Maoist Communist Union critically endorses the World to Win caucus' resolution "Socialists In Solidarity With NYCHA Residents Against Demolition Of Fulton & Elliott-Chelsea" for the NYC-DSA convention. Mayor Zohran Mamdani has decided to press on with Eric Adams' neoliberal demolition and privatization scheme for two massive public housing developments, Fulton and Elliot-Chelsea. While Zohran promised tenants he would oppose privatization before his election, he has since refused to talk to them and has barreled full steam ahead, working with zionist real estate billionaire Steve Ross to demolish thousands of units of public housing, and replace them with privately owned high-rises. Left-wing forces inside of DSA have been working with FEC tenant leaders to pass a resolution at the upcoming DSA convention calling on Zohran to halt the privatization. The right-wing leadership of DSA and their lackeys, which are functionally a wing of Zohran's administration and the Democratic Party itself, have been working overtime to manufacture consent for this neoliberal attack on the people. They have spread lies about the privatization and called Section 8 vouchers "public housing", smeared activists opposing the privatization, and have even gone as far as to dox tenant leaders in order to scare them into silence. The right-wing leadership of DSA is doing the dirty work of the capitalists and zionist real estate billionaires to defend Zohran's image, and we stand in strong solidarity with the left wing's fight against the privatization.

While we support W2W's resolution, we have some fundamental disagreements with the resolution's analysis of Zohran's role. The implicit premise of the resolution is that Zohran is a movement leader who has gone astray and can be pushed back to the left, rather than being an enemy of the people and member of the ruling class. This is a flawed premise which ignores the fact that Zohran's actions show that he serves the capitalist class. It is also a premise which runs in the face of the lessons of Marxism, in particular on the class character of the state and the painful lessons learned from the past betrayals of social democracy. Prior to the betrayal of social democrats in Germany in WWI it was not unreasonable to have some illusions about social democracy. But things became extremely clear after they supported the War, opposed the revolution, and eventually led, with the German bourgeoisie, the counter-revolution (which included killing Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg). In the hundred years since these heinous crimes against the people of the world, the social democrats have shown their true colors again and again. From Bloody May in 1929, to the French Communist Party's opposition to the mass revolts of May 68 (by which point the PCF had degenerated into a revisionist, social democratic organization), the past century has many painful lessons that have immediate relevance for evaluating Zohran.

The truth is that social democratic politicians have a long track record of eagerly serving the bourgeoisie. Zohran is no different. Since getting into office he has given the bourgeoisie everything they have wanted, and more. He has betrayed tenants (especially in public housing), workers (for example, nurses), and, of course, the Palestinian people. Zohran has to authorize every deployment of the SRG; he deployed the SRG to break striking nurses' picket lines, to arrest anti-Netanyahu protesters at the UN General Assembly, and to defend ICE after they shot Oscar Belgal in the Bronx. Zohran will not hesitate to repress the tenant movement as it gets stronger, just like he has for nurses, anti-ICE demonstrators and Palestine protesters.

Zohran does not need the tenant movement. The whole history of the struggle thus far shows that he is fundamentally opposed to the movement, and seeks to destroy it, but covers over this with nice liberal language about "affordability." Now, when the capitalists want to advance their decades' long neoliberal effort to privatize public housing, Zohran is more than eager to serve their interests, while dressing up these schemes with a pretty phrases and a strained smile. Promoting illusions that Zohran will be different than any other democrat is dangerous, and leads our movements back into the same dead ends over and over again.

We stand unequivocally against the privatization of public housing across the US, and unite with the resolution's call to halt the privatization and demolition of the FEC houses, and for the DSA to take a strong stand against this neoliberal austerity measure. The resolution makes a series of important points about the impacts of the destruction of public housing, including gentrification and displacement, threatening the lives of elderly tenants, worsening the health of the surrounding community, and the dangerous precedent that the demolition of FEC could set as the first complete teardown of perfectly habitable public housing in NYC as part of a RAD/PACT privatization. The resolution also explains how Section 8 housing vouchers are fundamentally privatization, even though the Zohran administration, NYCHA, and housing developers say otherwise. But the resolution pulls punches in its arguments against Section 8, and does not give a complete picture of the different forces collaborating to destroy public housing.

The resolution correctly calls the proposed privatization of FEC a land grab, but Section 8 more broadly is a neoliberal austerity *scam*, consent for which has been systematically manufactured by the federal government's purposeful destruction of public housing for over three decades through neglect and underfunding. By not criticizing the crucial role the state itself plays in destroying public housing, the resolution can play into the common notion that the struggle for public housing is a straightforward fight between developers and the people, with the state and non-profits playing a neutral role, or even one supportive of tenants. But the privatization of public housing has been a conscious effort by multiple sections of the ruling class and their lackeys to destroy the social safety net the working class gained from hard-fought class struggle. In NYC, HUD and NYCHA use the federal government's purposeful neglect to justify handing public housing over to the banks to "fund" necessary repairs that the government refuses to pay for via the Rental Assistance Demonstration program or RAD (the NYC version of which is called PACT). This Obama era program was a massive corporate handout to a cabal of vultures feasting on the carcass of public housing. The government and developers also collaborate closely with non-profits to facilitate privatization today. The complete destruction of the public housing in San Francisco by Related's subsidiary, Related California, was carried out in collaboration with a non-profit which was perversely named Mercy Housing, an organization deeply intertwined with Wells Fargo. This was one part of the broader HOPE SF (RAD for SF) privatization scheme, spearheaded by Gavin Newsom, where the city partnered directly with the Bank of America, JP Morgan Chase, Salesforce, and the healthcare monopolists at Kaiser Permanente. When discussing the decades-long privatization and destruction of public housing, we must expose all of the different forces that are collaborating to oppress the people, especially the government and NYCHA and HUD, so we can figure out who are friends and enemies of the struggle. The federal government, politicians, and non-profits will not save public housing – they have been overseeing its destruction for decades. Public housing can only be defended if tenants organize themselves and link up their struggle with the broader struggles of the working class against capitalism.

We agree that the "vote" that residents took about the privatization and destruction of their homes was an utter sham. But tenants should not have to vote for whether or not their homes get demolished and privatized, which is fundamentally not in their interests. We need to have the courage to say that the privatization of public housing should be opposed unequivocally, and not pretend that this gentrification scheme would be legitimate if the capitalists can bamboozle and intimidate a temporary majority of tenants into voting for it. To propose as much even if the election is carried out legitimately is absurd and a fetishization of the electoral form. Consider, by means of analogy, the US invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. Even though, according to opinion polls at the time, the majority of Americans initially supported them, it still made sense to vehemently oppose these wars! The functional monopoly of the capitalist class on the means of communication allows them to manufacture—via lies, scams,

and propaganda—the temporary consent and approval of people for actions that are ultimately not in the people's interests. However, often people come to terms with this reality not so long after the fact. Just look how quickly opposition to the Iraq War grew in the US after the invasion. So even if NYCHA, Zohran, and the developers did manage to obtain the temporary support for privatization, it would still make sense to oppose this. Any voting process which relies on deceiving and coercing the people into supporting a given measure cannot be described as democratic, and therefore should be opposed, even if a temporary majority supports the given measure.

It's an absolute disgrace that the right wing leadership of DSA has consistently promoted the lie of tenant consent for privatization in their talking points about FEC. The "vote" was administered via QR code, only 29% of tenants participated, and the language in the vote did not even include the word demolition! This shows just how deceptive the whole process has been. Any and all discussion of the voting process should make it clear that the entire way the ruling class (including Zohran, NYCHA, and the non-profits) have explained the privatization to the tenants has been a lie, and that until the tenants are properly informed on the truth of what this process entails, any vote is a sham, even if a large percentage of tenants participate.

We agree with the resolution's opposition to Related Companies' proposed takeover of the FEC houses, and agree that it is a land grab. While we agree with the resolution's criticisms of Related, they are still lacking in some key respects. The resolution describes Related Companies as a billion-dollar company and capitalist real estate firm; both are accurate. Related is also the largest owner of privately controlled "affordable housing" in the US, and is a massive monopoly that controls over 70 billion dollars of investments in housing, data centers, and renewable energy. The resolution, however, leaves out a crucial detail of one of the many reasons why Zohran's rubber stamping of this privatization is such a betrayal – the CEO of Related, Steve Ross, is a rabid zionist. Steve Ross oversaw Related selling a cumulative 1 billion dollars of bonds on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange to fund its gentrification projects. It is notable that Zohran is supporting the handover of land on which thousands of predominantly Black and Hispanic New Yorkers live, to a zionist billionaire. It's clear that Zohran is not opposed to zionist land grabs in general, and not even when they are happening right here in NYC. Zohran's NYPD has repressed and brutalized anti-genocide protesters at illegal sales of Palestinian land at NYC synagogues, and Zohran has absurdly claimed that it is anti-semitic to criticize Jewish landlords for deed theft (often from black homeowners). We must be unflinching in our criticisms of zionism, especially when DSA's National Political Committee turned its back on the broader membership's support for BDS by voting to not de-endorse Nithya Raman, capitulating on zionism. Left forces in DSA need to take an uncompromising stand against the continuous capitulation of the DSA right wing, who are more than willing to abandon the Palestine struggle to appeal to the zionist bourgeoise for supposed short-term gains, which are ephemeral at best, and which will likely have devastating consequences for the DSA as a whole and the people more broadly.

We agree that housing should not be a commodity and should be removed from speculation. However, we want to caution against the belief that housing can be removed from speculation under capitalism – this is perfectly acceptable to put forward as a demand for a maximum program, but the tenant movement, and Zohran, will be unable to bring this about no matter what they do under capitalism. Zohran himself has colluded closely with the most notorious and powerful real estate speculators in the city. After winning the Democratic primary, Zohran did a "second primary" and met with all of the monopoly capitalists that run NYC, including the Real Estate Board of NY, and Jamie Dimon, the head of JP Morgan Chase, the largest bank in the country, which makes billions off of the speculative housing bubble, and plunders public housing around the country. Zohran has also stressed the "important role" of the private market in solving the city's 'housing crisis' that it has manufactured. As

a part of creating more “affordable housing,” Zohran has allocated billions of dollars to expanding Low-Income Housing Tax Credits that are massive handouts to real estate developers. Zohran has only worsened and expanded the speculative bubble around housing in NYC to enrich the banks and real estate developers.

Public housing, while subsidized and funded by the state, still exists as part of the market economy and is not removed from speculation, but we uphold that it should be defended and expanded. Even in its creation in the 1930s, public housing was part of a large speculative housing scheme by the developers to clear the slums, and thus drive up nearby property values. This slum clearance was crucial for the expansion of the national highway system, which facilitated suburbanization which was a major boon for real estate capitalists. In spite of this, public housing itself was still ultimately a concession to the strength of the organized working class during the Great Depression, to save capitalism. The capitalists created the New Deal welfare state in the face of a militant and organized working class, led by a Communist Party with thousands of members, that led massive labor strikes, hunger marches, and rent strikes. To protect and defend public housing today will necessitate similar all-class organization against the encroachment of the real estate monopolists and big banks that seek to destroy the whole system of public housing in the US.

The resolution resolves that Zohran halt the demolition and privatization, stop all evictions and forced relocations, and fund all repairs needed at FEC to preserve public housing. We stand with this call. It also calls upon other Socialists in Office (SIOs, DSA elected officials) to put pressure on Zohran to stop the privatization, and for DSA to do internal political education about public housing and stand with FEC tenants. We agree that it is crucial for the left to struggle in DSA to win over members from the right-wing leadership’s pro-developer and pro-capitalist line. But no mention is made of de-endorsing Zohran even though the resolution makes very clear the basis to do so – neoliberal austerity for zionist billionaires is pretty far past the red line for DSA’s stated principles, especially those laid out in R22 (Resolution 22: For a Fighting Anti-Zionist DSA, from DSA’s 2025 convention). Since the resolution does not identify Zohran fundamentally as a class enemy, the path ahead for the struggle is narrowed to solidarity with FEC, work inside DSA, and pressuring politicians, when the struggle needs to be expanded to a fight against Zohran and the capitalist class he represents by all working and oppressed people in this city. The privatization of FEC, and of NYCHA in general, will put thousands of union jobs at risk. Teamsters Local 237 represents all 7,000 NYCHA maintenance workers. When projects get privatized, the union is busted.

Many NYCHA workers also live in public housing and are at risk of losing their homes and jobs at the same time. Workers who are members of other unions are also NYCHA tenants; their unions should be involved in the fight, and broader working class solidarity is needed. Tenant unions more generally also need to organize against the privatization of public housing as demolition and privatization raises the rent floor and expands the speculative housing bubble. We call upon all workers, tenants, students, and leftists to join in the struggle, and on the DSA right wing leadership to cease and desist its support for this zionist billionaire’s land grab!

No Demolition! No Privatization! Hands off FEC! All Power to the People!