de educar a sus miembros sobre la naturaleza de la opresión sexual y su prevalencia, y reconocer que se trata de una lucha que va de la mano no solo con la lucha por conseguir mejores condiciones laborales en el trabajo y como clase trabajadora, sino también con la lucha más amplia contra el capitalismo en sí mismo.

La lucha para acabar con la opresión sexual no puede ganar sin destruir las instituciones de la clase dominante que la perpetran, incluida la policía. Las esferas de poder en el mundo capitalista actual están llenas de violadores y de personas que los abrazan con mucho gusto: no podemos garantizar de manera decisiva los derechos de las mujeres y de los trabajadores en general regateando para que entremos; necesitamos enfrentarlos de frente y luchar para ganar. ■

Martín Soto queda en libertad tras ocho meses bajo custodia de ICE

Por ERWIN FREED

Martín Soto salió en libertad del Centro de Detención de Elizabeth (EDC) alrededor de las 7 p. m. del lunes 6 de octubre. Gabriela, su esposa y firme defensora, corrió a abrazarlo. Martín fue detenido por ICE en febrero mientras compraba pañales para sus dos hijos. A finales de mayo, el ICE lo trasladó de manera violenta desde Delaney Hall, en Newark, a Elizabeth, como represalia por su papel al ayudar a liderar la heroica huelga en el centro de detención iniciada por al menos 24 detenidos. La huelga creció rápidamente hasta incluir a cerca de 300 personas.

Cientos de miembros de la comunidad se movilizaron en protesta contra su traslado. Las movilizaciones comunitarias en contra del traslado de Soto generaron una mayor concientización y apoyo a nivel nacional para la huelga. Los detenidos de todo el país se inspiraron en el ejemplo de Delaney Hall para iniciar al menos seis huelgas adicionales en centros de detención. Los manifestantes, tanto dentro como fuera de los muros del centro de detención, sufrieron represalias violentas. Martín y su equipo legal afirman que permaneció en aislamiento durante al menos cuatro meses en el EDC.

Gabriela sufrió un aborto espontáneo debido al estrés causado por la tortura psicológica y física que sufrió Martin. Ella y sus hijos pequeños perdieron su hogar debido a la pérdida de los ingresos de Martin. Durante el encarcelamiento de Martin, Gabriela dedicó cada momento de su vida a abogar por su liberación, a cuidar de su familia y a intentar visitar a Martin. La mayoría de los días esperaba horas solo para enterarse de que no la dejarían ingresar al centro. Toda la visión del mundo de su hija se vio moldeada por la ausencia de Martin y la presencia constante de la policía y las prisiones. Gabriela aprovechó cada oportunidad para alzar la voz y exigir la liberación de Martin. Los activistas de todo Nueva Jersey comenzaron a verla por todas partes. Viajó a California, Connecticut y muchos otros lugares para llamar la atención sobre la represión continua contra los huelguistas y sus familias.

La huelga de Delaney Hall comenzó en mayo en protesta por las horribles condiciones laborales y de vida en los centros de detención del ICE administrados por el GEO Group. En su carta en la que anunciaban y explicaban la huelga, 24 detenidos declararon: «Nos sentimos vulnerables y, en cierto modo, secuestrados —detenidos sin justificación—, sin mencionar que estamos siendo torturados física y psicológicamente debido a los escasos recursos alimenticios que se proporcionan en estos centros de detención». Los huelguistas se centraron en la violación fundamental de sus derechos políticos en virtud de las Enmiendas Cuarta, Quinta y Sexta, y señalaron los peligros para la salud pública, entre ellos «una alta propagación del COVID-19 en los centros de detención, y la gripe es constante entre los detenidos, lo que podría provocar brotes de enfermedades o epidemias».

Los huelguistas detenidos inspiraron solidaridad en Newark y en todo el país. Los manifestantes dentro de los muros del centro de detención demostraron la valentía y la capacidad de los trabajadores inmigrantes para luchar por la libertad y por el fin de la maquinaria de represión y deportación. Siguieron los pasos de otras luchas importantes dentro de los centros de detención, entre ellas las huelgas de 2022 en Mesa Verde y Golden State Annex, en California.

En el exterior, una amplia gama de simpatizantes —desde sindicatos hasta clérigos y personas no afiliadas— mantuvo una vigilia de solidaridad constante. La policía atacó y detuvo regularmente a los simpatizantes de la huelga que se encontraban afuera. Tanto las agencias federales como las locales llevaron a cabo represiones a menudo violentas, lo que provocó una crisis política para el Partido Demócrata en Newark y Nueva Jersey, donde dicha organización afirma solidarizarse con los inmigrantes contra el régimen de Trump. Tras su liberación, agentes del FBI visitaron a los activistas en sus hogares con la intención de intimidarlos y convertirlos en informantes.

Martin fue liberado después de que un juez aprobara una petición de hábeas corpus presentada el 15 de septiembre. La abogada de Soto, Selanie Destefani, declaró a *NJ.com*: «Nuestro argumento central fue el estado mental, ya que había permanecido en aislamiento durante cuatro meses y eso constituye un delito». Ese artículo señala que la ley de Nueva Jersey prohíbe el aislamiento en prisiones y cárceles estatales por más de 20 días consecutivos o 30 días en un período de 60 días.

Además, un representante anónimo del Departamento de Trabajo de Nueva Jersey firmó una certificación en apoyo de que Martin reciba una visa U del USCIS, una oficina dependiente del Departamento de Seguridad Nacional. Las visas U son un tipo especial de visa que las personas indocumentadas pueden obtener si son víctimas o testigos de ciertos delitos cometidos por ciudadanos estadounidenses.

El equipo legal de Soto sostiene que el trabajo forzado que él y otros reclusos realizan en Delaney Hall, remunerado a una tarifa de 1 dólar por día, constituye una violación de sus derechos en virtud de la Decimocuarta Enmienda.



(*Foto*) **Martín Soto y su hija Vero.**

Los centros de detención dependen del trabajo de los detenidos para mantener las instalaciones. Los turnos suelen ser de 10 a 12 horas y no se proporcionan productos básicos de limpieza. Un ejemplo señalado por Destefani es que no se les entregan guantes para limpiar los baños. La gran mayoría de los detenidos no está acusada de ningún delito, ya que las infracciones migratorias suelen ser un asunto civil.

La campaña de Soto para obtener una visa U se dirigió originalmente a la fiscal general de Nueva Jersey, Jennifer Davenport. Davenport forma parte de un grupo de fiscales generales demócratas que se presentan como la «resistencia» contra Trump. Muchas figuras del gobierno estatal de Nueva Jersey, incluida la gobernadora Mikie Sherill, han pedido el cierre de Delaney Hall. A pesar de esa postura, solo una figura desconocida del Departamento de Trabajo firmaría un documento para respaldar la visa U de Martin.

Si Martin llegara a recibir una visa U, se crearía un precedente trascendental para todos aquellos que han sido coaccionados a realizar trabajo forzado en centros de detención de inmigrantes. Es difícil exagerar la importancia del papel de liderazgo que los Soto y todos los huelguistas de Delaney Hall han desempeñado en el movimiento por la justicia para los inmigrantes —la resistencia a la reacción trumpista y la denuncia de las vacilaciones del Partido Demócrata—.

La valentía de Martín y Gabriela quedó plenamente de manifiesto tan pronto como él fue liberado. La defensa pública de la pareja y sus simpatizantes no disminuyó, sino que se intensificó. Menos de 24 horas después de salir del aislamiento, Martín concedió una entrevista junto a Gabriela en Status Coup. En esa entrevista, detallaron las horribles condiciones en los centros de detención de ICE y abogaron por la construcción de un movimiento de masas para liberar a todos los detenidos y desmantelar el sistema de campos de concentración.

Al traducir para Martín, quien hablaba en español, Gabriela dijo: «La comida estaba podrida, tenía moho o contenía gusanos. ... Había que solicitarla en una tableta y tardaban tres semanas en entregar incluso una simple pastilla. Esa era su medicación».

Continuó: «[Martín dice que] va a luchar hasta el final; obviamente quiere quedarse aquí debido a la injusticia que sufrió». «No se trata solo de mí; se trata de todos los demás», tradujo Gabriela por Martín. «Y quiero que la gente se entere de más casos, porque hay cientos más». ■

(desde la página 16)

... La resistencia va creciendo contra la represión

las «conspiraciones» de los 15 de Minnesota y Prairieland. El periodista Ali Winston demuestra que los drones Reaper, los corredores de datos privados y las auditorías financieras se están utilizando para «investigar» cualquier tipo de organización potencial, incluidos los sindicatos. Los documentos relacionados con el caso de los 15 de Minnesota (MN15) muestran que incluso las regiones del SEIU han sido objeto de investigaciones federales.

Cuando luchamos, ganamos

Los derechos democráticos nunca están garantizados para la clase trabajadora. Nuestra capacidad para expresarnos y organizarnos se ve constantemente amenazada. La administración de Trump sigue la línea de todas las demás administraciones estadounidenses al actuar, ante todo, para asegurar el dominio de la clase capitalista. Los métodos propios de un estado policial siempre se emplean contra los trabajadores y los oprimidos cada vez que los grandes propietarios creen que pueden salirse con la suya.

El capitalismo utiliza tanto la coacción como el consentimiento para continuar con la explotación y la opresión. En tiempos normales, en una república democrática imperialista, la policía y el ejército se centran en combatir el «crimen» y afirman ser apolíticos. Obviamente, esta postura es un fraude, pero cumple la función de permitir que la gente mantenga ilusiones en algún sistema «imparcial».

La NSPM-7 de Trump y la transformación abiertamente partidista de prácticamente todas las operaciones mediáticas del gobierno federal rompen esta ilusión para muchos que, de otro modo, serían o han sido pasivos ante el terror policial extremo en las comunidades negras y de piel morena. Vincular explícitamente todo tipo de creencias políticas para identificar objetivos amplios de represión demuestra a todas las personas en los EE. UU. interesadas en el principio básico de la libertad de expresión y el libre pensamiento que debemos marchar codo a codo.

Los 15 acusados de Minnesota están mostrando con valentía el camino hacia una verdadera defensa masiva de los derechos democráticos. Ante graves cargos de conspiración, bajo la vigilancia constante del Estado, los 15 están comprometidos a expresarse públicamente y es precisamente lo que han estado haciendo en todo el país. Junto con las proyecciones del documental «When ICE Melts», los acusados se dirigen a grupos religiosos, sindicatos, organizaciones comunitarias y asambleas de todo tipo para explicar no solo su caso, sino también la tremenda movilización que logró expulsar a ICE de las Ciudades Gemelas.

En Connecticut, la persistencia de los activistas que dieron a conocer el caso de los 15 de Minnesota en todas partes llevó al senador Richard Blumenthal a calificar públicamente los cargos contra ellos de «falsos» y a exigir que se retiraran de inmediato.

Es necesario profundizar y ampliar estos esfuerzos en todo el país y a nivel internacional. Cada activista que se organiza en solidaridad con las víctimas de la represión debe reflexionar sobre cómo podemos llevar este caso a la mayor audiencia posible. ¿Cómo podemos convertir el deseo de solidaridad en movilizaciones en los lugares de trabajo y en las calles? ■

NOVIEMBRE Y DICIEMBRE 2026 VOLUMEN 5, NÚMERO 5 WorkersVoiceUS.org LITCI.org

LA VOZ DE LOS TRABAJADORES

A medida que se intensifica la represión contra las libertades civiles, la resistencia va creciendo

Por ERWIN FREED



(*Foto*) **Masiva protesta en Minneapolis en rechazo a la muerte de Renee Good: "Queremos justicia."**

Decenas de activistas han sido acusados sin fundamentos por el gobierno federal de participar en supuestas «conspiraciones criminales». En Minnesota, dos casos distintos de conspiración acusan a 54 personas de participar en conspiraciones ilegales por haber tomado parte en protestas y actividades periodísticas.

Los 15 de Minnesota, los 39 Justos, los 8 de Michigan (ahora 12), los 3 de Spokane y los acusados de Prairieland son los casos más conocidos de esta represión en curso. Todos estos casos constituyen ataques contra sindicatos.

La Asociación de Docentes de California (CFA) y la Organización de Empleados de Posgrado de la Universidad de Michigan (GEO-AFT 3550) enfrentan ataques frontales contra sus sindicatos por parte de la prensa de derecha y el FBI. Se filtró un video manipulado de una reunión de la CFA al medio Free Press, de la partidaria de Trump Bari Weiss, en un intento por escandalizar al sindicato con falsas acusaciones de antisemitismo. El Departamento de Justicia acusó inicialmente al presidente de la GEO, Hiab Teshome, de delitos financieros graves. Esas acusaciones falsas fueron retiradas el mismo día en que un gran jurado citó a presentar los libros de la GEO, incluyendo todas sus listas de miembros, actas de reuniones y registros financieros. El sindicato está luchando por conservar sus derechos básicos a la privacidad.

Impulsados por el Memorándum Presidencial de Seguridad Nacional n.º 7, los aparatos de inteligencia y policiales de EE. UU. están apuntando explícitamente contra cualquiera que defienda los derechos democráticos básicos, las comunidades de inmigrantes y la justicia racial. A medida que el mundo se acerca a un gran conflicto interimperialista y se afianzan zonas cada vez más amplias de ocupación militar imperialista abierta en las semicolonias, los imperialismos occidentales están reforzando las restricciones a las protestas, la libertad de expresión y la organización de los movimientos progresistas.

El caso de Prairieland

Si bien existen muchos otros casos de «la guerra jurídica» y de medidas policiales contra las protestas, vale la pena dedicar un momento a analizar dos de los casos mencionados anteriormente para comprender las tácticas y el alcance de la actual represión.

Alrededor de dos docenas de manifestantes realizaron una demostración ruidosa el 4 de julio de 2025 frente al Centro de Detención de Prairieland, en Texas. Cuando la protesta estaba llegando a su fin y muchos de los participantes ya se habían marchado, el oficial de policía de Alvarado, Thomas Gross, llegó a toda velocidad al lugar y, casi de inmediato, apuntó con su arma a un manifestante que se alejaba de él. Las pruebas en video indican que Gross disparó su arma, algo que parece que fue encubierto por el juez y los fiscales.

Al presenciar un ataque potencialmente letal contra un manifestante, un veterano de los Marines, Benjamin «Champagne» Song realizó un disparo de advertencia al suelo, lejos de los oficiales. Gross fue trasladado al hospital por heridas superficiales que, según alega el gobierno, fueron causadas por un disparo de Song; sin embargo, las pruebas en video divulgadas tras la sentencia indican que es probable que Gross haya sido machucado por la metralla generada por el disparo de su propia arma.

Utilizando como pretexto la presencia de armas y la acción defensiva de Song, 22 personas fueron acusadas como parte de una supuesta conspiración para atacar a la policía y llevar a cabo una fuga armada de la prisión. Una persona, Daniel "Des" Rolando Sánchez Estrada, ni siquiera se encontraba en la manifestación. Fue declarado culpable de "ocultar de manera corrupta un documento o registro" y condenado a 30 años por poseer material político protegido por la ley.

Tras las detenciones, el sistema judicial ejerció presión y sabotaje legal contra los acusados. Muchos fueron recluidos inicialmente en aislamiento, y uno de ellos denunció que su celda estaba cubierta de heces humanas. El juez federal de distrito Mark Pittman impidió que los acusados contrataran a un abogado privado, lo que significó que tuvieran que recurrir a defensores públicos. Al equipo legal de Song no se le permitió argumentar que el disparo de advertencia se realizó en defensa propia.

Ocho acusados se convirtieron en testigos cooperantes, proporcionando testimonios obtenidos bajo coacción para validar las teorías de conspiración inventadas por el gobierno.

Aún antes de que comenzara el juicio, las cartas estaban marcadas en contra de los acusados que no cooperaban. En una «advertencia» explícita a la izquierda, el juez Pittman estableció sentencias ridículamente elevadas para los acusados que no cooperaban, de entre 30 y 100 años.

Los 15 de Minnesota

Los 15 de Minnesota son 15 activistas acusados de una «conspiración para obstaculizar o atacar a agentes federales». La mayoría son miembros actuales o recientes de sindicatos y todos son activistas comunitarios. No se les acusa de participar ni de coordinar ningún acto de violencia. En cambio, la acusación original de 92 páginas en su contra enumera «pruebas» que incluyen la participación en chats de respuesta rápida, protestas y actividades de ayuda mutua. Cualquier condena exitosa basada en estos cargos constituiría un golpe tremendo a la libertad de expresión y de asociación.

La estructura supremacista blanca de la ley y la sociedad estadounidenses sienta las bases que están dando forma a la represión actual. Los materiales de investigación divulgados en relación con el caso de los 15 de Minnesota muestran que un programa encubierto de ICE de larga data y que abarca varios estados, la «Operación Keyhole», se transformó sin dificultad en una operación de vigilancia política. Según documentos judiciales, la Operación Keyhole ha llevado a cabo al menos 77 investigaciones sobre «tráfico de estupefacientes, abuso sexual infantil, investigaciones financieras y lucha contra la proliferación» desde que comenzó en 2008.

Los casos de conspiración, las redes de informantes y la vigilancia masiva tienen raíces profundas en la «guerra contra las drogas». Mientras las grandes empresas farmacéuticas se benefician de la adicción y los operadores policiales y militares de EE. UU. protegen el tráfico de drogas «ilícitas» en todos los niveles, el encarcelamiento de los traficantes callejeros y de los consumidores —en su mayoría personas de raza negra y latinas— constituyen las principales justificaciones para ampliar el estado de vigilancia. Junto con el alarmismo sobre el «terrorismo islamista», el crecimiento constante de la tecnología y los métodos policiales basados en la ocupación militar se logra mediante la criminalización de las personas de color de la clase trabajadora.

Estos métodos incluyen precisamente las redadas basadas en la «culpabilidad por asociación» que ahora se movilizan contra la izquierda política, particularmente en

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