THE PARTISAN

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In the face of FASCISTIZATION...

Build a class-conscious MASS MOVEMENT!

OUR MOVEMENT

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A scene from the 1st National Convention of the People's Defense Committee on Sept 28.

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EDITORIAL

Five Theses on the Mass Resistance to ICE

FIRST PUBLISHED ON JUNE 10, 2025.

1. Every action has a reaction. Repression and class violence by the imperialists and their State naturally breeds resistance, whether it be in the United States or abroad. In neighborhoods and communities around the country spontaneous mass resistance to the Trump Administration's offensive on the immigrant masses, in particular its reactionary deportation campaign, increases with each passing day. From large metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, to smaller "second cities" like Worcester, Massachusetts, the masses are spontaneously mobilizing en masse in an attempt to blockade ICE and prevent local police and federal agents from carrying out their campaign of terror and extrajudicial deportations. As the process of fascistization develops, and the Trump Administration turns to more severe repressive measures to implement its offensive on the immigrant masses (such as his calling out of the National Guard on June 7th to pacify the LA rebellion), mass resistance and rebellion will reciprocally intensify for the foreseeable future. While currently just a set of nascent and scattered uprisings, anyone can see that the potential is clearly there for this fury to be organized into a powerful and complete mass movement against ICE, the State and US imperialism. Therefore, it is essential that revolutionaries-in-formation and all class-conscious mass organizations unify on a correct understanding of and orientation towards this developing situation, **so that the current mass community resistance to ICE can be transformed from short-term spontaneous rebellion into long-term revolutionary momentum**.

2. This is not the first wave of mass resistance against ICE, nor is it even the first one in recent memory. Comrades who were active during the first Trump Administration will remember the rise and fall of the anti-deportation campaign eight years ago. What began similarly as spontaneous mass resistance against ICE was very rapidly co-opted and institutionalized by the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party and the NGO-complex, specifically by organizations like the Democratic Socialists of America and Movimiento Cosecha. These activists and organizations, which trafficked in the righteous anger of the masses and slogans like "fight ICE with fire" and "abolish ICE," channeled this energy back into the system first via the 2018 midterm campaign, and then eventually into the 2020 Biden presidential campaign. Once Biden was elected, the ICE "rapid response networks" and anti-deportation campaigns were demobilized and calls to "abolish ICE" suddenly fell out of favor among the pacifists and reformists. This is why we are forced to rebuild anti-ICE infrastructure as if we were starting from scratch: it was **destroyed from within** the first time around by opportunist reformists who ride on the energy of the masses to further their careers and blunt the possibility of real resistance to the broader imperialist system. Already this pattern is beginning to repeat itself. In the face of growing direct and militant confrontations between the masses and the State, the Democratic Party and AFL-CIO rush to capitalize on this mass energy and co-opt for

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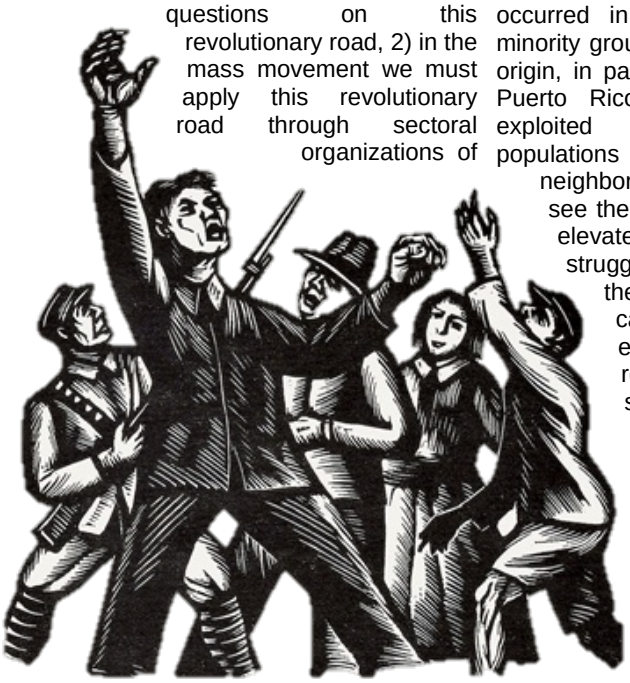
their class-collaborationist and electoral schemes. Allowing the Democratic Party and its affiliated NGOs/state unions to lead the fight against deportations once was a tragedy, allowing it to do so a second time in less than a decade would be the ultimate error, a true farce.

3. In the place of reformism, pacificism, and electoralism, we must raise up and impose a correct path within the mass movement against ICE. **An essential component in achieving this is maintaining a correct proletarian line in leadership within the revolutionary movement itself.** During the 2016-2020 period of anti-deportation resistance, incorrect lines, weak politics, and opportunist leaders condemned the revolutionary movement to defeat from the start. Although early attempts at revolutionary anti-deportation work were initiated, particularly in Los Angeles, the bigger-picture errors of the revolutionary groups launching them meant that in a rather short period of time almost all such work had fallen apart. It is a matter of life and death that we fight to keep revolutionary politics in command throughout this effort, and all other efforts at work within the mass movement. Ed Dalton's The Worker, Christopher Winston's DSA Liberation Caucus, the Maoist Communist Union, etc., all these vanity projects of the ghoulish opportunists of the past are houses of cards that will inevitably collapse just as their older iterations did as long as the same opportunist lines and incorrect politics remain in command. To avoid a similar fate we must do three things: 1) we must take up the road that leads to Socialist Revolution in the United States, taking into account the special importance of the National and Labor questions on this revolutionary road, 2) in the mass movement we must apply this revolutionary road through sectoral organizations of the masses based on class lines, and 3) by leveraging our mass organizations and their class lines we must simultaneously **broaden** and **elevate** the spontaneous mass struggles against ICE, the local police, and the anti-immigrant offensive.



It is a matter of life and death that we fight to keep revolutionary politics in command throughout this effort, and all other efforts at work within the mass movement.

4. To broaden the mass resistance against ICE means to work to forge links between our efforts in this trench of struggle and our ongoing work in the other sectors (e.g., the workers movement, student movement, or police brutality movement). To elevate this struggle means waging this particular struggle in service of the more general burning questions of our class, in particular the question of the conquest of political Power for the multinational proletariat. Take the mass resistance against ICE deportation activity in Los Angeles or in Worcester, Massachusetts. In the case of the current LA rebellion, there is the constant rising to the surface of the Chicano question (the national question of the Spanish-speaking population of Mexican origin in the US Southwest), and in the case of Worcester the resistance occurred in a community with national minority groups of a largely Latin American origin, in particular from the US colony of Puerto Rico. Both cities have heavily exploited working-class and poor populations and a history of labor and neighborhood conflict. We can easily see then how in order to broaden and elevate the current spontaneous struggle against ICE, the police, and the anti-immigrant offensive, we can use revolutionary theory to educate the masses on the relationship between their own struggles and conditions and the broader struggle of the in international proletariat against US imperialism. We must use revolutionary organization to apply our revolutionary politics in practice in a way that allows the fury of the masses to overflow in rebellion against the State and connects with the work of national mass organizations like the New Labor Organizing Committee, the People's Defense Committees, and the Revolutionary Student Union. Keep in mind always that the slogan of the US imperialists in all this is "divide and conquer". Just as has occurred throughout the history of our country time and time again, the US capitalist class and their State use race, language and legal status to organize national oppression and prevent the multinational working class from uniting to overthrow their rule. To defeat the mass work of the counter-revolutionaries, in the workplaces, neighborhoods, and campuses we must raise up the powerful principle of proletarian unity in our political-organizational work and propaganda work. We must mobilize the broad non-immigrant masses to join in this fight, and at the same time we must more completely integrate the immigrant masses and their demands into our other sectoral work. We must expose the counter-revolutionary work of the State, American national chauvinism, and organized opportunism before the masses for what they are, and use practice to test and prove our revolutionary leadership in this struggle, just as we do elsewhere.

5. We cannot allow ourselves to get theoretically confused by the intensity and spontaneity of this current wave of rebellion, and similarly we cannot allow ourselves to abdicate our task to provide practical revolutionary leadership for the masses. We aren't naive anymore: we have been through this rodeo once and have had ample to time to study its lessons, synthesize them, and begin to apply them. We must intervene in the mass movement of ICE while at the same time not losing track of our broader tasks and needs as revolutionaries, things like keeping a correct politics in command, developing a powerful united front based on correct principles, program and practice, and organizing the masses around our road to Socialist Revolution in the United States. The masses clamor for rebellion, and march in the streets against the State. Historically, however, we know that without conscious revolutionary leadership such spontaneous waves of rebellion are condemned to slowly fade away under the twin blows of co-optation and repression. Let us study the successes and failures of the forms of struggle of the movement, such as the anti-ICE street blockade or information network, and apply their lessons in our work! Let us elevate and broaden their struggle and defeat the opportunist vultures who would seek to co-opt and destroy their movement once again!

Oklahoma City: PDC Celebrates First National Convention

On September 26-28, the People's Defense Committee (PDC) held its 1st Convention in Oklahoma City, OK, gathering together more than 50 activists representing dozens of cities and towns around the country. Over three days, comrades shared summations of their work, gave presentations and speeches on key topics facing the revolutionary movement, participated in workshops, ratified a constitution and program, elected a National Executive Committee, all culminating in a march that lead to a rally and cultural performances on the final day of the conference.

The event marked both the PDC's first national convention, and a major step towards the unity of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The first day, summations were given of the former Revolutionary Study Groups (RSGs) and Revolutionary Maoist Coalition (RMC), the two main predecessors of the People's Defense Committee, who have now united their forces under the banner of sectoral mass organizations like PDC, as well as other mass organizations in the labor, student, youth, international solidarity, and oppressed nation sectors. The summations demarcated with their former errors, such as the intermediate organization model, and emphasized the importance of grasping the phrase "class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

The convention paid tribute to people's struggles across the world and stressed the importance of international solidarity for all revolutionaries fighting US imperialism. The ongoing agrarian revolutions in India, Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, and Indonesia were highlighted. In particular, the Convention joined in the Red Sun People's Current of Mexico in calling for the alive presentation of Dr. Ernesto Sernas Garcia, democratic lawyer who has been forcibly disappeared by the US-backed Old Mexican State for 7 years. It also declared its opposition to the ongoing Operation Kagaar in India. During the mass work summations, PDC chapters and fraternal and observer organizations reported on their work against police brutality, such as the Justice for Nate campaign, experience in organizing tenant unions, the struggle against municipal neglect and cuts, for the defense of basic democratic rights, and other people's struggle in the neighborhood sector.

Speaking on the importance of unity and the future of the revolutionary movement, a representative of the former RSG concluded his speech with these words:

"If the Revolutionary Study Groups and the Revolutionary Maoist Coalition were the two largest predecessors of the People's Defense Committee, it would be wrong to remain chained to these and other small-group labels. They are an important part of our past, and still influence our present, but our future is not bound to this kind of genealogical and pseudo-sectarian thinking. […] All those who walk down the path of socialist revolution, who walk down the path of the working-class and the oppressed nations who yearn for the right to self-determination, who take up the work with dedication and sincerity, who are willing to learn from and serve their fellow masses, all these people regardless of which organization they come from, or what city they were born in, all these people are comrades of ours.

Political Declaration of the PDC National Executive Committee

There are those who struggle for a day and they are good.
There are others who struggle for a year and they are better.
There are others still who struggle many years, and they are very good.
But then there are those who struggle all their lives:
these are the indispensable ones.

In Praise of the Fighters
– Bertolt Brecht

In the face of the bloody and inhumane offensive on the masses, on our neighbors, co-workers, family members, and compatriots in the struggle of our class against theirs, the People's Defense Committee raises up the banner of revolutionary unity and common struggle. In a context of confusion, we call for clarity. In a situation of division, we insist on unity based on principles and practice. In a context of class war, we march forwards and never backwards.

We issue this statement in honor of the masses with whom and for whom we fight. Those who shed their blood, who have had their loved ones taken from them, who have suffered daily at the hands of U.S. Imperialism. To the workers and laborers; to the immigrants and nationally oppressed peoples; to the working women; to the poor and marginalized; the class youth; the organizations of struggle of our class; we salute you, we address these words to you. While today we are the downtrodden, tomorrow we are the masters of a new world waiting to be born, a world free of horror, exploitation, and oppression.

Gathered in Oklahoma City from September 26th through September 28th, the 1st National Convention of the People's Defense Committee met for the express purpose of making our ***revolutionary will*** concrete. In defiance of opportunist, revisionist, and sectarian schemes, genuine comrades worked together in order to construct a new organ of the working class. The successful holding of this Convention symbolizes a great landmark for the revolutionary movement in the United States, as we must seize the moment with the energy and resolve it deserves.

Graphic from the PDC 1s National Convention.

The People's Defense Committee 1st National Convention embraced the participation of delegates and observers who traveled from communities around the country to engage in the democratic process of our organization. The decisions, unity, and milestones achieved at this Convention would not be possible without the knowledge

> While today we are the downtrodden, tomorrow we are the masters of a new world waiting to be born, a world free of horror, exploitation, and oppression.

these comrades have generated through practice in the class struggles in the neighborhoods and the contributions made to discussion and line struggle in the lead up to and during the Convention. We thank all our fraternal and observing organizations who attended in solidarity and in the interest of developing ever higher unity. The People's Defense Committee remains firm in its commitment to solidarity with you, and reaffirms our commitment to struggling alongside you as part of the working-class movement.

The unity established at our National Convention is expressed through the adoption of a **Political Program** for the neighborhood sector, and a **Constitution** which gives our politics a cohesive and united organizational structure. These bases of unity for our organization will ensure that we are able to continue our work of mobilizing, politicizing, and organizing the broad masses in the streets and the neighborhoods.

Moving forward, our Program must be concretely carried out in the crucible of class struggle. The National Executive Committee has the task of developing national campaigns in order to direct our forces in coordinated blows against U.S. Imperialism. In doing this we are humble and submit ourselves to a protracted period of struggle, of harsh lessons taken in either victory or defeat. We are motivated by revolutionary

fervor, a desire to defend the people, and by a class hatred towards those who are responsible for these crimes. We are guided by the generations of class-conscious workers who came before, and hope to take up their legacy, separating the good from bad so that old heights can be re-taken and surpassed, so that new challenges can be surmounted.

To do this we issue the following basic analysis, which serves as the foundation on which our future work will be built:

The greatest enemy of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world is U.S. Imperialism. Through their control over the means of production (the resources and tools used for production) and the State itself, the capitalists have divided the world and compete amongst themselves for the wealth produced by our labor and our natural resources. The United States is at the head of this evil system. Vast amounts of wealth taken from workers and oppressed peoples around the world flows into the United States to fill the bank accounts and war chests of the capitalists and their political puppets. Our armies occupy dozens of nations, and our bombs and weapons fuel genocides across the world, most notably in Palestine.

The United States is a decaying and declining superpower. Despite having the world's wealthiest bourgeoisie, our society fails to provide for the needs of huge sections of the population and our every day workers are still impoverished. U.S. society is beset on all sides by crisis: the drug crisis, the housing crisis, the education crisis, the health crisis, etc. All of these crises have one thing in common: they are symptoms of the broader capitalist sickness in the United States. Capitalism thrives on chaos, instability, and suffering.

The U.S. economy is one in decline. It is unprofitable, unproductive, and unevenly developed. The U.S. debt is over $37.4 trillion dollars, at a ratio of 119% of the country's Gross Domestic Product. This is a clear indication, that despite the position of the United States as the sole imperialist superpower, it does not produce enough on its own to match its political position as the center of global monopoly capital.

The proletariat in the United States takes the cost of the decline of U.S. Imperialism, not by choice but by the design of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In the last financial crisis of U.S. Imperialism of 2008, the political and economic cost of this crisis was directly thrust onto the proletariat in order to save the imperialist system. These crises will inevitably continue as a byproduct of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism: that production is socialized but ownership of property is privatized.

> We salute the ongoing Revolutions in Peru, India, the Philippines, and Turkey. We reaffirm the necessity to make revolution in every country as part of World Proletarian Revolution.

This highlights the lack of a strong union center in the United States. As political organizations of the proletariat, class-conscious unions are the main form by which the proletariat organizes itself to struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie. Without such political organs, the proletariat is left to suffer economically. The conditions of the U.S. proletariat are such that there are many daily demands that are not being addressed, both inside and outside of the workplace. Taken as a whole, the U.S. proletariat is one in desperate need of class-conscious organization.

The United States is a prison-house of nations. The various Indigenous nations, the New Afrikan, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander nations suffer under the economic super-exploitation and political oppression of U.S. Imperialism, and in turn, yearn for liberation and the right to self-determination. These are some of the most deeply oppressed sectors of the masses, with high overrepresentation among the ranks of the proletariat. Nationally-oppressed workers face a double oppression, and are attacked by reactionary American Patriotism which seeks to eliminate them.

The ongoing and expanding offensive against immigrant, Latino, and Black masses at the hands of ICE and Police are part of a general trend of militarization and fascistization. Military occupations which carry out gestapo-style terror are actively being staged in DC, Chicago, LA, and Portland, with the current Administration already discussing similar such mobilizations of the National Guard and federal forces in Memphis, Baltimore, and Louisiana. The Old State uses these attacks on the people in an attempt to ward off the instability of U.S. Imperialism, by ensuring a base for both forced labor, through ICE detention camps and traditional prisons labor, as well as for future fascism, through the construction of a broader base for ultra-reactionary U.S. Patriotism.

The U.S. state has been carrying out a furious attack upon the basic rights of women. The ruling class, with their monopoly on violence, carries out this war on women through relentless struggle against the right to abortion, their maintenance of the gender pay-gap, and of a patriarchal system which perpetuates sexual violence, prostitution, and domestic violence, all of which contribute to social and literal murder of proletarian women.

The state is carrying out an ongoing offensive against LGBT people, especially transgender people. Gender-affirming healthcare is already entirely inaccessible in some parts of the country, and is under threat throughout the rest. Moreover, the state further contributes to the social murder of transgender people through the process

of marginalization which casts trans people out of production via the denial of jobs, housing, etc., and forces them into prostitution and various other forms of obtaining means of subsistence which are largely, and increasingly, unavailable to them through the formal economy.

Access to affordable, safe, and stable housing remains a critical demand of the masses in the neighborhoods. Average rent prices are on the rise. Simultaneously, there is a rapidly increasing number of late rental payments throughout the country, there are more unemployed workers than available job positions, long-term unemployment is on the rise, and wages are stagnant. At the same time, there was a record-high number of people who experienced homelessness in the United States last year which saw over 771,000 people without a stable place to live. Economic repression looms over our country. Those who are able to make rent payments and find affordable housing are often faced with pests and lack of upkeep from landlords.

Taken together, the 1st National Executive Committee of the People's Defense Committee declares:

Imperialism, and particularly U.S. Imperialism, as the foremost enemy of the people of the world, must be overthrown. While the threat of imperialist war and imperialist military power seems to be threatening, it is an illusion that must be struggled against through the construction of a united anti-imperialist movement within and outside of the bounds of the United States.

We salute the ongoing Revolutions in Peru, India, the Philippines, and Turkey. We reaffirm the necessity to make revolution in every country as part of World Proletarian Revolution. This is the sole way to overthrow imperialism once and for all, and to establish the New Society of Socialism. We solemnly pay our respect to Chairman Gonzalo, who

gave his defiant speech 33 years ago on 9/24 in the cage of the Old Peruvian State calling to continue the revolution, who gave his whole life for the World Revolution, and whose shining example inspires all to continue our struggle until final victory.

We salute the ongoing struggles against imperialism, especially in Palestine. The Palestinian resistance struggle against Zionism and imperialism is a storm center for anti-imperialist struggle, and we uphold the necessity to work in solidarity with the Palestinian national liberation movement as part of our work against imperialism.

We salute the courageous people of Latin America, *Nuestra América* (Our America), who have unceasingly combated and resisted U.S. Imperialism and its running dogs, domestic semi-feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. We stand in solidarity with the democratic and revolutionary forces in Mexico and Central America who's immigrant compatriots are the recent target of U.S. Imperialism's recent attacks. We use this opportunity to call for the alive presentation of democratic lawyer Dr. Ernesto Sernas Garcia, who has been disappeared by the Mexican State for 7 years.

Within the United States, the masses of the oppressed nations have the right to self-determination of their destiny. The struggles of the New Afrikan and Puerto Rican nations in particular are crucial to the success of a working-class movement in our country. These causes are intimately bound up with the struggle for socialist revolution, and must be taken up under the guiding principles of anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism. Organizing the nationally oppressed masses of the United States as part of the broad working-class movement is a task that has been neglected over the last century of our country's political history, and we affirm the necessity to take this task up.

We reject reformist solutions to the oppression of women. With working women under attack, it is ever clearer that the only solution to this oppression will be through mobilizing, politicizing, and organizing the proletarian female masses. We must take up the struggle against the patriarchal system, and bring it into the workplaces and neighborhoods as part of a comprehensive struggle. Ending the patriarchal system is a key component of ending imperialism.

We unite with and uplift proletarian transgender people in the fight for basic democratic rights, and must take up a class analysis of trans oppression which understands the fight for trans liberation as being inseparable linked to the defeat of class oppression and the liberation of the working class.

Militarization and occupations are tied up in the struggle for national liberation and

socialism, and demonstrate the general tendency of the State away from bourgeois democracy and towards fascism—a process called fascistization. It is imperative that the housing complexes, streets, and neighborhoods be mobilized, politicized, and organized to defend the masses from this terror.

The tenant struggle, the neighborhood movements of the poor and dispossessed, and the struggle against cuts, neglect, and austerity must be developed and connected by PDC as a pressing matter of life and death for proletarians. We affirm the necessity to organize the masses around their daily demands, especially those in the neighborhoods which make a difference between death and survival for working people.

We declare that these sectors of struggle are critical areas where the working class faces harsh oppression outside of the workplace. The prior period of work in the mass movement in the U.S. has neglected to adequately engage with these towards any form of concrete advancement in the class struggle. This new period of work, which has only just begun, will be qualitatively different from the previous period as our comrades undergo the process of professionalization and further overcome sectarianism, localism, and opportunism which leave our movement disunited and weak. As part of this process of professionalization, we uphold the necessity to combat the three ill-winds of subjectivism, amateurism, and liberalism which characterized the previous period of work. We firmly denounce the old and failed Avakianite method of intermediate organizations that lead genuine revolutionaries to unite around subjectivist criteria, ultimately causing them to divorce their work from social practice in class struggle.

We have no illusions that the path we have taken is a difficult one. But we are determined in our orientation, and lifted by our confidence in our comrades and our purpose in this road we have resolved to take. The People's Defense Committee 1st National Convention is the culmination of an old period of work, and marks the birth of a new period we are just now entering. Dispensing with subjectivism, sectarianism, and revisionism, we have united those who have the will to unite around revolutionary principles proven over two centuries of struggle. Our aim is to continue further uniting those who wish to unite, to build up a working-class movement based in the neighborhood struggles. We look to Chairman Mao, who said that "**Class struggle is the key link, everything else hinges on it.**" We insist on the necessity to construct a new fortress of our class, the People's Defense Committee, so that we may fight for the people in the streets, in the complexes and neighborhoods, among the oppressed and exploited, as one fist aimed at the destruction of U.S. Imperialism and its rotten State. We are building a new center for this sector of struggle, and hope all genuine comrades will continue to struggle for principled unity with us. Let this Convention be an announcement: WE WILL WIN!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE!

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

UP WITH SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

THROUGH STRUGGLE – WE WILL WIN!

INTERNATIONAL

The Partisan *is republishing a statement from the Forum Against Corporatization and Militarization (FACAM), a forum composed of progressive organizations and individuals aiming to expose and agitate against the Indian State's corporatization, suppression of democratic rights, and increased militarization of society. This statement condemns the murder of Kadari Reddy and Katta Reddy as part of the genocidal "Operation Kagar" launched by the fascist Modi regime, an operation aimed to defeat the People's War in India. This operation has included hundreds of extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, and widespread sexual violence against India's red fighters, peasants, and indigenous Adivasi peoples.* The Partisan *resolutely denounces Operation Kagar and massacres of Indian revolutionaries and people. We call on all revolutionaries in the US and internationally to organize in solidarity with comrades in India and to condemn the actions of the Indian State.*

The statement from FACAM can be read here.

On Rising Fascism in the United States

In all capitalist societies there exists a contradiction within the ruling class itself, between the forces of liberal bourgeois democracy and the forces of "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."[g] This second type of capitalist government is what the Communist International defined as ***fascism***.

Fascism was a product of two historical events: firstly the development of capitalism into imperialism or 'monopoly capitalism,' which is it highest and most destructive stage of development, and secondly the victorious workers' revolution in Russia—the October Revolution—and the establishment of the first socialist state in history. These two events produced a wave of fascist governments in Europe beginning in the 1920s.

Fascism first arose in Italy, and then famously reached its most reactionary and murderous iteration in Germany under the National Socialist party and Adolf Hitler. This first iteration of fascism was only defeated through the immense efforts and sacrifices of the multinational working class, in particular that of the Soviet Union, at the end of World War 2. However the defeat of the Nazi party did not mark the end of fascism. In fact the methods and structures of fascism have spread across the globe and are increasingly a central part of capitalist governance, due to a process revolutionaries variably refer to as either "fascistization," "reactionization," or "corporatization" of capitalist democracies worldwide. This process continues the trend of implementing a fascist dictatorship not as a swift *coup d'état* but rather as a protracted process chipping away at the old liberal democracy. To understand this process, we must first turn our attention to understanding fascism itself.

What is Fascism?

As Bulgarian Communist Georgi Dimitrov described in The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism:

The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie — bourgeois democracy – by another form – open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake liable to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake, no less serious and dangerous, to underrate the importance, for the establishment of fascist dictatorship, of the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie at present increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries — measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working people, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

[…]

The developmentof fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is rather acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic Parties, to retain a modicum of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an early outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all rival parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes particularly acute, from trying to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, trying to combine open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

In this way, we understand fascism as the opposite side of the same coin as the democratic republic, the traditional form of bourgeois rule. In *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* Engels outlined the basic manner of class dictatorship bourgeois democracy represents:

The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which in our modern social conditions becomes more and more an unavoidable necessity and is the form of state in which alone the last decisive battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out – the democratic republic no longer officially recognizes differences of property. Wealth here employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption of officials, of which America is the classic example, and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange, which is effected all the more easily the higher the state debt mounts and the more the joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, and themselves have their own center in the stock exchange.

Politically, fascism implies a move towards centralized rule by a powerful executive, and away from a capitalist country's established legislative and judicial democratic systems and norms (national reorganization).

On the other hand, Chairman Gonzalo, more than forty years after Dimitrov described how the capitalist class was increasingly laying the groundwork for fascist dictatorships in the capitalist "democracies," synthesized fascism as:

What do we understand by fascist and corporativist? For us fascism is the negation of liberal-democratic principles, the negation of the bourgeois-democratic principles which were born and developed in the eighteenth century in France. These principles are being abandoned by reactionaries, by the bourgeoisie world-wide. So it was that the First World War that made us see the crisis of the bourgeois democratic order, that's why later fascism emerged. So, in APRA what is going on is this negation of the principles of the bourgeois-democratic order and we see daily proof of the negation of all the constitutionally established rights and liberties. We see fascism also on the ideological plane as an eclectic system without a defined philosophy. It is a philosophical position made up of fragments chosen from here and there according to what's most useful. This is clearly expressed in García Pérez. When he goes to Harare in Africa he's an African and he salutes the Africans, salutes Kenneth Kaunda. When he goes to India he salutes Gandhi, he's a Gandhian. When he goes to Mexico he hails Zapata, he's a Zapatista. When he goes to the Soviet Union, if he ever does, he'll be the champion of Perestroika. He's like that because this is the ideological and philosophical training of fascism, it does not have a defined stand, it is eclectic and it takes what is at hand.

With regard to its corporativism. We understand corporativism as the setting up of the state based on corporations, which implies the negation of parliamentarism. This is an essential point that Mariátegui gave emphasis to in "Historia de la crisis mundial". He said that the crisis of bourgeois democracy expresses itself clearly in the crisis of parliamentarism. Looking at the parliament here, while it is true that in the last decades it has been the executive branch that has produced the most important laws in this country, it is during this APRA government that the executive has monopolized the creation of all the fundamental laws for its own purposes. No important laws have come from the parliament. This is a fact, and everything has been aimed at giving powers to the executive so that it can do and undo as it pleases. Everything is a negation of parliamentarism.

The analysis from Chairman Gonzalo, Dimitrov, and the Communist International provide us with a basic framework for characterizing fascism versus bourgeois democracy:

Photo: Trump visits "Alligator Alcatraz." The White House

Fascism rises to power and gains strength during periods of profound crisis in the capitalist system.

Fascism is just another form of class rule by the bourgeoisie, and can be established and dismantled by the capitalists according to their needs.

Economically, fascism is characterized by institutionalized class collaboration via the reorganization and creation of firms, systems, and institutions based on the corporatist "tripartite" model where the State, State-endorsed workers' associations, and capitalists collaborate to govern and control the economic, political and social life of the country.

Politically, fascism implies a move towards centralized rule by a powerful executive, and away from a capitalist country's established legislative and judicial democratic systems and norms (national reorganization).

While bourgeois democracy also engages in terror, repression, and reactionary oppression, fascism often carries out this terror more "openly" and dramatically, both as a reflection and to enforce the open merger between monopoly capital and the State. Fascism replaces the traditional indirect relationship between capital and State with direct and open rule of capital.

In the field of ideology, fascism uses philosophical eclecticism to justify corporatization of the economy and society, pushing for contradictory positions and using "whatever is at hand" to hide the reality of class struggle and the bourgeoisie's "open" dictatorship.

The particular form of Fascism in a given country, and its path toward power, are determined by the "historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country."

Fascism is not limited to these seven characteristics, however all fascist dictatorships have met these minimum conditions. When considering these conditions, it becomes clear that the United States is currently in a period of rising fascism. The second Trump administration is laying the groundwork for the development of a fascist dictatorship in the United States, even if fascism itself cannot be said to have yet seized power and done away with the old "Constitutional" order in the United States.

The second Trump administration walks in the foot steps of its predecessor administrations, who also participated in the active fascistization of the US Imperialist State and the US society and economy. Nevertheless, it is also apparent to even the most casual observer that the fascistization of the United States has intensified and become more open under the current administration. All of which begs the question: why is fascism rising in the United States, and how is the ground being laid for the Imperialist State and the US society and economy to be transitioned from a bourgeois-democratic mode of government to a plainly fascist one?

Basis for US Fascism

United States imperialism finds itself in profound crisis, beset on all sides by decay, stagnation and, increasingly, outright collapse in its existing institutions and systems. This particular crisis of US imperialism occurs within the broader context of a generalized crisis for the international imperialist system, whose internal contradictions intensify and worsen daily. The conditions produced by universal crisis of the world imperialist system and the particular crisis of US imperialism, are the basis for the intensifying rise of US fascism.

Marx and Engels, founders of the scientific ideology of the working class, pointed out that capitalism will inevitably fall and socialism will inevitably triumph. The logic of this stems from historical materialism and the "First Law" of scientific socialism: productive forces primarily determine relations of production, and the economic base primarily determines the superstructure. In the contradictory movement between the forces of production and the relations of production, there arises a protract class struggle between labor and capital which necessitates the establishment of the working class' own political organization. Through struggle, this Party of the modern working class will transform the "specter" of communism into reality. Capitalism's ever-accumulating contradictions and crises make the working class its own gravedigger.

In the era of imperialism, a massive contradiction emerges between the ever growing socialization and monopolization of production with the chaotic and anarchistic system of free markets and private property that defined early industrial capitalism. Vladimir Lenin, leader of the Russian revolution, pointed out that even if imperialism continues to exist, it has become rotten, moribund and outdated as it cannot reconcile this central contradiction. Thus, imperialism will continue to rot and sink in its own decomposition, until its eventual demise. With each cyclical crisis of imperialism, its situation will continue to worsen, as the crises grow more severe with each manifestation. It is under this theoretical premise that we begin our analysis on the process of fascistization in the United States.

> Economically, US Imperialism find itself increasingly unprofitable, unproductive, and uneven.

Economically, US Imperialism find itself increasingly unprofitable, unproductive, and uneven. This can be seen in even the most cursory look at the state of the economy. Take public and corporate debt for instance. As of September 2025, US government debt reached $37.4 trillion dollars,[ii] which is over 119% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). That means that each year the government spends around $880 billion just to service the interest on that debt, much less pay it off.[iii] In addition to federal debt, combined state and local government debt in turn has come to an all-time peak of $3.6 trillion this year.[iv] Corporate and private debt has also ballooned, with corporate bankruptcies reaching a 15-year high in July, 2025,[t] and non-financial corporate business liabilities reaching an all time high in 2025, according to the St. Louis Federal Reserve Office.[tg]

This evolving debt crisis affecting US imperialism is just one of the more obvious symptoms of a much deeper and profound economic crisis raging under the surface. Because of the tendency for the rate of profit to decline under capitalism, as established by Marx, each year the big US imperialist corporations find it more and more difficult to maintain or increase their profit margins. The United States' declining technological advantage, crumpling infrastructure, out-dated production methods, pool of available labor that is increasingly older,[tg] less qualified,[tg] less educated,[g] and less healthy,[v] and chaotically managed State and economy means that not only is the United States unable to compete with rising powers like social-imperialist China, but its unable to even out produce weaker imperialist power like the Russian Federation when it comes to essential military goods.[vg] While one could go on and on about the other major economic ills facing the world's current premier imperialist super-power, such as the rising cost of living, wage stagnation, declining living standards, etc., taken as a whole we can see how the current economic crisis provides the bourgeoisie with major incentives to centrally reorganize and corporatize the economy under the auspices of a new

fascist dictatorship which will replace the old decaying liberal-democratic order.

Just as it is on the economic plane, socially the United States is similarly beset by crises on almost every level. People living in the United States are increasingly dying earlier, are over-worked, alienated, addicted, homeless, unemployed or under-employed, and frustrated with the conditions and direction of the country. US workers are unable to afford basic needs, such as housing, transportation, or healthcare, much less luxuries. Car loan delinquency rates have reached levels not seen since 2009, immediately following the 2008 economic collapse.[xii] Around 1 in 3 adults aged 18-34 are now living with their parents rather than renting or owning homes.[xiii] At least 770,000 people are currently homeless, a multi-generation high.[xiv] The imperialist military is unable to recruit because public distrust towards the military has grown so high, and the remaining pool of recruits is often too unhealthy for military service.[xv]

The contradiction between the anti-people policies and needs of capitalist-imperialism—the desire to keep workers as exploited and oppressed as possible—and the need for US imperialism to sustain and reproduce itself through a competent and capable pool of labor has reached a breaking point. The so-called "competency crisis," or other vogue phrases like the "health" crisis, are just non-Marxist ways to describe how capitalism has left masses with the United States generally dysfunctional and devastated after more than a century of decay, corruption, exploitation, and oppression. The United States is a failing, aging superpower, and our society reflects that reality, which is why revanchist calls typical of fascism to "revitalize" the country, "Build Back Better," or "Make America Great Again," have become so popular among both the Democratic and Republican parties.

In reality, the growing economic and social crisis has its roots in the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, between the socialized manner of production and the private system of ownership. This contradiction manifests in the contradiction between the massive growth of the capacity of production and the diminishing of purchasing power of the working people, as well as the contradiction between the anarchist state of economy and society on one hand and the organized state of production at points of production on the other hand. As overproduction continues, it will inevitably result in an economic crisis, no matter how long imperialism is able to delay the outward manifestations of such a crisis with speculation and stock manipulations.

Photo: Protesters surround the Delaney Hall detention center in Newark, NJ

The decadent nature of imperialism also manifests itself first in the way monopolies severely hinder the development of productive forces, artificially limiting technological progress and leading to a tendency toward stagnation in production and technology except in certain fields which relate to the growth of financial capital and militarization/reactionization, such as artificial intelligence. Since the late 20th century, and especially since the beginning of the 21st, the financial sector has expanded relative to the real economy, with profits increasingly coming primarily from speculation and the stock market. Financial capital has come to dominate both micro and macro levels. Fixed capital continues to be renewed, as the capitalists increasingly use the State machinery to exploit the workers' surplus value and to transform them into capital, which resulted in more general impoverishment of the people and spend more on the militarization and reactionization of the State.

The growth of productive forces and capital accumulation leads to the increase of the organic composition of capital and the faster growth of capital in general. At the same time, this absolute increase of the volume of profit has led to a tendency for the rate of the profit to fall. Marx said: "For an absolutely increased variable capital to be employed in a capital of higher composition, or one in which the constant capital has increased relatively more, the total capital must not only grow proportionately to its higher composition, but still more rapidly. It follows, then, that as the capitalist mode of production develops, an ever larger quantity of capital is required to employ the same, let alone an increased, amount of labor-power. Thus, on a capitalist foundation, the increasing productiveness of labor necessarily and permanently creates a seeming over-population of laboring people." In turn, this led to more economic crises and more measures towards fascistization in order to resolve this crisis.

Photo: Donald Trump declares "Antifa" as a terrorist organization. The White House

Despite their coincidence on many fundamental issues however, the intensification of disagreement on major questions of policy among factions of US capitalism has manifested a political crisis. This political crisis is a function of the already raging social and economic crises, as at the core of the political infighting is the question of how US imperialism should be readjusted and reorganized, and what particular path of fascistization should be taken. In this sense, just because the Democratic Party is in opposition during this period, and there is worsening infighting and factional warfare among the capitalist class, does not mean the Democratic Party is "anti-fascist" or "progressive" in any sense. The question before both parties is ***how*** to strengthen US imperialism and develop the basis for fascism in the United States, not whether that should happen.

Roughly speaking, to the so-called "MAGA " wing of the Republican party, the reorganization of the US society and economy on should occur roughly on reactionary "Christian nationalist" lines, whereas to the Democratic Party reorganization should occur on traditional technocratic "welfare state" lines reminiscent of FDR's New Deal, which was itself inspired by the policies and methods of the original Fascist wave of the 1920s and 30s. This divergence on the path towards fascistization is at the crux of the political crises, and is also why both parties are parties of the monopoly big bourgeoisie and have similar social bases (the labor aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie) despite their differences on certain technical or social issues. In fact, convergence on questions of economic policy between the two main parties has been a striking feature of the last decade, despite the increasingly confrontational rhetoric and political warfare between the two parties.

The significance of the rise of social-imperialist China cannot be ignored when discussing the presently accelerating rise of fascism in the United States. Chairman Mao, leader of the Chinese Revolution, in accordance to the Marxist understanding of fascism, held that the both the government of the Soviet Union following the reversal of socialism and Khrushchev's capitalist restoration, and a future counter-revolutionary government in China following any capitalist restoration there, would be specifically *fascist* dictatorships due to specifically the change in the systems of ownership and for the repression of the revolutionary working class. Thus, it is easy to see how the rise of fascist social-imperialist China as the United States' main competitor, and even potential replacement as leader of the world imperialist system, would increase the prestige, consideration, and influence of fascism among the US capitalists and their supporters. China's continuing State control over the commanding heights of the economy, its massive repressive surveillance apparatus, its class-collaborationist structures and ever-present corporatism, all meant to achieve "social harmony" and class peace; all of these are widely envied by US capitalists, and how they can be reproduced or mimicked domestically is constantly discussed in imperialist conferences and policy forums.

Fascism also typically relies on reactionary nationalism, something which is all too abundant among both sides of the US two-party system.

Discussions like these help illustrate why historically the main basis of support for fascism can be found among the large monopolistic corporations and the institutions of international finance capital, as is the case in the United States as well. As Lenin laid out all the way back in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, the monopoly capitalists desire increased concentration and coordination of capital and production, which a fascist dictatorship greatly facilitates. To the monopoly capitalists the policies of social peace, a supposed end to class struggle, which fascism seeks to enact are a major draw, as State control over and manipulation of the labor movement allows for the capitalists to in turn have greater control over production and the class itself.

Fascism also typically relies on reactionary nationalism, something which is all too abundant among both sides of the US two-party system. The Democratic and Republican parties converge on their subjugation of Puerto Rico and the Pacific Island colonies, on their domination of the mainland Indigenous, New Afrikan, and Chicano nations and national minorities, and on their marginalization of immigrant groups from the Third World. For example, both Democrats and Republicans agree that undocumented immigrants, primarily from Latin America, Africa, and Asia, should be kept in ultra-exploitative working conditions with little to no pay, the question for them is instead simply how much of such labor should be officially sanctioned within US domestic enterprises. In this sense, the Republican Party attempts to use reactionary nationalism to rally/distract their base with crude exclusionary policies, while the Democratic Party seeks to use reactionary nationalism to instead deepen the integration of these same groups into the projects and plans of US imperialism.

In this way, in any case the main social base for fascism is the American oppressor nation's labor aristocracy and reactionary segments of the petty-bourgeoisie, because to these class forces fascistization promises a better cut of the profits and spoils that are concentrated under the new dictatorship. It promises a formalization of the patronage they currently receive under the international imperialist system, and more permanent support for their higher class positions in

relation to the majority of workers and masses in the country. To the reactionary segments of the so-called "middle classes," fascism represents increased stability and resolution to the crises affecting them, at the expense of terror and oppression for the lower workers and doubly-oppressed segments of the masses like women or the oppressed nations and national minorities.

Symptoms of Rising Fascism

In describing the death throes of imperialism, Chairman Gonzalo said: "reaction is militarizing itself more and more, militarizing the old States, their economies, developing wars of aggression, trafficking with the struggles of the peoples and aiming toward a world war." Both the Democratic and Republican parties have launched themselves down the path of greater and greater fascistization, although the particular symptoms and manifestations of those paths differ. One of the clearest manifestations of fascistization has been the increasing negation of parliamentarianism in the United States, which in the American constitutional system implies the negation of the legislative and judicial branches favor of the rule of the executive branch (i.e., the President). Rather than pass legislation through Congress, the US State has relied more and more on Presidential executive orders, memoranda, and other policy tools vested in the executive branch rather than the legislative branch. Furthermore, not only has American bourgeois government trended towards a system dominated by the executive branch, it has progressively centralized executive authority in the office of the President itself. This emerging bourgeois legal theory holds that all executive power is vested in the person of the President,[xvi] and thus the president has direct control and oversight over all parts of government involved in administration and executive function.

There are many major instances of this centralization under the executive, particularly by Trump. His assertion of his right to personally hire and fire members of previous "independent" capitalist regulatory bodies or offices like the National Labor Relations Bureau (NLRB), the Merit System Protection Board, and departmental inspector generals. His dismissal of a member of the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors, or making himself the chairman of the Kennedy Center for Performing Art. His shuttering of USAID, his defunding of the State media agencies like the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (the parent corporation of PBS) or the U.S. Agency for Global Media (the parent company for overseas propaganda outlet Voice of America). His persistent employment of previously little-used mechanisms to "claw-back" funding that Congress had already previously appropriated or approved, in order to assert control over the Imperialist State's budget appropriations and spending. His military strikes on Venezuelan vessels in international waters without notice or authorization from Congress.

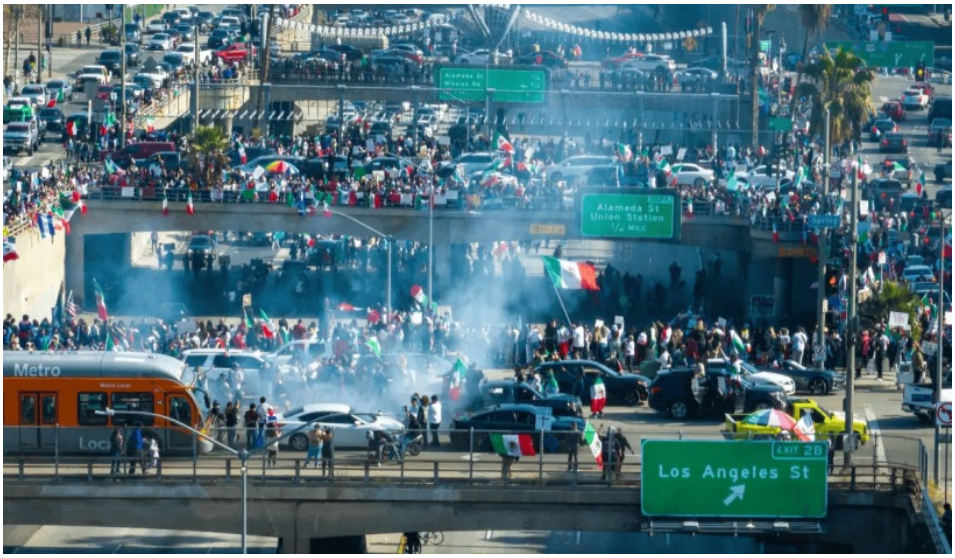
These attempts to secure greater State control over key strategic industries are in turn part of a broader push to militarize the US economy and society.

All of these examples are just snapshots of the broader fascistic move toward negating parliamentarianism in order to strengthen a single powerful executive that has direct dictatorial control over the State apparatus.

When Trump defunds *Voice of America*, or undermines the so-called "independence" of a body like the NLRB, it is not because he is a confused "populist" trying to undermine US imperialism's control over propaganda output or the workers movement. Rather, it is because Trump wants to wrest control over the state unions or state media from Congress or civil service bureaucrats, and monopolize executive jurisdiction over these tasks of the modern Imperialist State. In the process of fascistization, the power structures, coalitions, and institutions of the Old State are adjusted, reformed, or reconfigured in order to facilitate the transition from bourgeois democracy to open fascist dictatorship.

This is why the Biden and Trump administrations have also attempted to assert greater control over the commanding heights of the US economy, particularly in terms of industry, manufacturing, exports, and imports. Fascistization allows for a reconfiguration of the economic sphere by the capitalists in order to temporarily resolve or delay crises and preserve their rule. Biden's CHIPS Act, the Build Back Better initiative, the bipartisan tariff push, Trump's 10% share in Intel or his 15% cut for Nvidia chips sold to China, his attempt to strengthen the Presidents influence over monetary policy via asserting control over the Federal Reserve: all of these are a snapshot of how the fascistization of the US economy is manifesting. Employing the boogeyman of "national security" and great power competition, the Imperialist State is centralizing control over key strategic sectors and firms, and thus preparing the groundwork for future measures aimed at the corporatization of society and the economy. The recent wave of sweeping tariffs are another example of the executive asserting control over the Congress' ability to tax. The tariffs are an outstanding example of the rising reactionary philosophical eclecticism: xenophobia, economic nationalism, and the idea of reinvigorating the nation. At the same time, the tariffs represented a heavier attack on the oppressed countries which are import-dependent and export-oriented for the purpose of subtracting superprofit for US imperialism.

These attempts to secure greater State control over key strategic industries are in turn part of a broader push to militarize the US economy and society. The federal deployment of National Guard, or Marines in the case of LA, contingents in cities across the country in order to combat "crime," "chaos," and "disorder." The targeting of activists and plans to broadly designate whatever organization reactionaries view as linked to "antifa" as "terrorists." The



restriction and undermining of basic democratic rights, such as freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press; the mass deportations and employment of ICE as a force for State terror against national minorities and working-class immigrant communities; the restrictions on abortion and transgender rights; the creation of a vast web of cameras and digital/AI surveillance aimed at facilitating repression and anti-people measures. Clearly the militarization of US society and the attacks on the democratic rights of the workers and nationally oppressed masses serve its role in propelling the reactionary fascistization of US imperialism and its State.

Reactionary nationalism, that is, American "patriotism," is increasingly employed to ensure a base for fascism among the masses. The bourgeoisie encourages the most reactionary, most ultra-nationalist sectors of US society and through its machineries funds and arms them: a fascist force has been developed as the shock troop of capital ready to faithfully carry out tasks assigned to it. The growing ideological offensive against immigrants, women, LGBT people and the oppressed nations, with violent rhetoric being employed by members of the Trump administration and mainstream Republican leaders, is serving to muddle the water of the deepening economic crisis and justify the incorporation of more fascist elements within the liberal-democratic framework. This is especially alarming considering the blood debt US imperialism has inflicted on the oppressed nations and people since the date of its foundation. Left unchecked, US fascists and the State which backs them will only proliferate, and their attacks on the masses will only become more common. All of this highlights the necessity of bringing our principles to class struggle, in particular waging the mass line to isolate the backwards reactionary elements and ensure that the masses are won over to class-conscious politics.

To combat fascism in this sense means to fight the counter-revolutionary mass work of the State with revolutionary mass work. This was the formula applied by Chairman Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru in their struggle against Peruvian fascism, first under General Velasco, and then under Presidents Alan Garcia and Alberto Fujimori. It was this approach which lead to the Initiation of Armed Struggle and the heroic People's War in Peru. With fascistization, the Old State and the imperialists hope to co-opt and suppress the rebellious energy of the masses so as to sustain US imperialism and maintain their class rule. We must contend with the class enemy's interventions among the masses in the labor movement, among the poor and nationally oppressed masses in the neighborhoods, among the auxiliary and allied masses, such as the student movement. To avoid, delay or shirk such work is to cede ground to fascistization and the maneuvers of US Imperialism.

Conclusion

The intensifying march away from bourgeois democracy and towards the formal fascistization and corporatization of the United States means that the question of developing a true revolutionary anti-fascism can no longer be put off. For too long in the US, the anti-fascist movement has been theoretically and practically dominated by revisionism, opportunism, and reformism. In particular, US anti-fascism over the last decade has been controlled almost entirely by elements of the "left-liberal" wing of the Democratic Party coalition, by amorphous anarchist collectives, and by revisionist groups tailing both or either of these trends. This directly plays into the hands of the reactionaries who are leading the drive towards fascism.

By tailing liberal anti-fascism, revolutionaries ignore the Democratic Party and "Never Trump Republicans" own culpability and participation in US Imperialism and its fascistization. This amounts to picking sides in a factional struggle among reactionaries. In this way, tailing the false liberal anti-fascism of the "left" Democrats, Bernie Sanders, and the DSA is an entirely self-defeating affair, something which revolutionaries should be all too familiar with given how the so-called "Resistance" played out during Trump's first term.

By tailing anarchist "anti-fascism" revolutionaries condemn themselves to perpetual habitation in the swamp of disorganization and chaos. Strong security policy, centralized team-based structures, constant discipline, a willingness to sacrifice for the cause of the people, a proletarian political line; all of these things must be standardized and enforced for an anti-fascist movement to be effective. The unity

necessary for such a front cannot be based on the disunity and disorganization that anarchism implies. While united front work can and should be done on the basis of common principles when possible with anarchist or anarchist adjacent groups, fundamentally the class line running through this new revolutionary anti-fascist movement cannot be based on anarchism nor any other ideology of the ruling class or middle classes. Only a working-class anti-fascist movement can answer the call of the current moment.

This revolutionary anti-fascism must be based in the masses, and thus should be focused on class struggle. It must avoid the performative anti-fascism of the present, which has already proven itself time and time again as a dead end, and instead be an anti-fascism that defends the masses against the Imperialist State, the emboldened reactionary street militias, and finds its support among the proletarian and nationally oppressed neighborhoods and communities. This revolutionary anti-fascism takes aim at so-called "Americanism" as a whole, and upholds the struggle of the oppressed nations and national minorities within the United States for self-determination.

The new revolutionary anti-fascism is embedded in the ongoing work against ICE, against the police, against anti-women measures or anti-LGBT measures, against the slumlords, the reactionary politicians, and is a competent part of the proletarian united front, which is lead by the workers' movement and is supported by the class-conscious student and youth movements. The work of neighborhood-based class struggle groups like the People's Defense Committee is vital to the development of the New Anti-fascism, which is still very much embryonic and nascent in the broader work of the revolutionary mass organizations and their supporters. Similarly the work of revolutionary labor, embodied in organizations like the New Labor Organizing Committee, attacks at fascistization moves to hem in and repress the US multinational working class, and thus also defeat its attempt at consolidating control over the economy, society, and production. In total, the New Anti-fascism strikes at militarization and corporatization by fighting for socialist revolution, for the overthrow of the entire US Imperialist system, not by fighting for bourgeois democracy which is decrepit and dying.

While the US fascist dictatorship is not yet established, the task of constructing a new anti-fascist movement is pressing and cannot be ignored. The process of fascistization must be exposed before the masses and explained to them in common language in the pages and slogans of our propaganda at the shop, street, and campus level. The agents and members of local, regional, and national fascist organizations, especially reactionary fascist militias, must be identified, exposed, monitored, and prevented from entering the popular neighborhoods. The work being done to combat and defend against the agents of the Imperialist State, in particular its police and ICE agents, must be redoubled, and the participation of the masses in this work expanded. The failed trends of liberal and anarchistic "anti-fascism" must also be exposed and struggled against, and the masses educated in the errors of those trends and in the correct path of class struggle anti-fascism.

The process of fascistization is unpredictable and unstable, with many uncertain factors that must be illuminated and scientifically analyzed. Nevertheless, we can be certain that in any case, over the coming years the revolutionaries and masses will spill much blood, sweat, and tears in the struggle against our common class enemy. Marx and Engels said: "Capitalist production seeks continually to overcome these immanent barriers, but overcomes them only by means which again place these barriers in its way and on a more formidable scale." These sacrifices will be written in the pages of the glorious history of our class, because for the revolutionary there is no better enemy than US Imperialism, and no more worthy target than the forces and agents of that Imperialism. The increasing fascistization of US imperialism is a material inevitability, but the work we carry out today as the subjective factor—the conscious element—of the revolutionary movement is up to us.

Down with US Imperialism!

Fight for Socialist Revolution!

Defeat Fascistization By Building a Class Conscious Mass Movement!

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Joint Statement on the 2nd Anniversary of the Al-Aqsa Flood

On this day two years ago, the Palestinian National Resistance carried out Operation Al-Aqsa Flood, one of the largest and most comprehensive counteroffensives of the 21st century. In a carefully planned out, completely secret, and airtight operation, Palestinian militants followed a barrage of thousands of rockets with an armed incursion, breaking the prison walls used to blockade the Gaza strip. Reminiscent of the 1987 Qibya operation, the militants paraglided into Zionist-held territory, reclaiming for the first time in decades land that was formerly "Israeli," for Palestine. Subsequent images surfaced of Zionist barricades being broken, Palestinians bulldozing borders and biking into their land of which they had been violently suppressed from stepping foot on for decades.

Operation Al-Aqsa Flood took place at a unique time, when global imperialist collusion facilitated through regional powers such as Qatar and Turkey were pressuring the Palestinian National Liberation Movement into disarmament, hoping to "peacefully" resolve the Palestinian national question through capitulation. The Operation crushed any illusions the imperialists had of seeking to quell Palestinian National Resistance. From the Nabi Musa uprising of 1920 culminating in the great revolt of 1936 against British imperialism, to the two glorious intifada's whose righteous anger was in response to capitulationist betrayals in 1988 and 1993 respectively, the Palestinian people have served as a shining example of the necessity to fight for liberation until the very end. Operation Al-Aqsa Flood also represents a great blow to imperialism, highlighting the place of Palestine as a storm center for anti-imperialist struggle around the world.

As a result of the Operation, the Zionist entity retaliated with a nearly immediate policy of intensified genocide on the Gaza strip. In the course of the entity's barbaric onslaught, the Palestinian people have shouldered a great burden in enduring daily bombardment, murder, and famine. This represents a general law of revolutionary struggle, in which the oppressed masses will be subjected to intense repression should they dare to rebel in any form. The steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the face of one of the most horrific genocides in history is a lesson we must internalize. Despite all forms of horror they have been subjected to, they have continued to grasp that only through revolutionary struggle can their shackles be broken.

We are inside of the belly of the beast—the imperialist empire that funds, arms, and legitimizes the genocide in Gaza. U.S. imperialism sustains the Zionist entity's occupation of Palestine and the broader machinery of global imperialist oppression. In the face of this, the bravery of the Palestinian National Resistance reveals the enduring capacity of the oppressed and working people to fight back, even under the most brutal conditions. We must all stand fast in our solidarity with the Palestinian people, and our solidarity must be more than symbolic. We must root our Palestine solidarity work within the struggles faced by the oppressed masses on our campuses, workplaces, and neighborhoods where the same systems of exploitation, policing, and surveillance uphold imperial violence abroad. Connecting the fight for Palestinian liberation to our work mobilizing, politicizing, and organizing the masses here in the U.S. is a strategic necessity for an anti-imperialist and working-class revolutionary movement.

LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE!

LONG LIVE THE MILITANT STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION!

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

Signed,

People's Defense Committee

Revolutionary Student Union

The Crusader

New Labor Organizing Committee

CPI (Maoist): We Pledge to the People That Our Party Will Never Surrender to the Enemy

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) released a statement on October 16 expelling the traitors who surrendered to the Old State and calling on the revolutionary movement to continue the People's War until victory.

"Sonu" and "Satish," members of the CPI(Maoist) Central Committee, laid down arms earlier this month alongside multiple other leaders. In the face of the ongoing brutal State offensive, these traitors sold out the interest of the Party and the Indian people. "This surrender is treason against the revolution, an act shameful for the Party, and counter-revolutionary," said the Party.

The surrenders came in the midst of the genocidal "Operation Kagar" launched by the fascist Modi regime aimed to defeat the People's War. According to the Forum against Militarization and Corporatization (FACAM), this operation has included hundreds of extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, and widespread sexual violence against the red fighters, peasants, and indigenous Adivasi peoples. On May 21, Comrade Basavaraj, General Secretary of the CPI(Maoist) was martyred alongside 26 comrades.

The Indian Communists have been waging an armed struggle since the Naxalbari Uprising of 1967. In a country where workers make as little as 58 cents per hour, the CPI(Maoist) fights to end the rule of imperialism, semi-feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism over the Indian people, and to create a new-democratic India with national independence and genuine democracy.

Commenting on the difficult situation, the Party said: "Setbacks and defeats in the revolution are temporary." This is not the first time the revolutionary movement in India has lost leaders. Charu Majumdar, founder of the Party, was himself martyred in 1972. However, CPI(Maoist) continues to enjoy support from the Indian people for 58 years, because it represents their genuine interest and aspiration.

The Indian comrades concluded their statement with these words: "Even if Sonu, Satish surrender today and someone else surrenders tomorrow, we promise the people that our Party will never surrender to the enemy. As long as classes exist, class struggles — in their higher form, People's Wars — will continue; this is a historical rule. Surrenders cannot change this rule. Therefore, even in temporary setbacks let us advance with great confidence and courage in striving for the progress of the revolutionary movement. The final victory will belong to the people."

We republish the statement as follows. We thank the Turkish democratic publication Yeni Demokrasi for providing the English translation:

We Call on the Revolutionary People to Mete Out Appropriate Punishment to Sonu, Satish and Those with Them, Who Betrayed the Revolution, are Party Traitors, and Surrendered to the Enemy as Counter-Revolutionaries

Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)
Press Release
October 16, 2025

We expel Sonu and Satish's gang from the Party.

The Central Committee of our Party reports that a total of 61 people — including Politburo member Sonu, Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee member Vivek, Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee alternate member Deep, ten regional Party committee members, Party members, and

members of the PLGA (People's Liberation Guerrilla Army) — surrendered to the police in Gadchiroli on October 14 in the presence of Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis and reentered civilian life. They handed over 50 rifles belonging to our Party and the revolutionary people to the enemy. This surrender is treason against the revolution, an act shameful for the Party, and counter-revolutionary.

Since 2011 the Dandakaranya revolutionary movement has experienced difficulties, and the nationwide revolutionary movement underwent a temporary setback until 2018. Since then political weaknesses began to appear in Sonu. In the Central Committee meeting held in December 2020 Sonu submitted a document containing decisions with self-criticism regarding some shortcomings in Dandakaranya revolutionary practices. The Central Committee rejected this. In subsequent Central Committee and Politburo meetings his incorrect political tendencies were criticized and the Central Committee and Politburo made efforts to correct them. At the Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee plenum held in 2011, individualism, arrogance, and an overly bureaucratic attitude in Sonu were harshly criticized and their correction was demanded. In subsequent Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee meetings committee members raised criticisms to correct his wrong tendencies. However, after the martyrdom of our Party's General Secretary comrade Basavaraj in the Kagar attack in May 2025, long-standing theoretical, political, and structural weaknesses in Sonu underwent qualitative changes and led him to capitulate before the enemy.

From January 2024 onwards, during the counter-revolutionary Kagar war, all revolutionaries and the revolutionary people have been fighting daily against enemy assaults. Following the martyrdom of Party General Secretary comrade Basavaraj, leading the revolutionary movement, organizing resistance against the deadly encirclement and crushing attacks carried out by central and state governments as part of the Kagar war, and standing ready to sacrifice one's life every day became the meaning of leadership. Sonu's increasing comfort-seeking and selfishness distanced him from revolutionary sacrifices; this resulted both in his being caught unprepared and in acting out of fear of death. He was not ready to honestly acknowledge this reality. However, by refusing to correct his long-standing arrogance, he concealed his weaknesses and fear of death and, as a result of the Party's mistaken political-military strategy, concluded that the Indian revolutionary movement would be defeated and that there was no other way but to hand weapons over to the enemy and temporarily suspend armed struggle — publishing a conciliatory, revisionist surrender statement to that effect."

Honest revolutionaries, or anyone who carries the revolutionary spirit, examine the reasons that have led the revolutionary movement into a temporary setback using the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (MLM) method of analysis.

Honest revolutionaries, or anyone who carries the revolutionary spirit, examine the reasons that have led the revolutionary movement into a temporary setback using the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (MLM) method of analysis. For this they analyze past history, the present situation, and future possibilities. They realistically analyze the material conditions, the state of self-criticism, the enemy forces, and the strengths of the movement. In this context they also examine international and domestic conditions. However, in his recent writings, his appeals to the people, his calls to cadres, and in the press statement published on 15 September, Sonu adopted a bourgeois method of self-critical analysis that contradicts this. To prove that the Party line or the political-military line or political-military strategies were wrong, he put forward three main reasons. These are: that we do not have a revolutionary party, that the ultra-left decision taken by the unity congress formed in 2007 imposed tasks on the center beyond the strength of the movement, and the claim that we rejected legal struggles — these three are incorrect findings. In addition, by declaring the contradiction between the comprador monopoly bourgeoisie and the country's population to be the principal contradiction, he proposed changing the path of Protracted People's War.

"If you want to change the Party's fundamental line/strategy, you must analyze the country's relations of production, their class relations, and the nature of the state; on the basis of that analysis you must determine the current stage of the revolution and formulate a political line/strategy. You must analyze changes in the concrete characteristics of India's revolutionary war and, taking into account changes in the nature of strategic areas in the country, develop a military strategy. He followed a bourgeois, one-sided method of self-critical analysis that contradicts the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist method of analysis. A self-critical work/analysis method that is one-sided means a partial/incomplete, superficial method of analysis. In his recent writings, appeals to the people, calls to cadres, and in the press statement framing a temporary suspension of armed struggle, we see traces of this method. For this reason, while saying that the Party has approved the documents "Changes in the Relations of Production in India — Our Political Programme", "The Caste Problem in India — Our View", "The National Question in India — Our Party's

Position", and the document limited for now to the Central Committee "The Party's Position Against Comprador Monopoly Bourgeoisie in India — Political Programme", he at the same time made different findings from the Central Committee's December 2020 document "Central, Political-Structural Assessment," which contains the reasons that caused the revolutionary movement's setback, and from the Politburo circulars of August 2024, and finally declared that the political-military line followed by the Party was wrong. For this reason he defended, by means of a one-sided analysis, that the Party's errors caused the revolutionary movement's regression. He rejected the Party's findings that the strong Indian state's decades-long counter-revolutionary attacks, and the Kagar war, caused this situation, in addition to the Party's self-critical errors. As long as land ownership continues to exist in residual form in the country, the contradiction between the comprador monopoly bourgeoisie and the broad masses of the people cannot be the principal contradiction. (Due to the limitations of a press statement, nothing more is written on this for now.) If Sonu truly believed what he wrote, he should have remained in the Party and been ready to discuss these matters in the Central Committee and the Politburo. If, while leading the revolutionary movement and standing ready to sacrifice his life, he had brought his ideas and theses before the Central Committee and the Politburo and worked to correct the errors in the revolutionary movement, his confidence in his theses and his honesty could have been accepted. But if, without being ready to do this, he violated the Party's structural order and surrendered before the enemy, this shows that he did not trust his own ideas, that he was not honest, and that his theses were merely opportunistic arguments designed to hide his fear of death. To deceive revolutionary camps, Party cadres, and PLGA members with such wrong theses and to surrender to the enemy is treason against the revolution.

Not discussing his wrong theses in the Central Committee and the Politburo and violating the centralized democratic procedure by breaking organizational discipline and order, over the last few months he carried on discussions at different levels with Party committee members, Party members, and PLGA members; he prepared a conspiracy to split the Party. He systematically sidelined Party committee members, Party members, and PLGA members who were firmly loyal to the Party's political-military line. These are anarchistic acts that demean the Party.

> We inform the revolutionary camp that we will review this failure and draw the necessary lessons.

Sonu's supporters may surrender to the enemy, but even though the Central Committee's recent press statement stated that weapons belonging to the Party should be returned to the Party, he did not comply and instead handed over 50 weapons to the enemy. For many comrades who gave their lives fighting the enemy armed forces, handing over weapons captured from them to the enemy means providing weapons to the enemy to kill revolutionaries. This is counter-revolutionary. Sonu — who lost the revolutionary spirit and betrayed the revolution, a disgrace to the Party, a counter-revolutionary — and Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee member Vivek, Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee alternate member Deep, and the ten regional Party committee members who surrendered to the enemy with him, are expelled from the Party. We call on the revolutionary people to mete out appropriate punishment to these traitors who betrayed the revolution. We want Party members and PLGA members who were misled by Sonu's deceit and petty-bourgeois ideology, who sided with him without understanding his deception and surrendered to the enemy, to understand the truth and return to the people's side.

Since late last year, when he began planning to surrender his life partner and several others to the police in the presence of Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis, recent developments indicate that Sonu has been in contact with Devendra Fadnavis and senior police officials. Thus, maintaining relations with the enemy while remaining in the revolutionary party means betraying the revolution and being a secret collaborator or agent. We state that such a traitor to the revolution has no moral authority to build the revolution by new methods.

Sonu and his gang's surrender of 61 people to the police caused serious harm to the revolutionary movement. Now, even though Sonu and his associates have surrendered, other Party committee members, Party members, and PLGA members at various levels who were influenced by his wrong theses and are not ready to give their lives may also surrender; these are temporary losses. The effects of these losses may last relatively long. However, Sonu's surrender and the surrender of various Party leaders and PLGA commanders do not mean the permanent defeat of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary movement will not be permanently defeated by the surrender of some Party leaders or some People's War commanders. As long as classes exist in society, the oppressed classes have waged,

for thousands of years, class struggles against plunder and oppression. Throughout history, although revolutionary movement leaders and military commanders in many countries have sometimes surrendered and betrayed, and although these revolutionary movements have suffered short- or long-term defeats, in some countries revolutionary movements have ultimately achieved victory. Just as there are successful revolutions in the world, defeated revolutions have also served as inspiration for the oppressed classes. Although the slave revolt led by Spartacus was defeated, it inspires today's popular struggles; although the Paris Commune was defeated, its defeat was reviewed and lessons were learned and the Russian Socialist Revolution succeeded; these struggles still inspire the world's working class and the oppressed. Although Bhagat Singh did not achieve national independence with the party he founded in his lifetime, his martyrdom remains an inspiration to the people today. If peoples defeated in war, their leaders, and their parties inspire the reconstruction and advancement of struggles, then those who surrendered, those popular leaders and parties who surrendered to the enemy, have faded into history by creating despair and distrust. Surrenders can never inspire the rebuilding and advancement of popular struggles and revolutionary movements. Therefore, it is deceitful for a traitor who surrendered to the enemy to claim that he will reconstruct the revolution along a new line.

Even if revolutionary leaders surrender to the enemy and hand over arms, the recent example of Nepal is proof that the people can become revolutionary again. Although the Prachanda-Bhattaarai gang handed over all the weapons of that country's people's liberation army to the enemy and resorted to treachery, about twenty years later honest revolutionary forces reemerged as the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal and participated in the latest Nepalese popular uprising, retaking enemy weapons.

In this case of revolutionary betrayal, reports have come that Satish, head of the Northern Sub-Region Office of the Dandakaranya Special Zone Committee, and three Special Zone Committee members Santu, Bhaskar (Raj Man), and Raneet surrendered to the enemy with 150 people and handed over weapons. These four Special Zone Committee members, like Sonu, split the Party and by handing Party and revolutionary people's weapons to the enemy became traitors, a disgrace to the Party and counter-revolutionaries. Recent developments indicate that Satish has been in contact with senior police officials and the Chhattisgarh state police minister and has been secretly collaborating.

Conciliatory tendencies that Sonu and Satish have harbored for decades gradually turned into conciliation, with the Kagar war transforming that conciliatory opportunism into the present level of treason and counter-revolutionary action. We failed to correctly evaluate this development in time. As a result of this failure they both used their leadership positions to inflict serious harm on the revolutionary movement. We inform the revolutionary camp that we will review this failure and draw the necessary lessons.

It is false for the traitors Sonu and Satish to claim that they will rebuild the revolution on the right path. They are under the control of central and state intelligence bodies, and any people's struggles or revolutionary movements they build will be government-backed popular movements. Therefore, if these traitors appear in the name of the people we call on the people to beat them and drive them away. We call upon Party members and PLGA members in those gangs to understand the betrayal now and thereafter and to return to the Party side; we guarantee that no harm will come to such returnees. We warn Sonu and Satish to immediately cease their counter-revolutionary activities aimed at splitting the Party in collaboration with central and state intelligence agencies.

Those who, due to fear for their lives because of the Kagar war offensives, may surrender can do so, but we insist that they must not hand over weapons belonging to the Party and the revolutionary people to the enemy. That would not only be treason against the revolution but also counter-revolutionary. Counter-revolutionaries must be punished by the revolutionary people.

We call on all the people of the country to continue the Indian revolutionary movement by further synthesizing and enriching our political-military line in accordance with changing social conditions and the changing concrete characteristics of the revolutionary war, using the documents 'Changes in the Relations of Production in India — Our Political Programme,' 'The Caste Question in India — Our Perspective,' 'The National Question in India — Our Party's Position,' and 'The Party's Position Against Comprador Monopoly Bourgeoisie in India — Political Programme,' and to carry forward the revolutionary movement in India. Setbacks and defeats in the revolution are temporary. Let us treat the situation created by the Sonu-Satish gang as a crisis developed within the Party and overcome this crisis. At this time, recognizing that our self-criticism forces have lost strength and become weak, and taking into account the situation in which the enemy has gained an advantage over our revolutionary movement, we must dedicate ourselves to rebuilding the countrywide revolutionary movement while protecting the Party, the PLGA, and our unity as a whole. Even if Sonu, Satish surrender today and someone else surrenders tomorrow, we promise the people that our Party will never surrender to the enemy. As long as classes exist, class struggles — in their higher form, People's Wars — will continue; this is a historical rule. Surrenders cannot change this rule. Therefore, even in temporary setbacks let us advance with great confidence and courage in striving for the progress of the revolutionary movement. The final victory will belong to the people.

Revolutionary greetings,
Abhay, Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)

Labor: USPS Workers Publish First Shop Paper Edition

T HE PARTISAN IS HAPPY TO REPUBLISH THE FIRST EDITION OF NEW DAY AT USPS, A SHOP PAPER FOR UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE WORKERS WHICH IS PART OF THE NEW LABOR ORGANIZING COMMITTEE.

Postal workers are facing an all-sided attack. Under constant efforts to privatize the post office to increase profits, since 1999, we have seen over 250,000 jobs lost, and despite nominal increases in wages, inflation has far outpaced these gains, leaving USPS workers with significantly less in our pockets compared to decades ago. In 2021, multimillionaire former Postmaster General Louis DeJoy launched the "Delivering for America" plan, which seeks to maximize profits through automation, post office and plant closures, and ousting 50,000 more postal workers under the secret aim of preparing the way for privatization. David Steiner, the new Trump-appointed Postmaster General, claims to oppose privatization, yet owns over $8 million in FedEx stock and has done nothing to stop the Delivering for America plan, revealing where his interests lie.

Our two most powerful tools, union organization and the ability to strike, have been stripped from us. The dominance of craft unionism, which divides workers into separate unions based on their specific crafts, arbitrarily separates postal workers into four main unions: the National Postal Mail Handlers Union (NPMHU), part of the Laborers' Union; the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), primarily representing clerks; the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC); and the National Rural Letter Carriers Association (NRLCA). This division creates barriers to unity among postal workers in our struggle against USPS. Furthermore, federal workers are legally prohibited from striking, removing our primary bargaining power. This is a restriction that the leadership of the four major postal unions has accepted and enforced. This is because the leadership of our unions has been bought off and legally integrated into the state, making them unwilling to fight for what postal workers deserve.

Right now, the NPMHU is engaging in contract negotiations with USPS, the union leadership has ignored rank and file input, and it's only communication is through periodic "updates" to it's members through statements that fail to specify what exactly it is they are "fighting" for. Backroom dealings keep members in the dark, allowing failures to be concealed and accountability avoided. This self-serving tactic protects bureaucrats who have more in common with management than rank-and-file workers.

We have seen this tactic time and time again, most recently with the contract negotiations undertaken by the APWU, NRLCA and the NALC before where vague updates lead to sham contracts with little to no increase in the real wage of the workers, a failure to put a stop to two-tier employment and the exploitation of "non-career" employees, "diet" COLAs, and deals that push the tired "it'll put us in a better position for next time" mantra. Three years is too long for postal workers to wait for change.

Even when the membership has stood up and rejected the deal, we have seen just how far they are willing to go to crush those efforts, as they did in the NALC contract vote. When, after 70% of members rejected the sellout contract, an "impartial" federal arbitrator was brought in to impose a management-friendly deal on city carriers, which NALC leaders then endorsed happily.

Learning lessons from this during the APWU contract vote, some members claimed they failed to even receive their ballot in time. The shady tactics of the union negotiators and the blatant subversion of a democratic process clearly show how, by breaking up the bargaining power of the workers into crafts, as well as the removal of the workers' principal weapon in the fight, the strike, weakens the power of all of us to stand together for what we have all worked for and have earned.

We have a proud history of taking the fight into our own hands against the post office, government, and sellout leadership. In 1970, over 200,000 of us struck despite the law and union leadership telling us no. That spirit continued with several more wildcat strikes throughout the decade. Today, however, that militant energy must be rebuilt; over the past year of contract negotiations, our union leaders have shown no willingness to fight for our interests or even think of the possibility of taking action. New Day at USPS aims to be a paper that analyzes the issues impacting us and fights for what postal workers need: a rank and file shopfloor organization, one single union of all USPS workers, and ultimately to do what the current union leaders won't do: make preparations for eventual collective action to defeat Delivering for America, right to strike laws be damned.

For the development of local publications everywhere!

The Partisan is very in favor of initiatives such as "movement journals" and other local publications that can exist, whether in the form of simple double-sided sheets or slightly longer formats.

We believe that these initiatives allow us to reveal to the wider public, including those who don't attend general assemblies, for example, what is happening locally, nationally, and even internationally.

This allows us to politicize the struggle beyond existing circles and often opens up debate when an article takes a position for one practice or another within the movement.

What is most important is that these publications are distributed in thousands of copies, reach a wide audience, and serve the movement, especially when the debate often returns to questions of communication and the relationship with the mainstream media as soon as a movement organizes itself. In Charlotte, NC, there is *Working People's Press*. In Washington DC, there is *The Potomac Worker*. In Providence RI, there is *Voice of a New Providence*. In Johnson City TN, there is *Voice for a New Johnson City*. Different sectoral organizations have their own papers, as well as independent shop units of workers. Join your local publications and distribute them!

Chicago: Activists Build Community Front of Struggle

On September 23, 2025, marking the 157th anniversary of the heroic Grito de Lares and the 20th anniversary of the martyrdom of the leader of the *Ejército Popular Boricua* or *Macheteros*, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos by the rotten U.S. imperialist State at 72 years old. The Borikén Liberation Front (Chicago) commemorated these major events in the struggle for Puerto Rican national liberation and Socialism with a community event in the Humboldt Park, a neighborhood of Chicago which is known for its large and vibrant Boricua/Puerto Rican community. Among the people from *el barrio* who came out was a member of the masses that was quickly discovered to be the sole person arrested at the very first demonstration held for Nate Fejerang, a 19-year-old Boricua executed by Chicago police on May 29 in the West Humboldt Park neighborhood.

While BLF members on the mainland held the community event, on the same date was the inauguration of revolutionary independence leader Filiberto Ojeda Ríos' house as a museum in his legacy, the same house where he was martyred by the forces of U.S. Imperialism. Comrades from BLF were present for this important moment in the revolutionary history of Puerto Rico, which also included delegates from JUPI, DPC, Bandera Roja, and other revolutionary and progressive Boricua organizations. With actions like these two concurrent events, BLF demonstrated the importance of organizing for Puerto Rican independence both on and off the island itself, and ensured the memory and courage represented by the revolutionary martyrdom of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos in his struggle against colonialism and national oppression is immortalized in a long path of struggle.

Also in September, in the Roger's Park neighborhood, revolutionary organization Unidos Por El Pueblo (UPEP) hosted a community discussion on how the growing process of fascisization is impacting the community. Several community members showed up across all ages and demographics, and comrades from the Borikén Liberation Front (BLF) were also present. The discussion was enthusiastic engagement from participants and revealed critical areas of struggle, as well as key contradictions in the neighborhood to be further investigated.

For example, participants discussed the meaning of community self-defense given the segregated structure of the neighborhood. Currently the working-class, immigrant communities are sectioned into well-demarcated geographical boundaries in the North and West areas, while the southern region of Roger's Park is primarily inhabited by young professionals, academic employees, and students in large part because of gentrification fueled by the real estate interests of Loyola Chicago—the nearby university—whose board chairman is the co-founder of Blackstone Real Estate. It is the working-class areas which represent potential targets for ICE, and also suffer from growing poverty as a result of municipal neglect and the aggressive financial practices of the growing landlord monopolies. Having concluded the discussion, UPEP is looking to conduct further social investigation and mass work, with more attention paid to the nationally oppressed communities of the neighborhood, focusing on anti-ICE efforts, campaigns on the lack of consistent trash pick-up in the community, alongside hosting anti-imperialist and anti-colonial cultural events.

ANALYSIS

ICE's Arsenal and the Logic of Domestic Militarization

By: Aeneas Leviné

Lenin, elaborating on the nature of the State as organized violence, famously pointed out that "**standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power.**" As US imperialism undergoes further fascistization, it "**develops a broader, more refined, more sinister violence**" to pave the ground for the corporatization of the society and economy, the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (Comintern) To that end, this definition highlights the role that Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) play in the internal repression apparatus of U.S. imperialism within its own borders.

Born in 2002 from the expansion of the "security state" during the so-called War on Terror, ICE now operates as a vital cog inside the internal State security machinery. Alongside the police, the FBI, the National Security Agency (NSA), the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and an expanding web of fusion centers and surveillance nodes, ICE carries out the brutal directives of finance capital. It raids working class neighborhoods, detains and deports migrant laborers, suppresses popular demonstration and political expression, and wages a campaign of terror against the immigrant and nationally oppressed masses within the territory of the United States.

ICE does not merely "enforce" fascistic-immigration law. It functions as an occupying force, wielding drones, armored vehicles, biometric surveillance, and military grade ordnance against the masses. Its operations are coordinated, data driven, and increasingly indistinguishable from those of the military or the police. The agency has been transformed into a paramilitary extension of the American Imperialist State, deeply enmeshed within the broader strategy of militarized social control. The military hardware acquisitions, institutional embedding in the militarized State, and the deepened ideological, political, and organizational fomenting of ICE from its formation in 2002 by the DHS to the present day, were always in service to the counter-revolutionary consolidation of imperialism domestically.

Acquiring an Arsenal of Repression

Recent procurement records confirm that ICE is gearing up not merely for "enforcement", but for militarized occupation. Via its so-called "One Big Beautiful Act" the Old State has allocated more than $170 billion over four years for "border and interior enforcement", with a stated goal of hiring 10,000 new agents to deport 1 million immigrants each year. The bill also removes age limits and expands bonuses (loan forgiveness, signing bonuses, etc.) to recruit veterans and former military personnel, deepening the overlap between domestic policing and imperial warfare. Additional funds expand the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers, effectively scaling up the state's capacity to produce paramilitary operatives under the guise of immigration enforcement. Moreover, the removal of hiring barriers and acceleration of training pipelines means that the composition of the ICE workforce will increasingly mirror that of the U.S. military. The result is a fusion of domestic policing and counterinsurgency with immigrants and nationally oppressed communities cast as internal enemies to be crushed.

With its coffers full ICE is preparing a hiring surge, not just in personnel: contracts show that new agents are being equipped with autonomous drones, tactical armor, and Glock handguns. These are not "civilian policing tools" but instruments of war being

repurposed for internal repression. This pattern signals a deliberate intensification: the forces of the U.S. capitalist class seek to accelerate the militarization of immigration enforcement, embedding the methods and materiel the battlefield into domestic repression. The financial bourgeoisie, which requires a reserve army of labor (often drawn from migrant populations), exerts terror through its State, in part, to control it.

The expansion funded by the "Big Beautiful Bill" is not merely a tactical ploy, but a long-term strategic measure. By pouring billions into ICE and related agencies the regime is constructing a permanent infrastructure of repression designed to outlast any electoral fluctuation. The temporary nature of the funding set to expire in 2029 reveals an effort to front load the militarization of immigration enforcement by building the state's coercive capacity now in hopes that its institutional weight will prevent rollback later. This tactic reflects the bourgeois state's tendency to use crisis conditions as an opportunity to entrench unpopular reactionary reforms, embedding tools of class war within the vast and stagnant bureaucratic apparatus.

The operation and militarization of ICE is shadowed by pervasive secrecy, with DHS and ICE both in litigation for withholding records regarding communications, contracts, memos, directives, and training materials related to militarized immigration enforcement. The refusal of agencies to produce clear inventories of weapon systems, doctrine manuals, or deployment directives is itself a revealing act. It shows that the imperialist state rejects the accountability of its instruments of terror. The redactions, delays, and classification shields are devices of the reactionary mask of the Old State; the internal security apparatus must not be transparent, because transparency would awaken resistance. Because these documents are withheld, investigative reconstruction must rely on fragments: contract line items, vendor disclosures, whistleblowers, procurement leaks, local reporting. These fragments already sketch an outline of a heavily armed, networked, technologically sophisticated ICE.

The advanced repressive apparatus of ICE embodies the concentrated force of the imperialist State in its growing internal counterinsurgency. These instruments of class domination represent the direct material expression of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, wherein the technological fruits of capitalist profits and imperialist super-profits are redirected not toward social reproduction but toward the consolidation of capitalist hegemony through coercion. Today, this process is greatly sped up with the sharpening of the principle contradictions of imperialism. Each procurement is another step in the American economy's progression towards greater corporatization, forming the sinew of a more reactionary and openly terrorist form of bourgeois rule. This arsenal is not a deviation but a necessity in maintaining control as capitalism decays and generates worse and ever more frequent crises.

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The deployment of such technologies thus reflects not merely administrative policy, but the objective function of the American bourgeois State as an instrument of violent class rule and oppressor nation domination in the epoch of capitalist decay. Analysis of contracts, reports, and photographic evidence demonstrate the wide catalog of the military-grade ICE arsenal such as:

Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected Vehicles (MRAPV or MRAP), are a type of armored personnel carrier (APC) designed specifically to withstand the impact of land mines and improvised explosive device (IED) attacks. Oshkosh Alpha is a common MRAP variant amongst border patrol, being built for domestic use by law enforcement and federal agencies. ICE has recently signed a $8.2 million contract for 20 more BearCat MRAPs from Lenco Industries. Contracting data indicate that ICE has previously allocated around $11 million to Lenco for BearCat vehicles.

ICE has been spending millions through direct contracts with military suppliers, including for surveillance-capable unmanned aerial vehicle (UAVs) that integrate with AI-driven facial recognition software offered up to them by capitalist firms such as Google. The MQ-9 Predator military-drones are common, being deployed over Los Angeles during the ongoing anti-ICE protests. This aerial coverage is fused with private contractors who operate 24/7 social media surveillance to assist in enforcement targeting and tracking. This is indicative of the trend in which a growing share of ICE's arsenal is both reliant and feeds into the connected international financial system of which the expanding global drone economy is a part. The military drone market being expected to reach $47 billion by 2032.

ICE has significantly expanded its surveillance arsenal through contracts totaling millions of dollars, enabling an unprecedented level of technological repression. Cell site simulators, often referred to as Stingrays, are surveillance devices that mimic legitimate cell towers in order to force nearby mobile phones to connect to them. Once connected, the device can intercept metadata, call logs, text messages, and in some cases, content data such as location and communications. Law enforcement agencies, including ICE, use these tools to conduct dragnet surveillance over entire areas without needing individual

warrants. It currently employs phone hacking tools from firms such as Magnet Forensics to extract encrypted data from mobile devices, while also utilizing Clearview AI's facial recognition software to identify and track individuals across vast photo databases. A reactivated $3 million contract with "Israeli" spyware firm Paragon Solutions allows IE access to the Graphite software which can infiltrate encrypted apps like WhatsApp and Signal. Additionally, ICE has secured a new $3.1 million contract for device-access tools and has revived data acquisition via PenLink, which allows real-time tracking and social graphing of user metadata. Through these tools, ICE is capable of reconstructing entire personal networks, conducting live audio surveillance, and geolocating targets by siphoning data from hundreds of millions of mobile users across the United States.

In ICE's standard issue armory, small arms, assault weapons, and riot munitions include standard issue duty pistols (Glock 9mm models) as well as SIG Sauer rifles and accessories under active IDIQ (Indefinite Delivery, Indefinite Quantity Contracts) contracts for tactical units. Riot munitions such as flashbangs, tear gas launchers, and "less-lethal" impact rounds (rubber bullets) are routinely reported in ICE raids, especially in crowd suppression and residential raids.

In the domain of imaging, agents are equipped with red dot sights, night vision scopes, infrared/thermal optics, and Predator drones which carry electro-optical/infrared sensors for heat signature detection. Many law enforcement surveillance systems incorporate night vision, thermal imaging, and infrared sensors in drone and fixed installations. These systems enable suppression under cover of darkness, covert entry, and long-range target acquisition in low-light environments.

For tactical body armor, gas masks, and modular battlefield gear, ICE purchases include Level IIIA soft body armor kits, ballistic helmets like the Galvion Caiman 24, modular helmet mounts, chest rigs, and gas masks for chemical agent defense The National Firearms and Tactical Training Unit (NFTTU) supplies these defenses and ordnance to federal agents, reinforcing the militarized gear pipeline across agencies.

In acoustic weapons and crowd control devices, ICE and state actors utilize systems like LRAD (Long Range Acoustic Device) to project painful high-decibel sound over distances, capable of causing ear damage, nausea, and disorientation. LRADs, produced by Genasys, are marketed for crowd control use by law enforcement to broadcast warnings or deterrent tones over up to 5.5km. These devices can shift between intelligible voice projection and deterrent "pain tones," making them dual-use as communication and sonic weapons. Exposure may lead to hearing loss, tinnitus, headaches, and permanent auditory damage.

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The Law Enforcement Support Office (LESO), which oversees the 1033 Program under the Department of War's Defense Logistics Agency, facilitates the transfer of military-grade ordnance, vehicles, surveillance systems, and tactical gear into the hands of federal, state, and local law enforcement. Section 1033 of the 1997 National Defense Authorization Act, which itself evolved from the earlier 1208 Program of 1990, traces its lineage back to the Surplus Property Act of 1944, which was enacted at the end of World War II to manage and dispose of the enormous stockpile of wartime production. While not a direct recipient under the 1033 framework, ICE has materially benefited from this program through partnerships, joint task forces, and interagency pipelines. ICE leverages this channel by integrating with police departments that have received 1033 equipment and through that enables resource and intelligence sharing across agencies.

In many cases, the line items and vendor contracts ICE engages in mirror those found in local 1033 inventories: high-powered rifles, thermal optics, advanced body armor, and surveillance drones. Because 1033 property can be transferred or loaned between agencies and used in joint operations, ICE regularly conducts raids and sweeps alongside departments equipped with surplus Pentagon gear.

This militarized cross-pollination reinforces ICE's role not as a conventional law enforcement entity but as an extrajudicial tool of force embedded in the increasingly fascistizing architecture of American Imperialism. The ideological shift that accompanied this material upgrade portrays entire communities, especially those of the nationally oppressed, as internal threats requiring pacification. ICE is not a rogue actor; it is one part of an internal security architecture that mimics the military apparatus.

ICE's Militarization is Part of a Broader Trend

The intensification of ICE's armament is not something new to the Biden and Trump regimes, but part of a longer-term trend of U.S. imperialism. From its very beginnings, the American State developed a security apparatus fundamentally rooted in national oppression and the protection of private property, beginning with slave patrols and

militias used to exterminate the Indigenous and suppress the enslaved in order to maintain the plantation economy. As U.S. capitalism expanded westward and industrialized, and became a global imperialist power, this apparatus consolidated through federal agencies like the FBI and CIA, formed primarily to neutralize labor movements, national liberation struggles, and perceived threats to capitalist order both domestically and abroad.

In the modern era, the 2001 Patriot Act marked a qualitative leap, formalizing the fusion of domestic policing with the logic of counterterrorism, legalizing mass surveillance, indefinite detention, and the erasure of constitutional protections in the name of "national security". U.S. domestic policy underwent a paradigm shift wherein "security" became a framework for treating civilian spaces as war zones. Drawing from the strategies and tactics of repressions learned during the anti-communist "Cold War" period, the so-called "War on Terror" internalized this already growing militarism, reconfiguring immigration, policing, and surveillance under counterinsurgency. It was through laws like the Patriot Act and Homeland Security Act during this period that mechanisms of the Department of Homeland Security, and with it ICE, were first formed. ICE has, since then, served as a complementary paramilitary arm to the existing apparatus of State repression (Police, FBI, NSA, CIA, DOJ, DOW). It has been reinforced via the expansion of the national security apparatus, intelligence apparatus, and border enforcement organs through surplus transfers and federal grants.

This leap must be situated in the concrete reality of the decaying of US imperialism, which is in its general and last crisis and continues to be weakened by cyclical crises that worsen with each iteration. Despite having temporarily defeated its rival, Soviet social-imperialism, the US did not enter the "end of history" like its court intellectuals have claimed. On the contrary, it finds itself engulfed in waves after waves of mass resistance across the world, as it faces new competition from China and Russia to divide the world. Under these circumstances, big industrial capital increasingly finds sources of profit equal to or greater than through industry in the speculative–financial sphere. The big industries become intertwined with the activities of the financial sector, which culminate in even larger crises that brings the entire productive sectors into recession. In response, the State intervenes to restructure the financial system, safeguarding banks and financial institutions and forcing the masses of people to pay the price, through wage depression, extension of retirement age, contractualization, cuts to public services, etc. These measures necessarily require more corporatization of the society. The overall rate for the profit to fall, accentuated by the increased financialization, resulted in more unemployment and sharpening of contradictions between the workers and the capitalists. The growth of parasitic profits deriving from an unproductive economy is merely sourced from a different pattern of distribution of the already produced surplus value, and nothing "new" in substance: ultimately, these crises can only be resolved through imperialist war and re-division of the world. The tendency towards imperialist war goes hand in hand with fascism, as it requires social and political stabilization and disciplining on an ever-widening scale to combat the developing crisis. Concretely, this manifests in the full-scale attack on the democratic rights of the working class and popular masses as to facilitate the attack on their living and working conditions.

For example, in an escalation of the months long siege of Chicago by ICE at the behest of the Trump administration, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) imposed a sweeping 15-mile radius temporary flight restriction (TFR) over the city, effectively banning most non-government drones for the first twelve days of October, 2025. The ostensible justification was to prevent "small, unmanned aircraft systems" from attacking law enforcement during the so-called "Midway Blitz" ICE operation. The closure of air space is a tactic to suppress aerial journalism and block the public from documenting State violence. This airspace lock down demonstrates how ICE, DHS, CBP and allied forces are asserting total control over the theater of operations. The drone no-fly zone is not merely defensive; it is aggressive spatial domination which serves as a material barrier to the mobilization of counter-power. During the Chicago blitz, ICE deployed flashbangs and riot munitions in residential areas, brutalizing and terrorizing the masses. ICE has also targeted activists, immigrant solidarity organizers, and journalists by labeling them internal threats. Meanwhile Attorney General Pam Bondi drafted a memo to form a task force specifically to *protect ICE from protesters*.

ICE's deployment of MRAPs, AI drones, and mass surveillance constitutes a logic of imperialist warfare in the domestic sphere. For the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, poor, nationally oppressed, and immigrant communities are treated not as citizens, but as enemy populations whose labor is exploited and whose resistance must be crushed. Every new piece of equipment in ICE's arsenal is a new weapon against the people. The drone no-fly zones, the armored raids, the targeting of organizers, all represent a ruling class investing in tools of terror. Militarization is not about safety; it is about suppressing the contradictions of a decaying capitalist-imperialism through brute force. Latino migrant workers and other migrant workers from oppressed nations and national minorities are the first targets of this imperialist offensive, which has its goal as dividing the working class with national oppression and destroying the forces of production in order to solve the growing economic crisis. In this sense, the militarization of ICE is but the first step towards the militarization of the entire society as the ruling class prepares for the worst that is yet to come: mass rebellion and revolution.

Militarization begets repression, which begets resistance, which in turn justifies more militarization. This is the dialectic of fascistization. The State must escalate because it is increasingly losing its legitimacy. As the Old State is an apparatus of class rule, it relies on violence because it has nothing else to offer the people but austerity, surveillance, and endless multi-sided crisis. ICE is not merely an immigration agency. It is a crystallization of the current imperialist offensive against the masses in the United States and all over the world, whose violence is aimed at preventing the politicization of labor and national liberation struggles, the growth and linking up of these struggles on a global scale, and the unification of the world's revolutionary movements. ICE must be understood not as a mechanism within the security apparatus alone, but a strategic weapon of capitalist reaction deployed at a time of instability.

Only class struggle and the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialism can end ICE's campaign of terror. The revolutionary masses must build up their organizations such as the People's Defense Committee. They must turn every neighborhood into a trench of combat by intimately linking and raising this struggle to the overall struggle for daily economic and political demands of the entire class and its allies, in other words, the struggle against fascistization and for socialist revolution.

Join class-conscious and militant Mass Organizations!

New Labor Organizing Committee

https://newlaborpress.org/
Instagram: @newlaborpress
Email: newlaboroc@proton.me

The New Labor Organizing Committee (NLOC) is a newly founded committee that works as a coordinating body for independent labor organizations and class-conscious workers within the United States and its overseas territories (Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, etc.). To get involved with NLOC you must believe in the importance of the struggle of workers around the world against the owners and their imperialist system, take a stand against the actions and ideas of opportunists in the labor movement, believe in the mission of creating an independent, class-conscious, democratic and combative labor movement, and be willing to get to work actually making that mission a reality.

Revolutionary Student Union

https://revolutionarystudentsunion.wordpress.com/
Instagram: @rsu.usa
Email: revolutionarystudentsunion@proton.me

The Revolutionary Student Union (RSU) is mass organization of revolutionary students in the US and Canada. It's core beliefs include the necessity of revolution to overcome capitalism, the importance of supporting the working class movement, the need to combat racism and national oppression, support for women and LGBTQ liberation through revolution, and the importance of countering opportunism within the revolutionary movement. It also emphasize the mass line (exchanging ideas to and from the masses) as a means of maintaining direct communication with the masses and supporting militant self-defense of the working class and oppressed peoples.

People's Defense Committee

Instagram: @peoplesdefensecommittee
Email: PDCnational@proton.me

The PDC's sector of work is to organize the proletariat and the oppressed masses where we live and spend our time outside of work. The people's defense committees thus have a dual purpose: they mobilize, politicize and organize the tenant masses around their demands using the *tenant union/committee* form and they use the *popular assembly* form to mobilize, politicize and organize the broader masses around their community grievances, whether those be related to austerity and infrastructure neglect, national liberation, defense of the rights of oppressed groups such as women, migrants, oppressed nations, LGBT people, etc.