

Moving On

MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The Citizens Party



*Barry Commoner
and LaDonna Harris.*

Al DiFranco

The Crash of 1980

Anti-Semitism on the Left

A New Black Political Party

Moving On

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1980

VOLUME IV, NO. 5

Towards a socialist America

EDITORS

Bill Barclay, Rick Kunnes,
Holly Graff

DESIGN DIRECTOR

Tom Greensfelder

PRODUCTION

Paul Comstock, Halli Lehrer,
Maureen Koerner, Diane Scott

Long View

THE CRASH OF 1980

by Robert Lekachman

The unresolved, almost unrecognized, American economic crisis concerns, in part, the distribution of an economic pie that refuses to get bigger. With only a limited left and declining working class militancy, right-center "solutions" have prevailed.

Comment

ANTI-SEMITISM ON THE LEFT

by Roger Gottlieb
and Miriam Greenspan

The left in this country has tended to gloss over the existence of anti-semitism and to ignore its existence within its own ranks.

Getting Together

A CITIZENS' CAMPAIGN

by Hardy Green
and David Dollar

The Citizens Party has taken important steps toward limiting the marginalization of "third" parties. NAM members have played a significant role in this important process.

TOWARD A BLACK POLITICAL PARTY

by Manning Marable

At its August 1980 convention the National Black Political Assembly moved to create a new political party. Marable discusses this decision and sketches the dialectic of race and class that informs the politics of the new party.

NAM News & Views

ALL THE NEWS

3

12

8

17

22



MOVING ON (USPS 467-810) is published bi-monthly by the New American Movement, 3244 N. Clark Street, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700. Subscription price: \$5 yearly.
SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Postmaster: Send address changes to Moving On, 3244 N. Clark Street, Chicago, IL 60657.

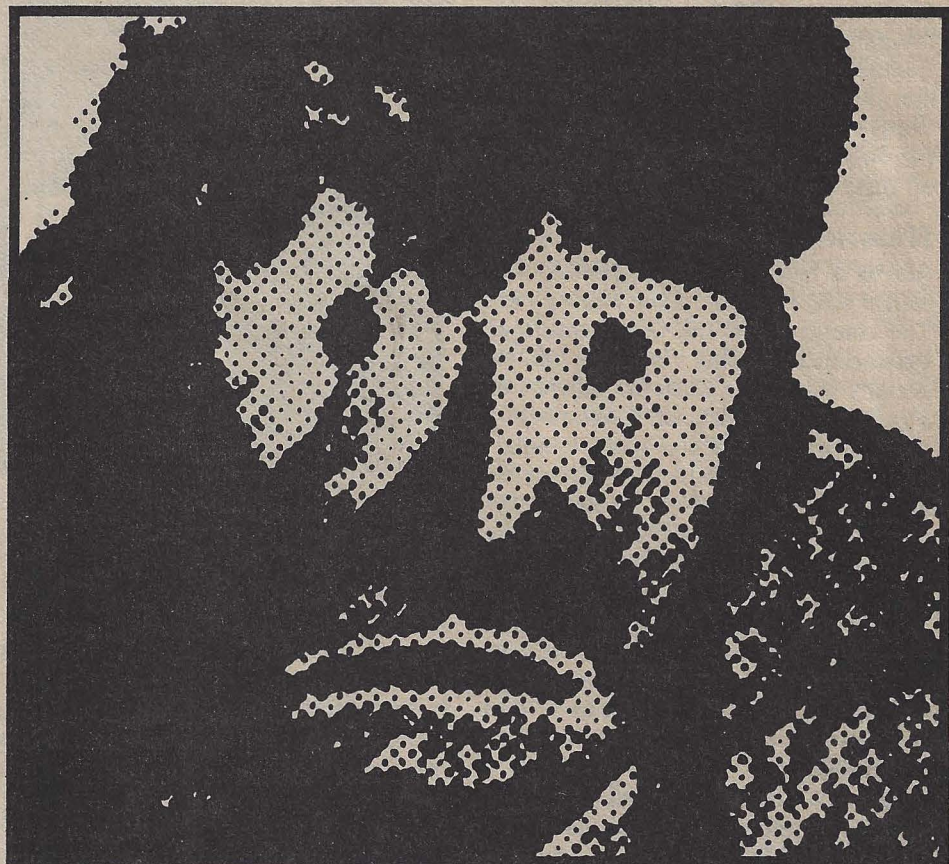
The Crash of 1980

By Robert Lekachman

THE RECESSION WE ARE NOW IN appears so grave that comparisons with the Great Crash of 1929 and the prolonged and deep depression of the 1930s inevitably arise. Although pundits to this day argue over the specific triggers of the October debacle half a century ago and the reasons why recovery was delayed until World War II solved mass unemployment in the usual way by putting millions of men and women into defense factories and the armed services, agreement is general that if the unsound structure of international trade and finance did not cause the calamity, it surely exacerbated it.

Before World War I, this country was a net debtor to the Europeans. The war transformed the relationship. The United States emerged as the globe's major creditor and its dominant industrial producer. England, France and Italy, which had officially won the war, were nearly as much damaged by its

Robert Lekachman is Distinguished Professor of economics, Lehman College, the City University of New York, and a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).



Illustrations are details from cartoons by Art Young.

consequences as officially vanquished Germany. All four countries suffered appalling casualties. Another of the Great War's legacies was a massive debt burden. The Germans owed reparations to the French, English, Belgians and Italians. For their part, the victors owed the billions loaned by the United States to finance purchases of wood and munitions.

Avoiding World War II

It is barely possible that Germany, if permitted to do so, could have exported enough merchandise and services to the United States, England and the rest of the world to accumulate the balance-of-payments surpluses needed to fulfill its heavy obligations. If it had done so, the European winners could and, no doubt, would have smoothly remitted their own debt installments to the United States and all parties would have lived

happily ever after. But, as John Maynard Keynes presciently argued in his 1919 polemic, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, the Versailles Treaty deliberately crippled the German economy by shearing away Silesia, Alsace, Lorraine and the Saar, the country's major sources of iron and coal and, into the bargain, expropriating the entire German merchant fleet as reparations. Determined to eliminate German competition in world markets, the winners, including the United States, kept tariffs high enough for all practical purposes to exclude German manufacturer's from their shores.

Nevertheless, there was a way for all the actors temporarily to honor their debts. The Young and Dawes plans for the funding of German reparations implicitly committed their American sponsors to floating new loans to the Germans in American capital markets. The

proceeds from them financed German reparations to the Allies, who remitted equivalent sums to the Americans. So long as American banks, investors and politicians were willing to initiate a shuffle of funds eastward across the Atlantic to Germany, the money in good time was sure to return headed west to the United States. All parties high-mindedly ignored the linkages among the transactions, above all the certainty that the moment the Germans defaulted, the ability of the French and English to repay their own debts would abruptly vanish. As some may recall, "brave little Finland" was celebrated as the only American debtor that paid up on time through the entire Depression.

Historical Echoes

Across a half-century, disquieting historical echoes quiver in the atmosphere. The emergence of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and especially its Middle Eastern members as a global power marks an economic and political event of a size quite comparable to the novel American dominion after World War I. Now as earlier, the power shift reflects itself in the creation and distribution of new assets and liabilities. By some estimates, OPEC this year will extract from its customers a tidy \$100 billion more than it purchases from countries unlucky enough to possess no oil wells or too few of them to heat their homes and fuel their automobiles.

On such numbers hang several tales. Western Europe, Japan and the United States can more or less cope, though at considerable cost to internal growth and employment, with the financial imposition of petroleum prices which, since 1973, have multiplied fourteen- or fifteenfold, by conservative estimates. They jostle one another to sell the oil exporters everything from food, through telephone systems and ready-made harbors, to the latest in fighter planes and tanks. Awash in cash, the Saudis, Kuwaitis and lesser producers make huge deposits in Citibank, Morgan Guaranty, Chase and other money-market banks. Through massive purchases of Treasury notes, they have become the proud owners of an increasing share of the American national debt. Saudis backed the Hunts in their modest attempt to corner the world's silver market.

Although the rich countries have grave and growing troubles of their own, their difficulties are largely self-inflicted.

Those most threatened by OPEC are developing nations without oil, a category that includes most of Africa except Algeria, Libya and Nigeria; Latin America except Venezuela, Ecuador and Mexico, and Southeast Asia. Out of their scanty export earnings, they are no more able to finance OPEC reparations than the Germans were to meet the demands of World War I winners. Much as before, the response of the rich



to the plight of the poor features as a crucial element in vast loans by American banks, this time to such borrowers as Peru, South Korea, Turkey, Brazil and Zaire. These and other debtor nations transfer the proceeds to OPEC. This is the phenomenon universally termed recycling and usually celebrated as a triumph of market response to exigencies of unusual gravity.

Return for a moment to 1929. By the middle of that year, American investors and speculators had become comparatively uninterested in foreign loans and increasingly fascinated by lucrative domestic possibilities, among them common stocks which were absolutely certain to enrich patriotic believers in the American dream of affluence, Florida real estate, much of it belatedly identified as under water, and other outlets for avarice. Once the American props were withdrawn, the rickety structure of reparations and war debts in short order collapsed.

In 1980, scenarios of plausible disaster are far more numerous than they were in 1929. In reprisal for non-progress on the Palestinian issue, OPEC may resort to selective or total boycott of the rich industrial importers. Nor, after last year's seizure of the Grand Mosque, can the possibility of a fundamentalist Islamic revolution in Saudi Arabia of the Iranian variety be excluded. The

world petroleum market has adjusted to the loss of all but a small fraction of Iranian oil. There is no chance that market could cope with the disappearance of the 9.5 million barrels now daily pumped from their seemingly inexhaustible sands by the Saudis.

What Else Can Go Wrong?

Less apocalyptic disturbances abound. OPEC may decide to denominate its exports in Swiss francs or German marks with damaging impact upon the value of the dollar and the already eroding position of the United States in world markets. On sheerly economic grounds, OPEC members may conclude that their elixir is more valuable in the ground than on current sale. Sharp cuts in output might readily double or treble today's oil prices. Oil at \$100 a barrel is the sort of nightmare that the contemporary world often converts into grisly fact. Again on rational calculation, Middle Eastern producers may decide, in the wake of the freezing of Iranian assets, that it might be only prudent to transfer \$10 billion, \$20 billion, or \$30 billion of their deposits in American banks to calmer havens in Switzerland and Liechtenstein. On similar grounds, they may sell enough of their holdings of Treasury bills and other Federal obligations to completely disorganize financial markets.

What else can go wrong? The second step in the recycling process entails huge loans by American banks, made possible by OPEC deposits, to developing lands without oil. It is common gossip that the interest on these loans, let alone repayments of principal, is absorbing huge and expanding percentages of export earnings, slowing plans for economic development and imperiling the continuity of many regimes. On normal commercial grounds, a prudent lender would refuse to renew, much less enlarge, these shaky loans as they come due. In reality, lenders find themselves in a no-win dilemma. If they demand payment, debtors will default and in the process erode the solvency of both debtors and creditors. On the other hand, renewal of dubious loans merely postpones the moment of unavoidable default, presumably until the current crop of bank executives retires.

No Plausible Resolution

I reiterate the obvious when I note that no resolution to the recycling di-

lemma is politically plausible. Rich consumers have done little to reduce their dependence upon OPEC, either by genuine conservation or development of renewable sources of energy. Quite naturally, OPEC wants rich countries (whom it is gradually rendering less rich) to continue the loans to the Third World which OPEC can well afford to finance. The Third World goes along with current arrangements partly because it is too weak to do anything else, partly out of comprehensible joy at the pain of the Europeans and Americans and partly out of hope of special concessions from OPEC.

One should not push historical parallels too far. The seven years since OPEC struck in the wake of the Yom Kippur War have not been a time of prosperity like the 1920's. Indeed, OPEC and the failures of political response by affluent countries have generated a stagflation now being superseded by depression which masks a dangerous and generally ignored crisis of distribution. Political harmony and social peace even of the fragile American variety have been premised upon steady growth in per capita Gross National Product. Since World War II, the substitute for redistribution of income and wealth in the direction of diminished inequality has been the promise of small but dependable improvements in real earnings for average blue-and white-collar wage slaves.

The era of rapid growth has ended. Each year, the United States transfers to OPEC a substantial percentage of attainable growth. OPEC is by no means the only reason why growth has slowed. As a society, Americans in general and major corporations in particular have just begun to meet the overdue bills of environmental pollution, damage to worker health, product defects and racial inequality. Efforts to repair the damage are essential, but they consume resources that might otherwise be used to fabricate consumer goods. For these and other reasons, productivity, as the statisticians measure that mysterious concept, has been refusing to grow. In 1979, per capita output actually declined.

All over the developed world, growth rates have declined for these and allied reasons. As Marx realized in the nineteenth century, capitalism

is a system that survives only as it expands. Producers and advertisers have devoted themselves with conspicuous success to the generation of consumer wants and the creation of consumer anticipations that take home pay will rise enough to enable large adults and tiny children in consumer training to gratify most of the tastes they are teased and coaxed into acquiring. In the grand

In 1929, investors withdrew from the foreign market and it collapsed. Now the scenarios of plausible disasters are more numerous.

old days of nineteenth-century capitalism, red in tooth and claw, the normal political reaction to OPEC-like events was a refusal to create new money, downward pressure on other prices because purchasers had less money to buy other products and massive unemployment. The poor and humble were instructed that depression was either a natural calamity, a punishment by a vengeful deity for their profligacy, or both.

Since Keynes, the customers who are also voters have learned a different lesson. On expert authority, they expect their governments to prevent serious recession and guarantee forever-rising living standards. Even in Jimmy Carter's conservative and disordered Administration, both Congress and the President felt constrained to offer lip service to full employment in the rhetoric of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act.

Concealing Costs

The generally pro-business governments of Western Europe, Japan and our own country have reacted to OPEC not by sensible and equitable controls and national planning but, according to the adroitness of their leaders, by either concealing the employment costs of the recessions they were creating or printing enough additional money to validate new

claims for higher wages and more profits. The Germans and Swiss sent their guest workers home and raised Italian, Yugoslav, Spanish and Turkish unemployment. Economist Lester Thurow has calculated that if U.S. employers had laid off as large a percentage of the American labor force as the Germans expelled in that year, unemployment would have risen to approximately 16 percent.

Too weak, too confused and too conservative to fight for general price controls, selective wage controls and gasoline rationing at the start of his Administration, President Carter was left with only two policy alternatives. He might have deliberately initiated a recession by a combination of encouragement to the Federal Reserve to limit money growth and tighten credit and fiscal stringency in the form of higher taxes and reduced Federal spending. To his credit, he selected the other remaining possibility, monetary accommodation. This jargon translates into expansion of the money supply by an amount substantial enough to satisfy the dollar demands of unions and stockholders as well as the latest prices posted by OPEC. Unhappily, slow growth and static or declining worker productivity did not and do not allow money incomes in real terms to grow as fast as they do in dollar measures. More money does not buy more goods. It merely raises the prices of those that are available.

As all the economic actors got a fix on what was happening, inflation began to accelerate. When productivity is zero, the "right" noninflationary wage increase is zero. But with the cost of living until very recently soaring at 18 percent annual rates, neither unions nor employers really expected to settle without substantial wage improvements, zero productivity or no zero productivity. Even Mayor Edward Koch, New York City's beloved Scrooge, has reluctantly offered some thing to his favorite targets, the municipal labor unions. Wage hikes, particularly in an inflationary environment, are rapidly converted into price increases, and higher prices are a sufficient justification for union pressure for more generous cost-of-living clauses in their contracts. As the price level ascends, automatic increases in Social Security benefits and contracts indexed to wholesale or retail price indexes are set in motion. Prices rise because wages rise and wages rise

Big discounts for Moving On subscribers from South End Press:

BETWEEN LABOR & CAPITAL

Pat Walker, Editor (List price \$4.75)

John and Barbara Ehrenreichs' controversial theory of the professional managerial class, plus comments and criticisms by Stanley Aronowitz, E.O. Wright and eight others.

UNORTHODOX MARXISM

Michael Albert & Robin Hahnel (List price \$4.80)

"The spectre of reality haunts orthodox Marxist theory," say the authors, and they weave a new theoretical approach which takes account of the centrality of race, sex, class and authority in our society.

Buy 1 or both books at the special price of only \$2.95 each (includes shipping cost.)

NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657

Subscribe !

To a socialist magazine for activists.

Moving On is a magazine unique in its scope and perspective. Each month **Moving On** covers labor, the women's movement, minorities, culture and international events. It doesn't just report, it analyzes, probes, or lets organizers speak in their own voices.

And its one of the very few publications committed to democratic socialism and to activism. Because it can take an articulate stand on an issue while leaving an open space for differing views. And because it is part of an organization, the **New American Movement**, that is working to translate its words into political action. Subscribe today.

- \$5 regular subscription
- \$10 sustaining subscription
- \$25 contributing subscription

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Moving On

3244 N. Clark St. Chicago, IL 60657

because prices rise. As the players become more sophisticated, they try to anticipate the next upward twirl of the spiral and in so doing accelerate the pace of inflation. The upshot is a basic inflation rate, quite aside from OPEC's contribution, of 9 percent, according to the Council of Economic Advisers, or 10 percent by the computations of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. Each figure measures the excess of average wage increases over productivity improvements.

The Sovereign Cure

With increasing wistfulness economists in and out of the Administration took to predicting recession in 1978 and 1979 as the sovereign cure for mounting rates of inflation. On inspection, the refusal of this insistently heralded contraction to arrive on schedule is far from mysterious. Average working families sustained in two ways their customary standard of life at a time when real wages in factories and offices were declining. Women went to work, for the most part at semi-skilled, ill-paid jobs in supermarkets, offices and factories. In addition, more and more Americans stopped saving and went ever more heavily into debt.

By March of this year, the national savings rate declined to 3 percent, a historic low and a small fraction of German and Japanese rates. Americans were running out of money and getting worried about the size of their monthly installment and credit card liabilities. Moreover, in weakening labor markets, fewer jobs were open to women and, probably, most of the women eager to enter the labor market had already done so. The National Bureau of Economic Research, official custodian of business cycle dating, recently announced that the 1980 recession began in January.

But the reasons why the decline has been so steep and the collapse of retail sales, construction, the market for autos and the net income of farmers so startling go back to last summer. After several days on his Camp David mountain top, President Carter informed his constituents that they were suffering from malaise and, for his part, fired half his Cabinet. Among the victims were Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal. to that position he moved the accommodating G. William Miller, only recently appointed Federal Reserve Chairman. Assorted gnomes in Switzerland, West Germany, Lon-

don's City and our own Wall Street instructed the President that they expected him to appoint a valiant warrior against inflation, a sound-money hero, a banker resolute in his determination to endure bravely the bankruptcy and unemployment of others. Everyone agreed that just the man was Paul Volcker, the president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank and follower of Milton Friedman. In November, 1979, the Federal Reserve Board announced that it was going to slow drastically the rate of monetary expansion, tighten credit and allow interest rates to rise as high as they like.

In spite of this sturdy edict, inflation accelerated. In March, with the maladroit timing for which it is famous, the Fed decided, with the cooperation of Jimmy Carter, who invoked his credit allocation powers under a 1969 statute, to restrict credit further and more specifically. Banks were urged to curtail speculative loans, except of course to worthy exceptions like the Hunt brothers. The Fed also restricted consumer credit, in particular the use of credit cards. The message was startling to citizens inured to the exhortations of American Express, Master Charge and Visa to sign up in a hurry and deploy their bits of plastic as magic money, a variation upon the alchemist's dream of transmutating lead into gold. More prosaically, credit cards turned plastic into paper money. Now both the Fed and the President implied strongly that consumer credit was, if not immoral and fattening, at the least unpatriotic. Families already concerned about their financial situations now were treated to precisely the psychological reinforcement to keep them out of store and showroom in droves.

Recession? Depression.

In sum, the business expansion which began in 1975 and ended at the start of this year was sustained two years past its natural term of life mostly on the fuel of consumer spending. It was an unwholesome prosperity which masked substantial redistribution of income and wealth from average wage earners to corporate executives, stockholders, property developers and the big oil companies. Avram Kisslegoff, in a recent study for the impeccably conservative National Bureau of Economic Research, once more demonstrated what any sensible soul intuitively held to be obvious: that Exxon and its mam-

moth colleagues have sharply increased their profits since 1973. OPEC and the oil companies are natural allies. Every price boost by the former inflates the earnings of the latter. Americans pay one monopoly price to OPEC and another to their own oil companies.

Thus it has come about that Carter, the apostle of the free market, has chosen, in sequence, both inflation and deep recession. Let us use the correct



work for the latter—depression. Although the unneedy fared well during inflation, price explosions in the end frighten investors, damage export competitiveness and encourage even larger sales of Japanese autos and electronics.

It will serve Carter right if he loses his re-election bid because of continued economic deterioration and increasing mass unemployment. If Carter escapes appropriate punishment it will be only because the public begins to listen to Ronald Reagan and is sufficiently horrified by what it hears to spare our Jimmy a trip to Plains.

Carter has been called the most conservative President since Calvin Coolidge. Although the charge appears to neglect the claims of Dwight Eisenhower and Gerald Ford, it must be noted that even Richard Nixon in 1971 displayed more concern for jobs than Carter. The ninety-day freeze imposed in August of that year was succeeded by thirteen months of comparatively effective controls over incomes and prices.

With not the slightest joy, I foresee an exceptionally deep and prolonged slump. Even a substantial tax cut, the favored conservative response, is unlikely to reverse the economic engines. Frightened consumers are

more likely to pay their bills or strive to rebuild their depleted savings accounts than to hasten obediently back to market. Confronted by idle equipment and unneeded factories, corporations are more likely to postpone than enlarge new investment in plant and machinery. In their present mood, neither Congress nor the President seems ready to endorse effective action: massive creation of public jobs coupled with gasoline rationing and appropriate controls over prices and incomes.

A "Good" Depression

From the standpoint of corporate board rooms, a good traditional depression has its merits. Multinational corporations can substitute overseas markets and investments for their American counterparts. Heavy domestic unemployment weakens unions, tightens labor discipline, lowers labor costs, depoliticizes the campuses and encourages politicians to reduce business taxes and loosen annoying regulations on behalf of worker health and safety, product reliability and environmental protection. Since its gaudy 1975 fiscal crisis, New York City's fragile revival has been premised on the emergence of the metropolitan area as a low-wage haven. One of Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose* propaganda exercises celebrated the sweatshops in which the nobel laureate's mother toiled as an immigrant to this country. There is good news. The sweatshops have returned to the Big Apple. With good corporate luck, they will spread to the rest of the country.

To return to my starting point, the unresolved, almost unrecognized, American crisis concerns the distribution of an economic pie that refused to get bigger. Since ours is a conservative society in which the voices of the left are faint, the reaction so far has been to maintain or actually increase the share of property income and commensurately diminish the proceeds of labor. Whoever wins in November will administer a disordered economy in which nasty zero-sum games will be played by all organized interests. Our future may hold the sort of corporate planning currently favored by Felix Rohatyn. Or we may be slipping in the direction of Bertram Gross's friendly fascism. Such speculations are best saved for another essay. □

This article was reprinted with permission from The Nation.

SOME OF OUR BEST FRIENDS...

by Roger Gottlieb
and Miriam Greenspan

IT IS ALWAYS EASY TO DISCUSS racism and sexism as practiced by other people, and it is difficult to discuss racism and sexism as practiced by ourselves. But we of the left are part of a racist and sexist society, and we must remember that we inevitably suffer from the same attitudes and take part in the same practices of racism and sexism that we seek to end. Our racism and sexism will be overcome only if we directly recognize, confront, and struggle against it within ourselves. There have been some significant attempts on the left to struggle against sexism and some forms of racism, but this has not been true in the case of anti-semitism. For the most part, the left in this country has tended to gloss over the very existence of anti-semitism anywhere in the world and to ignore anti-semitism within its own ranks.

Some Examples

Let's be clear from the beginning. Anti-semitism includes the genocide

Roger Gottlieb and Miriam Greenspan are founding members of the Boston Committee to Challenge Anti-Semitism. Roger is also an at-large member of NAM.

committed by the Nazis, the attempted destruction of Jewish cultural identity in the Soviet Union, and the propaganda engaged in by Iran under Khomeini which represents Jews as ruling the world. But anti-semitism is not limited to these extreme and direct examples nor to the continuing discrimination sanctioned in this country through practices such as the exclusion of Jews from certain suburbs. Anti-semitism also includes insensitivity to the Jewish history and to the importance of appropriate mechanisms for the expression of Jewish cultural identity. In these last two regards the U.S. left has been guilty of anti-semitism both through insensitivity to Jewish concerns in regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict and through numerous *omissions*.

Let's take a look, then, at some examples of *our* anti-semitism:

—NACLA, a well-respected leftist think-tank focusing on Latin America, published a pamphlet (Vol. 11, No.1) about reactionary movements in Argentina. The anti-semitic aspects of that reaction—including newspaper editorials denouncing Jews, threats to Jewish communities, bombing of synagogues and murders—were not even mentioned.

—At an anti-Klan rally in Boston (Fall, 1979) only one of several speakers was slated to discuss the KKK advocacy of “finishing the job Hitler started.” This speaker was scheduled to go last and had her three-minute speech arbitrarily cut off the program because “time was running out.” When the rally organizers were criticized for their possible anti-semitism, they replied that the issue was a personal matter to be taken up between the speaker and the person who chaired the rally.

—At International Women's Week in Amherst, Mass., (Spring, 1980), a forum was planned on “Progressive Women's Movements in the Middle East.” At the request of the Palestinian speaker, the appearance of a Jewish woman who was to talk about

the Israeli feminist movement was cancelled. It was argued that because this Jewish woman supported a two-state solution rather than the destruction of Israel, she could not be considered “progressive.”

—An article focusing on the New Right in the left-wing history journal *Radical America* (Winter, 1977-8) managed to ignore the anti-semitism of such groups as the KKK and the American Nazi Party.

—In dozens of books, articles, demonstrations, conferences and rallies, Leftists have deplored, berated and critiqued Israel and Zionism. Time after time, there has been little or no mention of and little or no serious concern with, the history of anti-semitism, the reality of the Holocaust, the fears and experiences of the Jews who live in Israel and the Jews who live in the rest of the world.

I could go on but I won't. Nor do I want to argue, right here, the ins and outs of what exactly our position should be on the Middle East conflict (I have done so in *Socialist Review*, No. 47), nor what (in the above examples) exactly constitutes anti-semitism. The point, rather, is that people on the Left participate in or ignore anti-semitism partly because we simply have not thought or talked about it very much. How many articles in Left magazines focus on it? How many study groups read about it? How many Jewish Leftists examine precisely what their Jewish experience and oppression have meant to them, as female or black Leftists have begun to do with their experience? How many times are Leftists criticized for using anti-semitic stereotypes (such as the “Jewish American Princess”)?

It is also important to emphasize that the problem of anti-semitism is not a new one. At its 1891 conference, the Second International, an organization of socialist political parties, rejected a clear resolution condemning anti-semitism. More recently, during its “extreme left” phase (1927-35), the

U.S. Communist Party expressed overtly anti-Jewish attitudes for which it later criticized itself. These historical examples, like the contemporary ones I have mentioned, could be multiplied. There is no need to do so since my aim is simply to emphasize that the left has a real problem. We have a long way to go.

Anti-Semitic Attitudes

Let's begin with the obvious. For at least 2000 years the West has been an anti-semitic culture. Anti-semitic images, stereotypes, beliefs, and attitudes are embedded in and reinforced by Christianity and other Western institutions. At the most basic level, this anti-semitism involves the belief that there is something fundamentally wrong in being Jewish. What this wrongness consists in will vary from time to time, from place to place, and from point of view to point of view.

Jews might be wrong because we are not Christians or because we are not ready to join in the "universal" culture of a particular nation-state. We might be wrong because we are rich bankers or dirty communists. Jewish mothers are condemned for being pushy and domineering, and Jewish victims of the Holocaust are condemned for supposed passivity in the concentration camps. In each case, Jews are not only in themselves wrong, but "being Jewish" always makes "it" worse. The Jewish banker is the richest, the most conniving, and the most exploitative. The Jewish communist is the most rabble-rousing and disloyal.

If Jews are by definition wrong; and if being Jewish always makes it worse, then the oppression of Jews can be easily tolerated and the reality of Jewish identity, Jewish hopes, fears and needs can be easily denied. These attitudes which are prevalent in the larger society are also found within the left, not just because the left reflects that society, but also because some fundamental problems in socialist



Tom Greensfelder

ANTI-SEMITISM ON THE LEFT

thought reinforce these attitudes. Two of these problems—a mistaken economism and a mistaken universalism—are especially important.

Economism

I want to use the term “economism” to mean the belief that only one’s economic position is relevant to one’s political life. One expression of economism is the belief that the only significant form of oppression is economic exploitation and that only such exploitation is an appropriate organizing focus. Economism cannot grasp the nature of Jewish oppression because economism tends to see groups as fixed once and for all into roles of oppressors and victims and to see the victim role as being defined exclusively by economic situation.

The Jewish condition, however, eludes this way of thinking. Jews have been minorities in lands populated by peoples of different cultures and religions. This minority condition has typically (but not exclusively) been combined with characteristic economic and social functions. Economically, Jews have handled money—rent, taxes, trade, commerce—in economies where few other people have these skills. Politically, Jews have been intermediaries between the ruling class and the local peasantry or working class.

This highly unstable condition has meant that Jews have been subject to periodic waves of anti-semitism, rather than to a steady and unchanging condition of oppression. These waves occur when the “natives” of a country seek to take over economic functions played by the Jews; or when the unrest of lower classes can be successfully directed away from their real enemy and on to the Jews. Thus the murder of tens of thousands of Jews during the Crusades reflected the desire of gentile merchants to take over the trade routes controlled by Jewish merchants. And thus the rise of racial anti-semitism in Bismarck’s Germany was part of Bismarck’s attempt to split and weaken

socialist, labor and liberal movements in that country. In the contemporary Soviet Union, discontent with a failing economy and police state politics has likewise been focused against the Jewish population. With this history of waves of pogroms, expulsions, inquisitions and holocausts, a complex analysis is necessary. To an economic leftist who sees only the present—and in the present Jews in the U.S. and Europe are fairly well off economically and socially—the reality of anti-semitism is invisible until the next wave hits.

A Mistaken Universalism

The second mistake common to left thought that I want to emphasize is a mistaken universalism. This is the belief that the victory of socialism requires a total blending of national cultures into one homogenous mass. Many socialist theoreticians have believed this blending to require an ending of Jewish national identity and that Jewish liberation required—and would lead to—Jewish assimilation.

Universalism is mistaken on at least three counts. First, it assumes that cultural differences create racial or national antagonisms and that if different cultural groups did not exist, such phenomena as anti-semitism or race prejudice would vanish. This position ignores the fact that it is not cultural differences which lead to pogroms, lynchings and bigotry, but conditions of our lives which make other people a threat to us. Without economic competition, material scarcity, class domination and ideological manipulation, cultural differences would not lead to hatred of people of different religions, races or cultures.

Second, left universalists usually assume that “being Jewish” is simply a matter of religion. Since religion is the “opium of the masses,” there is no reason for Jews to cling to their Jewishness. In the words of Karl Kautsky, a leading Marxist intellectual for twenty-five years, “We cannot say we have completely emerged from the

Middle Ages as long as Judaism still exists among us.” (*Are the Jews a Race?*, published 1926.)

But Jewish identity is not based solely on religious beliefs. It includes a sense of peoplehood—a shared tradition which celebrates the continuity of Jewish survival against overwhelming odds. It is also based on recognition by Jews of our fundamental vulnerability in the world and on the knowledge that not religious belief, but anti-semitism, decides “who is the Jew.” The fires of Holocaust consumed the most assimilated of modernized Jews alongside the most pious of Rabbis.

Finally the universalist ignores the fact that the golden, universal culture to which Jews are supposed to assimilate simply does not exist. What exists, rather, is a dominant, non-Jewish culture. In the U.S., this culture is, among other things, Christian. Thus Jews are asked to commit cultural suicide by people who are so entrenched in the dominant culture that they mistakenly take it to be “universal.”

We do not need the myopia of cultural chauvinism or a mistaken universalism. We do not need the assimilation of all minority cultures into the dominant one. Rather, we need the mutual interaction of different cultures, as well as their continual and creative transformation and improvement.

Point and Counterpoint

There are a number of familiar arguments to which I would like to reply briefly. One such argument states that “Anti-semitism may exist, but it just isn’t that important. We have to give priority to class oppression, racism and sexism.”

Anti-semitism is important, I believe, because *all* forms of oppression are important. The claim that it is not important is itself an aspect of anti-semitism, a way of denying the significance of Jewish experience.

Also, I would question the entire framework of comparing the importance of different types of oppression.

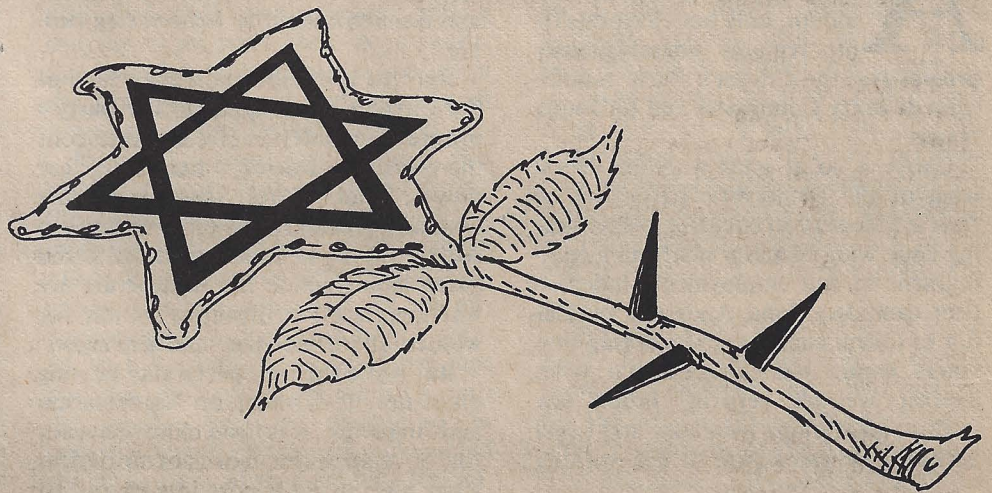
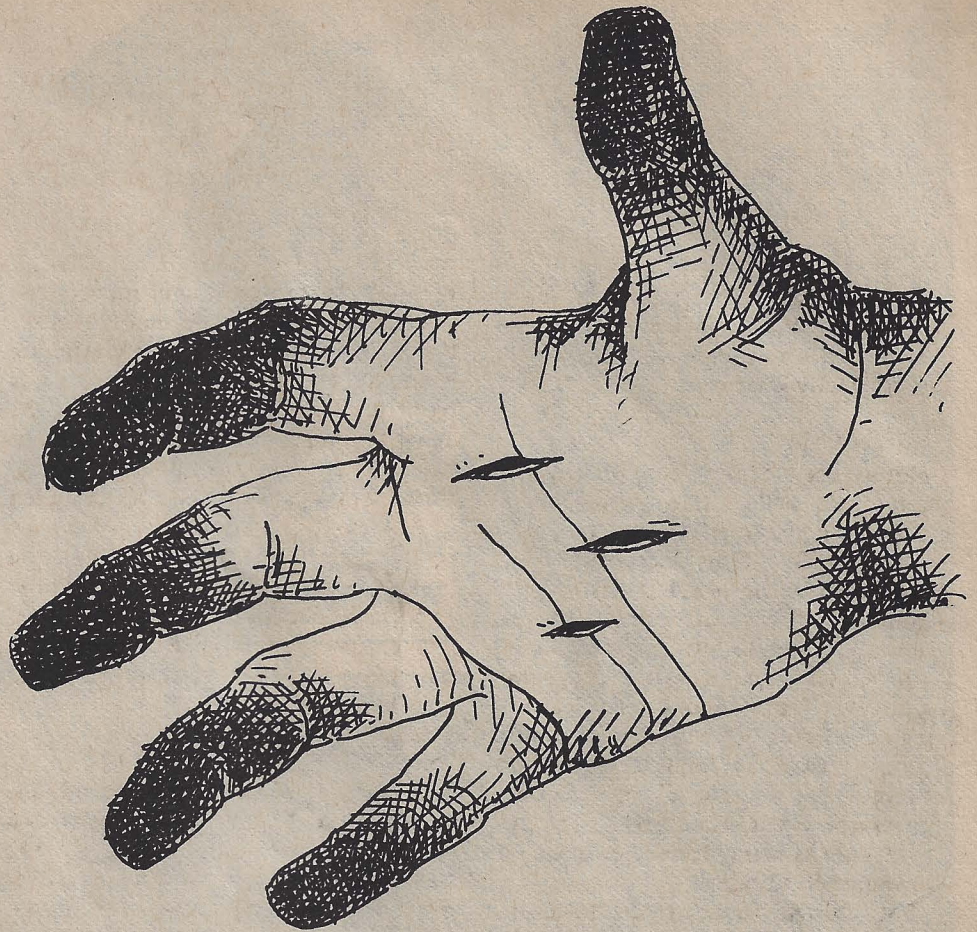
Do we want a politics that plays off the suffering of Native Americans against that of Puerto Ricans, that compares the "importance" of defending the rights of male homosexuals to those of lesbians, or that tries to measure the Holocaust against poverty in black ghettos?

Another argument states, "Many of the people you are criticizing are Jewish. How can Jews be anti-semitic?" But let us remember that Phyllis Schlafly is a woman. That does not keep her from putting forward a viciously sexist attack on the E.R.A., on women's right to control their bodies and on women's self-respect. Also, before the contemporary development of women's liberation most women on the Left participated in their own oppression by accepting sexist politics and practices.

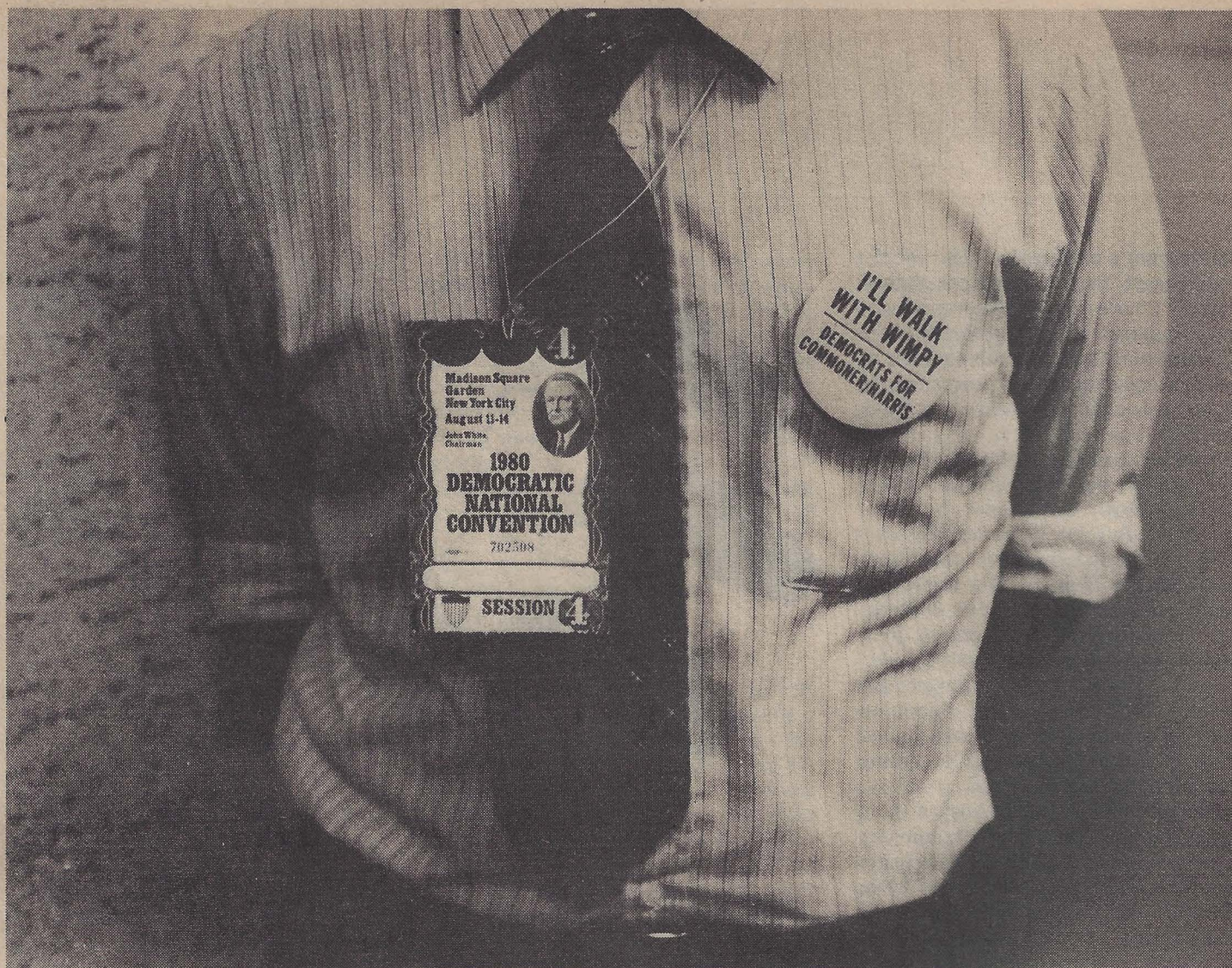
Lastly, "There may be such a thing as anti-semitism on the Left, but you confuse it with anti-Zionism. These are two completely different things." No, these are *not* two completely different things. Any attack on Zionism as such—i.e., on the belief that some form of independent Jewish state in Israel is legitimate if it is democratically chosen by Jews who live there—rejects the national rights of the Jewish people. It also ignores the material and emotional bond between Jews all over the world and Israel. Almost every Jew in the world is a Zionist, because almost every Jew is aware, to some degree or other of how Israel is partly a response both to thousands of years of European and Moslem anti-semitism and to the Holocaust.

Of course, these facts do not justify the policies of the Israeli government towards the Palestinian people, any more than the facts of the U.S. imperialism justify repressive regimes in a number of third-world countries. But there reflections on Jewish history do put Zionism and Israel into a perspective which a simple and simple-minded distinction between "anti-semitism" and "anti-Zionism" totally obscures.

Continued on page 16.



Tom Greensfelder



Robert Gumpert

By Hardy Green and David Dollar

AS THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL campaign moves into its final month, only one electoral effort remains **unambiguously progressive**: the Citizen's Party candidacies of Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris.

Carter is so at odds with the liberal wing of the Democratic party that he feels it necessary to circulate a letter taking issue with his party platform's commitment to full employment. Independent candidate John Anderson reaches out to liberal constituencies, asking that voters ignore his Congressional votes against welfare reform, labor law reform, food stamp increases, and Legal Services. Reagan's plan to aid working

Hardy Green and David Dollar are members of New York NAM.

people includes outlawing union shop agreements, lowering the minimum wage, and cutting back on job-creating programs in order to boost military spending. Only Commoner and Harris stand committed to a program of peace and economic security for working people.

But this is by no means the whole of the Citizens Party agenda. The party's program includes public ownership of the energy industries, a halt to nuclear power, and social control of big business. Further, the party has taken strong stands in favor of those social issues upon which the Democrats are waffling; e.g., affirmative action for women and minorities, and gay rights.

But while the new party may be long on issues, it is short on organization and financing. It is hard to raise money for a campaign that acknowledges from the start that it has no chance of winning in 1980 and whose best hope is to get enough attention and support to

survive. For at the heart of the Citizens Party's effort is the belief in the long-run possibility of political realignment—of a disaffiliation of certain forces currently supporting the Democratic Party and of their joining together with currently unaligned elements around a new political program.

Four constituencies in particular are necessary for such a process of political realignment: the no-nukes, pro-renewable energy and environmentalist groups, among which there is no pre-eminent organization; the women's and gay liberation forces, arrayed in a number of organizations from NOW and the National Gay Task Force to small local collectives; minority communities, especially blacks, who have a wide variety of political organizations from the NAACP, CORE, PUSH and the Black United Front to community-oriented organizations; and the labor movement, the most powerful and organized of these forces.

Substantial sectors of each of these constituencies are continuing to support Carter in 1980 in spite of the fact that he has demonstrated little sympathy for their issues or programs. The more radical elements in each movement, on the other hand, have become increasingly disaffected from Carter and the Democratic Party. The experience of the 1970s shows that this kind of disaffection can lead in many different directions. The challenge of the Citizens Party campaign in 1980 was to begin bringing these disaffected elements together in a united electoral effort.

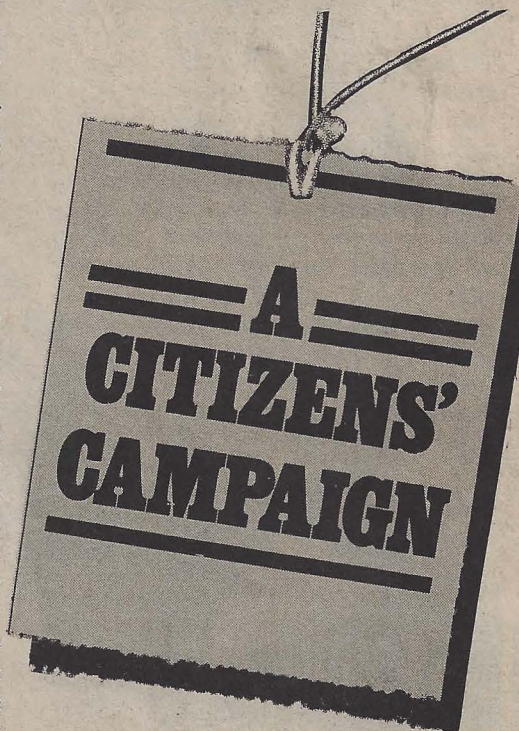
Down But Not Out

Most of the larger anti-nuclear organizations have taken no position on the Presidential candidates. Along with Whayne Dillehay of the Critical Mass Energy Project they recognize that the major candidates "don't offer any real choice for anti-nuclear voters." They feel that Reagan's enthusiasm for nuclear power and opposition to federal promotion of solar power and conservation is only minimally worse than Carter's frequent betrayals of their cause. Since the near meltdown at Three Mile Island, they note, Carter has called for greater reliance on nuclear power, urging the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to end its moratorium on nuclear licensing. Anderson's Congressional votes are such as to lead the League of Conservation Voters to label him "one of the worst spokespersons" on the issue of nuclear power.

The records of the major candidates have led many young activists from local anti-nuke alliances to become foot soldiers in the Commoner-Harris campaign. In New York City and Long Island, activists from the Mobilization for Survival and the SHAD Alliance are busy in Congressional District and ballot access work. In Michigan, activists from the Safe Energy Coalition have played a similarly vital role. State alliances in Maine, Tennessee, and the

Northwest have also provided cadre for the party.

Still, it is the case that the environmentalist groups of all sorts are the least politically active of these constituencies. The state alliances are marked by a pronounced anti-electoral



orientation, a reliance upon direct action and civil disobedience, and a distrust of all politicians. As a result, the no-nukes movement has not given the Citizens Party the organizational support that had been anticipated.

Women's organizations, large and small, have seen little but defeat during the Carter administration. Since the dismissal of Bella Abzug and the subsequent resignations of other feminist activists, few true advocates for the advancement of women have been involved in the administration. Carter has not, perhaps cannot, get the ERA onto the books, and his disinterest in reproductive freedom has only aided the opponents of free choice. The administration's lies and failures led the National Organization for Women to

announce last winter that they would not endorse Carter's re-election--though NOW President Eleanor Smeal may yet be concerned enough by the possibility of a Reagan victory to give Carter her personal backing. Other women's groups, like the National Women's Political Caucus, are downplaying the national race and emphasizing local races in which there are more promising candidates.

Gays have similarly gained little under Carter. Yet, like some women's organizations, gay organizations either stand outside national presidential politics (as in the case of the National Gay Task Force) or remain as disgruntled affiliates of the Democratic Party (as with the Gay Rights National Lobby's Democratic convention delegates caucus.)

While many feminists and gay activists are disillusioned with their existing constituency organizations and disaffected from the Democratic Party, they have responded by turning away from national electoral activity rather than shifting to some kind of independent campaign like the Citizens Party. The party has gotten disappointingly little support from these groups.

New Black Political Party

The black community is characterized by a much greater awareness that political activity can bring about positive results. Within that community, older leaders--such as Coretta Scott King--are so firmly tied to the Democratic Party that on occasion they have even become apologists for some of its worst failures. Meanwhile, civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, attempt to remain politically neutral.

But the 1970's were filled with setbacks for blacks, and their desperate economic situation (as demonstrated by the Miami demonstrations), along with the revivals of the Klu Klux Klan and the Nazi Party, have impelled a new turn toward black independent political action. A number of cities

have seen black political efforts, including those of the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy (DARE) with the campaign and achievements of Councilperson Ken Cockrell, the Philadelphia Human Rights Coalition's electoral campaigns, and the Boston Mayoral quest of Mel King.

This independent political activity also has sparked two potentially important new groupings: the National Black United Front, a federation of black political groupings with the New York Black United Front of Rev. Daughtery holding pre-eminence; and the newly-created black political party which has emerged from the National Black Political Assembly. The later case involved a decision by the 800-strong NBPA convention (including such activists as Manning Marable, Ben Chavis, Ron Daniels, and Barbara Sizemore) to begin to form alternative economic institutions at the grass-roots level and to build a modest level of electoral activity upon such a base. For the 1980 election, the NPBA is promoting a strategy of voting against the top three candidates—in effect, an endorsement of the Citizens Party and other alternative party efforts.



Robert Gumpert

William Wimpisinger.

Walking With Wimpy

Organized labor is the most politically active of the progressive constituencies. And, since the 1950's, labor has been firmly entrenched in the Democratic Party, exercising considerable muscle on behalf of those politicians it favored. But labor has been doing less well lately, having to compete with richer corporate political action committees. And Carter's string of double crosses and broken promises has put labor on notice that its loyalty is being taken for granted. As a result, there is now more disaffection, if not outright defection, from the Democratic party than at any time since the days of John L. Lewis. A recent statement of Teachers union president Albert

Shanker illustrates the troubled state of mainstream trade union officials' thinking which was poorly concealed beneath the AFL-CIO Executive Council's recent 32-1-2 endorsement of Carter: "For a long time we've been saying that Carter was a disaster," he noted, "and now we're being told that we have to support the disaster in order to avoid the catastrophe." The one "no" vote in the Council belongs to labor's most politically active and outspoken leader, Machinists president William Wimpisinger. During the months prior to the primaries, Wimpisinger made known his bitter opposition to a Carter re-nomination: when one reporter asked if Carter

could do anything to redeem himself in the unionist's eyes, Wimpisinger replied that the President could "drop dead." He became one of the earliest and staunchest of Kennedy supporters, and when it became clear that Kennedy could not get the nomination, Wimpisinger refused to make his peace with Carter. Announcing that the Democrats had a "horseshit candidate" whose only hope of re-election lay in "saber-rattling his way into something like Iran." Wimpisinger walked out of the convention taking his 90 IAM delegates plus many (uncounted) others with him. Wimpisinger has endorsed Com-moner and Harris for 1980, while mak-

ing it clear that he is still a democrat. But his endorsement, along with the support of other labor officials such as Doris Turner, Executive Vice-President of hospital workers union District 1199 and David Livingston of District 65/UAW have demonstrated that there is a possibility of a labor breakaway from Democratic ranks in the future.

Obstacles to Realignment

In the case of labor one can discover general lessons about the potential and the problems involved in political realignment for all the above constituencies. Each of these groups, and each of these institutions, alternate between pursuing narrow, interest group goals, and goals which benefit a chunk of society much broader than the individual group's membership. Tariff protection from foreign imports or increases in armaments production have a proven ability to create jobs for autoworkers or machinists, while redirecting the economy towards alternate energy production or mass transit or rebuilding the housing stock *seem* to offer very far-off rewards. With a limited number of jobs and a shrinking economy, women, gays, and minorities may be tempted to fight among themselves rather than to band together to force a change. Antinuclear activists may be drawn toward a small-is-beautiful, turn-off-the-lights asceticism, unless other dissatisfied groups join them in making a critique of capitalist irrationality and an economic growth whose primary direction comes from monopolists. In its purest form, interest group consciousness leads towards low expectations and political conservatism, causing a Sol Chaiken of the Ladies Garment Workers Union to endorse Carter because the administration's textile imports policies have favored his union's members, while other administration policies have led to mass unemployment.

Related to the tendency towards narrow self-definition, each of these groups has, at one time or another, seen itself as the key to a new political alignment.

Each has a separate heritage and much to be gained from claiming a unique place in the future. But when one feels that the entire responsibility for a new political formation rests upon its shoulders, the result can be paralysis or utopian attempts which fail to reach a critical mass. Along with a number of labor officials, John Henning, president of the California State AFL-CIO, regularly calls for the formation of a labor party—but no practical steps towards such a formation get taken. The more tangible recent efforts of the National Black Political Assembly to create a black political party may or may not be unrealistically ambitious; but only time will tell whether or not the activists, academics, and local officials who initiated the attempt will be able to draw working people toward their organization's modified black nationalism and radical economic program.

Despite such problems, Citizens Party activists remain optimistic about the long-run possibility of political realignment. As Bob Master, New York State party organizer, notes, "We have to accept the fact that it will take people a long time to break from the Democrats. They'll do it in dribs and drabs. In the meantime we have to be there to point out the failures of the Democrats. The Citizens Party is now real enough to act as a propaganda and organizing vehicle to attract the disaffected. Most Kennedy delegates to the Democratic convention weren't ready to desert the party yet; next time they may be more ready. The UAW didn't endorse us, but they included Commoner among other presidential candidates in their national poll of local union officers and invited him to several political gatherings. They don't treat us like an insignificant group. We've just begun as an educational campaign, and we have to stick to this for a long, long time."

Hope and Discouragement

The 1980 election has been a bizarre one in many ways and for socialists has

managed to be both hopeful and discouraging at the same time.

The deep divisions in the Democratic Party together with the Citizens Party and Anderson campaigns indicate that there is potential for political realignment. The Anderson attempt, however, demonstrates that efforts at realignment will come not only from the left. For while Anderson claims that he is not trying to build a new party, he is certainly trying to build a new majority coalition of moderate Republicans, Democrats and independents that would leave progressive forces as an isolated minority.

After doing well in the early polls, Anderson's popularity has dropped considerably since the Democratic Convention, and the legacy of his campaign is much in doubt. Still, if he carries only one big state (like New York) the election might very well be thrown into the House of Representatives. It is not inconceivable that such an event would encourage more independent campaigns and "minor" party activity in the future. The repeated selection of the President by the House could even lead to the development of a modified parliamentary system with several parties that were more cohesive and ideologically homogeneous than the current major two.

Right from the start the Citizens Party has had different objectives from the Anderson campaign and has to be evaluated in a different light. The party will almost certainly have no impact on the outcome of the presidential election in the sense of determining who will win: as of September, the Commoner-Harris was registering as high as 1.5% in the national polls. However, this small but growing following is enough to get the party onto television programs such as "Bill Moyer's Journal" and "Issues and Answers," and to get a *Washington Post* reporter assigned to spend all of his time covering the campaign. Such responses might, in the future, validate Commoner's statement that "through the Citizens Party it is possible for the left to present whoever gets elected with an

Holiday Gifts

Get blessed for giving and receiving. Shop in the privacy and convenience of your own home, NAM makes it easy this year with the following special offers:

- **Posters** for that "hard to please" person. Choose from two favorites: Colorful International Women's Day, or the humorous "Don't Breed Bolsheviks in the Bathroom." Your choice, \$2.

- **Books** for every member of the family at special prices. Choose from these:

Autobiography of an American Communist by Peggy Dennis. Wonderful, important. \$6.

Between Labor and Capital essays edited by Pat Walker on class analysis. \$5

Critical Teaching and Everyday Life by Ira Schor, for teachers and students. \$6

Through the Wall essays and letters on prison life, by a prisoner. \$5

Best of Socialist Review A special collection, 5 issues of this fine journal. \$10

- **A Moving On Sub?** Give the magazine unique in scope and perspective. 1 year. \$5
- **In These Times** Sub. Give the best at a special bargain rate. 6 mos., weekly. \$11
- **The Ultimate Combination Plate:** get 1 year of Moving On, 6 mos. of In These Times. \$15

NAM

3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

organized opposition, to which they will have to respond. Without us, the next President would simply regard the peace, or no-nukes, or progressive labor people as negligible or take us for granted."

Furthermore, the party has had an impact upon some organized progressive constituencies, with results no one would have predicted at the beginning of the campaign. The environmental groups did not come through with the organized support that was expected, as discussed above. On the other hand, the reception from some black groups was encouraging, and the solid support won from small but significant parts of the labor movement is more than anyone could have dreamt.

While the Citizens Party has been successful in its own terms, another question altogether is whether NAM's participation in the party has been fruitful and effective. In the areas where a substantial NAM commitment was made, particularly New York and Southern California, the answer is clearly "yes." While the party is still weak, even in those locales, the infrastructure which exists was largely built by NAM people. Members' basic skills, like organizing meetings and developing a communications network, proved to be very important.

Even more important has been the political direction fostered by NAM involvement. From the beginning, NAM activists in New York stressed the importance of minority and labor support and played a key role in connecting the Commoner-Harris campaign to the New York labor movement.

NAM's name has not gotten a lot of exposure in the Citizens Party effort, though New York NAM placed one member on the party's National Executive Committee, one as State Co-Chair, one as State Organizer, and California NAM is also represented with one member on the National Executive Committee. Nor has NAM recruited great numbers of new members, in spite of NAM's involvement in the party. But by building the party and the campaign we have broadcast many aspects of NAM's program and have injected some basic socialist ideas into the election debate in a way that would have been unthinkable in 1976.

While the tremendous amount of work and financial difficulties involved in building a new party have been sobering, the extent to which NAM was able to contribute to the Citizens Party effort as a result of our local organization has been very encouraging. □

Jews

Continued from page 11.

What is to be Undone?

For Jews on the left, one important task is to examine ourselves. We must search for answers—often only among other Jews—to questions concerning what our Jewishness has meant to us and what we want it to mean. How have we felt isolated and alienated on the Left? What criticisms do we need to make of our organizations and our comrades? How can we grow politically and emotionally so that the proud Jew, like the proud black, woman, or homosexual, is accepted on the Left?

How can we forge our own image of Jewishness—one not dominated by models from our parents, from the U.S. Jewish establishment, from Zionist mythology or from an anti-semitic culture?

For non-Jews, the task is to listen and to take seriously what is being said. To recognize that though anti-semitism serves interests of class domination, it also has a life of its own in world culture. The non-Jew must acknowledge and respect the experience and knowledge of the Jew concerning his or her own oppression and must recognize that although the struggle for Jewish Liberation clearly requires alliances with all other progressive forces, Jews must be in the leadership of that struggle. □

The Citizens Party (see article by Dollar and Green in this issue of Moving On) is not the only new entry in the American political process. At its recent convention the National Black Political Assembly moved towards the formation of a black political party. In this article Manning Marable discusses this decision. While Marable does not see the new party in competition with the Citizens Party, it is clear that a very different constituency and political dynamic are involved.

by Manning Marable

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY WAS created on August 23, 1980, at the fourth Convention of the National Black Political Assembly (N.B.P.A.) in New Orleans.

Since its founding convention in March, 1972, at Gary Indiana, the NBPA has involved thousands of Black community organizers, politicians and activist intellectuals across the country. Hundreds of delegates, observers and local supporters of the Assembly met from August 21-24 to discuss strategies for Black political and economic empowerment. The convention theme was "Developing a Progressive Black Agenda from the Grassroots for the 1980s." Workshops included Jobs and Employment, Black Women, Criminal Justice/Police Brutality, Black Labor and Skills Development sessions for community organizing. Major addresses were delivered by Ernest N. Morial, Mayor of New Orleans; Father A.J. McKnight, Chair of the Louisiana Black Political Assembly; and Minister Louis Farrakhan, the national representative of the late Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Nation of Islam.

Dr. Manning Marable is a leader in the National Black Political Assembly and a member of NAM. He teaches history at the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University.



TOWARD Report on the A BLACK New Orleans POLITICAL Black Political PARTY Convention

It quickly became obvious that the question of a national party for the Black Nation was on the minds of most of the delegates. The convention was electrified by a plenary speech on the subject by Ronald Daniels, National NBPA Chair and Youngstown, Ohio political activist, in his opening con-

vention address, "A Black Liberation Program for the 1980s." By Friday a major debate on the question occurred, and much of the convention's original schedule was tabled.

Approaches to a Black Party

Three distinct tendencies or opinions

emerged on the party question. The first position was essentially the dominant tendency maintained throughout NBPA history, first articulated by the leadership at Gary-Imamu Amiri Baraka, Representative Charles Diggs and Mayor Richard Hatcher. In principle, it accepted the historic necessity of building an independent electoral political force outside both major capitalist parties. But the construction of this party was to be protracted, over a gradual period of time. Progressive black candidates running as Democrats, as well as white electoral aspirants, had to be supported organizationally. For Father A.J. McKnight this meant endorsing the reelection of Jimmy Carter for President.

The second view was advanced by Dr. Ronald Walters, prominent Howard University political scientist and NBPA Secretary. Walters had attended both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions this year, and had come away more convinced than ever that the opportunity existed for announcing the formation of a Black political party in 1980. The standard political alternative of the "lesser evils" represented no real alternative at all; Black people had to have an organizational vehicle to articulate their own concerns independent of white bourgeois politics.

A third tendency was represented by the opinions of Ronald Daniels; Dean Lovelace, Chair of the Ohio Black Assembly; and myself. We argued that the foundations for announcing the creation of a new political party had been achieved. The productive experiences of NBPA history forged a general consensus on ideology, tactics, structure and program. The party would always emphasize issues relevant to people of African descent first and foremost; but

it would also propose strategies linking the lack of democracy within the American and Western capitalist economic system to the political, social, cultural and educational crises of other exploited people. The party would not be a Black version of the Democratic and Republican Parties, but a progressive Black institution that would work for Black liberation and social transformation. It would include all major political, religious and social currents, tendencies and organizations within the national Black community, and would not advocate an exclusively electoral political strategy.

On the other hand, we were not convinced up to the eve of the New Orleans Convention that some central details in forging a transitional strategy for restructuring the NBPA into a Black Party were clearly defined. The social struggles of every people mature along uneven lines of development. Certain states were ready to build an independent Black Party; others were not. The NBPA caucus of upstate New York, meeting at Cornell's Africana Studies Center on August 10, 1980, voted unanimously not to call for the creation of the party at this stage, but within one to two years hence.

Towards a New Party

At a meeting of the NBPA Executive Council (Exco) and State Chairs on Friday morning, Daniels authorized the creation of a subcommittee of six persons—two pro-party, two opposed, and two neutral—to develop a compromise resolution that could satisfy most delegates' concerns. By late Friday afternoon, by a vote of five to one, the committee returned to the Exco with the following resolution:

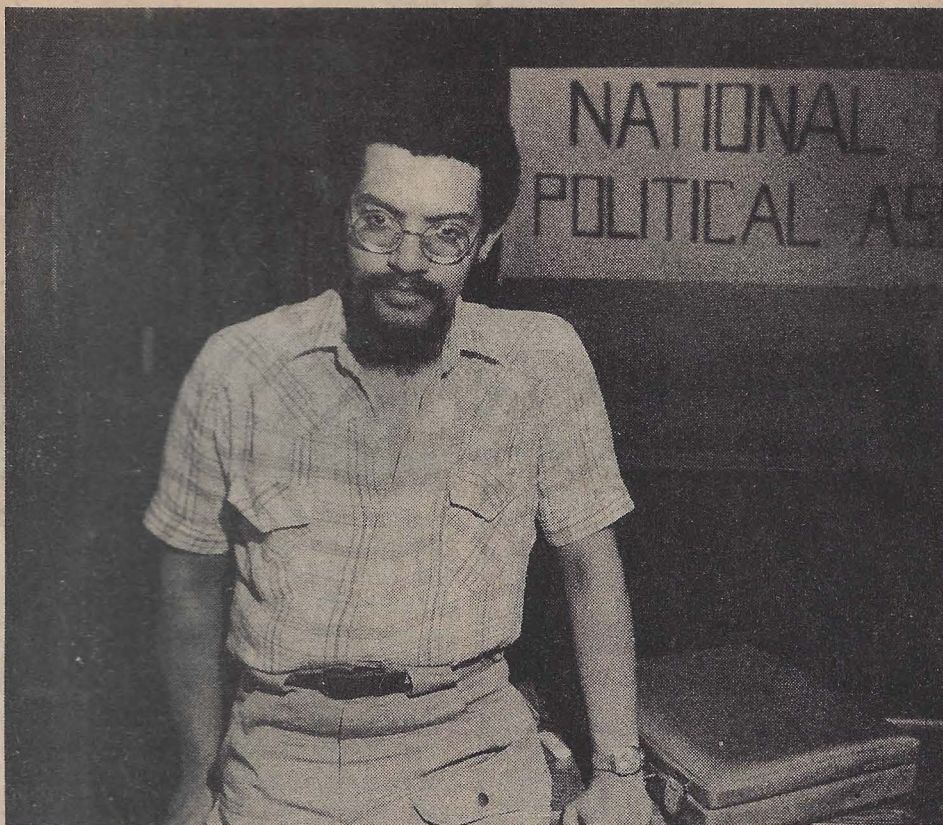
The organization of the NBPA will be restructured into a national

Black political party within 90 days of this meeting at which time a broad-based National Steering Committee will meet to plan a National Party Founding Conference. Local affiliates of the NBA will have the option of declaring party status immediately or they will be allowed to phase-in party status within 3 to 6 months. All local affiliates must submit party and local reorganizational plans in 3 to 6 months to EXCO. Local units may continue to use their existing names for a period to be determined by the EXCO.

The Compromise Resolution held something for almost everyone. Louisiana, Texas and other reluctant delegations would be able to forestall the party question until after the November elections. No firm date was established for the National Party Founding Convention. But at long last the NBPA was committed to build the Black Political Party, and states like New York and Pennsylvania would be allowed to dissolve assemblies immediately and declare the creation of State party organizations at once.

A dramatic turn of events occurred several hours later with the Friday evening plenary address of Dr. Barbara Sizemore. Sizemore publicly repudiated the Compromise in a fiery speech. "The revolution is now, *and not in ninety days*," she declared firmly. Several leaders of the Louisiana and Texas delegations viewed this as a personal attack on their integrity; other delegates from several key states visibly moved toward the "party now" position.

Overnight and into Saturday morning, a series of delegate caucuses were held. During Sizemore's address, I became convinced that the NBPA



Manning Marable.

would lose whatever credibility is retained if it approved the Compromise resolution. The New York State caucus unanimously rejected the Compromise, and individuals decided to act as lobbyists for the "party now." Before the opening plenary on Saturday morning, a united bloc emerged within Washington D.C., Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania delegations which unanimously favored the immediate creation of the party.

Chavis stated: "Mister Chairman, I have a substitute motion. This is a historic moment. I move that:

1. the National Black Political Convention declares today, August 23, 1980 the creation of an Independent National Black Political Party, and we call upon all those organizations and concerned Black people within the Black Nation who share our fervent desire to build the Party to join with us in this endeavor; and, we hereby issue a mandate to the National Black Political Assembly to spearhead that effort.
2. that the function of the Independent National Black Political Party is to advance a politic of social transformation and self-determination for the Black Nation and that the Party will be a

community-building, nation-building Party, primarily devoted to infra-structural, institutional and organizational development within the Black Community providing community services, engaging in community struggles, lobbying around private and public policy issues and electoral politics.

3. that the National Black Political Assembly continue to exist as an organization as its pleasure with state and/or local chapters having the option to affiliate with the Party whenever they deem it appropriate based on their organization development and goals.
4. that the Founding or Charter Conference for the Party shall be held no later than 100 days from the conclusion of this convention and that the entire Black Nation shall be invited to that Conference.
5. that the National Black Political Assembly shall constitute a Steering Committee or Planning Committee composed of seven (7) National Black Political Assembly members to be elected at large at this convention and four (4) additional members to be selected by the Steering Committee; such members to be representatives of National Black Organizations, for

a total of eleven (11) voting members. The Steering Committee shall also appoint an unspecified number of non-voting resource people to aid it in the completion of its work.

6. that the Steering Committee or Planning Committee is charged with the responsibility of drafting the proposed: a) Statement of Principles for the Party; b) Party Structure; c) Basic Party Platform; d) Finance and Fund Raising Strategy; e) Implementation Strategy; f) Recommended name; these proposals are to be drafted into a comprehensive document within sixty (60) days after the conclusion of this convention; and circulated widely throughout the Black Nation for review, comment and recommendations in preparation for the Founding or Charter Conference for the Party.

7. that the Steering Committee or Planning Committee proceed forthwith to coordinate all details of the Party founding or Charter Conference; i.e., time, place, location, logistics, public relations, resource procurement, etc."

Chavis turned his eyes toward the delegates and added, "Let it be, let it be. It is not only Nationtime, it is independent Black political party time!" Pro-party delegates rose in applause and jubilation.

The debate over the party was at once a particularly emotional and bitter struggle. Queen Mother Moore, 82 year old matriarch of the Black Movement, issued a passionate appeal to overturn the Compromise and vote immediately for the creation of the party. "I expected us to come out of Gary with a party, but we didn't," she stated. "I was heartbroken. Don't break my heart

Scott Van Osdel

BLACK PRAXIS OCCASIONAL PAPERS SERIES

In a series of nine penetrating pamphlets, Black activist/theorist MANNING MARABLE assesses the crises and contradictions within the modern Black Movement in America.

- I. **The Third Reconstruction: Black Nationalism and Race Relations After the Revolution.**
In a seminal theoretical work, Marable assesses the impact of the "first" Reconstruction (1865-1877) and the "second" Reconstruction (1954-1970) on the quality of economic, social and political life within Black America. Then Marable asks the inevitable question: What would we do after achieving state power? Boldly drawing the tentative outlines for cultural and economic development, he suggests specific institutions which would be essential in achieving the goal of Black self-determination. (\$1.75)
- II. **Black Nationalism in the 1970s: Through the Prism of Race and Class.**
The first history of the Black Movement in the 1970s. Marable explores the key personalities and programs within Black Power, Pan-Africanist and reformist organizations from the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., to the present. (\$2.50)
- III. **The Road Toward Effective Black Power.**
Marable carefully outlines the history and practice of major Black independent political parties. He suggests the step-by-step prerequisites for establishing a mass-based, Black political party in this decade. (\$1.00)
- IV. **Sexism and the Struggle for Black Liberation: Two Essays.**
Marable illustrates the relationship between the Black and Feminist Movements since the mid-1960s. Topics include Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul On Ice* and recent patterns of sexism within Black leadership. (\$1.25)
- V. **Reaction: The Political Economy of the New South.**
What happened to the economic and social life of Black people in the South in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement? In an important essay, Marable discusses the retreat of progressive social/cultural/political forces in the region, and contrasts this process with the steady rise of capitalist investment and control over Black lives. (\$1.00)
- VI. **The Land Question in the South: An Historical Overview.**
The roots of Black poverty are found within the economic realities of slavery and Southern sharecropping. Critiquing other historical studies on Black agricultural and economic development between 1865 and 1915, Marable explains the reasons for the rise and fall of the "Blackbelt Nation" in the South. (\$1.25)
- VII. **The Fire This Time: The Miami Rebellion of 1980.**
Marable's personal account of one of the greatest Black uprisings in American history. Marable interviews grassroots community leaders and provides an historical background to the causes for Black revolt in Miami, Florida. (\$1.75)
- VIII. **Rethinking the Seventies: The Destruction of the Modern Black Movement.**
Marable isolates the reasons for the failure of the Black Movement during the 1970s, from the rebirth of the Klan to the bankruptcy of white (and Black) liberalism. Marable discusses the challenges of Black nationalism for the remainder of the century. (\$1.50)
- IX. **Blacks and the Draft: A History of Racism.**
Marable provides a brief history of the relations between Black people, the military and the state. (\$1.00)

Please indicate to the left of each title the number of BLACK PRAXIS pamphlets you are requesting. Make checks of money orders payable to: NEW AMERICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 3244 N. CLARK, CHICAGO, IL. 60657.


Please add .25 cents per copy for shipping and handling costs. Ohio residents please add sales tax. Orders over \$15, 20 PERCENT DISCOUNT. SPECIAL RATES ARE AVAILABLE FOR BULK ORDERS, BOOKSTORES, COLLEGE COURSES AND STUDY GROUPS. ASK FOR DETAILS.

BLACK RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

again." A Mississippi delegate asked about "the wisdom of developing a party which could simply result in the Democrats or Republicans being in power for the next four years." Rumors flew throughout the hall. Some "party-now" proponents charged that the Democrats had sent delegates into the convention to undermine the concept of the party. On a procedural vote, which in effect was a show of delegate strength, the "party-now" forces won by 26 votes. Voting was generally along regional lines, with Northeastern and Midwest states supporting the "party-now" position, and most Southern states except Mississippi voting against. Delegates voted to consider the substitute motion's seven points individually. Point One, the statement which actually created the party, passed by an overwhelming voice vote. Chair Daniels announced, "the motion is passed."

After a brief moment of hesitation, pandemonium erupted. For veterans of the Gary, Little Rock (1974), and Cincinnati (1976) conventions, this was the sweet culmination of eight years of personal and collective struggle. Spontaneously, delegates shouted and clapped in unison: "We're fired up, can't take no more!" I gave Ben Chavis a bear hug; others cheered and applauded for several minutes. The remainder of the plenary session was somewhat anticlimactic, adding revisions to some points of the substitute motion and expanding the Steering Committee to involve more delegates in the planning of the Founding Convention.

On Sunday morning, Steering Committee members decided to hold the Founding Convention in Philadelphia on November 21-23, 1980. The choice of Philadelphia was made for practical political and historic reasons. The



Eastern Pennsylvania Black delegation, led by Thad Mathis, Mjenzi Kazana, and State Representative Dave Richardson, plays a major role in local and regional issues promoting the interests of Black people. Philadelphia was the site of the first Black political convention, which was held in the Reverend Richard Allen's African Methodist Episcopal Church in September, 1830. The city's Black population also held the famous 1968 Black Power Conference.

Through the Prism of Race and Class

The NBPA was pushed toward an unconditionally independent political posture by the turbulent events of 1980. In May, a national march of Black activists, trade unionists and other progressive forces was held in support of the Black women workers on strike in Laurel, Mississippi, against Sanderson Farms. The electoral successes of the Klu Klux Klan and American Nazi Party in North Carolina and California, plus the Carter Administration's shift to Hoover economics at home and Cold War confrontation politics abroad heightened the social crisis. Black people in Chattanooga, in Philadelphia, and across the nation protested police terror, unemployment and political repression during the spring and summer months.

The decisive turning point, however, was Miami. The popular rebellion of thousands of Black men, women and children in mid-May against their political/economic/social oppression in Dade County was a significant statement ending an entire era of race relations. The politics of contemporary accommodation and bourgeois reform, characterized by Old Guard leaders Jesse Jackson, Vernon Jordan, Ben-

jamin Hooks and Andrew Young, was rejected by significant elements of the Black working class, the unemployed, youth and the progressive intelligentsia. Black liberation rose to a new level of development in the fires of Liberty City.

Certainly there remain distinctly different approaches within the NBPA/Black Party on transitional economic strategies for the Black Nation. One tendency advances the theory of Economic Democracy, a populist concept articulated by Tom Hayden and the California-based Campaign for Economic Democracy. Another tendency retains the call for building African socialism (Ujamaa) by constructing all-Black consumer and producer cooperatives, buying and developing extensive land holdings in the South. Yet another trend advocates a critical Marxist or dialectical materialist analysis of modern monopoly capitalism. Black independent politics must begin to include demands to limit the mobility of capital, to halt plant closings and factory relocations which place thousands of Black worker in unemployment lines annually. We must develop programs for greater Black worker self-management, and campaign for government control of utilities, insurance companies, and other centers of monopoly capital.

The dominant mood of the NBPA/Black Party is not socialist, but it is clearly and unequivocally anti-capitalist. Thus the delegates overwhelmingly passed a position on "Black Labor" that recognized the unique duality of our exploitation as a people in this nation: we are oppressed as a race *and* as a part of the working class. Any strategy for Black liberation in the 1980s must in large measure advance the interests of the majority of Blacks,

third world and working class poor—on the production lines in Detroit, in the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Youngstown, in clerical offices, in all centers of economic production and distribution." After discussing the interplay between race and class in the development of U.S. capitalism, the position paper goes on to call for working against racism in labor unions, recognizes the need for labor strategy that is international in scope, and "advocates the use of broad-based, working class actions to achieve greater political and economic power." The Black Party will also oppose imperialism and all forms of economic exploitation and underdevelopment, particularly as manifested within the African diaspora. As Black political philosophy finds its material weapons in the common uprisings of the Black Nation, the Black Nation finds its intellectual weapons in the political and economic philosophies of Black liberation.

The hard work lies ahead. It is relatively simple to announce one's intention to build a Black Political Party, a social force committed (in the words of the Gary Convention) to struggle against "white racism and white capitalism." It remains the unfulfilled mandate of Black history to do so. As Dubois observed in October 1916, "there is for the future one and only one effective political move" for Afro-American people. "We have long foreseen it, but we have sought to avoid it. It separates us from our fellow Americans; but self-defense knows no nice hesitations. The American Negro must either vote as a unit or continue to be politically emasculated." In both our electoral and nonelectoral politics, our goal must be Black self-determination, independence, and liberation—by any means necessary. □

All the News

NAM NEWS AND UPDATE

Ten NAM members will attend the annual American Public Health Association convention in Detroit Oct. 19-23. The APHA consists of more than 50,000 members, and includes a large progressive constituency. Members will participate in the Socialist Caucus and the Gay and Lesbian Cuacuses among others. Additional presence will be provided at a literature table, co-sponsored with DSOC, which is expected to top last year's record sales of literature.

NAM member Howard Garrett is off and running in a campaign to capture Colorado's 22nd District legislative seat. Running as an independent, he promised not to insult the public with "name calling, worn out cliches, or alarmist buzz words." Instead his campaign is based on a concept he terms, "community self-development" which seeks an economic development strategy that does not sacrifice jobs for a clean, save environment. Garrett hopes to raise capital for small business and light industry from taxes levied against mineral resources extracted there. Moreover, this new industry and small business would be planned at the local level by constituents. Howard has reduced his work load at a mental health center to only two shifts per week to campaign almost full time. "I think my chances of being elected are good," he said. Colorado Springs NAM is active in the campaign, along with some help from neighborhood activists.

"A veritable buffalo stampede through a revolving door" is the way candidate and NAM member Niilo Kaponen described his experience running for Alaska's State Legislature. A field of contenders that includes Republicans, Libertarians, John Birchers, and Jerry Farwell's Moral Majoritarians, makes for an exciting if not eccentric campaign. With the help of DSOC members, labor, and environmentalists, Niilo hopes to assemble a reasonable platform that could land him one of the

If you don't see it, ask for it!

News and Update is based on information received at the National Office and processed by Craig Merrilees. Why not write or call with the latest news from your NAM chapter or local members? We print all the news that fits, of a non-fictional variety. Send those cards and letters to Craig Merrilees, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL. 60657 or call (312)871-7700.

six at-large seats. We hope the spring thaw brings some good news.

"Tell it to the judge," they say. Northside Chicago NAM member Nick Rabkin did just that and landed in jail. Rabkin had gone to court along with five others who also were locked up seeking action to remove a neighborhood hazard. When the judge postponed the matter this time, the eighth trip to the court thus far, the neighbors reacted with some comments of disbelief. Getting hot under the collar only got them time in the cooler, but several hours later a deal was arranged and they were free. "What kind of justice is this?" asked one of the neighbors. "The owner gets off and we get arrested." Some justice. Some judge.

CHAPTER NEWS

San Francisco NAM is out to prove that persistence pays off, fighting to maintain district election of city reps for the third time since voters first supported the concept in 1976. When the provision was removed in a sneaky maneuver last August, NAM joined other activists who gathered an astounding 40,000 signatures in only two weeks to re-institute district elections.

The chapter's involvement in the nuts-and-bolts of urban political campaigns has won them an invitation from the San Francisco Labor Council to assist in organizing a Labor Precinct Operation. The L.P.O. would target,

organize, and eventually mobilize labor support in city precincts.

Finance capital and tourism combined to threaten the already marginal existence of elderly and low income residents in San Francisco's "tenderloin district." Two S.F. NAM members are central in an organizing drive to assure residents of secure and affordable housing. Having already won moratorium against conversion of housing stock into office space or hotels, the next step is to establish a permanent ordinance. Finally, an effort to have developers pay for a portion of revenue for low income housing is on the agenda.

Los Angeles NAM has just started their Socialist School with ten classes and a compliment of Friday night forums. NAM members continue to play a major role in a coalition seeking to establish a Civilian Review Board to set policy for police in that city which has an unusually high rate of shootings and police brutality charges.

Members of the Westside NAM branch are working with a group called the Toxic Chemicals Task Force. High counts of TCE in the drinking water, and cancer found in lifeguards stationed at a beach where waste water is discharged have spurred the group to demand public accountability of industrial and corporate waste disposal methods.

Eugene-Springfield NAM, which initiated a coalition of labor and community groups to address the Plant Closure issue, is persuing discussion of long term strategy and suitable organizational form for that effort. The wood products industry dominates the regional economy, and that industry is in turn dominated by six major firms. Having exhausted the local supply of timber, nearly two-thirds of it on public land, they are now turning to the National Forests and places south for more. Jobs and the environment are both at stake here. The plant closure legislation developed with some help from NAM could be a real help if enough grassroots support can be gen-

erated. In addition, the Education Committee is planning a film series for fall.

Portland NAM has worked its way into a hot fight with the utilities in that state. Years of patient organizing by NAM members are the key to an expected victory in the upcoming election where voters will decide if public ownership of utilities is on the agenda. NAM member Beverly Stein is running for the Board of the Multnomah County Public Utility District, a body which would help develop a feasibility study for public power in Oregon communities. NAM member Rhys Scholes appeared on TV in a debate with fronts for corporate energy barons who were devastated with his brilliant analysis and sharp-edged wit. The utilities were caught stuffing almost half a million dollars into an organization of local front groups called "Citizens Against Government Takeover," and are clearly running scared. Despite the frenzy of the cam-

paign, work continues on the Red Rose School which begins its second term of six classes and Friday night forums. Portland NAM is also helping with the plant closing issue.

Santa Cruz NAM has decided to do more, not less after losing some chapter members over the summer. Their dialectical strategy is based on a new campus project which will develop an emphasis of feminist issues. A new media project will bring NAM members and other local activists together to promote feminist perspectives in the local media, and assist other organizing projects with their media needs. Neighborhood organizing continues with the Westside Neighbors group recently confronting city officials over planning of traffic patterns. The Local Politics Project is working closely with a local race that could return the Board of Supervisors into a progressive majority. A detailed and scientific examination of precinct data is only half of their plan, people

power being their ultimate secret weapon.

Somerville NAM is out to defeat the 2½% solution, a cousin of Proposition 13. The measure would limit property tax valuation and increases to a level favored by the usual bad guys, with some understandable support from many homeowners. The NAM chapter helped to start a coalition of groups to fight the measure. The "Somerville Community News," an excellent monthly paper, continues to publish with help from NAM members.

THE NATIONAL OFFICE NEEDS YOU

The work load at the N.O. is just too much even for four hard working folks. We're not asking you to fly out tomorrow, but if you're planning to be near Chicago please consider helping us out. Day, week, or month. Call or write ASAP with your plans. Thank you—N.O. staff.

The New American Movement...

The New American Movement combines a Marxist analysis with careful attention to the current realities of American politics. It combines a deep commitment to its socialist principles with a tactical flexibility in its political approach. It combines a focus on the development of theory appropriate to our times with activist orientation that stresses involvement in the crucial issues of the day. And it combines a vision of a socialist future based on democracy and human freedom with efforts to project in our work elements of that future.

NAM has over 35 chapters involved in organizing for labor union democracy, against nuclear power, for abortion rights, against violence against women, for affirmative action, against apartheid in South Africa, and much more. Chapters also organize cultural and educational events that attempt to present a new and challenging socialist perspective on our world.

All of this work is informed and united by certain basic political ideas:

- **NAM** is committed to working toward a socialist society in which material resources and the decision-making process are democratically controlled by all people.
- We are committed to a socialism that has equality and respect for all people at its core — one that carefully balances the need for collective planning, ownership, and decision-making with a high regard for individual rights and freedom.
- The development of a movement for socialism in America will require

the growth of socialist consciousness within the working class—all those who have to sell their labor power (even if they are not directly paid) in order to survive. For it is only a broad-based movement representative of the diversity of the American people that can fundamentally challenge the power of capital.

- **American capitalism is a powerful and entrenched system. Yet it is also rife with contradictions. Organization is key to changing power relationships and exposing these contradictions. We are committed to the development of a socialist party that can carry out these tasks, as well as to the growth of the most strong and progressive possible popular organizations.**

- **Democracy is central to the process of building a movement for socialism. Only as working people become active, organized and begin to take control over their own lives can a new society take shape.**

- **NAM** sees the struggle for the liberation of women as integral to a socialist movement. We value the contributions of the women's movement in showing how revolutionary change must deal with all aspects of people's lives. And we defend now, and in the socialism we project, the liberation of gay women and men.

- **Racism cripples national life—it denies the humanity of minorities and thwarts the potential of the working class as a whole. NAM** is committed to fighting against racism and national oppression in all forms.

- **The fate of socialism in the United States is tied to the rest of the world. We support struggles for national liberation and human freedom wherever they occur.**

- **NAM** supports the positive achievements of the existing socialist countries. However, we are also critical of various aspects of their policies, and see no one of them as a model for our own efforts.

NAM chapters

Austin NAM, P.O. Box 7881, UT Station, Austin, TX 78712
Baltimore NAM, P.O. Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218
Bellingham NAM, 1001 Key St., Bellingham WA 98225
Blazing Star NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657
Boston Area NAM, P.O. Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144
Boulder NAM, c/o Left Hand Books, 1908 Pearl St., Boulder, CO 80302
Buffalo NAM, P.O. Box 404, Buffalo, NY 14205
Champaign-Urbana NAM, Rm. 284 Illini Union, 1301 W. Green St., Urbana, IL 61801
Cleveland NAM, c/o Gunderson, 10704 Clifton, Cleveland, OH 44106
Chicago Northside NAM, c/o NAM National Office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657
Chicago Southside Lucy Parsons NAM, c/o Barclay, 150 N. Lombard, Oak Park, IL 60302
Colorado Springs NAM, c/o Monroy-Friedrichs, 129 Cave Ave., Manitou Springs, CO 80829
Corvallis NAM, P.O. Box 278, Corvallis, OR 97330
Danville NAM, c/o Nagle, 121 S. Edwards, Danville, IL 61832
Dayton NAM, c/o Mericle, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, OH 45405
Denver-Bread & Roses NAM, c/o Roseman, Suite 1130, Capitol Life Cen., 3 16th Ave. & Grant St., Denver, CO 80203
Detroit NAM, P.O. Box 32376, Detroit, MI 48232
East Bay NAM, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, CA 94609
Eugene-Springfield NAM, c/o Harrison, 400 E. 32nd St., Eugene, OR 97405
Fargo-Moorehead NAM, c/o Lubke, 1706 11th Ave., N. Fargo, ND 58102
Irvine NAM, c/o Doris England, 4114 Verano Pl., Irvine, CA 92715
Lexington-Blue Grass NAM, c/o Parsons, 135½ Constitution St., Lexington, KY 40508
Long Island NAM, c/o Stevenson, 74 Sherman Ave., Williston Pk., NY 11596
L.A. NAM, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, CA 90005
Madison NAM, Box 401, 800 Langdon St., Madison, WI 53706
Marin County NAM, c/o Baylin, 180 Marguerite Ave., Mill Valley, CA 94941
Milwaukee NAM, P.O. Box 1315, Milwaukee, WI 53201
Missoula NAM, c/o Kay Wyland, 420 Hartman, Missoula, MT 59801
Mobile-Rosa Parks NAM, c/o Trant, 139 Oklahoma St., Mobile, AL 36608
New Haven NAM, c/o Apfelbaum, 880 Elm St., #3, New Haven, CT 06511
New York NAM, P.O. Box 325 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013
Oakland-Berkeley NAM, c/o 2906 Telegraph Ave. #4, Berkeley CA 94705
Philadelphia NAM, c/o Hamilton, 1501 Cherry St., #287, Philadelphia PA 19102
Pittsburgh NAM, 5420 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15206
Portland NAM, P.O. Box 57, Portland, OR 97207
St. Louis NAM, c/o Howes, 721 Interdrive, University City, MO 63130
St. Louis-Gateway NAM, c/o Ogg, 751 Syracuse #3, S. University City, MO 63130
San Diego NAM, Box 15635, San Diego, CA 92115
San Francisco NAM, c/o Shoch, 2566 Bryant St., San Francisco, CA 94110
Santa Cruz NAM, c/o Rotkin, 123 Liberty Ave., Santa Cruz, CA 95060
Seattle-Rainier NAM, c/o Thornton, 949 NW 63rd St., Seattle, WA 98107
Somerville NAM, c/o Healey, 156 School St., Somerville, MA 02143
Washington, D.C.-c/o Grune, 1830 R Street, N.W., #4, Washington, D.C. 20009
Wyoming NAM, P.O. Box 238, Laramie, WY 82070

NAM pre-chapters

Arkansas-c/o Sandler, Rt. 2 Box 120, Conway, AR 72032
Cape Cod-c/o Pearl, Box 478, Truro, MA 02666
Morgantown-c/o Kovnat, 455 Dallas, Morgantown, WV 26505
Olympia-c/o Hartman, 5135 Sunrise Beach Rd., N.W. Olympia, WA 98502
Richmond-c/o Knox, P.O. Box 5701, Richmond, VA 23220

