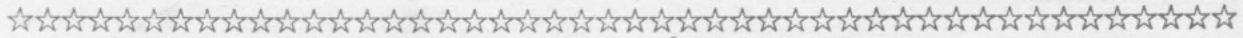


June

1974

# NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

# MOVING ON



## Towards a Socialist America



# may 4 at kent state

A spirited, attentive crowd of 10,000 people rallied at Kent State May 4th to express their indignation at the continued war in Indochina, the coverups of repression at Kent and Jackson State, and the "high crimes and misdemeanors" of Richard Nixon and his administration.

Successive standing ovations applauded Julian Bond, Daniel Ellsberg, Jane Fonda, Ron Kovic, Dean Kahler, Holly Near, and Judy Collins as they addressed the largest anti-war rally of the year. The crowd listened

to a telegram from the Cambodian head of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, praising the rally and denouncing continued U.S. aid and intervention in his homeland.

Enthusiasm from the rally carried over to the workshops following the singing and speeches. An estimated 2,000 people participated in six seminars which had been scheduled, with an undetermined number of people forming impromptu meetings around campus.

The spirit of the rally and the political significance of the event is best captured by Ron Kovic (AVM), a Vietnam veteran, when he spoke from the podium: "Four years ago the President called us bums and criminals, but now the bums and criminals reside in Washington D.C....Four years of memory have passed and within this country today, tomorrow, next week, next month, there is a rumbling of the hurricane of the human spirit like you have never seen before in your life. Within this country in the next years there will be a great social transformation, like the administration in Washington has never seen before. There is a change occurring here today at Kent State. There is a re-awakening occurring here today at Kent State."

(Our thanks to the Indochina Peace Campaign for the information contained in this article. IPC may be contacted at 181 Pier Ave., Santa Monica, CA 90405)

## nam's part

The Yellow Springs and Dayton, Ohio NAM chapters organized people to go to the IPC demonstration at Kent State on May 4th to commemorate the anniversary of the killings at Kent and Jackson State during the Cambodian invasion and protest that followed in 1970. We felt the demonstration would be important in energizing people in the region. It was. About 8,000 people came and many stayed for a series of workshops planned for that evening.

We also organized a strong NAM presence at the rally. We had two literature tables set up on the green under a large NAM banner that read, "Toward Socialist Revolution." There was a tremendous response. Many people had heard of NAM and wanted to find out more; several were interested in starting chapters. We sold over \$80 in literature and more than 50 people signed-up for more information.

A high point in the rally came when a theatre group of Yellow Springs NAM members and others performed the "Exorcism of Richard Nixon" to several hundred people at our booth and again that evening at Dan Ellsberg's workshop.

With help from people in the Pittsburgh and Athens chapters, we distributed several thousand leaflets about NAM and on the workshop we planned. Originally our workshop was conceived as a panel on "The Strategy for Socialism" with someone from NAM, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Modern Times (a Cleveland workplace collective) and Ann Arbor Human Rights Party. CWLU and Modern Times were unable to attend so we went ahead with people from NAM presenting a strategic overview, socialist feminism, and building the socialist student movement. A representative of HRP spoke on their politics and practice. About 70 people attended.

We feel it's important for NAM to build for and to have a strong presence at actions like Kent State and to take those opportunities to carry on discussions with the independent, non-sectarian left. It's a lot of work, but as our experience on May 4th points out, it's well worth it.

-- Ellis Jacobs, Mad River

## REGIONAL MEETS

### midwest

The first Midwest regional meeting was attended by 30 people from nine chapters throughout the Midwest. Represented were Chicago, Haymarket, Yellow Springs, Mad River, Red Cedar River, Minneapolis, Fox River Valley, DeKalb and New Orleans.

The one-day meeting on May 25th dealt mainly with an extensive review of local practice, sexual politics, and the national organization, including a discussion of the NIC.

Most participants agreed that the meeting revealed a high degree of political unity among people in Midwest chapters. People seemed encouraged by encountering others with a high degree of political commitment, and newer mem-

bers changed their first impressions of a kind of paper phantom organization after meeting flesh-and-blood members of other chapters.

An ongoing regional committee--Vicki Plaster of Minneapolis, Dennis Engbarth of Red Cedar River, Connie Norton of the NIC--was given the task of calling a regional caucus during the July convention to insure an ongoing regional structure.

The Midwest conference was hesitant to call a fall meeting until the regional NIC proposal had been dealt with by the convention. There was also tentative discussion of full-time paid regional travellers supported by chapters. Most delegates agreed that the Midwest conference had been a good start toward an ongoing regional structure. A complete report will be mailed to all chapters.

Connie Norton, NIC

### california

On May 18th and 19th the New American Movement had a regional conference in Oakland, California. NAM members attended from chapters and pre-chapters in Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, Chico, Berkeley-Oakland, and San Francisco. Over 100 observers came from such cities as Pine Grove, Cotati, San Jose, Palo Alto, and Eugene, Oregon. The purpose of the conference was to discuss major issues in NAM and on the left - the relation of socialism to feminism, building a multi-national movement, what kind of party we want, the strategy for organizing in the workplace - and to begin building a regional structure.

One theme that emerged from the discussion was the necessity to build NAM as a multi-national organization of men and women while working with and recognizing the need for autonomous organization of Third World people and women. Some people at the conference felt that this was an area where the "new left" could learn something from the old left.

In workshops in program we discovered that the Berkeley-Oakland and San Francisco chapters and the large Los Angeles pre-chapter are working on local energy projects. We agreed to work toward a regional energy project as our first California program. In addition, we established an interim coordinating committee that would oversee traveling and organizing in California and plan our next conference which is scheduled for southern California in the fall.

John Judis, NIC

# LEFT UNITY

At its 1973 convention in DeKalb, Ill., the New American Movement passed a resolution directing the National Interim Committee to pursue exploratory talks about possible merger with the People's Party and the Socialist Party, U.S. No decision was to be made without the vote of the entire membership of NAM.

This year a number of groups and individuals have echoed and responded to the initiative toward unity which NAM voiced last year. The call for discussions of a new coalition, a new organization or even a new party has been taken up by a huge diversity of groups and organizations--a symptom of the subterranean ferment on the left toward greater unity and national coordination.

The NIC has been involved in such discussions in two national meetings, and a number of chapters and NAM members have been involved in local and regional discussions. Nationally, NIC representatives have met with representatives of the Interim Committee for a New Party, the Human Rights Party of Michigan, the People's Party national office, the Socialist Party, U.S., and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. On local and regional levels, NAM members have talked to a huge array of groups--representatives of the African Liberation Support Committee, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Rising Up Angry, the Black Panthers, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, La Raza, Wisconsin Alliance, the Cambridge Tenants Union and many others. NAM members have also debated the form the new party might take with representatives of Leninist tendencies on the Left, most notably in the Guardian debate.

All the discussions have been exploratory, with NAM representatives stressing that the organization can make no commitments without discussion by the entire membership and a full vote (moreover, up to this point the discussions have been too nebulous for there to be anything to vote on). NAM members have generally stressed several themes in all the discussions: NAM has been supportive of the initiative of the Interim Committee in discussing the possibilities for greater unity and a new party, but critical of the vagueness of the political definition of the discussions, and insistent on greater clarity about how a new group might actually be formed (the proposal for a "federation" made by the NIC and NY NAM members at the first national meeting was an effort to make more concrete the actual process of party formation; it grew out of the conviction that without some definite, clear steps

the discussions would come to nothing). NAM has stressed the centrality of openly socialist politics in any new formation, the necessity for socialist feminist politics, and the importance of any new formation being far more than simply an electoral party. NAM has also stressed the necessity for collective leadership, strong women's and third world leadership, and complete democracy in any new formation.

The next "national" meeting in June will involve a great diversity of groups on the Left (the PSP, the Black Panthers, the CWLU, NAM and many others); it is supposed to consider different proposals for how to proceed. The meeting will be before the final NIC meeting of this term, and the national convention, and thus the entire organization will be able to review any proposals that emerge from those discussions.



## NAMLIT

The following materials are available from the National Office.

Revolution and Democracy - a pamphlet written by Frank Ackerman and Harry Boyte. 50¢ per copy; 30¢ @ for 10 or more.

Impeachment Tabloid - an 8 page handout. \$4.00 per hundred.

Movin' On - What NAM is Doing - a 4 page tabloid describing chapter activities written last fall. \$2.00 per hundred.

"Political Economy of Sexism" by Kathryn Johnson and Peggy Somers - Free (a 25 copy limit).

The Political Perspective of the New American Movement - 25¢ per copy; 10¢ @ for 10 or more.

General Brochure - \$2.00 per hundred.

Discussion Bulletins #4, #6, & #7 - \$1.00 per copy.

Chapter Builder's Handbook - 5¢ per copy.

# Campus-bred values found adopted by working youths

Associated Press

New York, N.Y.

College students have grown more reconciled to society, but the spread of campus-bred values to working class youth could create new problems, pollster Daniel Yankelovich said Tuesday.

Yankelovich said interviews with about 3,500 young people between 16 and 25 show that the non-college majority are about where college students were in 1969 so far as moral and social attitudes are concerned.

"If America's work, education and political institutions prove to be flexible and responsive . . . we can look forward to a period of social stability, moderation in politics and perhaps even a resurgence of traditional American optimism about the future," he said.

"If, however, these institutions prove rigid and unresponsive and our political leadership shows insensitivity to the changing needs and values of our youth, then the underlying potential for discontent will become all too real and we will face a period of instability and demagoguery."

Yankelovich said the most disaffected young people are noncollege women, who see little chance of self-fulfillment either in families or in jobs. Vietnam veterans and blacks are also very disheartened, he said.

Other highlights of the youth survey:

■ In politics, most youths are political skeptics who feel "special interests" run the country.

■ Vietnam veterans have a sour impression about their efforts. Only half said things were going well in their lives—while 74 percent of non-vets, same ages, felt things going well. Thirty-three percent of the vets are without jobs. That's nearly twice the jobless percentage among non-vets.

■ Change in attitudes extends to authority — law, police and so on. Change here is in the direction of less automatic obedience.

■ Another change veers away from concepts of patriotism and automatic allegiance to "my country right or wrong."

College youths more strongly endorse the work ethic than they did in the sixties. The non college youths believe less in it than they did in the sixties.

The study of American youth was sponsored by the JDR 3rd (John D. Rockefeller III) Fund, the Carnegie Corp. of New York, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Hazen Foundation and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

## BEFORE AND UNTIL IMPEACHMENT

Brian Coyle, Minneapolis

Even though public opinion polls show an ever-increasing majority of Americans want Nixon removed from office and mounting evidence continues to prove his guilt, people are justifiably beginning to wonder if the President will be impeached.

One day, congresspersons are outraged defenders of the Constitution, railing against an Imperial Presidency on the evening news, and the next day, behind closed doors, they feebly grant Nixon the right to define the ground rules for their inquiry and what evidence is appropriate. One week's "shocking revelations" and "Constitutional showdown" ends up being the next weeks' slowdown and bore. About once every other month, a new projected scenario for impeachment is leaked to the press to raise public expectation, but somehow it never quite happens: Subpoena 'deadlines' are extended or similar subpoenas are embarrassingly submitted again; presentations which were to be televised are held in executive session; tapes which were to be aired are edited first by the President and then by Congress; months of staff research produces no new evidence; and what was to be "a solid Bill of Impeachment" just may become an equivocating "recommendation without prejudice."

Thus, the underlying dynamic of congressional and two-party ambivalence about impeachment will probably continue to perpetuate Nixon's Presidency unless an independent, popular opposition comparable to last fall's aroused citizenry is organized by radicals and grass roots independents to force decisive action in the people's interest.

For almost a year now, New American Movement, the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon and progressive organizations have understood that "the people have made impeachment a possibility and only the people can make sure it happens!" This understanding sustained our initial mass petitioning and educational work during and after the Senate Watergate hearings last summer. It enabled us to anticipate, catalyze and direct public outrage and spontaneous activity after the Saturday Night Massacre last fall. Because of it, we foresaw the need for more coordinated activity by our loose grass roots network during the winter and actively generated renewed national demonstrations of opposition to Nixon and his policies in the spring.

If, by late summer, Judiciary reports a bill of particulars out of committee and a full House vote nears, only a united, independ-

ent effort --one seeking to mobilize a majority movement larger in number and broader in make-up than the spring's militant but minority constituency-- can generate enough pressure to insure impeachment and again undertake united, mass action to insist on conviction. Since the "leading" liberal groups calling for impeachment have repeatedly demonstrated their political timidity and organizational chauvinism, only active intervention by independent radicals, organized socialists, and other progressives can help to pull together working coalitions of varied groups at both the local and national level for maximum effect during this time.

In a long-range sense, many contacts we make organizing for impeachment will last beyond impeachment. But we are still at the "before impeachment" stage now and organizing local Independence from Nixon Day celebrations on July 4th, renewing educational work and petitioning designed to pledge signers not to vote for legislators who fail to impeach, and building working coalitions or campaigns for united effort between the time Judiciary reports and the full House votes are all essential steps toward realizing our long awaited goal.

## NATIONAL STRUCTURE

The NIC discussed and unanimously adopted the broad outline for a new structure that it felt could meet urgent organizational needs. In the last year, the nature of NAM's functioning has become clearer: NAM exists as a kind of federation of local chapters, with periodic national meetings; the life of the organization above the chapter level is almost entirely defined by the Interim Committee and the National Office; there is little regular contact between chapters; there are many new and smaller chapters which do not feel a part of a dynamic ongoing national life; there are few effective channels for individual chapter

initiatives on program or strategy; the National Council has proven an ineffective and organizationally costly mechanism for maintaining a national life; the political discussions within national NAM have been confined to a relatively small circle of chapters (predominantly those represented by a NIC member).

For these reasons, and because we are in a period of considerable growth, the NIC feels it is a priority to create strong regional structures, to enlarge the pool of active leadership in the organization above a chapter level, and to integrate new chapters. It thus proposes a new structure which would:

- 1) abolish the National Council;
- 2) elect regional leadership committees of from 3 to 5 members (elected regionally, the number is subject to further discussion) in 5 regions, which would meet regularly (4 to 8 weeks), develop regional organizing strategies, regional conferences, mechanisms for integrating new chapters and developing inter-chapter communication, etc.;
- 3) elect a national leadership body (nationally) of from 7-10 (the number is still subject to discussion) that would meet about once a month, with national responsibilities for fund-raising, national coordination and media, etc.;
- 4) hold meetings 3 times a year between national conventions of both leadership levels to review the organization's work and program.

Following the NIC meeting, several members of the NIC discussed the future size of the national political body, and decided to submit another proposal to the bulletin, calling for an enlarged future NIC.

Harry Boyte, NIC

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From a weary National Office Staff: Our special thanks to the Minneapolis chapter people who helped in putting out the Discussion Bulletin #7 and without whose help it would not have gotten out in time.

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**money...**

**what  
we  
need**



Dues are overdue! The deadline for chapter dues and lists of dues-paying members was June 1. We need the money to cover the many expenses of the convention; and (as the stick said to the carrot) the number of votes a chapter has at the national convention is contingent on the number of dues-paying members it has. So keep those tens and twenties coming in.

**what  
we  
got**



# NIC NOTES

State of the Organization: Each region reported growth and activity (new groups are forming, for instance, in Michigan, California, Illinois, Maryland, and possibly several other areas). A couple of major campaigns: Harvard/Radcliffe organized a large strike support coalition for campus workers; Sanger in Durham is leading a major fight against plans for a new hospital. A couple of new local papers, in Binghamton and North Carolina. NAM's informal international delegation, Saralee Hamilton and Judy MacLean, are going to China this month. Reflecting the new growth and dialogue with other groups on the left, there was general agreement that the convention should be "ecumenical" -- open to different groups and collectives around the country.

Yet despite the encouraging signs, there are a number of organizational problems: a couple of small chapters have dissolved; the office is in a continuing financial crisis; there are many problems of communication between the national and local levels of organization (see the structure proposal and Sharon and Art's evaluation in the discussion bulletin); political discussion at the NIC often does not involve the entire organization. The NIC decided:

- to ask for a small amount (from \$10 to \$50 depending on chapter size) from each chapter for convention traveling;
- to invite a large number of groups, organizations, and movement press to the convention;
- to suggest major structural changes (see the proposal elsewhere in this newsletter and the discussion bulletin);
- to send greetings to the Chinese via Saralee and Judy;
- to reproduce inexpensively the Boyte/Ackerman - Guardian debate;
- to adopt a temporary political education program, with several "levels" of suggested readings, and to work on a permanent program.

Unity on the left: As reported in the last NIC meeting, a number of groups (especially the "mass party" committee initiated by Arthur Kinoy and the People's Party) have begun to pursue the question of unity on the left. The NIC discussed the last meeting between the groups (where Saralee, Roberta Lynch and Judy MacLean were the NAM representatives), the general climate on the left and in the country which favor unity and new growth for the left, and the kind of organizational forms that are needed in the present. The NIC decided:

- to hold a plenary on the discussions about unity on the left, with particular attention to the massive meeting called for June by the mass party people (at which a wide array of groups will discuss differences, points of agreement, new initiatives, etc.);
- to send two representatives to that meeting in June, with a "critical but interested" stance that emphasizes NAM's insistence that any new coalition or pre-party discussions openly adopt a socialist and socialist-feminist politics (since that time, the "mass party" people have expressed interest in NAM's sending regional representation as well);
- to have a panel at the convention which will debate two party "models" of an "activist party of a new type" and a primarily electoral party;
- to establish liason between the People's Party and NAM but not to recommend merger between the organizations at this time;
- to send comradely greetings to the convention of the Socialist Party, U.S.A.

Socialist-feminism: The discussion began with a consideration of the provocative piece that came out of the recent meeting in Minneapolis; in general the NIC discussed the need to address more seriously the development of socialism-feminism in NAM, the need for program that could speak to women's oppression and to the quality of life question; in specific terms, the NIC was sharply self-critical of its failure to deal adequately with recent mass developments and how NAM should relate to them; specifically, the NIC was self-critical about its failure to make coordinated plans for the recent Conference of Labor Union Women (CLUW); the NIC was also self-critical of its failure to discuss and plan for NAM's relations with NOW; NOW is a mass organization with a membership of nearly 40,000 and over 600 chapters; its leadership has been moving in socialist-femin-

ist directions; yet NAM has had no real discussion of how to relate to NOW. The NIC decided to:

- continue the discussion at the next meeting;
- hold a panel debate at the convention around socialist-feminist issues (possibly between Barbara Easton and Sara Evans Boyte);
- continue to develop structural and programmatic proposals for convention consideration;
- humanize aspects of the convention, and allow considerable free time and structured space in which socialist-feminist questions can be discussed;
- the men's caucus of the NIC decided to divide the men's caucus at the convention into three groups: one would address personal and auto-biographical questions that emerge in men's lives and in chapters; a second would address day to day problems of how to deal with sexism (on the job, with friends, in chapters, etc.); the third would consider programmatic possibilities around the issues of sexual oppression and the quality of life.

Program: A number of other programmatic questions were addressed in the meetings. Saralee gave a report on the Washington March; Mary talked about the Chicago coalition (and the disruptive role played by the Revolutionary Union throughout the events); Art described the successful coalition in LA. The NIC briefly evaluated NAM's participation in impeachment and energy crisis work, noting both the extraordinary energy and initiative shown by NAM in the last year, and the tendency toward self-effacement and lack of confidence that NAM has demonstrated in following through on what we initiate. Sharon gave a provocative and exciting report on her workplace struggles around the issues of worker/community control, describing the process that workers go through as they begin to understand their collective potential. John voiced the wide-spread sentiments in the organization to move toward some kind of clearer national program that would constitute a many sided NAM position on the "burning issues" before the nation. And the NIC discussed at some length the possibilities for NAM becoming a multi-racial, multi-national organization, concluding at the minimum that it has been a subject that is complex and that the NIC has too often avoided. The NIC decided:

- to have program workshops at the convention in a number of areas;
- to have two panels on "the workplace": one around theoretical questions of workplace strategy, the other around actual organizing practice; and a number of workplace small group discussions;
- to have a panel on nationalism and socialism at the convention;
- to discuss further the mechanisms through which a "program for America" might develop.

*Thanks*

WE WOULD LIKE TO GIVE OUR SPECIAL THANKS TO THE "FRIEND" WHO DONATED THE MONEY FOR A NEW MIMEOGRAPH MACHINE. WHOEVER YOU ARE, THANKS.

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**3rd National Convention  
Lexington, Ky. JULY 11-14**

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WSTU's annual May Day parade? Not exactly. It's the Alice and Trucking Theatre group protesting the cancellation of their play, *Battered Homes and Gardens*, at the Dayton Art Institute. Their play was banned by Dayton City Commissioners after the group staged a protest in downtown Dayton against Dayton's proposed city income tax. (photo by Mike Inderrieden)



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