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NAM CONFERENCE

NOTES FROM DAVENPORT

by Nick Rabkin and Jim Weinstein

The following report on the NAM Thanksgiving conference is limited to the events at plenary sessions and at the workshop on the economy, which both of us attended. There were many other workshops, whose discussions must go unreported in this issue. The report represents our view of these events and of their significance. The paper welcomes responses and criticisms of this report.

In 1920 the people of Davenport, Iowa, elected nine Socialists to office, including the mayor. On Thanksgiving weekend in 1971 the socialist movement returned to Davenport for the first conference of the New American Movement on program and interim structure. Though the NAM's founding convention will be held in June, the Thanksgiving conference confirmed the existence of NAM as an organization dedicated to building a popular movement for a humane and radical socialist democracy in the United States.

Almost 400 people from some 60 cities attended. They represented about 30 chapters already formed and a number of chapters-in-formation, and reflected a considerably more varied constituency than left conferences in the recent past. Students were in the minority; most participants were in organizing projects, community, work place, health care, etc., and held professional, "white collar," or "blue collar" jobs. The median age appeared to be 25-28. This was a meeting of new left "graduates" in the main—people who now live and work in a wide variety of places and jobs.

Mayor

The opening session of the conference on Friday morning was addressed by Kathryn Kirschbaum, mayor-elect of Davenport. She welcomed the New American Movement and what it represented and said that she, and the majority of the new city council elected with her, also stood for fundamental change and social justice in the United States. She had thought, she said, that we had come to Davenport in the knowledge that it would be hospitable to our purpose, but was disappointed to find out that we had chosen it because it was "ordinary America." Next time we come to Davenport, she hoped, it will be because it is "extraordinary America."

Following these encouraging words, the conference settled down to the work at hand: the discussion of program and choosing priority areas for the activity of NAM for the next six months. Three priority areas were chosen: the economy; the war and imperialism; anti-corporate organizing and occupational health and safety. In addition, the conference elected a 13 member (7 women and 6 men) National Interim Committee, (NIC) to serve until the June convention. The NIC is mandated to develop political education work around general questions and specific programs; to integrate a women's political perspective into all phases of program and political work; and to aid in organizing regions and chapters. In addition, the NIC is responsible for press relations, fund-raising, and arrangements for the founding convention in June.

The main work of the conference was in the various program workshops. These met in the morning, afternoon and evening on Friday and Saturday, and were interspersed with plenary sessions and with panels of speakers in the evenings. The Sunday meeting adopted the interim structure which would support the new NIC.

time we would approach and met. The groups and the considerable number of liberationists not now in groups to join us were Women, in numbers as substantial as they would go into the employment office and at craft jobs, while a demonstration such as a pro-



youth liberation, direct action, and the new working class. The scheduled workshop on the Bicentennial of the American Revolution was cancelled, apparently because of lack of interest.

The conference was unusually good humored and serious. It had a tight agenda, but it stuck to it closely. Meetings started and ended almost exactly on time; most workshops discussed and adopted programs; panels of speakers were heard although without time for adequate discussion by the delegates. And yet, things were open and flexible enough so that changes were easily made.

At the first plenary, for example, the rule that only delegates could speak at plenaries was reopened, and a resolution allowing observers to speak at all sessions was adopted 146 to 97. Another resolution was made and passed to change the agenda so that discussion of structure take place on Sunday, after the discussion of priority programs, rather than on the first day of the conference. It was thought that structure could only be discussed intelligently after the political tasks of the organization were clearer. And later, when some workshops had difficulty in formulating a

munity organizing, elections, farmers, health, program because there was insufficient agreement on the underlying politics, a special plenary was held at 9:00 on Saturday morning to consider devoting the morning to a general political discussion. After a 20 minute session in which everyone agreed on the need for more political clarity within NAM, and for discussion of how the specific work of chapters or program areas relate to the overall perspective, the delegates voted not to engage in that discussion at the conference. The general feeling seemed to be that there was insufficient time and insufficient preparation on the part of delegates to make possible a clear definition of the differences among us, or a democratic discussion.

Many delegates were from newly-formed chapters and many others were from chapters-in-formation, or only intended to form chapters after the conference. Thus, most chapters and most individual delegates did not yet have clear enough views of NAM and what it should be to make possible a useful discussion of political differences and perspectives. The general feeling was that an interim program and set of priorities, however imperfect, could be worked out at the conference, and that within the framework of these programs local chapters could develop more coherent political perspectives in the six months leading to the convention in June.

Themes

At least three of the themes that ran through the conference were raised in this brief discussion. Paul Garver from Pittsburgh complained that while he agreed with the NAM "guidelines," he thought Mike Lerner had "imposed" his specific political perspectives on others when he spoke as one of a panel the night before. In particular, Garver was concerned about how "new working class" people and groups fit in. Those primarily interested in working with such groups felt "shut out," he said.

Harold Henderson from Peoria also complained about the "lack of a chance to reply to the political trip of last night," and felt a need for more political discussion. But he thought that given the tasks facing the conference and the newness of most chapters, such discussion should be subordinated to the work of the workshops and should occur within them. Staughton Lynd supported this latter view. He argued that the "brutal" emphasis on program was based on the need of NAM to transcend, as quickly as possible, the limits of its present social composition, and that this required programs as a basis for organizing.

Lynd also said that a two or three hour discussion would undermine democracy because the issues were not yet clearly defined and the time would be too short to resolve things. This position appeared to be the general consensus, and the delegates voted 200 to 125 to return immediately to the workshops.

The workshop on the economy met six times and considered a number of programmatic proposals. Running through the discussions were some generally shared views. One was the need for NAM to broaden its base and move beyond the sectors of the working class represented at the conference. Another was the need to raise the question of socialism as part of the organizing

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work, to build a movement that would be engaged with the most pressing immediate issues and also to make clear the need for a socialist transformation of the United States. But there were differences about how this was to be done, whether all chapters should engage in the same activities, whether workplace organizing should be the sole focus of chapter activity, and what it meant to talk about socialism "being on the agenda."

The workshop began with several reports. Ken Paff, an International Socialists (IS) member from Berkeley led off saying that Nixon's New Economic Policy (NEP) creates the potential for a class-wide opposition to the government as well as to particular corporations, but that this would not be led by the trade union leadership. Thus an opportunity for NAM exists to focus on rank and file rebellion within the trade union movement.

He proposed contact on a national scale with as many rank and file groups as possible, the setting up of a rank and file news service, and, in general, an apparently exclusive concentration of activity around wildcat strikes in opposition to the Wage Board. Ed Greer then presented the proposal of the Boston chapter that called both for strike support, mostly in the form of providing services to striking workers, and for price struggles, particularly around utility rates, state and local taxes, rents, and transit fares.

Staughton Lynd suggested that the problem facing NAM was finding its way between utopian and sectarian demands. All of our struggles must be infused with the idea of socialism, if not a flaunting of the word, he said. He suggested two slogans: people's control of the economy; and the right to have what we need to live.

People's Control

People's control is not in itself a socialist slogan, Lynd said, because it is vague on what people and the meaning of "control," but he favors it as a transitional concept that raises the right questions and is appropriate in the light of the NEP. Government's obvious subservience to the business class, as a class has raised publicly the question of "who is running it all."

Lynd also emphasized working with rank and file workplace groups, and argued that it was essential for NAM, given its present social base, to win support among industrial workers within the next year. Within this context, workplace groups should be our primary organizing focus, but not our exclusive focus.

Lerner then spoke. Saying he agreed with much of the Lynd and Greer proposals, he insisted that the problem is to put socialism on the agenda—to make it the major political issue in the 1970's. This requires conscious and public agitation for socialism, he said, and Nixon has opened the way to such agitation by introducing the notion of control of the economy from the top down. Our response must be control by the people, from the bottom up.

He then argued that this should center on agitation against the banks because these are least productive and most parasitic. The main concrete step for which Lerner argued was coordinated tax initiatives. He sees these as capable of achieving a class-wide unity and as directly counter to the effects of wage controls. And he said (although it is questionable) that the California NAM, especially Berkeley and Santa Barbara, were "firmly committed" to a state-wide tax initiative. Judith Shapiro of IS then spoke about women's liberation, which she said should be tackled by a campaign to open all job categories to women with AT&T as a focus. At this point the workshop adjourned for lunch.

In the following general discussion of the position papers most of the participants were concerned to find ways to give a socialist content to the proposed activity and to broaden the activity so that it would not concentrate on one sector of the work force or become subordinated to the unions or a trade union consciousness. Patty Lee Parmalee began by proposing study groups in each chapter within the overall economic program. After a brief discussion this was adopted.

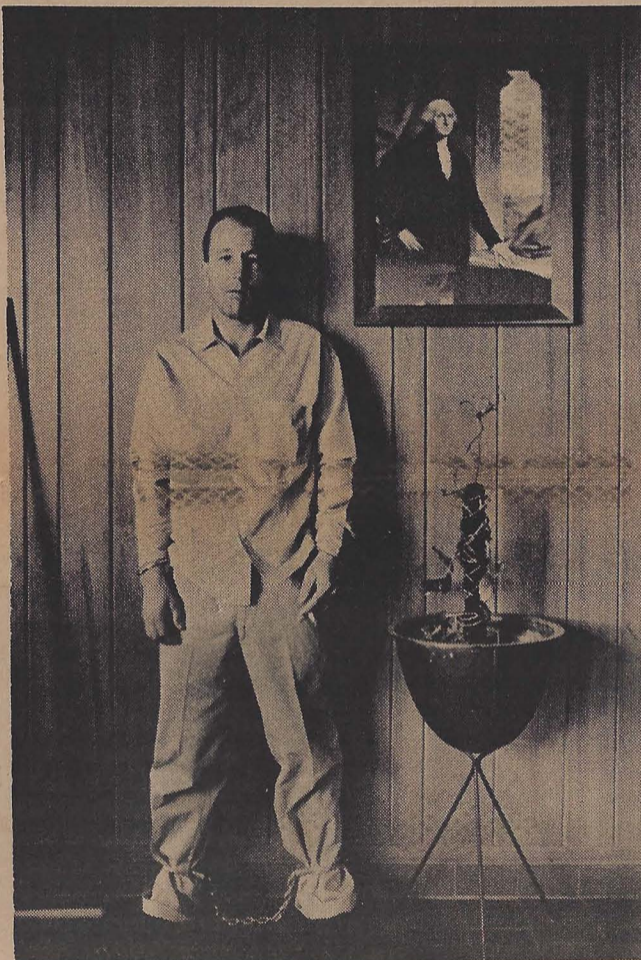
Martin J. Sklar then raised the question of how we could avoid falling into economism and the continued uncritical acceptance of capitalist categories imposed on the working class. He suggested that instead of defining our politics in terms of "economic needs," as defined by capital, we should put forward a program of social goals. A social goals policy would allow us to bridge the

gap between immediate economic demands and politics.

A bit later, Gar Alperovitz also supported the subordination of narrowly economic to social goals. He argued that we must link issues in such a way as to unite otherwise "antagonistic" groups. For example, he said we could link issues like cutting taxes, increasing teachers' pay, and improving the schools—which would raise the question of how this could be done, and which can be answered only by socialism. Alperovitz also supported Greer's strike support proposal, but stressed the importance of continuous involvement with workers around related issues, and the linking of various strata of the working class around broader goals.

Mel Bienenfeld of Ithaca spoke along similar lines. He described the way economic changes in Ithaca were planned by outside corporations and were not in the interest of local residents, and argued for a program of popular control of economic decision-making.

Patty Lee Parmalee then commented that everyone is for strike support, but that in practice there are often unforeseen problems, especially when established unions are involved. Outside groups sometimes are unwittingly used by rival union factions for their own purpose, for example. A brief discussion on her point led to an amendment to the strike proposal to give priority to support of illegal, wildcat, and anti-Wage Board strikes. This carried unanimously.



The next session of the workshop began with a report from the women's caucus, which, as in all the workshops, met briefly before each session. The caucus was implicitly critical of Shapiro's proposal to concentrate on the demand of equal work and equal pay for women. It reported that it had talked about the marginal position of women in the work force, and the problem of demanding simply that women be given equality as workers. By itself such a demand, even though a step forward, would simply put women in the same position as men. This again raised the question of social goals, rather than narrow economic demands. The caucus also asserted that women as a special sector of the working class should be the concern of the workshop as a whole and not the special concern of the women's caucus. Women's issues should be an integral part of the general program.

The remaining time of the workshop was devoted to formulating the Economic Policy proposal as printed elsewhere in this paper. The first seven proposals were agreed upon with little controversy and followed the various suggestions for changes made from the floor. But underlying disagreements came to a head with the introduction of the eighth point, that on "people's councils." This point was introduced to give the economic program a long range perspective that pointed toward socialism. Those who put the proposal forward argued that the rest of the program would take on an economist or reformist hue without the

inclusion of such a perspective. It was their contention that such a proposal, even if only tentatively defined, would begin to give credence to the notion that a socialist movement can not be built purely around defense of the working class, but also should contend for real power and control over the economy. One advocate of the proposal said that it clearly showed that NAM's intent was to fight Capitalism and to build socialism and this went way beyond simply fighting Nixon's NEP.

This argument was attacked by the IS delegates in the workshop, and later in the plenary, because it began to prefigure a transitional form of dual power—and was thus seen as utopian by the IS—and also because it described the working class as diverse enough to include housewives, older people, and "street people." In place of this proposal, IS argued for a national concentration on rank and file revolts within the existing trade union movement and for no attempt to pre-figure forms of achieving working class power. This approach was consistent with a general tone of antagonism to the "new left," on the part of IS, most sharply expressed by Judith Shapiro in a put down of the new left in her speech Friday evening. One IS delegate characterized the economic programs as a "shopping list," by which he apparently meant that it was too diffuse and embodied too broad a conception of working class politics. But this was precisely what most of the delegates desired for NAM, as became apparent in the plenary discussions around the enunciation of a set of priority programs.

The presentation of workshop proposals and the adoption of priorities took place late Saturday afternoon and Saturday evening. After every workshop had given its report, there was a general discussion over the meaning of priority programs. The question was whether each chapter *must* engage in at least one part of a priority program, or whether it *should*. The discussion made it clear that everyone thought it was the responsibility of all chapters to study the priority programs and to do work around them if possible. But partly because there is no way of enforcing a "must," and partly because people thought that the moral obligation was sufficient, "should" won out over "must" by 208 to 164. This, too, strengthened the tendency that a diverse working class needs a flexible and diverse revolutionary organization.

Economics

In matters of more immediate political substance, there were two major developments at these plenaries on priority programs: the adoption of the eight point economic program over the IS alternative of a "focal point on rank and file rebellion" and the inclusion of a program on war and imperialism as NAM's second priority area. Surprisingly, given the central importance of the anti-war movement in the development of revolutionary consciousness in the new left, the October meeting of NAM in Chicago had omitted any mention of the war or of American imperialism in general. At Davenport a few people voiced sharp criticism of this omission, and the war and imperialism priority was easily adopted. The only opposition came from IS, which objected to support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and a few other minor points.

The third priority area combined anti-corporate organizing, as, for example, in the Honeywell Project in Minneapolis (which joined NAM as a body), and industrial health and safety. The child care program narrowly missed being adopted, and much of that program was incorporated into the economic program. The New Working Class workshop said that the problem of NAM was that of the relationship of the new strata of the working class to the traditional "blue collar" workers. Its reports criticized the earlier editions of the NAM newspaper for not reflecting a broad and variegated concept of the working class. The workshop on justice and law reported that it did not think its program should be a priority one. Its program advocates abolition of capital punishment, prisons, all categories of victimless crimes, and amnesty for all those imprisoned for such "offenses." It suggested activities to aid prisoners, to secure release without bail for offenders, and opposition to discrimination on the basis of previous penal servitude. The elections workshop gave a minority and majority report. These both generally supported local electoral activity of a socialist nature that developed organically from a ward or district level upward.

The final session... a brief history... and history... In- the- the- PRO-

PEOPLE'S CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY

Economic Programs of N.A.M., Adopted at Davenport, Iowa

1. Internal Education
2. Strike Support
3. Equal Work and Equal Pay for Women
4. Price Activity
5. Taxation
6. Social Services
7. Day Care
8. People's Control of the Economy

1. Internal Education

The National Interim Committee shall develop an educational program on the economy for all N.A.M. chapters.

2. Strike Support

We support all strikes that attempt to break the wage guidelines; we give priority to wildcat, illegal, and profit-limiting strikes. We encourage union sanctioned and wildcat strikes to extend their struggle into the arena of corporate and state policy, as a basic method of transforming the divisive character of these policies. Wherever possible we attempt to bring to these strikes class-wide demands which can bring together all sections of the working class around a common interest program. (For instance, when public employees strike for higher wages, rather than setting their demands in conflict with the community N.A.M. should demand that the government tax the rich to pay for it, and not use it as a rationale to cut back public services to the poor.) We are also committed to fighting all anti-working class, anti-strike legislation and actions on the part of the government (Taft-Hartley, anti-strike laws, use on injunctions, and so on.)

The following key strategic objectives should provide guidelines for N.A.M. strike support work:

1. The workers themselves playing an active political role (for instance, creating the opportunity for striking workers to bring their message to the community—at union halls, campuses, church groups, clubs, etc.)
2. Winning, by means of building up an offensive momentum, and by a dramatic presentation of the issues to the public at large.
3. Education of the youth on pro-working class lines, and calling on unions to develop a program which is oriented toward the needs of youth.
4. Calling on unions to develop programs to meet the needs of women and national minorities; and urging that minorities and women operate respectively as collective bodies to determine their needs and to pressure the trade unions to satisfy these demands.
5. Meeting the needs of the strikers (e.g., access to legal assistance, printing facilities, day care assistance, supplies, etc.)

3. Equal Work and Equal Pay for Women

The New American Movement should initiate a fight for women's liberation in the workforce as an integral part of its response to the new economic policy. The central focus of such a campaign would be Equal Work and Equal Pay, but it would also take up the issues of child care, equivalent pay for part-time work, no loss of seniority for maternity leaves or leaves of absence necessitated by women's role in the family, and an end to sexual tracking in the schools.

In particular, we suggest at this time a national N.A.M. campaign to attack the channelling of jobs in particular target industries or companies. Where possible, we urge that AT&T be this target for all N.A.M. chapters. The Bell telephone system has 62 job classifications, every one of which is sex typed, and has come under considerable attack for its sex and race discrimination. (7% of all EEOC complaints received are against Ma Bell.) The jobs are, or course, the low paid ones, and they reflect women's role in society at large.

Such a campaign could go along the following lines: N.A.M. groups would approach rank and file telephone groups, male as well as female, but especially operators and working women who would like to apply for jobs in the telephone crafts, or want to support such a campaign. At the same time we would approach women's liberation groups and the considerable number of women's liberationists not now in groups to join us.

Women, in numbers as substantial as possible, would go into the employment office and apply for craft jobs, while a demonstration such as a picket

line would be held outside the employment office. If this were not successful other direct mass actions such as sit-ins are possible. Where there is generalized rank and file support, the unions could be asked to support such a campaign—and if they did not, demonstrations could be held against them for not fighting for the need of their ranks.

We can also link such a campaign to other portions of our new economic policy program, such as campaigns against rate increases by AT&T, where there is already substantial interest and where a public service commission rules on increases.

4. Price Activity

N.A.M. chapters should undertake to initiate and create community organizations whose program is to combat oligopoly pricing power. The principle is clear, but the application is difficult because N.A.M. organizers will have to make choices among potential targets on strategic grounds. N.A.M. chapters will have to choose which classes of price fixing can be made vulnerable to politicized mass organizing.



The criteria N.A.M. should use are the following:

- a) That the price be significant enough (i.e., affect the family budget) to generate widespread support
- b) That the target not be so remote that local activity is irrelevant (e.g., steel prices), nor so localized that it is very difficult to go beyond neighborhood organizing
- c) That there be a lag between the announcement of the price rise and its implementation so as to permit time for mass mobilization (e.g., prices subject to a public decision-making process as with utility rates)

The following are the major types of prices fitting this strategic concept of key prices:

1. utility rates, 2. state and local taxes, 3. (sometimes) rents and food chain prices, and 4. transit fares.

N.A.M. chapters should choose one or more key area-wide price decisions or existing price inequities (e.g., a utility filing for a rate increase) and campaign to freeze or roll back that price. The campaign should make that price struggle a symbol in the public mind of the whole price structure. It should, with whatever specificity is appropriate, raise the goal of social control over these decisions in place of private control. And the basis for community organizing should be the involvement of whatever community organizations (such as local unions and rank and file groups) and institutions can be brought into the struggle, as well as the elaboration of new community groups. The campaign may well create the opportunity to broad-

en the organizing thrust to include other kinds of consumer struggles as well; and wherever possible should be linked to the demand for decent wages for the relevant employees.

5. Taxation

The goals should be a sharp reduction of federal, state, and local taxes on lower and middle income groups, to be accompanied by drastic reductions in military expenditures and increases in taxes on corporations and upper income groups. N.A.M. and its chapters should develop specific programs and proposals within this framework. We strongly encourage N.A.M. chapters to develop state and local tax initiatives to meet these goals.

6. Social Services

The N.A.M. in its programs should respond to the current decline in government services, including health facilities, housing, mass transit, welfare programs, educational facilities, and police and fire departments. State and local governments are reacting to the present financial crisis with a widespread move toward austerity which includes severe cutbacks in services provided, so-called "slave labor" and "brownie point" systems for welfare recipients, large-scale layoffs of public employees in all types of jobs, rising prices of services not wholly subsidized by taxation, and even the shutting down of vital service institutions. This is resulting in a growing awareness among working people that despite crushing taxation the quality of life in America is deteriorating and the government is unable to meet basic needs. The following are suggestions for actions in these areas.

Tactically, such actions might begin where vocal opposition to cutbacks in specific areas exists in a community. They might involve coalitions with Third World, community service, religious and organized labor groups. They might consist of demonstrations at affected service institutions, at city halls and state houses; of petition campaigns; of strikes of service workers in sympathy with those affected by layoffs and cutbacks, and of ballot box efforts.

The following general strategic demands would be vital:

1. No cutbacks in services, in particular an end to work requirements and bonus systems for welfare recipients.
2. Expansion of existing services for working people, immediate rehiring of laid-off workers without disadvantageous arrangements regarding wages and working conditions, hiring of people from the community served by the institution.
3. No increase in taxation of working people. The maintenance of service should be financed from the profits of large corporations and banks. This demand could of course be linked to specific tax initiatives.
4. Community control of service institutions, including some sort of decentralized administration.

The long term objectives of such programs include:

1. Unifying white-collar workers, blue-collar workers and the poor and unemployed in a sector which affects them all simultaneously. This includes a breakdown of the anti-welfare recipient attitude which exists in parts of the taxpayer revolt.
2. Building an anti-ruling class attitude around the conception that the "fat cats," and only they, stand to gain by the cutbacks while every one else suffers.
3. Development of a consciousness that all people have an absolute right to the services they need to live in this society.
4. Development of an awareness that government bureaucracy and the capitalist system cannot meet social needs in an adequate and democratic manner, and that therefore popular control is necessary.

7. Child Care

An issue which unites women's interests, workplace and community organizing, unpaid labor (in the home), sex roles and sex typing, and the economic exploitation of women by the nuclear family structure, child care should be a project of each N.A.M. chapter. Different versions of child care programs could be worked on by different chapters, depending upon local needs.

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Women in NAM

REPORT ON THE WOMEN'S CAUCUS

The Women's Caucus of the NAM November 25-29 conference in Davenport met four times that weekend—always hurriedly and straining under the tensions and pressures which carried over from other conference sessions. Our actual decisions were few:

1. There will be a women's internal discussion bulletin in NAM,
2. The policy of having at least 50% women on all national bodies is continued,
3. Two of the women elected to the NIC will be responsible for seeing that the concerns of women are fully represented in every area of NAM.

There was also strong support for the idea of a NAM women's conference in the early spring and several women agreed to work on this project.

Beyond these basic facts, we cannot discuss the women's caucus without entering into the realm of our own experience and perspectives. We want to encourage other women who have different understandings of the dynamics of the caucus, or different analyses of what happened there to express those viewpoints also.

3. The need to broaden the base of NAM to include working people, particularly women and minority groups, through strong and viable programs.

The interaction of feminist and socialist politics cannot help but be productive if, as we believe, they are intrinsically linked. Many women in the caucus felt this to be true, but there was general agreement that few of us had worked out in any coherent form the dialectics of this relationship or its concrete meaning for our lives and work. This is not to say that we should be about constructing a narrow ideological focus. Rather, it is an attempt to speak to the necessity of acting out of a perspective which makes sense to us if we want to make sense to others.

Structurally, the conference itself suggested many of the difficulties which women will have to confront in NAM. The agenda allotted only 2 1/2 hours of a three day schedule for a 'women's caucus', and our additional meetings were rushed and at awkward hours. The plenary sessions, at which all decisions were made, were largely dom-



The women who met in Davenport were coming from many different places—geographically and politically. We were all concerned that many women weren't there—our sisters from the women's movement who have been skeptical of NAM's ability (or willingness) to really deal with sexism, and the large numbers of working women (including women who work in the home) who've never been involved in the movement before. Disagreements emerged cautiously, not so much in the form of clear discussions, as in the tiresome hassles over such things as the order of the agenda. We were limited by our inability to break out of the structures of the total conference, remaining locked in a single large group each time we met and surrendering easily to the prevailing emphasis on immediacy. It seems to us, however, that three distinct concerns emerged in these meetings:

1. The need to begin to practically and theoretically integrate our understandings of feminism and socialism,
2. The need to build NAM structurally as an organization actively struggling against sexism and racism in which every member can function in a non-alienating manner,

inated by men who function well in such an atmosphere—a situation oppressive to women and to many men who cannot or will not adopt to those circumstances. In essence, it appeared we had learned little from the mistakes of the past. Many women seemed to be plagued by the fear of being divisive, which in reality served to divide women, forcing us to function, once again, solely as individuals. It is becoming increasingly clear that women must continue the search for new forms of organization in which our potential can be better realized. Women's caucuses meeting sporadically (or even regularly) within a group have not provided a solution. Our very presence in Davenport indicated that we do not find a separatist women's movement a sufficient answer. However, we should not assume that our only other option is to work as individuals within the larger body. The directions of the women's movement—collective work, non-elitist leadership, a personalization of politics—should not be lost in the interest of a vague and artificial 'unity.'

The NAM programs are particularly crucial in attempting to broaden the base of the organization. Most women thought it essential that the

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Anti-corporate organizing

ANTI-CORPORATION ORGANIZING PRIORITY PROPOSAL

Much of what has been discussed this weekend, in terms both of general political-economic analysis and in terms of concrete programs, has focused on the need to bring together workplace and community organizing. The movement has developed some grassroots strengths in the latter; nothing of significance in the former. Anti-corporation projects, imaginatively conceived, can meet some of the need for stronger workplace organizing and for liaison between it and the more developed programs of community organizing. The main strength of the anti-corporation project in this regard is that it is possible to organize "around" a corporation, as well as within it—to focus people's attention on the physical, financial, social, and political effects that corporations have on their lives.

Opposing this are several weaknesses. An anti-corporation project is not necessarily a socialist project. In particular, if a project is isolated, and focuses on its "target" to the exclusion of all else, it can foster regressive notions: that there can be worker control within one giant corporation; that there can be a kind of syndicalism in several. Moreover, even if the project's ideology and strategy avoid fostering such illusions, the project may remain purely a local propaganda group. If it tries to develop meaningful action strategies to local labor and community constituencies, it runs the risk of misleading these constituencies that the opposition is a single entity, rather than a complex, interrelated system, of which the local target is but one part.

A nationally coordinated effort, with "target" corporations selected according to local conditions, with communication, mutual support and some coordinated actions among groups can overcome some of these problems, or make a start at it.

Within the general framework of anti-corporate organizing seem to fit large portions of specific programs discussed at the workshops. For instance, the industrial health shows such a fit; so does organizing around tax issues. Both of these programs have the virtue of broadening a project's base and to call in question oppressive and unjust features which are structurally inherent in capitalism. Certain humanistic concerns of the movement—anti-racism, anti-sexism can be both natural and important parts of anti-corporate organizing. The choice of multinational corporations as targets allows us to relate imperialism, and capitalism's dependence on war, to conditions which directly and immediately oppress people at home and work.

Proposals

The anti-corporation workshop proposes that NAM adopt as a national priority the organization, coordination, and support of broad-based anti-corporate projects which embody as much as local conditions indicate of all the above concerns.

Set up on a national level a communication-coordination-support group, the "Bureau of Anti-Corporate Affairs." This group's immediate tasks should be:

- a) Actively seek contacts with all people and groups who are, want to be, or have been involved in anti-corporate organizing.
- b) Compile a sourcebook of materials—especially including analysis of people's experiences—which all groups can use.
- c) Consider calling a national (unstructured) conference, or scheduling adequate time during the June conference for meetings among people involved in corporate projects.
- d) The national "Bureau" should take as its explicit task the development of new ideas for anti-corporate organizing. For instance, how can the Food Conspiracies take on organizing against capitalist control of the food industry—from factory farms to supermarket chains? How can anti-corporate and other groups mutually support one another?
- d) In addition to these general tasks applying to many programs that (at this point) are still rather generally conceived, the Bureau should take as one of its major tasks the active implementation of the well worked-out and detailed program of occupational health and safety.

Anti-war and Imperialism Priority

PRIORITY PROPOSAL FROM THE WAR AND IMPERIALISM WORKSHOP

(Existing NAM materials are grossly deficient in dealing with anti-imperialism. Regardless of the plenary's decision concerning the rest of the war and imperialism workshop proposal, it is essential that all NAM descriptive materials include the sense of the following:)

PROPOSED TEXT FOR USE IN NAM INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL

The struggle to build a socialist movement in the United States cannot succeed if it is conceived only as an internal problem. The politics of NAM must locate American working people in a world-historical context from the beginning. We must recognize that a central task of all socialist and working class organizations is the defeat of world imperialism.

United States imperialism limits the development and threatens the lives of people throughout the third world and in the United States as well. Every successful struggle by third world people to free themselves from imperialism weakens capitalist dominance in the U.S.

One of NAM's goals shall be to develop a coherent foreign policy program based upon the global interdependence of working people. Toward that end NAM should seek to develop a working relationship with groups which are doing substantial anti-imperialist work from a socialist perspective. (Research, education and propaganda, as well as liberation support groups, should be invited to become NAM chapters.)

The most important anti-imperialist struggle continues to be that of the Indochinese people. It is the responsibility of every NAM chapter to insure that its program work is definitely related to the need to end the war. Furthermore, each chapter should seek to incorporate an anti-imperialist perspective in its ongoing education and organizing.

ACTION PROPOSALS

I. The war remains an acute crisis demanding continued action. No left organization can abandon this, thus *de facto* giving in to the myth that the war is almost over. As long as the war goes on, no matter its level, radicals should be in the forefront of any movement opposing it. The decrease in U.S. ground involvement might make our job more difficult, but no less important.

II. The NAM will play an active role in on-going anti-war activities. We will participate on the basis of the following principles:

- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and equipment from Southeast Asia.
- End all wage controls; jobs for all.
- End all forms of racial and sexual discrimination
- Promote the PRG 7-point program as the basis for the peace settlement.

III. We propose the following as implementation projects, as individual NAM chapters shall deem appropriate:

- A. Build contingents for local and national demonstrations on the basis of the above principles.
- B. Aggressively take our programs to working people by organizing, in conjunction with local workers' groups, rallies at their work places. We should demand that the local unions endorse such rallies, and also demand at the rallies that the labor bureaucrats who oppose the war put their words into actions by mobilizing their rank and file.
- C. Seek to participate in or initiate other local anti-war actions. These may include civil disobedience, being careful that the style of these actions clearly reflect our understanding of who is the enemy and who are our potential allies.
- D. Organize and get on the official ballots referenda about the war for the '72 election. The referenda should be clearly worded and include the text of the most recent peace plan of the PRG as a means to end the war. Where this is not feasible, the referenda should at least include a proposal for immediate and total withdrawal of all troops and equipment from Indochina.
- E. Conduct campaigns against other forms of militarism, such as chemical and biological warfare, military/police aid to reactionary regimes in

the third world, ABM nuclear testing, etc., using the tactics of propaganda, demonstrations, and civil disobedience.

IV. NAM fully supports the struggles of antiwar GI's and Vietnam veterans, and recognizes the key role they can and are playing in ending the war. We especially endorse and support the campaign of GI's against the class system of oppression in the military. We pledge to work for greater unity of the popular and working class anti-war forces with GI's and veterans. We also support draft resistance and the refusal of orders by GI's. An end to the war must include amnesty for deserters and draft resisters.

V. Crisis alarm system: It is possible that a successful PRG offensive this winter could force Nixon into a major escalation, perhaps with tactical nuclear weapons. We need to have laid the groundwork for an immediate and militant mass reaction, both by having educated people to the nature of Nixon's policy and the possibility of this occurrence, and by having planned in advance a course of action that can be immediately implemented, and a structure to carry it out. The alarm system would leave it to individual chapters to make arrangements for quick public demonstrations in their areas. Each chapter should, in turn, constitute itself as a crisis alarm system to do the same thing in its own area, using telephone chains, wall newspapers, and other forms of communication to spread the word about political actions. (A similar crisis provision should be made for national emergencies, such as Attica.)



EDUCATION

I. Every NAM chapter should devote some of its resources to education around the international aspects of imperialism and the nature of Nixon's policy to continue the war indefinitely. This activity should be coordinated with other programs, specifically programs around the economy. This should include (a) internal education to develop within NAM a more sophisticated understanding of international imperialism and (b) mass education to make clear the international nature of capitalism and the need to fight it with an international consciousness, and on the continuation of the war.

II. NAM must develop materials geared especially to anti-war and anti-imperialist work illustrating how the war affects both Indochinese and American women. (e.g., issues such as the relationship between CBW and birth defects, effects of civilian casualties on Indochinese culture, changes in sex roles in both cultures, domestic effects of the war economy on women.)

III. NAM periodical publications should include open forums analyzing the interrelationship between U.S. and world issues, particularly those connected to the interests and struggles of working people. Examples include the role played by US banks and corporations in maintaining the racist apartheid government of South Africa in power; struggles of Latin American people against regimes propped up by U.S. investments and control of natural resources; U.S. corporations' manufacture of complex equipment used in the automated battlefield in Indochina. While avoiding the bulletin board effect, information about the development of liberation movements, problems and achievements of socialist countries, and major international crises should be covered. Guest articles should be sought from specialized research/education groups such as NACLA and The Africa Research Group. Debate should be kept open by publishing exchanges of letters and articles taking opposing positions.

Campus Organizing

CAMPUS ORGANIZING—MAJORITY POSITION

Students are taught usually to see themselves as completely distinct from and usually above the working class. Through our work on campus, we would like to unite the struggle of students with those of working people. In addition our work on campus should be directed against ways that the universities oppress students as students.

Students and young people have been in the forefront of various progressive movements in the past decade. The university plays a distinct role in capitalist society. Along with training a new educated sector of the labor force, it researches and develops theories and programs for the purpose of maintaining present power relationships in society and furthering social and economic development at home and abroad in the interest of the ruling class. Further, as an institution employing thousands, supporting many more through grants and scholarships, and involving millions of people in its practices the university is a major force in maintaining the dominant order.

Student NAM chapters should attempt to regenerate a radical presence on campus. The difference between NAM and previous organizations, however, is that NAM groups are a concrete part of a broader movement. What this means is that NAM chapters will organize students in terms of the NAM priority programs. NAM student chapters should focus upon the class relation of the university as an institution both in its internal structure and in its relation to the outside community.

We recognize that these relations take a specific form at each institution. Hence the programs which deal with these relations must be worked out by the people who live them in the course of struggle. In other words there must be local autonomy for NAM student chapters allowing them to work out programs which relate to the general NAM program, in terms of the specific conditions at their school.

Specific types of programs which may be viable at different universities are:

1. Programs to support workers and high school students in their struggles within and outside the university community.

2. Programs to open university facilities to all people in the surrounding community. Specifically, the university facilities should be open to community and campus workers. These facilities include education, health and recreation.

3. Programs for combatting discrimination in hiring practices and in admission standards.

4. Programs for stopping tuition increases and fighting for cut backs in tuition.

5. Programs on curriculum—making community contacts to establish women's studies, Black studies, labor studies, anti-imperialist studies and penal studies. These should be community influenced study programs.

6. Programs to bring workers to campus to discuss various aspects of their occupation and unions—including information on unemployment in various occupations and literature such as "Vocations for Social Change" and "Radicals in the Professions."

7. Programs to fight against the educational methodologies of the university which contribute to student alienation and prepare them to be instruments in the functioning of capitalist society. That is, combatting rigid systems of requirements and prerequisites which teach obedience to existing authority, fighting systems of grading which encourage competition and elitism and stifle resistance by dividing those oppressed, fighting a lecture system which promotes passivity and teaches people not to raise critical questions.

8. Programs pointing out and combatting the way a university oppresses a community and sets the community against the students and vice-versa.

Some people suggested that the formation of an independent national student union would be a positive direction for the future.

HEALTH & SAFETY

: Political perspectives

I. Definition. Occupational health includes the conditions of any workplace which affect the mental or physical health of the men and women working there—in both long and short range terms. It includes workplaces such as hospitals, offices, and farms as well as factories. For women it includes the added effects of exposure to potentially harmful substances during both child-bearing years and pregnancy. It also includes the physical effects of the corporation on the community.

II. Occupational health issues clearly demonstrate the clash between the logic of profit and the well-being of the vast majority of the population. The program therefore sharply demarcates the class divisions in our society, putting on one side the corporations and the array of supporting institutions, from universities, to hospitals to government, and on the other the working class and its allies.

III. Occupational health questions are particularly important for NAM. The ~~fitting~~ class solutions to the economic crisis, as exemplified by Nixon's New Economic Policy, mean efforts to increase productivity. When there is a drive for increased production, safety and health procedures are precisely the first to be ignored. A program around occupational health and safety will be the specific institutional embodiment of the view that the working class is pivotal to the struggle for socialism.

IV. Work in the area of occupational health allows radicals who are not in the workplace to work with rank and file movements or approach less organized workers in a legitimate way. Radicals can be important in linking local groups centered around individual workplaces to broader alliances. Such links will be objectively necessary because many struggles around occupational health and safety occur in isolated places of work, in plants which are part of large corporations—often unionized by many different unions or partially non-union. It has been common for large companies to shift production processes during periods of worker unrest.

V. The legitimate relationship between radicals and the workplace is also reflected in the self-interest of groups working on the problems of ecology, pollution, and consumerism. If the workplace remains poisonous, the outside community cannot be cleaned up. This relationship points to a potentially successful method of approaching the problems of pollution, because it clarifies authentic class alliances and will reveal in struggle the power of the working class—its strength and organization on the job. The solutions raised by coalitions of consumer or ecology groups with worker groups have the potential of uniting the working class with allies. And these solutions need not counterpose clean environment to jobs or decent pay as they have in the past.

Other possible coalitions arise as well: Women workers have special problems. Exposure to toxic substances during pregnancy has often devastating effects in the pharmaceutical, cosmetic, and insecticide industries. Men and women in hospital laboratories and radiology departments who are exposed to excessive radiation any time during child-bearing years may pass damage to unborn generations. Women need rotations and special work considerations during pregnancy (and even during menses) in some jobs. Protective regulations which allow for breaks from work and limitations on lifting would also be healthy for men. Non-white workers are forced into the lowest paying and most dangerous jobs. Finally, the tedium, racism and sexism which accompany the jobs of most women and non-whites add further, immeasurable strains. Victories for a shorter work week at full pay and protection from compulsory overtime not only limit the damaging effects of the workplace but supply more jobs.

VI. Issues of occupational health and safety are at the fore of many shop struggles. Particularly in heavy industry, ferment around intolerable conditions has produced wildcat strikes and work stoppages. Socialists can help spread this kind of activity to other occupations and workplaces. To ignore such problems would be to ignore an important question which is central to the lives and present concerns of many of the most militant people in the working class.

VII. The issues raised by struggles on occupational health and safety are central to the struggle for a socialist transformation of society. The basic antagonism between those who own and run the corporations (and supporting institutions) for private profit and the mass of the American people who must work in order to survive is sharply drawn. By integrating workplace issues into struggles in a number of other areas as well, NAM can not only build power for particular struggles, but clarify the class connections between sets of issues that now seem fragmented. And finally, it is ultimately impossible to talk realistically about authentically safe work environments—or external environments—without raising the issues of workers' control over the organization of the workplace on the one hand, and, on the other, popular control over the ends of production—production dictated by the human needs of all. (A pamphlet describing strategies and tactics of organizing in some detail is preparation)

—Harry Boyte,
member National Interim Committee,

TASKS

1. Bring a socialist analysis and program to struggles around occupational health and safety.
2. Overcome isolation and politically unite individual workplace struggles around occupational health and safety.
3. Develop joint actions among workers, national, and community groups.
4. Develop technical resource groups.

METHODS OF IMPLEMENTATION

I. National

N.A.M. should establish a committee with full-time staff, responsible to the elected national interim administrative body, to implement the following:

1. Communication

- among rank-and-file groups through a national rank-and-file news service
- through NAM publications
- through the media

2. Establish and publicize resource pools for technical information about occupational diseases and their treatment.

II. Local

Chapters should establish local occupational health and safety committees composed of workers, technical resource people, radicals, and members of community action groups to carry out the following:

1. Education

polling workers and community residents to gain and publicize information and to make contact teach-ins

using local media, including columns in local newspapers and in local rank-and-file papers, and talk shows election campaigns as a means of raising the occupational health & safety issue.

2. Direct Action

strike support encouraging treatment of occupational diseases in existing free clinics and demanding

Continued on page 7



ECONOMY

from page 3

Of particular importance is a nationally coordinated attack on the day care programs now in the works at federal, state, county and municipal levels. These government programs have two purposes:

1. To take women "off the welfare rolls" and put them into low paid jobs
2. To funnel money to corporate interests—i.e., "Control Data" and real estate interests.

Money must be channelled to community controlled child care centers, not to corporate controlled "Kentucky Fried Chicken" centers.

Attack could take the form of neighborhood organizing to gain control of local day care councils, thus of funds and regulations.

N.A.M. child care projects should meet the following criteria:

1. Provide loving enlightened child care and attempt to break down sex role stereotypes, for example by hiring men on the staff.
2. Be a politicizing force which brings new members into N.A.M. and raises their consciousness.
3. Day care centers at work places should be paid for entirely by the employer, and controlled entirely by the parents.

The N.A.M. conference workshop on Child Care shall be incorporated into the N.A.M. interim structure as a continuing committee for research and information in this area. Funds should be available from N.A.M. for such activities as a clearinghouse for such information. We recommend that at least one member of the N.I.C. have as his or her main program responsibility, the development and coordination of N.A.M.'s child care program.

8. People's Control of the Economy

We believe that "People's Control of the Economy" should be a central principle of N.A.M. "People's Control of the Economy" opens the door to discussion of our ultimate goal and squarely confronts the new economic policy through which the government nakedly manages the economy on behalf of the corporations.

This means that in all specific activities, as well as in our literature, we should raise the question of "Who decides?" and answer, "Working people should—men, women, and children, ranging from production workers through housewives, older people, street people, etc."

As a long range program, chapters are encouraged to work toward the organization of people's councils, under whatever name, including both rank and file groups in the workplace and organizations of people in the community, which in fact begin to bid for control of specific economic decisions, such as the location of industry, housing, airports, and highways, locally-determined prices such as utility rates, transit fares, and property tax assessments, the level and quality of services such as education and child care. People's councils, even in their infancy, should project the vision of a society which abundantly meets the full spectrum of human needs, and offer specific plans and budgets as to how this could be done in each community and region. A first step toward such councils might be city-wide or regional conferences of all forces opposing the new economic policy. (These forces might be first brought together at teach-ins on the policy in working-class communities.)

These councils, understood as a long range goal, would have four tasks. They would:

1. Take account of social needs in the context of social potential in the fields of transportation, health, food, work, income, education, culture, leisure, child care, old age, planning
2. Take account of current social consumption in these areas
3. Project the gap between the actual under the present system and the potential under a people's control system
4. Search for ways to address the problems of the disparity between the needs and resources of various regions and groups

There are three components to the program:

1. The struggle for a reorganization of production and services through conflict at the workplace

2. A political struggle taking place in the broad community, around the allocation of resources for the achievement of social goals. The struggle for a reorganization of production of services affords the working class, broadly defined, a chance to relate their day-by-day conflict at work to a larger political struggle for the utilization of production for social needs.

3. An attempt to extend regional struggles to affect national and international allocation of resources.

women

from page 4

needs of women be thoroughly integrated into every program area, if more women are to become involved. There was much skepticism, however, as to how seriously the program workshops had considered this problem and how definitively the adopted programs spoke to those needs. From the constant emphasis on "the working class" which pervaded the conference, there seemed to emerge a monolithic image of a white, male, forty year old, blue collar, heavy industrial worker. It was suggested in the women's caucus that had the women in each program workshop been meeting together, they might have been better able to alter such attitudes. As it is we must begin now to insure that NAM programs will relate to *all* working people (including those unemployed or on welfare).

Very few women found these areas of concern to be in contradiction. Disagreements arose, rather, around order of importance in terms of where our energies should be going right now. We thought then, and continue to believe, that the three processes can (and should) go on simultaneously—that no single area can be adequately developed except in the context of the other two. It is critical, though, that women begin thinking and writing on these subjects and that we share our questions and conclusions with each other.

Judy MacLean and Roberta Lynch



Health & Safety

from page 6

that research and treatment facilities of establishment health institutions be devoted to occupational diseases encouraging workplace organizing against dangerous conditions—e.g., slowdowns, refusing to work in unhealthy conditions or to pollute the community forming coalitions with local groups, such as women's, ecology, and consumer groups, and MCHR

CONFERENCE

from page 2

gressive Labor Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were given, and it was reported that three PLers and one YSAer had been asked to leave the conference. The floor was then opened to consideration of structural proposals. Two were presented; one from the Pittsburgh chapter, and the outgoing NIC's proposal. The Pittsburgh proposal stressed decentralization. It proposed a fifty percent ratio of women on all committees and staff groupings, as well as in leadership bodies (as was already proposed by the NIC). And it proposed that the national office and newspaper be located in different cities. It also suggested a complex regional structure of fourteen regions, from which a national council would assemble. The NIC proposal, which was considerably less complex was adopted substantially as presented (it is printed in this issue). The main changes made were to delete provision that the NIC convene regional conferences—thereby leaving that up to the various regions themselves—and to add the provision that two of the women NIC members be responsible for developing a women's program within NAM.

Following this the fate of the newspaper was discussed. One proposal was to have the paper rotate from chapter to chapter. This reflected a rather widespread dissatisfaction with the previous issue and a fear on many people's part that the paper would be used by particular individuals to advance themselves within NAM. But this proposal was clearly unworkable. In its place, the delegates decided to give the NIC responsibility for locating the paper and for seeing to it that it was in fact open to participation by interested members. After the new NIC was elected it decided that the first post-conference issue should be published in Berkeley, and that the December 18-19 NIC meeting would then decide on a location for the pre-convention period.

New NIC

Finally, the new NIC was nominated and elected. The ground rules were a thirteen person committee with at least a majority of women. Some 33 people were nominated for the NIC, 12 women and 21 men. Michael Lerner, Eric Hutchins, and Cicely Nichols declined their nominations. Two members of IS, both women, were nominated as part of a slate presented by the women's caucus, but were not elected. Most of the thirteen elected were from the Mid-west (three from Minneapolis, two from Pittsburgh, one each from Chicago, Madison and Davenport). Of the remaining five, two were from California, and one each from Atlanta, Durham, and Philadelphia. By the time the votes were counted, most people had left Davenport so that they could get home in time to go to work the next day. The exhausted members of the new NIC met briefly and made arrangements for the following two weeks before their first post-conference meeting (see letter from the National Office elsewhere in this issue).

All in all, the conference seemed to most people present to be a great success and a giant step forward for NAM. A firm basis now exists for chapters to develop themselves and to work out the beginnings of programs and a more coherent political perspective in advance of the founding convention next June. The major work of NAM between now and then should be the development of local chapters and regional organizations around the various programmatic proposals put forward at Davenport.

Delegates left the Davenport conference excited about the obvious potential of NAM and also, hopefully, with a deep understanding of the problems it faces. For the June convention, if all delegates are to participate more fully, it is essential that the members share an awareness of the political and practical problems facing the organization. Such an understanding can develop only through full discussion within each chapter of the programmatic proposals along with some practical experience putting these into practice. In addition, it is crucial that the chapters energetically develop a richer integration of feminist perspectives and issues into the programs. Much thought and practice must be devoted to the question of how we can expand the social base of NAM while raising the demand for socialism through transitional programs. These are knotty problems, but there is no reason to think that they cannot begin to be solved if the energy and dedication evident at Davenport continues to grow.

NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE—STRUCTURAL PROPOSAL

Dec. 4, 1971

The current National Interim Committee wishes to propose the following structural proposal for NAM after Thanksgiving, incorporating a number of criticisms and comments we have received on the original proposal.

We propose for the continuing national structure of NAM an interim committee of 13, at least half women, to be elected by the voting delegates at the conference in a plenary-of-the-whole. In voting for members of the interim committee, delegates should be informed by the knowledge of the specific tasks that the interim committee will have to perform. We foresee the following priorities for the NIC:

1. An extensive program of political education, utilizing a variety of media, that deals with both broader political issues—like the contours of an American socialism, American foreign policy, racism and sexism, and also specific issues, like how particular priority programs fit into a broader socialist analysis.
2. Development of program areas in general, and priority programs in particular. The NIC may well decide to form task forces to facilitate its work in program development and coordination. Two women on the NIC are instructed to develop a women's caucus which would discuss the nature of a women's program in NAM.
3. The development of regions, in consultation with local chapters, along lines that are functional to the programs and interests of local groups.
4. Fund-raising
5. Newspaper
6. Hiring of staff.
7. Office and internal communication.
8. Press relations.
9. Plans for founding convention.

NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE AS ELECTED NOVEMBER 28, 1971

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Dear Sisters and Brothers,

After the smoke cleared from the confusion of the last plenary, the new National Interim Committee met and decided the following:

1. The temporary national office will be in Minneapolis (three people on the NIC live there, office space is available, there are two chapters to draw on for support).
2. The next issue of the paper will again come from Berkeley, it's location until June will be decided later. It will describe the programmatic proposals coming out of the conference, Jim Weinstein will be responsible for this issue.
3. Duty assignments to be completed by the next NIC meeting were divided in the following way:
 - a. Marv Davidov and Fred Ojile would take responsibility for the National office.
 - b. Staughton Lynd will develop a pamphlet on the economic program.
 - c. Harry Boyte will have a pamphlet together on occupational health and safety.
 - d. Patty Lee Parmalee will develop a possible outline for an internal education program.
 - e. Pam Beardsley will begin developing a program on anti-war and imperialism.

This letter is coming from an ad hoc temporary staff from the two Minneapolis chapters. We're not exactly gleeful about doing the National Office, being like everybody else overworked already, but we understand its importance in facilitating outward growth and internal cross-communication. At this time the national office consists of a cardboard box full of files, a mailing list and \$900. \$500 goes to the printing and mailing of the next issue of the paper. That doesn't leave much for office expenses or staff. So sometime soon we're all going to have to talk about fund-raising.

In struggle,

National Office ad hoc temporary collective

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newspaper collection

Marty Homec
Kathy Johnson
Nina Marino
Nick Rabkin
Jim Weinstein

A NOTE TO READERS

The Berkeley chapter debated at length how to organize this issue. Well aware of this Newspaper's "mistakes of the past," we wondered whether 1) to delay publication in order to solicit different interpretations of conference events from the various chapters or 2) to put out this issue quickly so that a presentation of the conference and its decisions could be used as an organizing tool and basis of discussion for chapters. We decided on the latter because we view the newspaper as the organ for an ongoing political discussion on the directions for NAM. In our view this first issue after the conference should be limited to an introduction to that debate. Hereafter we hope to see the newspaper filled with reports from chapters on their ideas and perspectives on the issues facing NAM. We ask all NAM chapters to send us news of your activities, suggestions for the paper, and your views on the conference.

We also hope to begin to assemble a file of graphics and poetry for future use in the paper. Suggestions and submissions would be most welcome. We ask that they be typed double spaced with 20 x 80 margins, please. Please send all submissions, suggestions and whatever to:

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