

THE JULY REBELLIONS AND THE "MILITARY STATE"

J. H. O'DELL

THERE IS A currently popular American folksong whose lyrics speak philosophically concerning time and the turn of the seasons.

What was earlier in this decade described as our summers of discontent, now turns into seasons of growing popular revolt against the conditions of life in America. The war in Vietnam continues as does the determined popular resistance to the war by large sections of the American people. The Military Establishment grows more brutal and arrogant, at home and abroad. The freedom-consciousness of the black ghettos becomes more articulate in act as well as in word, as one of the major institutions of racism (the ghetto condition) comes under assault. This is part of the cutting edge of an emerging new Resistance Movement. The month of July proved to be the premier month as 37 cities, stretching across the continent from East Harlem to San Bernardino, California, and as far South as Riviera Beach, Florida, were shaken by revolts of varying magnitude, large and small.

These events call attention, in a dramatic way, to the fact that, in the midst of its much-boasted affluence, the self styled "Great Society" like its predecessors, Rome and the Third Reich, has fallen upon bad times.

The defenders of the *ancien regime* respond with characteristic venom. "Get those niggers . . . get those niggers" is the police yell in Newark and Plainfield, New Jersey as they fan out to occupy the ghetto. "The gooks are still in there . . . burn down as much as possible," echo similar voices on television, coming from Lien Ho and Bon Son, Vietnam, on the other side of the world; an area also being "pacified" U.S. style. The language of insult even comes from the lips of the Texan who has been called America's accidental President, as he describes the leaders of the ghetto revolts. His audience is a convention of chiefs of police and he is asking for support for his "safe streets" legislation.

The language of insult is accompanied by the language of confusion as the American people are given a definition of these events in the ghetto as "riots." This is the term repeated over and over again by the news media and the most prominent leaders of white American opinion.

For all practical purposes, to understand these events and what they mean it is necessary to clear up the problem of definitions. This is particularly necessary because language is used by the oppressor, often very effectively, to keep freedom fighters on the defensive. American society has a long history of charging its black victims with "guilt" by cleverly using the language as a weapon. In this, as in so many other ways, the U.S. shows how very much it is a part of the "Western World."

When one reads the history of the Negro people in the U.S. especially the long slavery period, one reads of Nat Turner's *rebellion*, or of Denmark Vesey's *revolt* and of the more than 200 other slave *revolts*. These were violent efforts by men, individually or collectively, to throw off the chains of slavery exploitation. And if, in the course of events, they set fire to a plantation or took some food from the slaveholders' warehouse, freedom-loving mankind the world over hailed this as quite naturally in the spirit of liberty. Only the slave-masters and their allies regarded such events as "riots" and the men struggling to throw off the yoke of slavery as "hoodlums."

More than a century before these freedom revolts by African slaves under the rule of the American Republic, a series of similar events had shaken British rule in the colony of Virginia. In 1676 the Governor's plantation was stripped of its crops and domestic animals, and a militia was organized among the planters, farmers and white indentured servants to back up their demands for lower taxes, and an end to corruption and favoritism in the government. This was known as "Bacon's Rebellion" named after Nathaniel Bacon, its leader, who died in jail, while 29 of his compatriots were hanged by the British authorities, and dozens of others jailed and fined.

The Royal Commission appointed by the Crown to "investigate these disturbances" was sharply divided in its opinion between those who argued that "the unrest is just the work of a few rabble who could be put down by a [military] force of 200 men" and the more conciliatory commissioners who contended "the unrest is widespread because of real grievances . . . which should be investigated."

Each of these events, in its own time-setting, was a landmark in the development of greater political consciousness among the aggrieved population.

the nature of the current revolts

In the slavery period of our American experience, the main institution of confinement is the plantation. In the post-slavery period, especially since the First World War, the main institution of confine-

ment for the black population in the United States is the ghetto.

The Negro ghetto has been described often and elaborately. It is an enclave within the larger American urban setting, whose inhabitants pay high rents for slum houses or buy second-hand houses at inflated real estate prices; an area of run-down schools, over-crowded and poorly staffed, with a curriculum which is designed to give the child an inferior education, and consequently handicap him in the competition for college or a good job later in life. The ghetto family pays marked-up prices for poor quality food and other merchandise—with the weighted scale in the meat market and the padded credit accounts in the furniture store everyday forms of robbery. It is a population preyed upon by petty hustlers and charlatans and a variety of other social parasites who wouldn't be allowed to "operate" in other communities. It is a population occupied by a police force acting as overseers, on this urban plantation.

By way of definition, the functional role of the ghetto, as an institutionalized form of racism, is to facilitate the special exploitation of the black population, through the mechanisms we have described. As such, the ghetto is merely an up-dated, modified version of the 19th century slave quarters, in the American system of exploitation. And the revolts against the conditions in the ghetto today are linked by history to the revolts against slavery in the past. Such terms as "riots" and "hoodlums" have no place in any honest, objective appraisal of these events.

The central continuing fact of American economic and social history over the past three and a half centuries is the special exploitation and robbery of the Negro community. As a corollary to this reality, the central theme in the life and history of the Afro-American population is one continuous struggle to free itself from this agonizing situation. The recent rebellions in Newark, Detroit, and revolts elsewhere over the past four years are but the latest examples highlighting this truth.

No useful purpose is served by Negro civil rights leaders straining to disassociate themselves from the forces of the ghetto rebellion. Whitney Young's cautious statement that "the vast majority of Negroes are exercising patience, restraint and loyalty" is as irrelevant to understanding the Freedom Movement today, as it is reassuring to the "white power-structure" for whom such statements are obviously intended.

What is new, and therefore very relevant, is the fact of a growing number of youthful black men and women who are no longer patient but fed up; no longer restrained but ready to "go for broke"; and are indeed loyal, to *themselves* and their people because they are convinced the country is not loyal to them.

Disappointed in the Civil Rights Movement and its leaders, to whom they looked for *their* emancipation too, disillusioned, they have begun to act on their own. They didn't create the ghetto slums, but as the victims they are making the ghettos of America the New Battleground. They are confronting the whole fabric of exploitation in the ghetto, at the level that they see it functioning: the absentee-owned stores, and the property of the absentee-slumlords, and the police occupation force representing the State power of the colonial regime.

If as some people say, these revolts "have nothing to do with civil rights," it is only because the very concept "civil rights" is too narrow to deal with the basic economic and political problems facing the black population today. If the method of resistance is no longer exclusively non-violent, it is because violence is the language of America and they, the colonized, wish to be heard. If they are not making their appeal by way of moral argumentation, it is because they have concluded, *from the record*, that the leadership of this nation is basically immoral in its dealing with non-white people, the world over. So their Manifesto is in the deed rather than the rhetoric and in this course of action they are making the title of James Baldwin's famous essay "The Fire Next Time" a prophetic reality.

Unlike the violence which has characterized American life and history, the violence of the ghetto rebellion is not motivated by greed and inhumanity. It is a form of resistance to deprivation and a protest against being ignored by the Affluent Society.

In their confiscation of food and useful merchandise from stores whose owners have been looting their pockets for years, they are showing their contempt for the "property rights" of all the petty exploiters and regard this as a way of "getting even."

In their combative defiance of the armed forces of the regime, and risking life and limb in the contest, they are giving their answer to current popular notions among "sociologists" concerning the "emasculatation of the Negro male."

Like millions of their countrymen, Negro Americans increasingly understand that a government which is currently spending \$75 billion a year on war and outerspace efforts to put a man on the moon has no intention of providing adequate funds to end joblessness, slum conditions and correct educational deprivation in the ghettos. In spite of the official deceptive propaganda to the contrary, racist wars abroad are not in the least likely to serve the cause of multi-racial democracy at home. If anything, racist wars abroad make the forces of domestic racism more arrogant and the colonized nationalities in America (Afro-American, Spanish-speaking and Indian), all of whom are the

victims of racism, have an instinctive understanding of this.

So, certain of the colonized are acting upon their own definitions for they are convinced ours is a struggle for survival in a hostile racist society. One does not have to be a die-hard advocate of violence or anarchy to recognize the validity of a social rebellion by the oppressed which takes a violent form. Riots have little to do with freedom; revolts or rebellions against oppression have everything to do with freedom.

All reasonable people prefer to see social change and social emancipation effected in as peaceful and constructive a manner as possible. We are reminded that Detroit had the largest non-violent civil rights march in the history of any one city in America. In June (1963), 125,000 people—including thousands from the ghetto—marched for Freedom Now! led by Martin Luther King and Walter Reuther. This was two months before the March on Washington. I remember in 1959 how hundreds of people came from the Newark ghetto to the nation's capital for the national "March for Integrated Schools" which brought 25,000 people to Washington, led by Jackie Robinson, A. Philip Randolph and others. Today, Newark has thousands of black children on split-shifts in overcrowded, rundown schools, as do most ghettos across the country. As is well known there are more completely segregated schools in the Northern urban centers today than there were when the Supreme Court's decision on public education was declared in 1954, while the South has desegregated only about 25 per cent of its school districts during this period.

Through law suits and a variety of non-violent direct actions against segregation, for more than a decade, the many organizations of the Freedom Movement forced the nation to look at segregation and the daily humiliations that institution imposed upon Negro Americans.* Since 1964, in flash-seasons of violent direct action, the dispossessed in the ghettos are forcing the country to look at their condition as a particular class (the most painfully exploited), among Negro Americans. This is the same struggle for human dignity appearing in different forms.

The revolts against the ghetto condition are centered among the youth and the poorest sections of the working class; those whose economic circumstances today are very similar to the condition of the

* It is not true, as Eric Hoffer suggests, that the non-violent movement for civil rights was (or is) a movement of "middle class Negroes." It embraced all social classes in Negro life because all classes are affected, in varying degrees, by the reality of segregation and racial discrimination.

majority of the American working class during the Great Depression.

In a lengthy article in the *New York Times Magazine*, Bayard Rustin makes a quite different appraisal, in the following:*

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is correct in locating the riots in the "lower class" or in the words of another controversial man, Karl Marx, in the "lumpenproletariat" or "slum proletariat." Lower class does not mean working class; the distinction is often overlooked in a middle-class culture that tends to lump the two together.

The distinction is important. The working class is employed. It has a relation to the production of goods and services; much of it is organized in unions. It enjoys a measure of cohesion, discipline and stability lacking in the lower class. The latter is unemployed or marginally employed. It is relatively unorganized, incohesive, unstable. It contains the petty criminal and antisocial elements.

Further on in the article, Rustin coins the phrase "black slum proletariat" to describe his "lower class," or lumpenproletariat.

Of course one does not have to be an especially keen observer of society to recognize that the working class has many gradations within it—ranging from the poorest paid, unskilled and semi-skilled workers to the higher paid skilled workers, who are usually able to secure more steady employment than the unskilled for rather obvious reasons. In an industrial society of rapidly advancing technology the job experience of the unskilled is likely to include more part-time work ("marginal employment") and longer periods of unemployment than the skilled worker.

However, they are all part of the working class because their class position is not determined by which one has a job and which is unemployed.

The auto worker in Detroit who operates a tool and die machine and the farm laborer in Arkansas or Texas who picks vegetables are both part of the working class because neither owns the means of production (land, factory and machines) and each sells his labor power for wages. The Rustin-Moynihan thesis is mistaken because it sets up a quite artificial division between employed and unemployed workers by suggesting that only the employed are part of the working class, the rest being "lower class" or "lumpenproletariat."

Unemployment and marginal employment (part-time employment) make up a big part of the job experience of millions of black work-

* "The Way Out of the Ghetto," August 15, 1967.

ers in America. This reality is linked to the whole history of institutionalized racism in America. The sharecropper or tenant farmer who is pushed off the land by the rapid changes in technology in agriculture may settle with his family in Charleston, Savannah, or New York. He will live in the ghetto slums because that is the only kind of social environment a racist society has designed for him and his family. He will begin to look for work as a common laborer on a construction gang, or down on the waterfront or he may join a group of migrant workers headed for the truck farms of New Jersey, upstate New York or Florida.

In any of these, as longshoreman, construction worker or migrant worker his employment is likely to be "marginal" at best, due to many factors, including the seasonal character of some work, or lack of seniority required for steady employment, in such industries as maritime. However as (part-time) longshoreman, construction worker or farm laborer, that he is part of the working class of America should be obvious.

The working class within the ghetto, which is predominantly Negro, and the working class which lives outside the ghetto and is multi-ethnic, are component parts of the same class. Marx used the phrase *lumpenproletariat* to describe what he called "declassed elements"; rejects from the working class; parasites who live on the lower depths of society and who are basically not concerned with employment because they have found other ways to live. Marx's emphasis was on the *parasitism* of this group, as distinct from the working class.

There are such anti-social elements in the ghettos, and in the course of a revolt they may "get into the act," because they are petty parasites. The liquor store is often their target, on such occasions. However, to attribute the ghetto revolts to the activity of this group, "locating the riots in the lumpenproletariat" as Rustin proposes, is to be grossly out of touch with everyday life in the ghetto.

Joblessness, police brutality, and the lack of recreational facilities are among the things deeply resented by the youth, the middle-aged, the unemployed and the employed alike. The revolt is to be "located" in their resentment.

One wonders whether or not there is a relationship between Bayard Rustin's analysis of what he calls "the riots" and his call for the police to "stop the riots by whatever force is necessary," a sentiment which fortunately did not find its way into the text of the statement* issued by the four national civil rights leaders on the same day.

* *New York Times*, July 27, 1967. (Page 19)

who rioted?

In taking into account the significance of these events one would be remiss not to recognize there was an element of rioting in this whole picture. The trigger-happy, panicky, ruthless conduct of many police and National Guardsmen was on the scale of a riot. Apartment buildings "suspected of hiding snipers" were sprayed with machine-gun bullets. In some areas a point was made of systematically damaging Negro-owned businesses which had been left untouched by the uprising. In Plainfield, the occupation troops conducted Nazi-type, house-to-house raids upon the ghetto neighborhoods, under the pretense of "looking for guns." This was in clear violation of the Constitutional protection against illegal search and seizure. They also sprayed a kind of nerve gas on the streets of the ghetto which temporarily paralyzes whomever it contacts. In Detroit more than six thousand political prisoners were taken and there are reports that part of Belle Isle recreation park was converted into a temporary concentration camp. This was a grim re-play of similar scenes occurring in the South a few years ago when State Fair Grounds were converted into concentration camps and public school buses were used to transport children to jail. We must add to these examples the wanton assassination by policemen of three unarmed black men in the Algiers Motel in Detroit, during the week of the revolt.

The police, State Troopers and National Guardsmen literally rioted as they occupied the ghettos last summer, just as they had done in Watts, San Francisco, and elsewhere since 1964. The long list of civilian dead and injured in the ghetto is testimony to this fact.

This riotous conduct by the Armed Forces of the state, directed against the local civilian population, is in the classic style of colonial rule and is, today, the most overt expression of the growing fascist pattern developing in the United States.

the colonial war at home

The arrogant display of military force at the local level is supplemented by a court system whose decisions regarding bail are often merely a convenient way of making the colonized hostage of the State. When a court sets bail at from \$10,000 to \$200,000 for an everyday wage earner, or a youth whose family is on welfare, or an unemployed worker, that amounts to a declaration by the State that these "citizens" are really hostages of the State.

The State power at the local level is expanding its arsenal of weapons and troop reserves all in the name of "riot control." In New York City a Tactical Patrol Force (TPF), organized in 1959 with seventy-

five troops, now reportedly has 650. This is an elite corps, sent into combat against the youth in the Puerto Rican ghetto (*El Barrio*) in East Harlem for four nights last summer. A similar type TP unit had been used to keep the Negro ghetto on East Side Detroit under surveillance during the previous summer (1966) even though there had been no violent eruptions in that city.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Number of Political Prisoners Taken</i>	<i>Date</i>
Albany, Georgia	700	December 1961
Birmingham, Alabama	3,200	June 1963
Selma and Central Alabama	3,000	January-March 1965
Watts	3,952	August 1965
Detroit	6,670	July 1967

The City Councils in both Newark and Tampa (Florida) have given approval to spend tens of thousands of dollars for "emergency shipments" of new weapons. These, and other examples which could be cited, are a further extension of the pattern of domestic military build-up for which Jackson, Mississippi received some attention when its City Council bought an armored tank for use against non-violent Civil Rights demonstrations a few years ago.

The general enlargement of the arsenal of weapons is accompanied by an active build-up in the size of the police forces, often way out of proportion to any civilian public-safety requirements. Why, for instance, does liberal New York City, with a population two and a half times larger than Los Angeles, have a police force six times larger than Los Angeles?*

There is also the matter of the kind of conservative ideology cultivated among the police, especially in the cities with large Negro or Spanish-speaking populations. This is not a monolithic picture. There are undoubtedly many decent men on the various police forces—men who have a good relationship with the people in the communities and are a credit to their profession. We are concerned here with general patterns of governmental power which are developing in our country. The kind of racist campaign conducted by the Police Benevolent Association to defeat the Civilian Review Board in New York, and the brutal beatings given peace marchers by the Los Angeles police (June 23) during demonstrations against

* See *New York Times*, July 20, 1967.

the war in Vietnam, while President Johnson was speaking at a fund-raising banquet there, are significant cases in point.

Despite certain concessions to civil rights and a number of important court decisions favorable to the defense of civil liberties, militarism and the military presence are rapidly becoming the main features of governmental power in American life. Whether expressed in the form of armed Tactical Units occupying the ghettos, a police mobilization to brutalize peace marchers, or a massive military build-up in Southeast Asia, the economic, political and psychological ascendancy of militarism is a primary factor shaping the character of national life in our country today. In its ultimate expression, this development represents a serious, totalitarian threat to Constitutional liberties.

There are times when the contemporary spirit of a nation's institutions creeps through in the most unexpected places. At the World's Fair in Montreal, "Expo 67," the male guides at the U.S. Pavilion were dressed in the uniform of various branches of the Armed Forces. The spirit of militarism is abroad in the land, stretching its corpse-like influence over the fabric of the Republic. This, at once, reflects and contributes to the fact that governmental conduct has sank to the lowest level of barbarity, public deception and dehumanization of any period since the blood-bath which overthrew Reconstruction, in the last century.

Frederick Douglass, in commenting on the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and its impact, once said: "... the Mason and Dixon's line has been obliterated; New York has become as Virginia and the power [of slavery] ... remains no longer a mere state institution but is now an institution of the whole U.S. ... coextensive with the Star Spangled Banner. ..."

As in 1852, once again, it is true today. The line between Mississippi and Michigan, between Birmingham and Newark is rapidly being obliterated as the rise of the Military Establishment takes on a special meaning. Policemanship as a style of government is no longer confined to the Southern-way-of-life but is now becoming institutionalized on a national level. And the line between foreign and domestic policy is fading out as well, as militarism and the military presence become "coextensive with the Star Spangled Banner."

The escalation of the war in Vietnam and the escalation of the military budget (which is one of the hidden purposes behind all such military adventures), quite aside from the senseless death toll and dishonor it has brought the nation, have had as a net result the *escalation of the economic and political power of the Military Establishment*. This escalation, like the war itself, has taken place at a geometric rate

of acceleration during the four years of the Johnson presidency.

The economic power of the military is in that lion's share of the National Budget, earmarked under the euphemism "defense." This military budget has been increased from \$35 billion in 1963 to \$70.3 billion in the current fiscal year 1967-68. This does not include appropriations for the space program. As a point of reference and comparison, the military budget of the U.S. is 20 per cent larger than the military budget of Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China *combined*, even though the total population of these four countries adds up to five times the population of our country.*

The political power of the military resides in the neo-confederate chairmen of key committees in Congress, as well as in key personalities in the executive branch of the government. In addition to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, of Georgia and General William Westmoreland of South Carolina, the Commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam, the following are included:

<i>Name</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Chairman</i>
Richard Russell	Georgia	Senate Armed Services Committee
L. Mendel Rivers	South Carolina	House Armed Services Committee
John Stennis	Mississippi	Senate Preparedness Sub-Committee
F. Edward Hébert (From Leander Perez's Dixiecrat machine)	Louisiana	House Preparedness Sub-Committee
John McClellan	Arkansas	{ Senate Committees Investigating the "Riots" }
James Eastland	Mississippi	
Russell Long	Louisiana	(Senate Democratic "Whip")

These are the king-pins of the new Confederacy through whom the hawks in the Pentagon exercise their influence. Since his days as Senate Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson has been the high priest among them.

* See "The Military Balance, 1966-67," published by the Institute for Strategic Studies, London (pages 8-27).

The manpower resources of the Military Establishment rest directly in the draft system, but also indirectly in the labor of the three and a half million workers,* whose pay-checks derive from employment in the factories and offices of those companies contracted to engage in the production, transportation and stockpiling of military hardware, napalm and other weapons of mass destruction.

It is the combination of manpower, recruited in the labor market, at relatively high wages, to manufacture military weapons, and the manpower guaranteed by the "forced-labor" of the draft system which constitutes the manpower pool made available to the Military Establishment. Serious defections in either of these areas of manpower resource, by large numbers of people refusing as a matter of conscience to cooperate with militarism, would be a major contribution toward keeping alive the tradition of civilian-controlled government in our country.

Sensitive to this, the draft has been hurriedly renewed for four years by Congress. The railroad workers strike, the first in twenty years, has been broken by the Government, with the public rationale that "one thousand box cars of ammunition must be sent to Vietnam each week." Such is the atmosphere created that auto workers, on strike against the Ford Motor Company (Secretary of Defense McNamara's home-base), are told by their leaders to cross their own picket lines in order to guarantee shipments of truck parts needed by the military for Vietnam.

We are reminded that Mussolini and Italian fascism came to power under the slogan of "getting the trains running on time."

In his important book, *The Accidental President*, the political analyst Robert Sherrill makes the following observation:

It was during his [Johnson's] years as the most powerful man in Congress that the permanent diplomatic and military establishment . . . were given the funds and the freedom by Congress to gain the overwhelming influence that they still have today and *which it is not likely will be taken from them in normal fashion.*** (Emphasis mine, J.H.O.)

the new "Resistance Movement"

The road which leads from the "Indian massacres" of the last century to the Pentagon and another from the oppressive slave plantation to the ghetto are major conjunctive highways running through

* Estimated by economist Victor Perlo in his book *Militarism and Industry*.

** *The Accidental President*, page 16, Grossman Publishers, Inc., New York, N. Y.

the very center of U.S. life and history. In turn, they shape the mainstream contours of American national development. The idea that there is no warlike tradition of militarism in America, is, of course, one of the most cherished of national myths. Popular belief in this mythology serves as an opiate and a blinder for U.S. colonialism, past and present. There is, indeed, no goosestepping tradition of the Hitler Germany kind in America but that is a matter of national style.

In the present period in the evolution of the American social system, the structured Military Establishment with its staggering financial resources in the public treasury, its ideology of barbarism and its manipulative control over the lives of millions, especially the youth, represents the main social cancer in the body politic of the nation. It is an historically-evolved deformity which, at once, aggravates and brings into visible focus all the other social contradictions underlying the American Way of Life. The contradiction between squandered wealth and dehumanizing poverty; the contradiction between a congenital racism and feeble efforts at becoming a Democracy; the contradiction between a tradition of civilian controlled government, academic and other institutions, on the one hand, and the institutional power-requirements of the military-industrial complex on the other—all of these are exacerbated by the escalation of the power of the military in the affairs of the nation today. Any leadership—whether in civil rights, peace, labor, church or the academic community—which ignores this reality and the dangers inherent in it is a leadership which is already obsolete.

The most hopeful development on the national scene in this period is the fact that this reality is being confronted by a growing mood of *resistance* among large sections of American people. The revolts against the ghetto condition are but one form of this. The peace coalition represented by the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, with its new emphasis on direct action, expressed in the movement slogan "Confront the Warmakers," is another form, as are the college and university campus demonstrations against military recruitment and military research. In addition there is the growing subculture which has been called "Hippies." Despite certain hang ups which limit the effectiveness of their example, the "Hippies" are engaged in a creative, irreverent assault upon all of the hypocritical, moribund, anti-human values and mores of the present social order. Therefore, they too are an important component of the emerging new Resistance Movement.

This Movement, for an end to the tyranny of racism-militarism, and for a revolution in American values, is a vital stream of humanist

consciousness in American life. It also marks a nodal point, a qualitative change, in the deepening sense of "alienation" felt by a cross-section of the American people. Cutting across racial, class and ethnic lines, this sense of alienation from the present Governmental structure is a rapidly growing phenomenon embracing a few millions. The Resistance Movement is the *organized* expression of this much larger phenomenon, and is just in the beginning stages of its development. Yet the nationwide visibility it is getting as a result of its varied activities is also beginning to awaken the ranks of organized labor: that decisive social force still tragically handicapped by a conservative bureaucracy in the AFL-CIO.

The basic objective of the Resistance Movement is to mobilize and build a massive organized grassroots opposition among the American people, capable of bringing to a halt and reversing the current trend towards a Military State in our country. The style is confrontation—on many levels—with the military machinery, its economy and its ideology. The program is to rescue human life from this juggernaut and redirect the nation to a course of genuine social progress. The immediate focus is upon ending the military intervention in Vietnam. Vietnam, more than any other issue in this century, symbolizes the dangerous shift of decision-making, institutional power into the hands of the military. It also epitomizes (in such acts as the burning of villages, the bombings of schools and hospitals, the mutilation of bodies for "souvenirs," etc.) the continued erosion and dehumanization of the American national character.

For all Freedom Fighters, therefore, the watchword is RESISTANCE! Unyielding resistance, and the building of a movement for all seasons. Whether in the streets of the ghettos, on the college campuses, at the Pentagon or elsewhere, the movement of confrontation-resistance is the vehicle for asserting a new social morality in America; a civilized morality which asserts the primary value of *human life* and its right to survive as the basis for liberty and the pursuit of happiness.