

For the Liberation of North America

The purpose of this book is to forge theoretical and political determination within the class and national liberation struggles. Such determination will destroy the lackadaisical and erroneous concepts many "leftists" hold about revolutionary armed struggle. My primary premise is that our struggle must become more militant, with a greater anticipation of armed confrontation with the enemy(s) of the poor and oppressed masses. I do not present an elaborate evaluation of the present political condition, nor an in-depth historical analysis of what has brought us to the present level of struggle. My intent is to discuss particular objective realities and circumstances that the class and national liberation struggle is now confronted with, and to provide the theoretical concepts, principles, and policies of revolution that have been tested in past revolutions as they are applicable to our situation today.

Many "leftists" in the class and national liberation struggle have labeled individuals or groups who advocated revolutionary armed struggle "ultra-leftist" or "leftist-reactionary." These erroneous postulations have ill effects on the entire revolutionary movement. They tend to strip the revolutionary movement of its militancy and prevent certain measures of defense from developing with a greater participation from the oppressed masses on local, regional, and national levels. Thus, those who partake in armed actions are not only fighting monopoly-capitalist enemies, but are also isolated and abandoned by those claiming to be progressive political activists and revolutionaries. It is my belief for the most part that those who condemn revolutionary armed struggle are either in cahoots with U.S. imperialism, seeking to subvert and defuse the revolutionary development of the mass and popular movement, or lack understanding of the necessity of the revolutionary armed struggle and thus speak in unprincipled

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ways on issues they know little about. They fear the repression of the State in defense of its continued existence. In the mean-time, those who engage in revolutionary armed actions must struggle against pseudo-revolutionaries who negate armed struggle and postulate political theories from safe positions in “progressive” publications and closed-to-the-public sectarian meetings.

Urban and rural guerrilla warfare must establish a political and military strategy that embraces the political determination of the mass and popular movement, and it must forge such a movement toward class and national liberation struggle. Urban and rural guerrilla warfare must apply to such a politico-military strategy directly to the disenfranchised workers and oppressed nationalities’ struggle for socioeconomic and political stability. When the oppressed nationalities and workers strike, march, and demonstrate their discontent and dissatisfaction with racist, capitalist-imperialism, guerrillas must support such actions through revolutionary armed actions – especially when this can accentuate the oppressed masses’ discontent by attacking the various agents of oppression the oppressed masses are rebelling against.

This unification of political and military activity in the mass and popular movement will eventually develop a culture of armed resistance and intensify the struggle towards class and national liberation. It is this development of a culture of armed resistance which continuously intensifies the revolutionary struggle that will preserve the momentum and growth of the revolution. Thus, growth and development through a culture of armed resistance ensures the prospects of the overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

In this book, I elucidate three types of organizational structures; these are not absolutes, but for the most part are the structures most relied upon and used in today’s revolutions. Thus, they do not exclude the creative imagination or ingenuity of the various nationalities in developing organizational structures that are culturally imperative or applicable to a particular time, circumstance or environmental situation. For instance, through the revolutionary international, there has been much debate on the advantage and disadvantage of the “foco” theory and “column” system of clandestine guerrilla formations.

Whether these organizational structures can be successfully applied in America have yet to be proven. The “foco” motor theory has been tested by several guerrilla formations in North America with little success. But whether failures have been due to

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structural defects or lack of politico-military strategy and correct leadership is still debatable. While I am unfamiliar with any attempts to implement the column system in North America, this clandestine organizational structure has gained significant success in Latin American and various European countries.

My major point is that a blueprint for building revolutionary armed struggle has not been developed. Thus, revolutionaries must be capable of constructing organizational structures that satisfy the needs, purposes, and goals of revolutionary warfare.

I would like to comment here on the right-wing thrust of racist capitalist-imperialism. Within the government, various right-wing forces are working toward an overt, military coup under the pretense that the democratic electoral process is failing. Past and present U.S. presidents have secured greater executive authority over Congress and legislative bodies of government, and have build closer relationships with the military. General Haig's brief intercession in the White House during the last days of the Nixon regime is but one example of terror. Jimmy Carter filled various cabinet and national security positions with old navy cronies, as he made frequent trips to his military retreat at Camp David and increased the already huge military budget. In light of the decline of U.S. imperialism throughout the world, the threat of a new world war looms as the only means by which U.S. imperialism can recover from its defensive posture as national liberation struggles of oppressed nations take the offensive in bringing to an end imperialist (Zionist, apartheid and fascist monarchical) neo-colonial domination.

U.S. imperialist warmongers are strengthening their positions with right-wing political forces in government and corporate-industrial, military-complex financial support. Fascism is broadening its capacity to emerge as an open policy-making force in North America. This development in government can be greatly compromised if revolutionary nationalists and internationalists begin to develop an anti-fascist political program within the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement. Such a program must stifle and prevent the attempts of Edward Kennedy to force the new Federal Criminal Code (the old Senate Bill 1) through Congress; it must prevent the military draft from being reinstated; it must call for Vietnam veterans to join the revolution and to infiltrate the U.S. military rank and file. It is my anticipation that the practical means to subvert the U.S. military is through its military prisons (which hold a disproportionate number of Black and Third

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World people, just as do the civilian prisons) and by bringing out the contradictions of racism and sexism that pervade the U.S. military.

In closing, I must state I am not a writer. But every word of this book is my own. This is how I view the development of the class and national liberation struggle at this stage of my personal development within the revolution being waged in North America.

This book is offered as a treatise for revolutionary nationalists and internationalists to discuss and develop in direct relationship to their own levels of resistance in struggle. Undoubtedly, it is not the last word on revolutionary armed struggle in North America. But it is hoped it will provide a beacon for the future course of politico-military action in the American revolution.

February 21, 1979

Auburn State Prison New York, U.S.A.

CONCEPTS OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The versatility of Revolutionary Leadership is based upon rational-empirical and acquired knowledge. Such knowledge through practice and understanding develops personal wisdom toward adhering to principles and laws which dictate governing policies of action (activity), according to the particularities of a given situation and environmental conditions. Working from the maxim "circumstances make men as well as men make circumstances" enables revolutionary leaders to make adequate analysis of various problems which confront them, and to overcome obstacles which prevent forward progress in either organizational development or the fulfillment of political programs, the direction and momentum of the struggle.

Revolutionary leadership varies in degree according to the responsibility and obligation of the individual. Most people have the potential to become leaders: from cadre-squad leader, to the committee, collective or commune leader, to the coalition-alliance leadership, to the party-front leadership, each level of responsibility dictates certain obligations and experiences of the leader, to maintain order, discipline, and conscious, deliberate

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political activity in relationship to a particular course of action. As soon as a person is thoroughly versed in the principles of revolutionary analysis (i.e. dialectical historical materialism) and the science of Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse Tung thought, and understands the historical dialectical experiences of such principles applicable to revolutionary nationalism and internationalism (Castro, Cabral, Malcolm X, Ho Chi Min) he/she is subjectively capable of taking leadership positions. But not until one is able to associate and apply these principles in direct relationship to the socio-economic and political conditions of class and national liberation struggle, will the objective base for determining the qualities of revolutionary leadership be established, and thus the integration of theory and practice.

Where is Revolutionary Leadership Found?

Leadership in revolution is found in the heart of the struggle, in those working amongst the workers and the masses, educating, organizing and mobilizing the poor and oppressed against racist, capitalism-imperialism. Amongst the masses we will find those men and women who have clarity of mind and understanding of a given situation (strike, demonstration, riots, street-fighting) and who will be at the core of building the resistance, of setting up means (underground hospitals, escape routes, safe houses, transportation, etc.) for combatants to continue the fight. These are the people who take control of spontaneous uprisings prior to the professional revolutionaries and/or party members entering the area. They are the people who establish cadres to patrol the community and watch the police and national guard, who develop food lines, house the homeless, and take up the essential block by block administration of the community in the height of revolutionary warfare and when the State has declared martial law in its campaign against the urban guerrilla. Such leadership is the most important throughout the struggle because it is the foundation from which the ill-trained, ill-experienced, ill-equipped will join the revolution, swell the ranks of the party(s) and armed guerrilla units, and assure the inevitable victory of the revolution. In the course of building the revolutionary movement, the majority of those individuals who join the struggle, who participate in the various organizations/parties/fronts and eventually, through contact work, hardships and self-sacrificing contribution to the

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revolution rise to leadership positions, will come from various segments of the working class.

One segment will be from lower and middle class students and workers, and the other will be from the lumpen-proletariat. The students and workers may join the revolution because of class and/or national aspirations of the struggle. The student and worker will search for alternatives to the existing mode of social order. Each has a particular and personal interest in the revolution. The students who learn of the inequities and disenfranchisement of class divisions and national oppression through their academic quest will seek reasons, causes and effects, and possible solutions to the problem besetting America's social order, all which will guide some to revolution.

Students will bring various political perspectives and concerns together, especially those that directly affect the educational system. For example, the "Bakke decision" forged discussions and debate about the ramifications of racism and so-called reverse discrimination in opposition to affirmative action. Just as the Vietnam war brought issues of colonialism and imperialism onto college campuses, the national liberation war in South Africa, Palestine, and various parts of Latin America are developing a political basis from which students will recognize that the world is in turmoil, and that this touches all aspects of American society. These internal and external phenomenons of social strife will cause students to gain a deeper insight into the historical foundation and present day working of the philosophical, socio-economics and political determination of U.S. imperialism. The political struggles taking root on college campuses, high schools, and elementary schools (especially as a result of desegregation and busing) will eventually cause questions to be raised as to why these problems exist, and how to overcome them.

Some students will seek to change the system from within; by acquiring socio-political government positions, they will present either legal reform and institute socialist philosophies as the means of breaking down the present racist (neo-colonial) foundation on which U.S. imperialism is based. This avenue of working within the system can foster philosophical-ideological change, and through reform, preservation and restoration of democratic rights, inhibit the government's continued practices of overt national oppression. But students can only do this to the extent that it does not affect the military-industrial complex's motive for profit. Thus, these students' mode will be of compromise and

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conciliation, maintaining the system by giving legitimacy to and becoming part of it.

Other students will reach towards the progressive, revolutionary elements in social struggle for the solutions of the American crises. These students, with their academic understanding of the socioeconomic and political development of government, will be a greater asset to the revolution once they have gone through a process of re-education. Most students will join the revolution because of their disagreement with the present government process, policies and social order. The necessity for their re-education comes from their lack of real understanding of the principles, policies, and political motivation of revolution. Many students who have studied Marxist-Leninism will attempt to enter the revolution with an academic know-it-all, elitist attitude either toward the present revolutionary leadership of the various progressive organizations/parties/fronts, or towards their lumpen-proletariat comrades whose academic life may be less than a student's real life experience. Because of the subjective realities, it will be necessary for the students upon joining the revolution to undergo a thorough re-education process alongside lumpen-proletariat and worker comrades. In this way, a basis will be provided for even development amongst all potential revolutionaries joining the ranks of the class and national liberation struggle.

Those workers who will join the revolution will base their activity primarily in the work-place and local unions, although many political activists involved in organizations/parties/fronts will be either part time or full time workers. Much of their activity will be divided between organ-party community work, and organ-party work-place organizing. The workers will first involve themselves on progressive-revolutionary activity out of sheer frustration with their class exploitation and with trying to eke out a living through the socio-economic crises of capitalism-imperialism. For the most part, Euro-American workers, progressive political activity will be solely confined to the class issue of their particular area of work. Not until these class war workers have developed a revolutionary consciousness of anti-imperialism will they become part of the overall class and national liberation struggle. Their development is dependent on those individual workers or organizations/parties/front members who are anti-imperialist, pro-national liberation and are educating, organizing, and mobilizing the general proletariat to become

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revolutionary in class consciousness and practice, demanding the destruction of capitalism-imperialism.

This also applies to those Third World workers who are not politically class conscious of the nature of their two-pronged class and national oppression. They will be vague about the conditions of class exploitation and class divisions. Third World workers will deem racism and national oppression as the primary aspect of their oppression, and will believe that if racism were destroyed such oppression would not exist. Of course, without national oppression, Third World workers would fare generally as well or badly as Euro-American workers, both being exploited and oppressed by the bourgeois ruling class. It is when Third World workers become class conscious and anti-imperialist in their understanding of their class exploitation that the proletariat class as a whole will begin to become part of the class and national liberation struggle.

People from the lumpen-proletariat will join the revolution because it will provide hope for their future, offering life some meaning and purpose devoid of the self-destructive cycle of hanging out on street corners, shooting dope, prostitution, and going in and out of jail/prison. Hence, it will offer an alternative to all the illicit activity of the lumpen-proletariat subculture, which usually amounts to no more than preying on their own kind and desperately aspiring the social values of the bourgeoisie, the accumulation of material goods by means of "illegitimate capitalism."

The organizations/parties/fronts of the revolution will attract members of the lumpen-proletariat at first as an escape mechanism in their hopes that the revolution will provide some comfort from the turmoil of the subculture. In joining the ranks of the revolution, the lumpen-proletariat will bring both positive and negative qualities to the movement. The positive qualities will be sheer determination of the individual to not only withstand hardships, but to strive to overcome obstacles that will confront him or her in the course of securing a position in the movement, bringing the political program into concrete realization amongst the masses, and generally building the revolution. They will utilize the same ingenuity, cunning, strength of mind, and courage as was used in their individual struggles to survive in the ghetto. The skills of "getting-over" will be forged to the benefit of the revolution. But along with these positive qualities the lumpens have such negative attributes as individualism, which hampers

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collective-organizational discipline and prevents them from taking and following orders. This subjectivity of personal motivations will manifest in many ways:

1. Unwillingness to do painstaking study, to learn the principles, history, and political determinations of the revolution;
2. Not wanting to take great responsibility and work that will tax the human will, seeking to do no more than is necessary to get over;
3. Undisciplined adherence to organizational policy.

These negative elements of individualism, subjectivity, and resistance to discipline found in the lumpen-proletariat will be purged once the individual gains an understanding of the principles of revolution. They gain an understanding and historical foundation from which all revolutionaries evolve and acknowledge the necessity of organizational development, as well as the collective interrelationship between the individual and the organizations/parties/fronts.

Once this understanding has been fully grasped, the lumpen-proletariat, now becoming politically-conscious, will strive to ensure that the relationship of the organization/parties/fronts have a political program that is united with the aspirations of the masses. When students, workers, and lumpen-proletariat all recognize the serious problems affecting U.S. imperialism that the socioeconomic crises of monopoly-capitalism reaches into their work-place, homes, and social circles in the form of disenfranchisement, exploitation, and national oppression, they will join the revolution. It will be incumbent on those progressive-revolutionaries who are affiliated with various organizations/parties/fronts to bridge the masses' discontent with the political aspirations of the revolutionary movement, providing revolutionary leadership to every class, sector, nationality throughout racist America.

Revolutionary Leadership

Political activists who are in leadership in progressive organizations/parties/fronts of a given nationality or class will

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have the great responsibility of building the revolution. Such revolutionary leaders often place greater emphasis on building and maintaining their groups than building the revolution. They subordinate the state of the revolution to the state of their group; when the masses struggle for socioeconomic and political change is the prime base from which revolution can be successful.

What we find is that many revolutionary leaders attempt to motivate their group with a dominating theoretical position. Such is the case with the vanguardist and organizational chauvinists, who usually isolate and alienate themselves from the masses. They are too busy jockeying and vying for position with other groups claiming to be this or that. In the meantime, the masses' struggles are co-opted, defused, and subverted into reformist settlements with government officials, the bureaucracy, union representatives or the capitalist owners of the means of production. The worst part of this is that the masses begin to depend on the (so-called) legitimate bargaining process and become distrustful of those who claim to represent the ideals of the revolution.

Revolutionary leadership should make the development and building of the revolution the first task of their organizations. To ensure that the organizational work is responsive to the needs of the revolution, "politics in command" must be a basic operating principle. They must be uncompromising in building the revolution in direct relationship with the masses' struggles. This also means they must not only guard against liberalism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionist manipulations in their political commitment, but they must:

1. Seek to establish the organization/party/front in direct relationship with the masses' struggles, having the masses' struggles become the groups' struggle, and have the organization/party/front's political determination become the masses' political aspirations.
2. Place politics in command. The political program and strategic objective become the basis from which to secure internal discipline, prevent liberalism and opportunism from subverting the prospects of the group establishing practical relationships with the masses, and build principled and congenial working relationships

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with other progressives and revolutionaries.

3. Seek greater unity and working relationships amongst other political groups and activists. Combat revisionism and sectarian manipulation by other groups and activists in the struggle by seeking to establish working alliances, coalitions, and United Fronts amongst progressives and revolutionaries of the various nationalities and classes.

The quality of revolutionary leadership depends on the ability to apply these three dictates and to maintain every aspect which consolidates and pushes forward the revolution across the entire country. Revolutionary leadership in any given organization/party/front that is working to reach a particular goal must be knowledgeable of the organizational structure, the purpose of the organization, and criteria from which such an organization builds and develops its existence. The leadership characteristically must hold a deep commitment to the concepts of truth, justice, and equality. They must be capable of judging whether the “means fit the ends” in their political determinations, employing tactical discretion in being persuasive, manipulative, or coercive in accomplishing a task or having the “means fit the ends.”

Being persuasive essentially means gaining consent in forging the organization’s purpose void of deceit, force or violence. It means being able to project the course of action and convince others it is for the good and advantage of all parties concerned. Persuasion can be verbal, through speeches in meetings, rallies, forums, or it can be by means of literature and the media. The art of persuasion bases its practice on appealing to the psycho-sociological and emotional fears, desires, and aspirations of those either involved in the organizational support of the masses’ struggle or against those hindering the progress of the organization’s purpose, goals and objectives. Therefore, it is necessary for such revolutionary leadership to understand the total psychological, socio-economic and political conditions of the movement, applying the necessary tool or persuasion to win an advantageous position.

Manipulation objectively manifests its means to secure an end when the possibility exists to maneuver around a formidable obstacle without having to confront such an obstacle on its own

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ground or terms. To play the end against the middle essentially means to work the subjective condition against the objective reality of the disadvantaged, by employing one's strength to seek a weakness in the obstacle, and work that weakness against the obstacle until it becomes one's own strength. Manipulation is for the most part an art of deception, parrying and feigning a direct confrontation while at the same time continuing to build towards the desired objective.

Coercion is to meet force with force and to overcome an obstacle by compelling it to submit to a will or force beyond its immediate control. Coercion for the most part is the last resort, when one is attempting to salvage what it is possible to gain by destroying all opposition and anything which hinders forward progress. Revolutionary leadership must be capable of intermingling these three principles as conditions dictate.

There should never be any hesitation to use any one of these three principles when an organization or political purpose is confronted with an obstacle. In this same regard, these principles prevent obstacles from becoming insurmountable in organizational development. The leader must care for the welfare of his/her comrades and the masses. This virtue will be clearly determined in the course of building the revolution. The leader must listen to the cries of the masses' despair, and establish political programs that will address themselves to the needs of the masses (food, clothing, shelter, medical care, employment, etc.). These political programs will not be an end, but rather a means to build the revolution and to gain the support of the masses in revolution.

The revolutionary leader must be a statesman in character, capable of speaking to the masses' discontent and addressing the imperialist government, the bureaucracy, and all vestiges of monopoly capitalism. To turn the masses' cries into words of discontent and upheaval, challenging the imperialist political rhetoric with revolutionary political perspectives, analysis and proposals for socio-economic and political change is imperative. The revolutionary leader must be an excellent administrator, being capable of strengthening discipline, consolidating the organization/group, and propagating and building the group's political program as a living part of the revolution. In this respect, such an administrator will connect the organization with the masses' struggles, building toward particular goals and objectives within the class and national liberation struggle.

The revolutionary leader who is "humanitarian in virtue,"

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a “statesman in character,” and an “administrator toward the organization/group,” while keeping politics in command in his/her theoretical-ideological determinations of political motivations in struggle, will be most capable of fulfilling the arduous task of a professional revolutionary – to make the revolution.

The team/cadre or squad leader must be capable of following orders as they are given and of assuring the responsibility to him or her. Thus, this level of leadership must also have a moral foundation with personalities endowed with the necessary virtues for struggle, such virtues as strict discipline and regiment adherence to the implementation of the group’s political directives and policies. This personality is important because such a team/cadre-squad will have the closest association with the masses, and must be capable of presenting an image that will reflect the character of the group. These cadres must possess the intellectual foundation to grasp a struggle situation and apply the principled dialectics of the struggle to it. In this perspective the cadre must thoroughly understand the organizational guidelines to build the struggle situation, and to take control of the situation by implementing the political program and ideals of the revolution. Therefore, it is important for the team/cadre-squad to have the technical foundation, the skills, and the methods appropriate for organizing and mobilizing the masses in struggle and confrontation. Such methods include agitation-propaganda, street rallies, marches, strikes and demonstrations, which are the most relied upon means of mobilizing the masses. Thus, such leadership would be building upon revolutionary enthusiasm and fervor of the masses united with the political determination of the organizations.

The committee, collective, or commune leader must be capable of working as a team leader. By understanding the principles above, a committee, collective, or commune that comprise several teams or squads can employ such a body of progressives to move in different directions in team/cadre formations, or to work and move as a single collective body. The determining factors for a committee, collective or commune leader to uphold are the sheer grasp of the political program, and to implement the tactical initiatives of the organization/party/front strategic objective.

The coalition-alliance leadership is usually comprised of members of several different organizations, in principled working relationships, unified under the banner of the masses’ struggle for social change and justice. Such leadership must be capable of

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subordinating their individual group's political aspirations to the unified goals of the coalition-alliance. In this way, the collective purpose of the coalition-alliance determines the relationship of the coalitions-alliance with the masses' struggle. Its leadership must be capable of maintaining principled and congenial relationships under the guiding principles of democratic centralism, as these principles affect any member body of the coalition-alliance. It is important that the leadership recognizes the points of unity and the differences between each member/body of the coalition-alliance and secures the working unity based upon goals common to each member-body.

The party leadership is very much like the cadre or committee leadership, while the front leadership is compared to the coalition-alliance leadership. Each leadership has the overall responsibility of overseeing the factions of the party/front to present practical theoretical and ideological directives and to formulate statewide, regional, national and international strategies. Such strategies must include mobilizing the entire party/front or a particular segment by instituting a party/front directive which determines and explains an exclusive political aspiration of the party/front in implementing its political program in direct relationship with the masses' struggle. This leadership must have the entire revolution in perspective at all times, understanding the principles of anti-racist and anti-imperialist revolution, capable of employing such principles as conditions dictate. The core of the party/front leadership is based upon four points:

- A. The party/front leadership's personal rational-empirical and acquired knowledge of revolution, and the ability to apply such knowledge according to the need and condition in struggle.
- B. Comprehension of the principles of organizational structures and development, employing democratic centralism along with inter-working of the personality of party/front members.
- C. A clear understanding of the socio-economic and political conditions of the social structure of monopoly-capitalism, and the political motivations of the revolution.

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- D. Capability of building national and international strategies, and the tactical implementation of such strategies as part of the entire class and national liberation struggle.

It is the responsibility of every progressive and revolutionary to propagate and build the revolution. Every political activist should be capable of directing the masses toward political struggle, to confront the State bureaucratic repression, and monopoly-capitalist means to exploit and reap exorbitant profits, to promote the masses' hatred of racism, capitalism and imperialism, and move them to support armed struggle. They must show masses that it is in their interest to support and become a part of the revolution by teaching the techniques of politico-military warfare, how to engage the enemy in revolution, and in this way develop the masses' faith and self-confidence in maintaining their revolutionary fervor.

REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY

The establishment of revolutionary organizations is based upon the stage of the struggle and the needs of the revolution. Every organization has its own structure which determines the criteria from which the masses can be educated, organized and mobilized in struggle to confront and resist their oppressive condition. From the cadre, collective, coalition to the party and front, each determines its ability to serve a particular purpose in struggle. For the organized body to be functional, it must have a purpose and the ability to gauge its strength and weaknesses. Such a structure should fulfill every functional means of becoming self-reliant and have self-control in all of its operations.

There are essentially three types of organizational structures that will be discussed. The first structure is called the pyramid system. This structure is the most used and relied upon system. It enables a large body to develop and maintain its purpose, and to have control of its internal and external function. The pyramid system is based upon centralization of the organization's mode of operating at the top of the structure, with centralization reaching into every segment of the organization. All sections are accountable to those at the top of the structure for the implementation of

all directives and policies pertaining to the criteria and extent of the organization's growth and its ability to continue to forge its purpose. Under the top position are subordinates who are usually the policy enacting officials who determine how the implementation of a given directive is to be carried out. The pyramid system further provides various bodies or representatives, whose primary function is to implement the directive in accord with the policies and purpose of the organization. Although this structure is usually organized from the top-down, the pyramid system can be structurally comprised of three functioning bodies or as many as fifty. The primary aspect of the pyramid system is that the centralization at the top of the structure, and the sole authority of the top official(s) or central committee to determine the direction and purpose of the organization.

The practical function of any system is based upon its purpose and the need for the structure to exist. The pyramid system has the ability to develop large and expansive organizations, which is close-knit in its structure. The top position of the pyramid system may be occupied by a single person or by a central committee. In most progressive and revolutionary organizations the pyramid system is established with a central committee and organized bodies, branching down to cadres and team formations. While the pyramid system of a progressive or revolutionary organization is the same type of structure as a government bureaucracy which delegates its authority through a process of dictatorial and/or totalitarian directives and policies from the top-down, the progressive/revolutionary organization establishes its authoritative function through a process of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is an organizational principle and which the minority is subordinate to the will of the majority and the lower bodies to the higher bodies, while the entire organization is subordinate to the central committee. All members and committees of the organization may discuss or constructively criticize a particular directive or policy, but once a decision has been made, all members and committees must abide by it.

Another organizational structure commonly referred to is the three-three-three (3-3-3) system. This system is very similar in principle to the pyramid system, except that instead of a single top position (although a single person can operate the system), there are three top positions. Each official is responsible to educate and organize three other persons, to be a total of nine, and each of the nine is to educate and organize three, a total of thirty-six, etc.

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Each top official is responsible for the three he/she has educated and organized, and all subordinate members of the organization are responsible for the three they have educated, organized and recruited. The 3-3-3 system can maintain a security of operation for a clandestine organizational structure, since no single individual knows no more than the one individual who recruited him or her and the three individuals he or she recruited. In this system each top official can work in a specific area of responsibility, utilizing the resources of other areas as necessary, only having the members of either one of the three working parts together or associated with each other as conditions dictate for the purpose of the organization and the accomplishment of its task. Although the 3-3-3 system functions similarly to the pyramid system, in which directives are issued from the top-down, the maintenance of the 3-3-3 system is the responsibility of each member-body of the system, and the implementation of a directive or policy is filtered down the system from those who did the recruiting to the recruited.

The disadvantage of the system is that if a part of the structure is lost or communications are broken in any part of the system, the possibility of losing the lower level of the structure is increased.

The 3-3-3 system is most used in clandestine and military formations of irregular guerrillas. It allows each unit to develop independently of others and to build its field of operation as directed. Each unit is only subordinate to that person or unit that recruited and organized it, and is regimentally disciplined to adhere to all operational directives. The 3-3-3 system has sometimes evolved a liaison structure composed of each unit leader, in an effort to consolidate the organizational ability to forge operations using several units. This liaison structure can be no more than a single unit, of which the primary task would be the logistics and/or communication from the leaders of the overall system to each unit leader. This process, of course, ultimately leads towards the pyramid system in organizational structural development. The 3-3-3 system is best used when participants are supported by the populace in the area of operations. But if each of these participants operates in one particular area, the interrelationship of the three could preserve the entire 3-3-3 organizational structure. In a clandestine military organization, it is necessary that at least three units are maintained: the operational unit, the logistical and supply unit, and communication-intelligence/agitation-propaganda unit. These units are essential to any clandestine military organization, and the 3-3-3 system serve the purpose well.

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The third structure is called the 10-20-30 system. Unlike the pyramid system, the 10-20-30 system is organized on a horizontal platform, in which each group is equal to the group which organized and recruited it. The 10-20-30 is based upon those individuals first involved in the organization having the responsibility to recruit a new member, and that member recruiting another until the organization doubles, triples and quadruples in size. The 10-20-30 system is utilized for two primary purposes: 1) To build mass formations for rallies or organizations; and 2) To organize the populace into large sections or areas. When security is not the most important aspect of the organizing, the 10-20-30 system is essential for political organizations to reach large numbers of people in a short period of time. A political organization usually employs this system after its members have thoroughly secured a working relationship with the masses and have determined a particular direction in struggle based upon its political program.

Thus, when the political organization calls for the organizing and mobilization of the masses, this can be done through word of mouth, through the media or various other forms of communication. The 10-20-30 system can be used, disbanded and used again to organize a single formation, having that formation structured either in a pyramid system, or it can be utilized to develop another formation through the process of 10-20-30 until hundreds are organized. The major flaw of the 10-20-30 system is that it is subject to infiltration and provocateurism, and it is difficult to regiment or discipline unless structured into a pyramid system.

Each of the three systems has a particular modus operandi which makes it most effective in respects to its purpose. In the same vein, each system can be used intermittently by any one of the three systems. For instance, the pyramid system can branch at its lower levels into a 3-3-3 system, while the 3-3-3 system, after establishing an extensive structure, can consolidate the structure into a pyramid system or a 10-20-30 system. Or the 10-20-30 system can develop into a pyramid system, because of the open recruitment of its original structure.

Based upon these three systems, a revolutionary organization must build according to the realities of the mass and popular movement. The revolutionary organization will have a particular responsibility to fulfill based upon its political program in relationship to the masses' struggle. Such political

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programs must guarantee the revolutionary organization a close relationship with the masses upon which the political aspirations of the revolutionary organization will be wholly embraced by the masses, and the masses' struggle will become the revolutionary organization's total existence.

The organizational structure and political program of each organization/party/front will determine the extent of the group's relationship to the masses. A single revolutionary organization is likely to have a greater limitation in its outreach to the masses because of the nature of its organizational structure. The revolutionary party may have the capacity to render various cadre and services to the masses' struggle. The revolutionary front apparatus comprising several parties and/or organizations will have the greater capacity to offer a consistent, direct and prolonged relationship with the masses' struggle. The revolutionary organization, based upon its structure, composition, and ability to interrelate with masses, will determine the revolution's continued growth and development. Most revolutionary organization's compositions are based upon the motivating forces which brought them into existence. The various members would adhere to a single ideological political perspective that enjoins them to function in an organized body for particular goals to attain. Whether based on a pyramid system, 3-3-3 system or the 10-20-30 system, the revolutionary organization must provide the masses' struggle with the essential services and perform the necessary duties of the revolution. The revolutionary party will usually be structured in a pyramid system, consisting of various committees which are responsible for various obligations in relationship with the masses' struggle. These committees in the party would develop youth cadres, trade union locals, women's groups, cultural programs, prison survival support alliances, and revolutionary international solidarity coalitions. All of these are the active means and methods the revolutionary party employs to implement its political program in response to the masses' efforts to resist capitalist-imperialist oppression. The revolutionary front apparatus is also usually structured in a pyramid system although its composition is made up of various parties and organizations. Its ultimate function is to forge a single political program of national and international significance. Hence, the many parties and organizations can build in the greatest unity possible toward particular goals based upon common ideals and practical interrelationships, in their relationship with the masses' struggle

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for class and national liberation.

In the course of building the revolution, these revolutionary organizations must employ certain tactical initiatives to develop the movement. The most necessary tactical initiative must be through the use of agitation-propaganda. The use of agitation-propaganda is essential in raising the political consciousness of the masses, to arouse the masses' hatred of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, and to enhance their willingness to engage and confront the enemy in struggle. Agitation-propaganda is the basic means by which a revolutionary class consciousness is forged within every level of the class and national liberation struggle. Because the revolution is protracted in nature, agitation-propaganda must develop from simple slogans, leafletting, and distribution of literature – toward larger rallies, marches and demonstrations. Agitation-propaganda must develop into a cultural foundation of the revolution. Such an approach evolves from a means to agitate the masses and propagate the revolution, to build the historical transition of the movement in establishing the criteria to sustain itself by forging a living culture of struggle in securing the inevitable victory of the revolution. Thus, agitation-propaganda in totality is the education of the oppressed masses toward revolution, the organization of the oppressed masses in revolution, and the mobilization of the oppressed masses to confront the capitalist-imperialism in the course of building the revolution.

By employing such tactical initiatives as agitation-propaganda, the revolutionary organization/party/front is responsible for establishing community liberation associations – such as food co-ops, tenant strike groups, community patrol systems, free health clinics, community day care centers, community liberation schools, and other organized forms of extending the political program. Community liberation associations must become politically motivated, and morally and culturally inspired. Their primary objective is to serve the community by instituting a means for community participation and involvement in community development. The community needs to become reliant on the resources (menial and skilled laborers, students and professionals, etc.) available within the community, and in this way control the growth and development of the community. The community liberation association leaders must know the subjective and objective realities to expose the wrongdoers; to support those who are working for the welfare of the community; to propagate the political mass-line of the

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revolutionary organization; and to organize the community to resist racist police brutality, economic exploitation, and cultural imperialism. Furthermore, each community liberation association must seek to have meetings and forums where the people can express their discontent and where grievances can be aired. Such grievances should be recorded and become a means from which members of the community liberation associations and the revolutionary organization devote attention to solving problems affecting the community. They must address these issues in a political campaign to organize and consolidate the community as liberated areas, by which the community becomes self-reliant in staunch support of the revolution. All community liberation associations are to forge a united organizational network in which information and intelligence can be exchanged for the welfare and protection of the revolution.

These community liberation associations are organized by the revolutionary organizations and are jointly led with representatives of the community. The construction of these community liberation associations, led by community representatives, ties both the masses' struggle and the representatives of the revolution together. It ensures that the political program of the revolutionary organization will be thoroughly supported by the masses' participation in the revolutionary movement.

These community liberation associations are the arteries of the revolutionary organization, establishing a life-giving system to build the revolutionary movement in the heart of the community. Essentially, they are part of the defensive mechanism of the movement, the survival apparatuses that ensure that the needs of the oppressed masses are being met as part of the revolutionary process. Eventually, these community liberation associations will develop into a network of community-service organizations whose primary concept in class consciousness and being part of the revolution, is to establish alternative social services that the enemy government is not adequately providing. All of this is in effect the expansion and entrenchment of the revolutionary organizations, which must send collectives to rural areas and establish communes in townships and farm areas.

This course of development would also provide the infrastructure of the guerrilla front with the basic means to recruit personnel, gather information, intelligence, and supplies because a larger segment of the community will be organized in support of the revolution. The revolutionary organization must have the

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various community liberation associations thoroughly entrenched in the heart of both urban and rural communities. In this way, they would be establishing the political program and determination of the revolution in the various communities. This is termed the social development of the revolution, when the revolution becomes a social movement, culturally inspired and politically determined towards the destruction of racist capitalist-imperialism.

Another aspect of this development of the revolution and the responsibility of the revolutionary organization is the initiation of confrontation politics. Confrontation politics is the counter-offensive of the revolutionary movement. Confrontation politics is to engage the enemy in struggle in the course of representing the will of the masses. This is the highest form of agitation-propaganda possible for an aboveground political apparatus. What must be understood is that these above-ground political organizations must be more capable of integrating the legal organization-building of the social development of the revolution with the illegal concepts and purpose for the revolution: to overthrow the State. These legal and illegal methods of building the revolution are developed by the process of establishing a struggle-line of confrontation politics. It is when the issues of repression and oppression have been clearly defined, and the agents of the maintenance of such oppression have been identified, that confrontation politics will be employed.

The most effective time to confront the enemy is when agitation-propaganda has been used to educate, organize and mobilize the masses concerning their oppressive conditions. Hence, it has been determined that a struggle-line must be employed to effectuate change, or to heighten the contradiction until it has become antagonistic, and a clear demarcation has been drawn between the oppressed masses and the nature of their oppression by the State.

Confrontation politics is in many cases illegal because its objective it to disrupt the working order of those responsible for the oppressive condition, to prevent the State from fulfilling its expectations and from instituting programs and projects that are against the will of the masses. Confrontation politics takes the form of strikes, picketing, boycotts, occupations/sit-ins and other forms of civil disobedience. They may include such actions as disrupting a racist, capitalist-imperialist function by developing a counter-protest or demonstration, throwing objects-missiles, heckling the speaker at rallies, and attracting attention towards the

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political aspirations of the revolution. These acts of confrontation politics in effect support armed struggle, bridging the gap between peaceful resistance (marches, rallies, demonstrations) of organization-building and the military means to annihilate the enemy. Confrontation politics is the means by which revolutionary organizations develop the masses' political consciousness to a greater determination to resist racist capitalist-imperialism, and to defend themselves against attack. It is when seemingly peaceful marches and demonstrations turn into street fighting against the police and racist vigilantes, and when rallies turn into riots, that the militancy of the masses builds to a point of supporting the armed overthrow of the State. Thus, the revolution will take on the character of being an insurrection supported by and participated in by the masses. Thereby, confrontation politics lends its greatest strength as a tactical initiative by the above-ground political apparatus moving the revolution to victory.

In preserving the social development of the revolution, various revolutionary parties may involve themselves in government status quo politics, to have socialist and revolutionary social democratic activists elected to political positions. Their goal is to preserve the revolution by getting elected into political positions within the government, in order to ensure the government finances community programs and social services, rather than the industrial-military complex and monopoly-capitalist ventures. The aspiration to stifle the government's means to continue its oppressive stranglehold on the masses from within the system, may seem politically correct in theory. But pragmatically, such efforts by progressive activists are liberal and reformist, in effect recognizing and providing credence to the system, preserving the system rather than destroying the system. For progressive activists to engage in status quo politics, directing the masses' political consciousness to the electoral process, is to substantiate an ill-conceived idea that the political and socio-economic conditions of the oppressed masses disenfranchisement can be altered through the gradual, peaceful electoral process. This notion ultimately stifles the militant social development of the revolution and inhibits the primary objective of having the oppressed masses control the means and mode of social production.

Those revolutionary activists who want to direct the oppressed masses toward the electoral process, should instead exert energies to building the social development of the revolution, toward undermining the security of the bourgeoisie capitalist-class means

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of appropriating wealth and continued exploitative relationships with the masses. This security is based upon several factors:

1. The means from which the ruling class continues to propagate its ideas, philosophy and culture through the various media;
2. The maintenance of class divisions, national oppression, the interrelationship and struggle between nationalities competing as wage earners in the labor market, and the struggle between laborers and managers as the means of production;
3. The maintenance of the threat or use of force by the police departments and the judicial process, with the power to take life or liberty, when the bourgeoisie ruling class laws are threatened.

These three essential aspects of ruling class security can be aptly understood in similitude to the power to persuade, to manipulate and coerce the oppressed masses in control. The revolutionary organization/parties/fronts leadership must direct its membership in their agitation-propaganda activity and in confrontation politics to call for the defection of civil service workers from the police, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency and the National Guard. These agents of the State should be encouraged to furnish information and intelligence on how the government is attempting to destroy the revolution, by employing counter-revolutionary and insurgency tactics. The revolutionary organization, parties/fronts must have trustworthy and disciplined political activists infiltrate (just as the government does our movement) and disrupt the domestic and international security forces of U.S. imperialism.

The revolution will be secured in its cultural and social development when a clear demarcation has been drawn between revolutionaries and the government's counter-insurgency forces. The same consideration must also be applied in respect to the U.S. military, who will be used as the last resort by the government to stifle the revolution.

In conclusion, revolution is a conspiracy, and all revolutionaries are conspirators to overthrow the State. All

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revolutionary organizations must understand the subjective criteria from which the revolutionary movement can be preserved in marking the historical course of development. All conspirators of the revolution, in their planned activities and political programs, must realize that legal and illegal methods must be employed to support the revolutionary armed forces, and the inevitable violent overthrow of the State.

Although some political activists still believe the social transition from capitalist-imperialism to social democracy and socialism can be peaceful, the truth of the matter is that the protracted struggle of class and national liberation has been marked by the violence of the State against the revolution. Violence and terror perpetrated by the State, such as assassinations of revolutionary leaders; midnight raids on political party offices and the homes of party members; the killing, persecution and imprisonment of supporters of the revolution; ongoing infiltration and disruption of the revolutionary movement; and various acts of counter-insurgency have determined the extent to which peaceful resistance to State repression can be successful. Furthermore, the State has devised various national security laws to repress the means and method by which the revolution can be organized, virtually repressing the ideals of democracy that the State hypocritically and demagogically espouses.

These acts by the State in the preservation of its existence, foreclose any possible means for a non-violent transition of the State. Any prospects of gaining the support of members of the ruling class elite in our protracted struggle, such members as scientists, intellectuals and military advisors, is based upon the ruling class' unmitigated measures to repress the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed masses. Thus, it is when the contradiction between the bourgeoisie's accumulation and appropriation of surplus value of material goods, and ownership of the means of production, has become antagonistic to the oppressed masses' will to unburden itself of this exploitative and oppressive relationship, will the revolution gain the greatest support of the entire working class. When the revolution threatens the monopoly-capitalist exploitative means of social production, the bourgeoisie ruling class will employ every means to preserve its existence even to the extent of consolidating right wing imperialism against members of the bourgeoisie who recognize the inevitable victory of the revolution.

Thus, it is essential that all progressive and revolutionary

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forces build the revolution toward the development of the antagonistic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie ruling class. It is this antagonistic contradiction that draws the demarcation between friend and foe in the revolution, and allows the revolutionary movement to strengthen its capacity to engage the enemies of the revolution in political and military warfare.

Hence, revolutionary organization/parties/fronts must forge their political programs towards the social development of the revolution. To employ tactical initiatives as agitation-propaganda and confrontation politics, with the understanding that the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed masses and the bourgeoisie ruling class, is the principle basis upon which the revolution will grow and develop towards the violent overthrow and defeat of capitalist-imperialist world domination.

THE MASS AND POPULAR MOVEMENT

The United States is an imperialist empire of monopoly-capitalist domination. The country's existence is based upon the domination (colonization) and exploitation of internal (domestic) and external nations. The acquisition of North America by Europeans was by use of force and genocidal slaughter of Native Americans, and the Europeans' ability to forge a nation into its present economic and technological condition has been based on hundreds of years of racist exploitation of Africans, Asians and Mexicans, along with the plunder, colonizing and controlling the natural resources, human labor and institutions of commerce of various Third World countries.

The U.S. empire is now being threatened with the loss of such colonies, as natives of these colonized countries develop national liberation struggles and fights for their independence. The external colonies' struggle for national liberation causes the empire to seek alternatives in its capacity to continue to acquire enormous profits from cheap labor and the control of valuable raw materials essential for U.S. imperialist development. As these national liberation struggles succeed in their independence movements against imperialism, the loss of profits from those colonies eventually affects the socio-economic and political condition of U.S. workers and neo-colonies. This loss of profits leads to the devaluation of the U.S. dollar. Thus, the value of

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American-made products is lost in the world market because the old markets are closing their institutions of commerce to American trade, industry, corporations, etc. The only alternative the U.S. imperialists have to preserve the accumulation of high profits is to cut back the production of American goods at home, establishing industries in Third World countries where labor is cheap, by importing the finished product rather than exporting it. This develops energy crisis (petroleum, coal, natural gas), which ultimately raises manufacturing costs in industries that depend upon these resources. At the same time, increasing productivity while maintaining high unemployment in the U.S. leads to a greater competition in the work-place, causing cuts in salaries and give back by workers. This inevitably leads to inflation in the American economy, with products costing more than the limits of standard living wages, since U.S. monopoly-capitalism has cut back workers' employment while the cost of products rise.

When this situation develops to the point where the American public is unable to buy American products at inflated prices, the capitalist system develops a recession in an attempt to balance the economic disparity of inflation and keep some degree of stability in the economy. This manipulation of interest rates and bond prices, serves as an attempt to ensure that monopoly-capitalists continue to reap exorbitant profits, and the American public can continue to consume/purchase products. Thus, the maintenance of the system is achieved. But this economic condition affects various nations in the American populace differently.

Because America is comprised of the neo-colonialization of Third World nations, the minorities of the American populace are affected by inflation and recession more harshly than the majority of Euro-Americans. The primary reason for this uneven effect of monopoly-capitalist economic affliction on Third World nations, in comparison to the majority of Euro-Americans, is due to neo-colonial socio-economic domination of these Third World nations and the racist national oppression.

This socio-economic and political condition of racist national oppression and domestic neo-colonial domination of Third World nationalities by U.S. capitalist-imperialism, along with the continued disenfranchisement of Euro-Americans by either the closing of foreign markets, the moving of industry to Third World countries, and/or higher competition internationally between capitalist countries for dwindling markets, alongside the continued struggles of U.S. domestic neo-colonies against their

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super-exploitation and racism, virtually determines the essential aspects of the mass and popular movement within the borders of North America. The class and national divisions between the American population preserves every condition from which the revolution will be tested, molded and developed into a mass movement for the destruction of capitalist-imperialism. The class struggle of Euro-Americans, united with the class and national determination of Third World nations in the U.S., will ensure the victory of external colonies' independence movements against U.S. imperialism.

But it is necessary that the mass and popular movement in the U.S. become cognizant of its own force and power. This power of the people is based upon workers of all nationalities developing a political movement against racism and the neo-colonization of oppressed nations, and for the end of class divisions, exploitation, ruling class appropriation of profits from workers labor, toward the end of monopoly-capitalist ownership of the means of production. Once these political determinations have been forged into a struggle for socio-economic, political and cultural change in the U.S., the character of the revolution will have developed a personality toward the collective ownership of the means of production, with each nationality having the eternal right to determine their own destiny.

In recent years the mass and popular movements have made strides in socialization. The various domestic nations have developed united actions and mobilizations over such issues as the Bakke decision and so-called reverse discrimination, support for the equal rights amendment, class-war worker support of miners strike, and against such repressive bills as Senate Bill 1 (or its derivative federal bill that includes 57 death penalty sanctions), and other opposition to higher taxes. Also, the anti-nuclear movement grows in momentum and gaining in anti-imperialist perspective. Furthermore, such anti-racist and anti-imperialist mobilizations as those on college campuses and in various ethnic communities against U.S. support of the apartheid government of South Africa, against zionism of Israel, against fascist regimes in Latin America, in support of the struggle for liberation of Puerto Rico, all provide strength to the entire mass and popular movement, ensuring an anti-racist and anti-imperialist perspective within the class struggle of Euro-Americans. In the same way, various domestic national liberation efforts are forged with an international perspective in solidarity with the national liberation

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struggle of external colonies fighting for independence against U.S. imperialism.

At present, the mass and popular movements are characterized by the struggle for the preservation of democratic rights and equality amongst the various nationalities and sexes. Although this present stage is progressive, the movement has not taken the initiatives to call for the end of monopoly-capitalist ruling class control and ownership of the means of production. Therefore, it is the responsibility of all progressive and revolutionary organizations and individuals to build the mass and popular movement toward class and national liberation struggle. To build upon the present level of the mass and popular movement, progressives and revolutionaries must analyze the socio-economic base of the masses' discontent and disenfranchisement, starting from the economic and political crisis of U.S. capitalism-imperialism. This analysis must evolve a political program that addresses the problems besetting the masses. As racism and monopoly-capitalism divide the oppressed masses on class and national lines, and further divide each nation into classes, such a program must build the oppressed masses' struggle for the preservation of democratic rights and forge the popular movement towards the revolution. Thus, the oppressed masses' struggle must be defined in terms of strategy and tactics, with specific goals and objectives to be attained. Each goal must heighten the contradiction between the oppressed masses and the ruling class bourgeoisie, and strengthen the criteria from which the struggle for the preservation of democratic rights transform into an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement.

The transformation of the masses' struggle from a defensive posture demanding civil rights into an offensive popular movement for social democratic change is conditioned on the popular movement's being responsive to the heightened oppressive conditions of the crisis of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism. It is when this crisis develops at greater levels that the oppressed masses are unable to maintain a stable livelihood, and Third World peoples' disenfranchisement will be at an intolerable level of subsistence being the norm of survival. Such is the case when transformation of the popular movement becomes qualitatively different in form from the civil rights demands for the preservation of democratic rights and equality.

The qualitative difference is depicted by the demands of the popular movement, when the demands are not only for the

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preservation and restoration of democratic rights and equality, but also the end of national oppression and neo-colonialism; calling for the collective ownership by the workers of the means of production, equal distribution of the wealth of the country to relieve the unjust tax burden on the lower and middle classes, and the end of racism and national oppression, will the popular movement take a significant qualitative change and become revolutionary in character.

It is the responsibility of progressive and revolutionary organizations to comprehend the subjective conditions and objective reality of the mass and popular movement. With this understanding, these organizations will be capable of developing national strategies and political programs that accentuate the character of the oppressed peoples' struggle, developing the means by which the popular movement can be transformed. The subjective conditions are that the masses' struggle is determined by the socio-economic crisis and the extent of the crisis as it affects the oppressed masses' livelihood. The oppressed masses' struggle for equality between the sexes and the end of racist domination of Third World people are determinative factors of the subjective conditions. Also, unemployment, inequality in education, expensive and/or intolerable health care, deteriorating housing conditions, lower standard of living because of the socio-economic crisis and low moral/social values of cultural significance all form the motive base for revolutionary transformation. The objective reality is that the socio-economic crisis tends to polarize issues, classes, and national-minorities as the crisis develops. This polarization of classes and national-minorities has a two-fold effect in the popular movement. This two-fold effect is consolidation of both left and right-wing forces simultaneously, while the divisions between nations and classes become more acute. The oppressor nation of Euro-Americans will be most affected by the right-wing racist politics for the maintenance of national oppression, while left-wing, Euro-Americans will attempt to divide the prospects of continued national oppression by developing the class struggle within the oppressor nation.

Essentially, the Euro-American left-wing forces will have two objectives: 1) To develop the contradiction in the class struggle of the oppressor nation to become antagonistic, and to concentrate the contradiction between oppressor nation classes on the destruction of capitalism and 2) To forge the most progressive elements of the oppressor nation classes to support the national

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liberation struggle of domestic neo-colonies to combat racism and national oppression, and to call for the independence of these neo-colonies in support of their fight for autonomy and sovereignty.

In the same vein, Third World left-wing forces must develop an anti-colonial movement which is anti-imperialist in nature. They must also recognize the necessity for international solidarity amongst the various Third World nationalities, oppressor nation progressives/revolutionaries, and their class struggle. Also, the anti-colonial movement has two aspects to develop: 1) The class struggle within the oppressed nations to destroy the colonized mentality within the quasi-class divisions of the oppressed neo-colony. Individuals who have gained influential status in the domestic neo-colony and are recognized as spokespersons of the neo-colony by the imperialists must become responsive to the aspirations of the national liberation movement; 2) To arouse the Third World populace to confront monopoly-capitalism from an anti-imperialist political perspective.

Once the mass and popular movement gains momentum in its struggle against capitalist-imperialism, and the polarization of the left and right-wing forces has substantially drawn the lines between contending political forces, the masses' struggle will have reached its nodal point, transforming from a civil rights movement into a human rights movement of revolutionary significance with international ramifications.

The question of human rights raises the mass and popular movement to a qualitatively higher level than when it was concerned only with civil rights, as civil rights are the minimum political objective. The oppressive relationship between the neo-colonies of the Third World nations and ruling class, and the ruling class relationship with the Euro-American oppressor nation must be altered, since they concern the basis upon which a livelihood can be maintained for all peoples. The relationship of the workers to the means of production must be changed until the workers gain collective possession of the means of production. Also, the various Third World nations must be able to determine their own destiny, based upon their socio-economic and political aspirations as expressed during the course of the revolution. Therefore, the question of human rights embodies the collective human will to be free from racist, capitalist-imperialist oppression and domination.

To transform the popular movement for the preservation and restoration of democratic rights into a mass struggle for human

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rights is therefore a revolutionary concept. The aspirations of the oppressed masses' struggle are taken out of the context of allowing the imperialists any basis for shadowing the determination of the oppressed masses to control their own lives and destiny, recognizing the inalienable rights of all humanity. The call for human rights within the mass and popular movement provides impetus towards international anti-imperialist solidarity.

Once the mass and popular movement has developed a revolutionary character, the means from which progressive and revolutionary organizations can build the movement will be greatly enhanced. The political program of national organizations in the mass and popular movement will ensure and support the course of the class and national liberation struggle. These political programs must highlight national goals and objectives, accentuating the anti-colonial, anti-capitalist-imperialist demands of the popular movement. Such demands as national health care and service, full employment for all workers, the end of national oppression and racism, all of which are civil and human rights issues, give credence to the demands for the end of private ownership of the means of production, and the right of Third World nations to become independent and sovereign. Thus, the political programs of national significance of progressive-revolutionary organizations in the mass, popular movement must change the character of the movement in the direction of the class and national liberation struggle.

It is imperative that these political programs project solutions onto the socio-economic and political crisis of monopoly-capitalism and address themselves to specific disenfranchised people within the class and national liberation struggle. The conditions of disenfranchisement and oppression affecting women must be thoroughly developed in a political program of national significance. Distinction must be made between the level of oppression between oppressed-nation women and that of the oppressor-nation women. This distinction must be further clarified in developing provisions of redress in the oppressed masses' struggle. For Third World women, their national condition of oppression must first be addressed on local grassroots levels, with the establishment of Third World women community liberation associations, independent of the oppressor nation's women's movement. These Third World women community associations must uphold the demands of the class and national liberation struggle. In this way, national aspirations of Third World women

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can realize their goals as part of, and take a leading role in, the national liberation struggle.

The conditions of disenfranchisement and oppression affecting youth must be addressed in a national political program. Hereto distinctions must be made between youth of the oppressed and oppressor nations in respect to the nature of their oppression, and the criteria for developing a solution in a political program. Essentially, the question of education and unemployment affects all youth. But for the oppressed nations, it is imperative that alternative education be established in the Third World communities. Such educational institutions as community liberation schools would have the responsibility to develop youth's skills in reading, writing and mathematics, and would also broaden their cultural and political consciousness of their relationship to the class and national liberation struggle. These liberation schools will be responsible for the development of future leaders and the organization of youth to be more responsive to the needs of the community. Therefore, an essential part of the curriculum of these schools will be the development of skills for building and preserving the community(s), such as plumbing, electrical work, carpentry, as well as printing, typing and agitation-propaganda work.

The political program must address the needs of the proletarians of all nations, especially in the trade unions. Trade unions have the responsibility of confronting the owners of the means of production with the needs of the workers. It is the responsibility of workers to be sure that their trade union representatives develop the issues which define and depict their disenfranchisement and restore equitable working standards and wages.

But it is the responsibility of progressives and revolutionaries to move workers and trade union representatives toward the ideals of revolution. The prospect of integrating the trade union revolt in the mass and popular movement depends on the masses' arousal (class consciousness). Such an arousal, through agitation-propaganda and confrontation politics by progressive-revolutionaries must be responsive to concrete conditions of union workers' socio-economic and political instability. The issues will include rising taxes affecting workers and continued tax cuts for big business, the demands for greater productivity from the employed (without considering the criteria by which the unemployed may obtain work), the huge military budget and cut-

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backs in social services, imported products flooding U.S. markets because of cheap labor in U.S. external colonies, while exports decrease. All of this, along with concerns of the huge federal deficit that has made the U.S. a debtor nation, must be addressed in a political program. These issues will serve as an impetus to motivate workers to seek change in the economic system. The political program must demand that the taxes of workers become stable and big businesses taxes be used to subsidize social services, that shorter hours be established at wages comparable to living standards, that the unemployed be able to gain employment meeting the needs of productivity, and that a low ceiling must be imposed on imports so American consumers could purchase American-made products and an export quota towards a more equitable trade balance could be established. These demands would serve to induce the ultimate demands of the end of capitalist-imperialism, the nationalization and workers' ownership, and the control of the means of production.

Finally, the mass and popular movement must be directed toward understanding the various aspects of the judicial process – the police, courts and prisons – and their functions in a capitalist social structure. The demystification of the judicial system will provide the mass and popular movement with an understanding of how they are being controlled and manipulated by the courts, congress and legislative bodies of government for the benefit of monopoly-capitalism. As poverty begets crime and social revolution, it is imperative that the judicial process be exposed as an instrument of controlling the oppressed masses along lines of class divisions and national oppression. Most laws serve the continued mode of national oppression and class exploitation. Thus the police, courts and prisons preserve this system of domestic monopoly-capitalist domination (federal death penalty sanctions, COINTELPRO, etc.). Also, it must be exposed how the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and the Department of Defense operate, and how the various branches of the judiciary create laws which undermine justice and equality and uphold the existing system of national and class oppression.

Domestically, the police, courts, and prisons are the primary institutions used to repress the social democratic and socialist aspirations of the mass and popular movement, prisons being the last rung in the ladder of judicial coercion. Political programs must, therefore, support the prison movement, calling for the

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release of political prisoners of war, the end of torture of captured revolutionaries, the abolition of capital punishment, and the end of prison slavery. They must further explain how the judicial process is inequitable, indicating how most laws serve to suppress the will of the oppressed masses' aspirations for social democracy and socialist freedom, and show how the police, courts and prisons are coercive bureaucracies of monopoly-capitalism. This will ultimately demystify the judicial process and will forge mass and popular consciousness to become fearless in confronting the State.

At this time the mass and popular movement is fractionalized on various issues subject to the socio-economic crisis, and the relationship of the crisis to a particular class or nationality. Such issues include: the struggle in the trade union industry; miners, farmers, teachers, social services, and industrial workers strikes; anti-nuclear issues; unemployment, the ERA, prisoners' involuntary servitude strikes, and various other civil rights issues. All of these are substantial concerns to many progressives and revolutionaries in many different ways. But factionalism tends to drain the oppressed masses' enthusiasm in struggle, ensuring their participation in struggle only when their livelihood is being jeopardized. This reaction to struggle can preserve competitiveness that will create and maintain divisions between classes and nationalities.

To remedy factionalism, the progressive and revolutionary forces must build national campaigns and mobilizations that develop anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, working class solidarity amongst the many progressive elements within the mass and popular movement. It is this revolutionary internationalist solidarity amongst the most progressive and revolutionary forces combating racist, capitalist-imperialism that will provide the impetus for greater unity through the entire mass and popular movement.

The mass and popular movement must evolve a national concept of itself, and become mobilized nationally towards specific goals and objectives. This concept and understanding should urge the class and national liberation struggle to confront the socio-economic and political crises of capitalist-imperialism. The struggle for the preservation and restoration of social democratic and civil rights must evolve towards a struggle for human rights.

Inevitably, the revolutionary struggle for human rights will

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develop the class and national liberation struggle toward the final and complete destruction of capitalist class exploitation and racist imperialist neo-colonial oppression.