

November 20, 1976

CRITICISM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE WUO  
by the Revolutionary Committee

In the Public Self-Criticism of the Revolutionary Committee we attempted to expose the transformation of the WUO from a revolutionary organization to an opportunist one that based its practice on white and male supremacist political lines and policies. We did this to provide a tool for revolutionaries in the struggle against opportunism and to aid in the undoing of the damage wreaked by the politics and activities of the WUO.

Because the base, networks, and leadership of the WUO are still at work promoting the same old bad practice in many areas, it is necessary to go further and place responsibility for specific crimes against the revolutionary movements. We do this so that the role and effect of the WUO will no longer be invisible; to contribute to helping and identify and destroy the ability of the WUO to continue as agents of the bourgeoisie within the revolution.

This statement is necessary because the Central Committee of the WUO has consciously used a variety of media and gimmicks to promote a mythology about the organization and themselves. This veil only serves to hide the damage that they have done to the revolutionary movements and their own abandonment of revolutionary principles and direction. Before anyone of the Central Committee members, or their allies, put themselves forward as part of the revolution they must answer for their actions. This statement is put forward in opposition to the vested interest of the Central Committee, and its allies, in maintaining the WUO.

For ourselves, who were members and leaders of the WUO in our own right, and were organized by and put into practice the white and male supremacist policies of the Central Committee, the release of this criticism of the CC makes deepening of our own self-criticism more necessary. Investigation of the practice of the organization has uncovered the full weight of the crimes of the organization, and shown how deeply white and male supremacy went in all of us. This depth of realization was not a part of our consciousness in writing the PSC, and led to compromise with wrong lines, and a re-emergence of the domineering and arrogant tone so characteristic of statements by the WUO. These errors were the direct outcome of white and male supremacy within us. In order to write this document we have had to engage in fuller self criticism/criticism of these politics among us. We recognize that everyone who was a member of the WUO has a reason to want to limit its political exposure: our own self-conceptions, status, and power have been based on being part of the WUO. So, this examination of the CC has forced us to examine ourselves.

There is no reason to protect from criticism those who made a positive accomplishment after they have abandoned that direction. It is our view that the line of the CC of the WUO, and the entirety of the organization's practice for the past two years has been opportunist and served the US imperialists; but, we are not the ones who must make this judgment. This is why we are releasing this information.

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Very little has ever been written about the internal history of the WUO; what has been is mainly false. This makes it difficult for people outside the organization to understand the development or motivation of the organization's practice. In the present circumstances we feel that it is necessary to provide a summary of the past three years, and place key events in their proper relationships.

In October of 1973 the WUO was completely dis-organized as a result of three political factors. First, the white supremacy of New Morning (see Weather Eye) (politics formulated by Jeff Jones and supported by the entire CC) had eliminated the political basis of many members original commitment--support for Black liberation, Vietnam, and armed struggle. Second, male supremacy acted on in two ways: smashing of women's solidarity and organization, rejection of criticism of sexism in men, especially among the CC; and, an organized campaign by the leadership against gay women and men within the organization. Finally, the CC's practice of isolating, vilifying, and driving out anyone who disagreed with the, combined with giving more responsibility and power to those who supported them.

The CC analysis was that they had vacillated, and that the cadres were not building their leadership, and had been "irresponsible" in criticizing them for authoritarian methods.

At this time the CC, led by Bill Ayers, developed a plan for reorganization. It was summarized by three slogans: "Educate Ourselves, Organize Ourselves, Activate Ourselves Around a Written Program"(see Our Class Stand, Os.#3). At no time did the CC make self-criticism for the politics of New Morning, their male supremacy, or bourgeois methods of leadership. The initiation of the plan was actually accompanied by the smashing of a women's initiative. In retrospect it is possible to see that the development of women's organization was a force contending with both the power and politics of the CC proposal, for nowhere in their slogans is there any mention of why we should be organized. This is, then, organization for the sake of individual power; not to support national liberation or to fight for the liberation of women.

The writing of Prairie Fire was the center-piece for generating organization, and Bill Ayers assumed this responsibility. But, his first draft was no good, and was strongly criticized. At this point, the CC called on the skills of an experienced and trusted comrade (E.C.) but one who was not under their discipline. He was able to ally with and lead a small group within the organization to struggle over line and do the writing. Together with a separate group of women this group was responsible for the dominance of a revolutionary line in Prairie Fire. The CC did not lead this process and four of them--Ayers, Jones, Sojourn and Reed--fought tooth and nail for opportunist lines. For all five of them the politics were secondary to the fact that it was producing organization.

When opportunist criticisms were made of the drafts produced ("support for national liberation is moralism" and Sojourn's "idealism, not economism, is the main danger") by the writing group, Ayers and E. Dohrn discouraged struggle against them by saying it was sectarian and factional. Throughout the writing the CC put organizational unity above political principle and at every point defended the opportunists.

This struggle finally came out in the open at the national meeting to ratify the final draft. Consistently and overwhelmingly, the opportunist position was voted down on every issue. Yet, three months later the main opportunist leader at this meeting was put in charge of political education by the CC, and the leader who defended the line of the book, EC, was forced out of the organization by Bill Ayers.

This occurred because the struggles over line also emerged in questions of strategy for using the book. The difference was over whether to present it as a contribution to the political struggle for a revolutionary line going on in the left, or whether to use it as a means to recruit more members out of the open movement. These differences broke out over whether the book should be printed secretly or in the open; and, over how to distribute the book.

The CC wanted to use the book to establish its control over the anti-imperialist left, a position that was mainly supported by the secret members, and the few people who supported the opposite position were forced out. At the same time the CC had gone a long way toward overthrowing the political line of the book, so that its goal was not only to control the anti-imperialist left, but to change its direction away from support for national liberation movements, toward unprincipled participation in economic struggle. These politics can be seen in the Go to the People section of Prairie Fire, which was written by Bill Ayers (also the main architect of the organizational plan of the WUO).

The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, established and built up by comrades who welcomed and supported the general revolutionary and anti-imperialist content of the book, began to be a significant political force on the left. The Central Committee concluded that if it could control this organization it would be an important step toward realizing its over-blown ambitions to control the whole left. For a year and a half they tried hard. Editorials in Osawatomie were fired off against the revolutionary forces in PFOC; people outside PFOC were mobilized to denounce the revolutionary line and people inside; after these tactics were rebuffed and defeated, direct intervention was attempted. But this had an opposite effect: the resistance

of genuine revolutionaries outside and inside PFOC led to rejection of the wrong opportunist and white and male supremacist politics and organizing and to exposure and crisis for the line of the CC and its authority within the WUO itself.

Along with this activity the CC had a strategy of making the main work of the organization recruitment from the anti-imperialist and women's movements. The goal was to extend the direct influence of the CC over the whole movement, and to re-direct these movements along revisionist lines. The CC thought they were the only force capable of leading the movement in the oppressor nation:

We need to build a successful struggle, strong organization and a winning revolutionary party. . . . We know where to begin. (Osawatomie Spring 1975)

Because of the respect held for the WUO in the anti-imperialist left, and because of Prairie Fire, the organization was able to grow rapidly in the months after the publication of the book. By wintertime the WUO had the resources and members to fund and distribute Osawatomie. When the CC was questioned about military work, they replied, "distribution is an action, this increases our clandestine capability." It really increased the power and influence of the CC, and its opportunism.

In the lead editorial of issue #1 of Osawatomie, the women's movement is not mentioned, even though the article is about the left. In the same issue, the Toolbox on "Internationalism" does not mention the necessity for revolutionaries in oppressor nations to support the right of self-determination and secession of oppressed nations. The issue in Boston is racism, not white supremacy. The economic crisis comes from inadequate markets and the struggle of the working class for higher wages. In these articles the basic direction of abandoning anti-imperialist principles in order to expand the mass base is clear.

Along with Osawatomie, the CC began a whole media blitz advertising the organization. The original contact for the film Underground were made and Abby Hoffman was given support and assistance by the CC in return for promoting the WUO on TV and in the New Times Magazine. Support for the organization was developed on the basis of hype.

By the spring of 1975 the CC felt that the organization's power had been built sufficiently to take on bigger projects, but at the same time the restrictions of clandestinity were a fetter on its development. Jeff Jones hatched a plan to begin surfacing the organization. Jones planned his bid for power along the lines expressed in Osawatomie:

We are building a communist organization to be part of the forces which build a revolutionary communist party to lead the working class to seize power and build socialism. This involves taking responsibility for every aspect of the struggle. This is our direction. . . (Our Class Stand, Sept. 1975)

It is our responsibility. . . to rouse the working class and join wholeheartedly in all its struggles against US imperialism. . . (ibid)

The original plan to surface two members of the CC to lead the inversion was rejected that summer, but not from a revolutionary position. It was thought that two people would be ineffective, so the concept was broadened to include the entire organization. The CC position on surfacing was raised internally as the question, "are we organized correctly to do what we want?"

We evaluate action by analyzing the extent to which it reflects and builds the organization. . . whether actions win people. . . at this point a comparatively small sector of the population actively supports armed struggle. (Politics in Command, Spring, 1975)

This was the theoretical justification for the elimination of armed struggle. From the fall of 1975, this plan, termed "inversion," was put into practice without the knowledge of most members. Lawyers were organized to prepare legal defense, the film Underground was planned both as a means to sanitize the image of the organization and to raise money for legal defense; new organizational bases were set up from which to surface; and a plan was

developed to increase the frequency of Osawatomie and to create a "professional" staff. Overtures were made to the Democratic Party in connection with break-ins against family and associates of the WUO. This provided the possibility of deals in return for the trials being a lever for purging of Nixon people from the Justice Department and the FBI.

This plan would be the culmination of the organizational strategy to dominate and control large sections of the left. It is the logical outcome of the abandonment of the political principles that generated the WUO in the first place. For the CC, who once stood at the head of the largest student organization in the US oppressor nation, it would mean the re-establishment of former position and power.

The consequences of this history are the crimes of social imperialism; deadly, grave crimes committed against the womens' movement, against revolutionary anti-imperialist politics and organization in the oppressor nation. These crimes are backed up and justified by the CC's writings in Osawatomie and in their internal documents.

### Crimes against National Liberation Struggles

In a word, white supremacy meant active opposition to national liberation struggles, and especially the Black liberation struggle. The CC sought to dominate and control national liberation struggles and Third World organizations. In all relationships with Third World organizations the CC put the WUO's safety first, refused to accept criticism, and rejected Third World leadership. Since 1971, the CC put first the struggle of Vietnam and then Puerto Rico forward, in opposition to Black liberation in the US.

The CC used its relationships with Third World organizations to increase its own power and prestige, and to justify rejecting criticism of its white supremacy. Joe Reed, August 1975, internal paper on Cadre School:

The Black worker--male and female--play the decisive role in the US revolution. While stressing the central role of the Black liberation struggle this analysis differs from the sentence in Paririe Fire which says "The Black liberation struggle for self-determination is the leading force in the US revolution." This sentence implies that the national struggle of the Black people has the task of leading the whole US revolution to victory. It is the particular responsibility of the multinational proletariat to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the whole US and to lead in the seizure of state power.

- In Boston this meant withdrawing armed and political support from Black people who faced physical attacks by fascists attacking their allies: taking cadre out of anti racist work.

--Pushing economic reform as an alternative to anti-racist work. Third World solidarity work, prison defense. Prisons are the state's first line of defense in the class war. (Osawatomie, #2, Summer, 1975)

--At a time when the prisons were the front line of the Black liberation struggle, the CC attacked this movement as ultra left extremists, pulled cadres out of prison defense work, and controlled and dominated local and media resources of the prison movement.

--refused to do prison breaks of Black prisoners when asked. Leary the only prisoner ever liberated, was paid for that.

In a sentence the program means this Mobilize the oppressed and exploited people to wage class struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy. (Osawatomie 2/6, The Us Are

--this line organized for the prosecution of undocumented workers on the basis they were scabs.

--abandoned the Native American people in their struggle for survival and self-determination and ignored opportunities to give concrete support and assistance

--The one action in alleged support of Puerto Rico does not call for independence for Puerto Rico; it is limited to support for the Ponce cement strike.

Revolution. . . grows through the accumulated experience of the working class, in every form of struggle, against racism, lousy schools and high prices; for jobs, a living wage, for socially meaningful lives; against police repression, sexism, hunger. . . only in the practical work of building the class struggle can we develop the guerrilla struggle into popular armed struggle."

(Armed Struggle and the SLA, Osawatania #4, B. Dohrn)

--meant the abandonment of armed struggle in support of national liberation;

-- --attacked the BLA for being "militarist," refused to give any form of aid or support on the alleged basis that they weren't Marxist-Leninist, or organized along the lines of democratic centralism, as defined by us. The same was true for Native American fighters.

--disregarded all criticisms about our line and practice from Third World revolutionaries: the Panther 2], Ruchell Magee, the Black caucus HRC, prisoners letter about the film

--opposed the Palestinian struggle as terrorist;

### Crimes against Women and the Women's Movement

For seven years the CC has supported male supremacy, denied the special oppression of women, sought to avoid criticism, attempted to coopt, then dominate and then destroy the women's movement. The all out attack is most clearly stated by Celia Sojourn in "Women's Question is a Class Question," Winter 1975:

We need a women's movement right now unlike anything we have built in the last ten years. (emphasis added) A mass movement of women whose organization reaches into every office, sweatshop, household and high school to demand jobs, equal pay, adequate income, day care, the right to unionize, an end to every type of racial discrimination and equality for women. This is a turning point for the women's movement when it could fall definitively to the elitist leadership of bourgeois women's organizations. . ."

Part of the male supremacist line was the CC's explicitly anti-gay line and practice. Their stated line was that gayness was a matter of sexual preference, not politics; but their line in practice was to define gay relationships, politics and organizations as inherently racist, reactionary and irrelevant. Lesbianism was a separatist nightmare and threatened their politics and power.

In a word, male supremacy meant opposing in every way, and with the weight of the entire organization, the struggle against male supremacy, power and liberation for women.

--The poetry book "Sing a Battle Song" was an attempt to coopt and fend off criticisms for male supremacist politics, through showing we were nice and could contribute to women's culture. Lesbian poetry axed by Sojourn on explicit anti-gay basis.

--HWP action carried out to leapfrog the women's movement and speak directly to masses of women, on the basis of opposing the organized struggle against male supremacy within the revolution;

--pulled women out of women's unions and organizations; competed with women's movement for cadres; discredited women who fought against male supremacy

--set up B. Dohrn as archetypical exceptional woman in opposition to all other women to enforce and be a cover for male supremacy;

--dominated or made the attempt all major anti-imperialist women's conferences and demonstrations with liquidationist politics on women, using Third World struggles to justify a male supremacist line;

--set up HWP and HRC to coopt all attempts to struggle for women's causes, and to dislodge current HWP members in Bill of Rights.

Opposed support for gay women in struggle against the state: Susan Saxe, Terry Turgeon, Ellen Grusse.

--Rejected revolutionary criticism of women fugitives, refused to assist them.

--Opposed support for Third World women in prison and under attack by the state: Assata Shakur, Joanne Little, Inez Garcia.

--destroyed anti-race, anti-sterilization work. opposed all super-structural aspects of womens' oppression struggles.

Crimes Against the Anti-Imperialist Left

In a word abandoning anti-imperialism meant substituting a spontaneous and economist strategy in place of support for national liberation and the liberation of women. The practical task to carry out this strategy was the achievement of hegemony and leadership over the anti-imperialist forces in the oppressor nation. Thus, to subvert and control the development of revolutionary anti-imperialism within the oppressor nation and stamp out principled opposition.

--sought to penetrate and control by bringing under our leadership key sectors of anti-imperialist organization and work: Third World solidarity work, presses, publications, collectives.

--under the cover of Prairie Fire, raised hundreds of thousands of dollars from the movement given in support of national liberation and armed struggle, but used to attack national liberation and armed struggle through Osawatimic, the film, HTC.

--organized for white and male supremacy inside all organizations had influence in: attacked revolutionary line of those we could not control through use of character assassination.

--Secretly attended major conferences and demonstrations to promote domination of the white and male supremacist line of WUO.

--Gave aid and comfort to opportunists: pushed people as leaders on the basis of their willingness to ally with the WUO's white and male supremacy politics, under the guise of commitment to building the WUO.

--Used the cover of the need for security to hide the crimes of WUO and to wall off revolutionaries from one another. Meanwhile building an organization and practice that violated all rules of real security. Relied upon white privilege and the tolerance of the state instead of upon the revolutionary movement.

The Film, Underground

Underground is a crime against national liberation movements, women, and the anti-imperialist left. It is a vehicle for promoting opportunist politics, and was part of the WUO's strategy for achieving hegemony over the revolutionary forces in the US. The CC is responsible for the film-- Jeff Jones initiated the idea and led its implementation. Our denunciation of the film is not a criticism of the filmmakers.

1. The film is national chauvinist.

--the focus is on us as individual white revolutionaries instead of national liberation movements, the leading revolutionary forces in the US and the world. When footage of Black and Third World people appears, it is only part of explaining our political development. Third World people are again used in the street interviews, to show us relating to oppressed people. This is substituting "relating to Third World people" for a revolutionary line and practice about national liberation.

--the portrayal of ourselves as gentle, reasonable, well-educated and WHITE was a move to disassociate ourselves from the alleged "extremism" of prison struggles, the ELA, FALA, SLA. . . from armed struggle itself. Bill Ayers is indignant at people who call us adventurist and terrorists.

--the discussion about the Town House explosion is a way of saying our comrades were... critical... organization issues. Jeff Jones was a...

how many times he'll be nervous that day is an arrogant lie that denies the existence of privilege in our lives.

--the reality of oppressor/oppressed nations is liquidated constantly. Examples. B. Dohrn asks, "who created the wealth of this country?" and answers with "the people," followed by several shots of white workers. No mention of Black slavery, of the land and labor stolen from Native Americans and Mexicanos, of the tremendous wealth derived from imperialist plunder around the world. Bill Ayers talks about the "American people" rising up to become a people for themselves, comparing them to the Vietnamese. B. Dohrn says we are a white organization for historical reasons, but never names national oppression and white supremacy for the creation of separate organization.

2. The film reeks of male supremacy from beginning to end.

--the material basis of women's oppression is denied, and with one exception sexism is defined as a bad attitude, a bad idea. The reality of male privilege is denied. The women's movement is never mentioned. The WUO has a reputation in the Left for deep male supremacy but Ayers assures the audience that even though sexism used to be a bad attitude in some of the men, things are different now because of how "loving and encouraging" the women have been. This is an attack on women who fiercely fight against male supremacy as man-hating separatists--that is, not loving and encouraging.

--The presence of the three women in the film is the substitution for the missing revolutionary line on women. We are clearly an organization of exceptional people: women who have made it without the women's movement, men who stopped being sexist so painlessly they didn't feel a thing.

3. The film attacks the anti-imperialist left by denying its existence.

--The message is clear: the WUO and the masses of white American people will make the revolution. "Socialism for white people" This film organized for opportunist politics. It is a setback to revolution, a betrayal.

--It was a direct attempt to counter the effects of PFOC's rectification. The fact that it was released after the Hard Times Conference, when the WUO's line was publicly discredited, indicates that the CC really rejected revolutionary criticism of its line while pretending to accept it.

--It also reveals the CC's willingness to go to any lengths to try to build its own power without regard to revolutionary principles.

For these crimes, the WUO and in particular the entire Central Committee is collectively responsible. Within the CC, competition, not political struggle over principles, was the way of life. Defining particular responsibility among them is not a function of sorting out two line struggle. Their method was division of labor and unity and conciliation at all costs. So ascribing individual responsibility must be understood in this light.

Bill Ayers. Wrote Go to the People in Prairie Fire, editor of Osawatonia, main person responsible for politics of organization; for recruiting; for fund raising. With Jeff Jones, main leader of the organization, main developer of the opportunist line, culminating in inversion. Osawatonia articles: editorials ] and 2, all the Tool Boxes. Organized for prosecution of undocumented workers. Wrote Politics in Command, and with Jones is main person responsible for liquidation of armed struggle and clandestinity. Led public glorification of revisionism in Osawatonia, at HTC, in film "Underground." Responsible for character assassinations of aboveground revolutionaries. Attempted destruction of prison solidarity movement.

Jeff Jones. Along with Ayers, main leader of the organization, developed opportunist lines over seven years. New Morning his political conception though written by Dohrn and Sejourn. Never agreed to criticism of NM. To this day main rear base is yippie, Abby Hoffman types, most reactionary aspects of youth culture. Allied with Ayers to throw out left-wing forces in writing of Prairie Fire, to consolidate opportunist line and power. Conceived and led film and strategy for invasion. With Ayers seized position as military leader to control screen, limit and eventually eliminate armed struggle. He has historically fought to be seen as counter-revolutionary. He is currently a left wing opportunist. [The following text is illegible due to fading and bleed-through.]

bi-monthly and to prepare for inversion. Tried to organize a pamphlet called "Best of the Hard Times Conference" to recoup the blow to his power. Presently working on a book about the film for the same end, and to counter the criticism of revolutionaries. Osawatonic articles: Fighting for Our Film; Truck Stop ] and 2: Korea; Cambodia.

Bernardine Dohrn. Both major leader in own right and spokeswoman for Ayers and Jones. Fronted self to speak for the entire organization (CC) when leaders and developers of line were Ayers and Jones. Had major and primary responsibility for development and carrying out of line with regard to solidarity work--relations with Third World people, national liberation struggles; and in developing line to destroy the women's movement. On the backs of women who were wasted and excluded from the revolution Dohrn ascended and was put forward by Ayers and Jones as a leader of women. They built a pedestal based on contempt for women and for national liberation struggles and on it Dohrn got her strength, dignity, prestige and power on the basis of superiority--an alliance and fostering of white and male supremacy. This is bourgeois feminism, the accusation with which Dohrn sought to destroy the women's movement as a threat to the male supremacists who guaranteed her power. She traded in her history of principled support for national liberation struggles and the fight to build armed struggle in the oppressor nation for what seemed to be a guaranteed position at the head of the revolution with international recognition. Osawatonic articles: Mighty Army; Armed Struggle and the SLA; Our Class Stand; Anti-Imperialism vs. Opportunism--A Self-Criticism; Out of Work.

Joe Reed. With Ayers, editor of Osawatonic, the driving force and lead writer for the CC's ideological line. He had primary responsibility for political education of cadres and led both cadre schools. Developed the white supremacist position on Boston, major responsibility for the deadly work of the WUO in that city. After cadre school #2, stated explicitly that Prairie Fire was wrong with regard to the leading role of the Black liberation struggle; that working class struggle was leading. Consistent with this, he argued that Boston represented a major attack against the working class, within which racism was the main contradiction. Self-determination was specifically not an issue; therefore all cadre were removed from anti-racist work in support of self-determination for Black people and put into their own opportunist organizational priorities by the WUO leaders. Funds were organized away from the Black struggle. He led this, developed and glorified this in Osawatonic. Osawatonic articles: Boston articles: Commentary; Angola; Fireworks; John Brown; Anti-Imperialism vs. Opportunism--A Self-Criticism; Our Class Stand Default.

Celia Sojourn. In an organization dominated by male supremacy, how a woman got to be a leader was to line up with the CC men, on the backs of women. This was Sojourn's role as well as Dohrn's. The condition of her leadership was the unstinting destruction of women cadres, of every attempt to struggle for the liberation of women, and of the development of a political line and direction to carry this out in the entire women's movement. The culmination of this was her work in developing "Women's Question is a Class Question." With Dohrn had particular responsibility for carrying out solidarity work, and as such her articles, writings and work with regard to the Puerto Rican struggle have to be seen as on the back and in opposition to Black liberation struggle. Osawatonic articles: Women's Question is a . . . Puerto Rico Articles; Prison page and prison article and cover; Politics in Command.

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Among the closest allies of the CC were the "loyal lieutenants" developed by the CC who achieved power and privilege in the WUO in exchange for unfailing public and internal support for the CC line and practice. When public criticisms of the WUO reached proportions which allowed the discrediting of the CC internally some of these lieutenants seized the opportunity to maneuver their own selves into leadership. While they were the most outspoken in decrying the "crimes" of the CC, their political line was no different and the schemes to maintain their hegemony of the old organization no less determined.

Because some old WUO members have joined forces to use the resources of the old organization to continue the opportunist line and practice in new forms we feel it necessary to expose their leadership. While there are several other members of the WUO who bear particular responsibility after the CC was unmasked and no longer WUO due to the present leader of the organization, we feel it necessary to expose their leadership as well.

What do these crimes amount to for the Central Committee and the WUO? White and male supremacy; material privilege in the form of prestige, power and status; the ability to control others and to lead a comfortable life. The domination of Third World nations and of women was the basis of seeking hegemony and control over the whole revolution, and turning it into counter-revolution, to "socialism" for white people.

The experience of the WUO showed that it is possible to initiate armed struggle in support of national liberation movements within the oppressor nation itself, and that the necessary base of anti-imperialist support exists among people in the oppressor nation to sustain it.

But, this experience also shows that revolutionary armed struggle can only be sustained if it is carried out in the context of struggle against the imperialist state and struggle against opportunism. White and male supremacy operated within the WUO over the years as forces to cause the abandonment and destruction of armed struggle and of clandestinity.