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NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

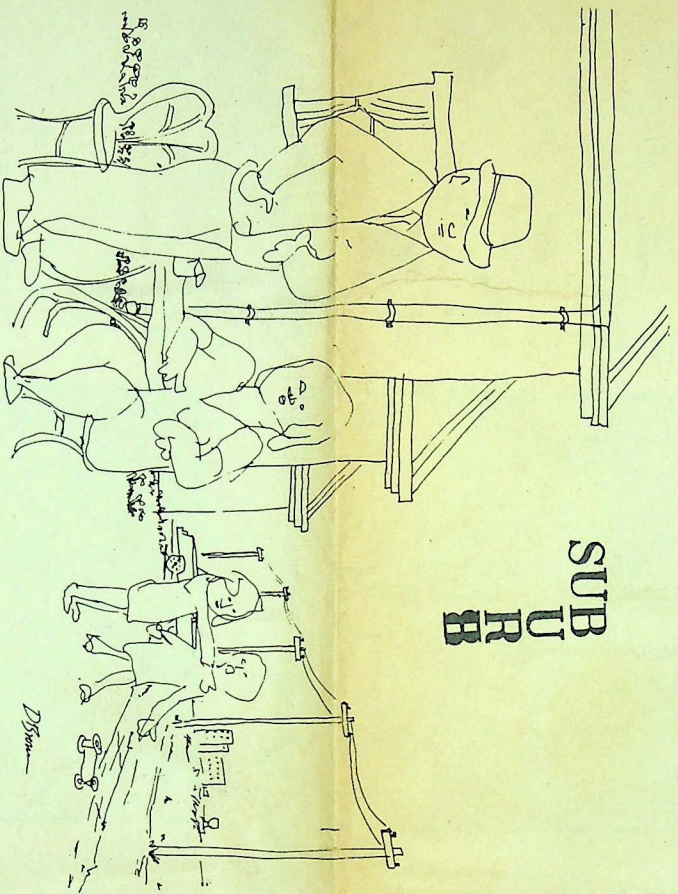
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Letters

112-333-0970

Dear Comrades,

The Anarchist Federation gathers a certain number of autonomous anarchist groups throughout France and mainly in Paris. We heard about your just starting group and I should be very interested in getting some info about your aims and activities.

For our part we could keep you informed of what is going on in France and have some copies of our paper forwarded to you. Our main fight at present is based on antimilitarism. One of our comrades, Paul Chenard, has just been indicted for broadcasting the law about the conscientious objectors' stakes. We do hope to set up some form of correspondence with you.

Yours for a better world.
Amapola Peiro
22 rue du faubourg du temple
75 - Paris XIE
France

Dear People,

Peoria has no NAM chapter, nor is it likely to in the near future. The middle-class ex-New-Leftists (like ourselves) and hangers-on here are few, idiosyncratic, and not altogether in agreement with NAM's orientation toward working people (as opposed to what they define as poor people or draft-dodging students). And the NAM materials I've seen (with the conspicuous exception of occupational health and safety) are not for working people's consumption. That is, I'm not willing to defend most of them, because my criticisms would be quite similar.

Take the newspaper, supposedly a mass review of "A Clockwork Orange" could just as well have been written by one college student for another. Whether what it says is true of the movie, I don't know. But the review's style is painfully academic: "so all-encompassing that it subsumes whole dimensions of human existence," indeed! Regardless of substance, it could only be the butt of a joke with my working-class film-buff friend.

Frances Goldin's article on housing was disappointing. She never says what Tenant Teams for Action has done, or their problems in doing it. It's all "how logical it is," "how natural," "would be," etc. I agree with her intent and her analysis. The man I work under in this community probably would not, although he is "open" to the left. He and I both know that banks and lenders are behind landlords, and the government behind all three. But for him that's an unfortunate "fact of life" which you can't fight in your organizing if you hope to win anything with the people. The trouble is that she says nothing that would convince him and nothing that helps me.

What do people say when you start talking in her terms? Are the most oppressed indeed the most responsive? What keeps people going if they win something? If they lose? Just how do you organize tenants both to better conditions now and overthrow capitalism in housing later? How much actually has Tenant Teams for Action accomplished? These are very tough questions. I know, because I've applied them to myself and come up short. But only an article dealing with these nit-picky daily organizing questions can be either:

1) of help to floundering organizers, such as yours truly, or

2) of conviction to working people. (The rest is just more exercise in manifesto-writing, and who cares)

Occupational health and safety (and ATEP maybe) make more sense to me than anything else out of NAM so far. But I'm not an industrial worker and am not really

NEWSPAPER: NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
P. O. Box 5961
Berkeley, Calif. 94705

NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEES
ELECTED NOVEMBER 28, 1971:

Pam Beardsley
40 Peachtree Place, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Harry Boye

630-C Hibbard Drive
Camp Hill, North Carolina 27514

Mary Davidov

529 Cedar Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minn. 55404

Janet Gallagher
121 Burke Drive
Monroeville, Penn. 15219

Paula Giese

2104 Kenwood Parkway
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414

Sarale Hamilton
5108 Newhall Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 191-4

Ann Laske

149 W. Wilson Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Robert Lynch
1805 Blvd. of the Allies
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Fred Ojile

233 Arthur Ave. SE
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414

Patty Lee Parraltee
P.O. Box 26303
Los Angeles, Calif. 90026

Jan Rubin

5108 Newhall Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19144

Frank Spitz

St. Ambrose College
Davenport, Iowa 52803

Jim Weinstein

1453 Kenny Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94133

NAM NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Barbara Easton
John Haer
Maryl Homec
Kathy Johnson
Sandy Kricher
Nina Marino
Joni Rabinowitz
Nick Pabkin
Jim Weinstein

THIS TYPOGRAPHY IS TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIED, FOR WHICH WE APOLOGIZE. WE DID NOT HAVE ACCESS TO OUR TYPESETTING MACHINES, AND HAD TO DO THIS ISSUE BY ELECTRIC TYPEWRITER. WE HOPE TO BE BACK TO NORMAL NEXT ISSUE.

Dear Friends,

A group of women from the Iowa City Women's Center are planning a conference on "Women and Work" to take place on April 8-9. It will be for working women, unemployed women, and women on welfare. Mainly, there will be women from Iowa. We welcome participants from elsewhere who have organizing experience and/or experiences in conferences like this one. Please pass along any helpful suggestions for literature, films, etc.

Yours,
Tonda Lamour
518 S. Lucas St.
Iowa City, Iowa
52240

sure how to proceed in contacting them without feeling like (and being?) a colonizer. I'm not sure what I have to offer as an outsider. And I refuse to pose as the great organizer I am not--this goes for NAM too. Nevertheless I watch for openings, and would like to keep in touch with these programs especially.

These criticisms are based on some hope and some underlying thoughts. One, it's not too smart for a would-be mass socialist organization in this country to use conventional leftist rhetoric. Second, I am not and cannot pretend to be a great organizer just because I live "out of the way" and happen to be associated with a grass-roots community organization. Third, no one, myself included, knows what a genuinely American working people's socialist organization would look like.

Peace,
Harold Henderson

The objections to some of the language of our articles are well-taken. We view the issue, however, not in terms of leftist rhetoric versus everyday language, but in terms of clear language versus obscure language. Yes, we have a ways to go.

Fran Goldin was well aware that her article represented only tentative thoughts for future actions, but since most NAM chapters are still young--with little knowledge from actual practice--we felt that the article, as tentative and sketchy as it was, served as a good framework for thought for future actions.

Finally, we detect in the letter a certain identity problem that may be the source of what seems to us its unwarranted pessimism. We believe that if we begin to define our own lives in proletarian terms our relations to the traditional working class becomes clearer. We certainly see no insurmountable conflicts, except, of course, with the ruling class.

We don't know exactly how our working class organization will look either, but NAM offers an arena for democratic development of the organization. We hope to have pointed out critical problem areas that NAM must work on if it is to grow and help unify a restless but fragmented working class.

THE NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Sisters and Brothers,

I am writing this letter on behalf of myself and a group of friends. We have been drifting aimlessly on the fringes of the socialist movement for quite some time, seeking organizational forms we can relate to without having to accept as a precondition an entire, complete analysis and program. Unfortunately most groups on the left demand conformity to a world outlook that we might not disagree with but that we must accept a priori without the opportunity to experiment with and analyze the ideas.

We feel that the New American Movement may be the vehicle by which we can develop freely our own outlook based on a socialist reconstruction of America.

With you in struggle,
Carl Grimm
Jersey City, New Jersey

INTERNAL EDUCATION PROGRAM PROPOSAL

Bob Greene and Patty Parmalee

Introduction

The Davenport conference resolved that NAM have a program of internal education in economics. Our proposal for the initial program is designed to be relevant and effective education. That means study of concrete reality. Therefore, much of the program consists of asking questions of specific institutions and people. There is a real advantage in this approach to education; it is a source of political programs, actions and contacts as well as a source of knowledge that makes those programs, actions and contacts useful.

The program is not a course in accounting or research techniques; that would be shallow and ineffective. It is a research project, for the chapter, into its community. The research will be supplemented by reading in general theory and research methods.

The initial program outlined here could be a long or short course; we envision the minimum length of time to be about six months. Of course every chapter should add readings, discussions and research drawing on the resources in that chapter or community and emphasizing the interests of the chapter members. Some chapters may want to study Marxist theory intensively and may have members who could teach it; others may want to be oriented toward immediate practice. We hope to provide reading lists and advice for the needs of particular chapters, so please write us if you don't feel this outline speaks to you.

The process of study we envision is based on 1) reading a few basic texts, 2) research into the questions provided, 3) optional further reading of resource material (please send us suggestions), and 4) group discussion of the research and reading.

One thing we consider very important is the formulation of theses by study groups and the publication and debate of these theses. Without this, NAM will not benefit from the knowledge and creativity of its members.

There were many suggestions for pamphlets to be put out by the IEC. At the moment we haven't got the resources to write them. However, we will publish a list of these suggestions. Anyone who wants to write a pamphlet, please get in touch with us. Since chapters should not have to wait until we have produced our own materials before they begin to study, we recommend that a few brief works already in print be studied. Gradually they can be replaced by NAM's own materials.

The areas of study we recommend are: basic theory of capitalist economics; monopoly capitalism today; labor, minority and women's history; alternatives to capitalism; strategies for change.

1. Basic Theory

For now, we suggest several weeks spent reading either Ernest Mandel's Introduction to Marxist Economics (\$1.25 from Merrit Publishers, 873 Broadway, NYC 10003) or Gayle Southworth's Four Lectures (50¢ from Radical America, 1878 Mass Ave, Cambridge, Mass, 02140). By reading and discussing these texts, people should get a rough idea of the tools of economic analysis that will be useful to a working class oriented organization.

2. Monopoly Capitalism

The best way to study capitalism is to study a capitalist institution. Today the economy is dominated by large corporations that have ties with many other corporations, banks, governments, universities and unions. We recommend studying institutions that are large but locally based. This will ensure that they demonstrate monopoly capitalist characteristics while also providing a target for local action. Major companies in the following industries would, for instance, be appropriate: transportation, steel, automotive, electrical, communications, finance, chemical, aerospace, agriculture, education, social services, medical care, textiles and clothing, retail merchandising. Some chapters might want to study the local branch of an industry NAM is attacking nationally, such as AT&T.



The method of study should be an investigation based on a detailed set of questions provided by the Internal Education Committee. The questions would be related to how much does the corporation make? Who owns it? What are the products of the corporation used for? Who buys them? Is it in debt? To whom? Where does it get its raw materials? Does it have overseas subsidiaries? What do they do? How were they acquired? What is the corporation's relation to the political parties? To the local economy? To regulatory agencies? Who are its directors and what else do they do? What kinds of taxes does it pay or not pay? What are its hiring policies? etc.

Sample studies would be listed in bibliographies, and chapters should consult the NACJA Research and Methodology Guide or similar publications for power research techniques.

3. Labor, minority and women's history and history of socialism in the US

Since the labor movement in the US has had such a varying history from place to place, we recommend an initial period of reading one labor history book and pamphlets or articles on minority and women's history.

The other element of the study would consist of an oral people's history, or the study of the history of labor, ethnic and feminist struggles in the vicinity, as remembered by the people who participated in them. Taped interviews could be done, or the people would be invited to charter meetings. Thus the study of history would also provide some keys to an understanding of these movements locally, and local contacts would be made. The IEC would provide a set of questions for use in the process of study, and some samples of this kind of research. A study of attempts to build socialist movements in this country, including the mistakes

as well as the high points of radical history, would put the histories of the three groups in context.

4. Alternatives to capitalism

Members would discuss the following topics: What kind of society would you like to live in? What is the economic system of some specific socialist countries? What compromises have those countries made in putting their ideals into practice? What is likely to develop in this country, given the present situation and our analysis of the forces for change?

This study should make clear the dialectical nature of change, and the difference between scientific and utopian socialism (see Engels on that subject). It should also lead to clarification of NAM's theory, leading to the fifth subject. Some short materials would be provided for reading, especially on the nature of dialectical analysis, and on socialist economic theory and practice.

5. Strategies for change

Discussion, emphasizing the possible and probable as seen from all the previous study. Conclusions by chapters to be formulated, distributed, and discussed by the national organization. Chapters might read Andre Gorz, Strategy for Labor, and other manifesto-like strategies from the revolutionary class and contemporary movements.

This topic should also focus on possible organizational forms that NAM might adopt, based on comparison with revolutionary organizations of the world and of the recent left in the US. If possible that discussion should take place before the convention.

A bibliography of basic and supplementary texts is in preparation, as well as sample questions and methodology guides for research. Additions to these are solicited. POB 26303, Los Angeles, Calif., 90026.

ON WAR & IMPERIALISM

Dear brothers and sisters,

Apparently, in the confusion of the Daventry conference, the paper never received the final version of the war and imperialism priority program. Two amendments not printed in the January issue are:

1. To add in Action Proposals, Section 11, "No support for the twin war patlines" as one of NAM's principles for participation in anti-war activities;

2. To expand paragraph 3 of the "Proposed Text for Use in NAM Introductory Material" so that it reads as follows (amendment underlined): "One of NAM's goals shall be to develop a coherent foreign policy program based upon the global interdependence of working people and solidarity with liberation movements and revolutionary socialist countries. Toward that end NAM should seek to develop a working relationship with groups that 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.)"

I felt that the second amendment was especially important and reflected our intentions. Without it, NAM seems prone to "socialist isolationism" or "international utopianism."

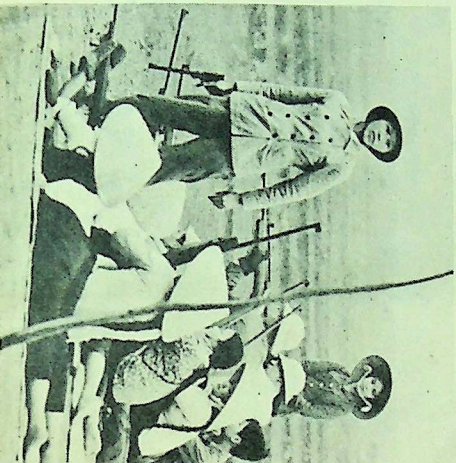
The arguments for solidarity with liberation movements and revolutionary socialist countries became badly distorted during the sixties. The reason for solidarity is not to find romantic release from the frustrations of organizing, or to obtain exotic heroes while ignoring our own history. Nor is it to get a blueprint for the revolution here or for the new society. All the Vietnamese or Cubans whom I've met insist that their revolutions were conditioned by underdevelopment and that the movement in the US faced a different and unprecedented situation.

International solidarity is necessary for two reasons: 1) we have a common enemy, and fundamentally similar long term goals; 2) liberation of the people of the

US requires that we willingly put aside the material comforts of empire and psychological comforts of manifest destiny and cultural superiority.

White working people in the US are in an ambiguous position. Surely we are the victims, exploited for the advantage of those who own and rule. But we are also the victimizers, the short term and limited beneficiaries, and oftentimes the instruments of the exploitation of national minorities within our country and in the colonies. Democratic socialism is inconceivable until white workers consciously link their fate with that of oppressed nationalities here. Imperialism cannot be ended until that link is made internationally.

The strategy of US foreign policy managers is to avoid another debacle like Vietnam without allowing the colonies to become independent. Public use of US ground troops is unlikely in the near future, but intervention through other means is not. The tactics of the automated battlefield are already being adapted by NAMO ally Portugal for use against liberation movements in its African colonies.



NIC

(Continued from Page 4)

2) Preparing a history of the anti-war movement and current proposals. Brian Boyle has been asked to prepare the beginning of such a history.

3) Encouraging chapter coalition on a principled basis with Project Air War of the National Action Group. The Task Force and NIC encourage chapters to work with present anti-war groups whenever possible, and to bring NAM's analysis to bear on the programs and analysis. The Task Force intends to develop a national campaign against the air war within the context of a socialist perspective.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

Although most work in this program is local work, Harry Boyte, as chairman of this Task Force, encourages chapters to write him concerning national needs and local problems. There will be a session on Occupational Health and Safety at the mass organizing workshop. To encourage debate on programmatic strategies, Harry's paper, Occupational Health & Safety: Political Perspectives will be sent to chapters by the NO.

ECONOMICS TASK FORCE

See report elsewhere in this paper.

NATIONAL OFFICE REPORT

The National Office reported that chapters have been unresponsive and have not sent information concerning chapter organization and activities, or dues payments.

The NO will encourage, by personal letters and phone calls, the beginning of a network of information. Chapter mailings will include multiple copies of letters and literature so that chapters will find it easier to spread NO communications throughout its membership.

The NO has been asked to prepare occasional mailings containing information about new chapters, mailings, business accounting, etc. An internal discussion bulletin will also begin which will consist of short articles, letters and summary of letters from chapters and pre-chapters.

Membership cards will be prepared and sent to chapters. NATIONAL DUES MUST BE PAID BY THE END OF MARCH IF A CHAPTER IS TO KEEP ITS STATUS. Chapters are encouraged to raise money beyond dues to help sustain the National Office, the Task Forces and the newspaper.

WE ARE IN A FINANCIAL CRISIS AND OUR EFFECTIVENESS AND DEVELOPMENT IS ALREADY BEING HINDERED BECAUSE OF LACK OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT BY OUR MEMBERSHIP.

Discussion concerning travelling to build chapters led to a decision to encourage chapters to send travellers to cities, towns and small communities in their area. The NO will call upon specific chapters to help in contacting pre-chapters whenever possible. Anyone travelling should send the NO reports.

JUNE CONVENTION

The function of the founding convention will be considered at length at the next NIC meeting. If anyone has suggestions, please send them to the NO.

Two purposes of the convention that we dealt with are: 1) determination of the politics of NAM and 2) the form of organization NAM will become.

The NIC will set up a group of people to write a statement of principles based on an outline that a committee of NIC members have prepared. This outline will be sent to chapters and pre-chapters. It will be published in the newspaper. The outline is intended to provoke discussion of issues to be considered at the June convention. The statement's purpose is to determine those areas where unanimity can be reached and pose clearly and sharply areas of difference among us. The internal discussion bulletin and the newspaper will be used to circulate the variety of ideas concerning the outline-statement.

Although the convention will probably be

Brazil has received virtually official designation as our surrogate policeman in Latin America (the coup against the left Brazilian Torres government of Bolivia was Leninist inspired). Over the next few years, we can anticipate an effort to further depoliticize foreign policy and remove it entirely from public debate; it is a NAM responsibility to prevent that.

The program priority resolution called upon NAM to "incorporate an anti-imperialist perspective in its ongoing education and organizing." To what extent is that happening? Including 'other people's oppression' is a hard job when we still have so little practical experience in getting people together to fight our/their own. The sixties anti-imperialist rhetoric doesn't help any. But there are groups that are turning anti-imperialism into program, not only through research (MACKA, Africa Research Group), but also through organizing (Community Action on Latin America in Madison, the Chicago Anti-Imperialist Collective). Most of these groups have joined the North American Anti-Imperialist Collective). (Chapters that want to keep up with NAATC and its member organizations' programs can get a one year subscription to their newsletter for \$6 from: 840 West Oakdale, Chicago, ILL. 60657, tele: (312) 477-3340).

Despite the fact that other revolutions can't give us a blueprint, we shouldn't refuse to learn from their experience. Some examples: Cuban and Chinese success in combining productive work with education; Vietnamese strategy for creating national united fronts; Chilean struggles to achieve socialism via electoral and parliamentary routes.

My final point is raised with some hesitancy since similar observations from friends in the past have frequently sounded petty. But some time spend recently in Latin America reawakened my sensitivity. One of the more irritating manifestations of US arrogance to others in this hemisphere is our monopolization of the name "Americans" for our minority share of the population. Can't we find a better name than New American Movement?

In solidarity,
John McNeilliff
War & Imperialism Task Force

P.S.--Crisis Conference: Chile; April 13-15 in Madison, Wisc.; organized by Community Action on Latin America; 731 State Street, Madison, Wisc. 53703

held in Minneapolis, as decided in Pittsburgh last month, it is possible that either Daventry, Iowa or Black Lake, Michigan would be the sites if the difference in cost is substantial. As soon as costs are compared, the NO will notify the chapters of the place along with suggestions for preparation.

RED BALLOON CONFERENCE

The Red Balloon Collective has called for a national convention in Long Island, March 4 & 5. The Red Balloon wants to become a national socialist organization of youth. In the last issue of its newspaper, there was brief criticism of NAM which the NIC and other people considered unfair and ill-informed. The Long Island chapter will attend the conference and attempt to develop communication with this group.

TRAVELLER'S REPORT

Dan Marschall of Cleveland, Ohio travelled for one month on his own money, for NAM. As a result, there will be a statewide conference held in Yellow Springs, Ohio, at Antioch College on March 4 & 5.

MASS ORGANIZING WORKSHOP

Chapter leaders and organizers workshop will be held near Chicago March 31-April 2. Heather and Paul Booth are coordinating the workshop. The outline includes the following: Power; Organizational Program; Strategy of mass organizing; Leadership; Tactics; Women; Specific NAM programs at the chapter level. There will be a detailed mailing conveying the entire weekend as soon as the workshop committee and the NIC work out some unfinished details. Chapters and pre-chapters should consider choosing people to send. There will probably be a limit of two people per person per pre-chapter. Heather and Paul have extensive experience in mass organizing in the Chicago area. One need not be part of the workshop or organizing skill pliants should be chosen by their chapter or pre-chapter.

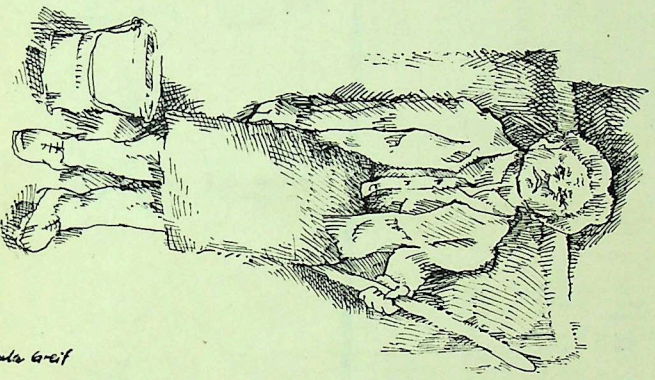
Italian Women's Manifesto for the Struggle of Housewives in the Neighborhood

INTRODUCTION

The following "Programmatic Manifesto" originated in Italy where, during the last several years, a mass socialist movement has begun to develop, to the left of the Communist Party. This manifesto focuses on the home and neighborhood and does not consider the role of women as wage workers. In addition, there are many historical factors that distinguish the left in Italy from that left in the US, and therefore limit the manifesto's usefulness. In particular, women's liberation emerged in Italy after a large scale socialist movement with a strong base among industrial workers already existed. Nevertheless, we hope that the manifesto can contribute to discussions within NAM.

First, the manifesto poses the relationship of women's liberation to socialism in a fruitful way. Rather than viewing housework as marginal to production (as both socialist and feminist movements have traditionally done) the manifesto re-defines housework as socially necessary labor. Cleaning, cooking, raising children, etc. are "forms of labor like any other" and, absolutely necessary if the society is to reproduce itself.

In this way the manifesto points to the potential unity between housewives and wage laborers; it becomes as important for a socialist movement to have a program for the family and the neighborhood as for the factory, the schools and the state. At the same time, since housework is not paid labor but is really a form of slavery, the manifesto points to the need for an independent women's organization. The program of that organization cannot be implemented by women themselves but only in concert with a socialist movement of the working class as a whole.



Paula Greif

Eli Zaretsky

PROGRAMMATIC MANIFESTO FOR THE STRUGGLE OF HOUSEWIVES IN

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

- A. 1) Women are a social stratum with specific connotations.
- A. 2) Women, even when they carry out wage labour, are in their mass situation workers, housewives.
- A. 3) Housework is the only slave labour that still exists within capitalist society. This means that women do work in the house, without any time limit and unpaid, in exchange for their living maintenance.
- A. 4) Hence women are a proletarian stratum, though not in the orthodox sense.
- A. 5) Bourgeois women play an ambiguous role, enjoying privileges to a greater or lesser extent.
- A. 6) We women insert ourselves into the revolutionary process of the proletariat. This we regard as the only way to eliminate our own exploitation and the exploitation in general. However, we regard it as necessary to organize ourselves on an independent basis as a proletarian stratum with its own precise goals, which the traditional class organizations have never understood or wanted to organize.
- A. 7) We women assume on our own behalf the task of making ourselves recognized and struggling as a mass proletarian stratum with its own place within social productivity.
- A. 8) We women reject the principle that so-called "domestic" work is the "natural" inherited attribute of women. We therefore also reject goals such as the payment of wages to housewives. On the contrary, we affirm all labour hitherto carried out by women, that is: cleaning the house, washing and ironing, sewing, cooking, looking after children, taking care of the old and sick, care forms of labour like any other, which could be carried out equally by men or women and are not of necessity tied to the ghetto of the home.

We also reject the capitalist or reformist attempt to solve some of these problems (children, the aged and the sick) by the setting up of state ghettos.

- A. 9) We women, realizing the precapitalist nature of our work, nonetheless reject the reformist solution of gradualism in the attainment of our liberation. We demand that labour recognized as productive, that is, capitalist exploitation, can be liberatory for anybody. We women assume an articulated programme of struggle with demands which are immediately inserted in the revolutionary process for the attainment of communism and the liberation from labour.
- A. 10) We women present ourselves as a galvanizing force in the urban and rural neighbourhoods, mobilizing all

A. 11) We women present ourselves as a galvanizing force in the urban and rural neighbourhoods, mobilizing all

PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

- B. 1) The immediate aims of our struggle are:
 - (a) All cleaning of houses to be carried out by those people, men and women, who wish it to be done, are charged with it and paid to do it by the local council or the state. (By "paid" we mean throughout by the council or state; equally by "free" we mean paid by the state as a public service.)

- (b) Establishment within all neighbourhoods of social centers supplied with laundry services, completely free where both men and women can wash and iron their clothes.
- (c) Establishment of neighbourhood canteens with male and female personnel in charge and paid where anybody who wishes may eat free of charge.
- B. 2) As far as children are concerned, we stand for the following principle: the process of bringing up and socializing children is not the private task of women but is divided along class lines, the process of bringing up proletarian children must be exclusively the responsibility of the proletariat. Therefore, we struggle for:
 - (a) Free nurseries;
 - (b) Sufficient nurseries to cater for all children within each area and sufficiently near their homes;
 - (c) Nurseries with open-air gardens and spaces;
 - (d) Nurseries with no religious personnel;
 - (e) Nurseries in which the task of supervision and child-care is carried out by a number of the parents themselves, paid to do so. This struggle itself should be organized in such a way as to allow parents to comprehend the development of the children and to develop to the fullest the child's understanding of the external world and not to repress it. This must be done through class channels (comrades who are specialized in such matters) and not the channels of apparently "neutral" science.

these exploited strata that capitalist planning by its exclusion of them from the directly productive process, has relegated to a position of incapacity to organize themselves and recompose themselves as part of the working class.

In the "Programmatic Manifesto" both extremes are integrated. The manifesto insists that men share equally in the labor and caring for the old and the sick. It puts forth a program for nurseries, clinics, canteens and laundries organized by the people of the neighborhoods and open to them. At the same time, it stresses that this program can be won only through winning demands placed upon the state both for subsidization of local "alternative" institutions and for a drastic reduction of the work week to twenty hours, for men as well as for women, to "allow qualitatively greater possibility of social living."

In addition, the manifesto can advance the discussion concerning the relation of our programs to our long range political goals. In the US and Europe, the programs of traditional socialist movements have taken the form of a series of demands placed upon the state for housing, jobs, schools, new laws, etc. While such programs have provided unambiguous statements of organizations' purposes of challenging state power, they describe nothing of the day to day behavior of the organization of future social relations. Traditional party organization has prepared for the final goal of seizing state power without otherwise affecting the daily lives of its members.

The classic expression of this tendency has been the Communist Party from the mid-thirties to the present. By contrast, most of the women's movement and many other New Left tendencies developed programs that could be implemented by their members. "Smashing monogamy," "struggle sessions," lesbianism, communal living, pacifism and people's clinics are alternative ways of living that do not challenge public power, but change people's immediate relations with one another.

(Continued on page 6)

ITALY

(continued from page 5)

- (f) Nurseries without limited time schedules, both as regards the entry and departure of children or of parents who wish to be with their children or those who wish to assist in child care.
- (g) One part of the nursery to be devoted to the newly born with qualified personnel who may also be chosen by the parents (for example women experienced in child rearing). The personnel would however be controlled by the fact that the nursery would be within the neighbourhood and fully accessible to its members.
- (h) Proletarian parents to demand and practise the right to propagandize their point of view in elementary training colleges and all other schools and university faculties which train elementary teachers to organize their struggle in common.
- B. 3) For the ill and the old and chronic sick who cannot be cared for in the home we demand health units and special care services, within the neighbourhood and free of charge, where personnel specialized for medical help be provided but where there is to be no limitation against the entry of non-specialized people (relatives or friends of any sex or age) nor the departure of those within, nor as regards any activity which those living in the neighbourhood may wish to pursue.
- B. 4) Every neighbourhood must have a medical surgery with sufficient personnel. Visits and distribution of medicine must be free. Contraceptives must be included in free medical service.
- B. 5) THIS REORGANIZATION AND SOCIALIZATION OF LABOUR IS, IN OUR VIEW, ONLY POSSIBLE WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES. IT HAS REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE AS OPPOSED TO CAPITALIST RATIONALIZATION ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT

child care & forced labor

THE FOLLOWING IS A LEAFLET PREPARED BY THE CHILD CARE TASK FORCE. IT IS BEING USED LOCALLY IN MINNEAPOLIS. WE INVITE COMMENTS FROM NAW MEMBERS

FORCED LABOR AND CONTROL OVER OUR CHILDREN: FAMILY ASSISTANCE AND THE GOVERNMENT WAY

There are three ways that child care and jobs will develop:
the government way
the corporation way
the community-parent way

The community-parent way respects the family, leaves the control with the parents, and benefits the child.

The corporation way is based on profit and everything else is only secondary.

The government way is quickly destroying our families, and making fools out of working people and their children. Let's look closely at the government way.

HR 1: FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN (FAP) & OPPORTUNITIES FOR FAMILIES (OPF), or How to force adults and children into slave labor.

1) Women (and some men) with children over 3 years old who work inside the home and receive welfare as wages will be forced to register for work at as little as \$1.20 an hour in a job not of their choice (FAP).

2) Their children over 3 years old will be forced into government controlled day care centers not of their choice (FAP).

3) Unemployed men and women who need to work outside the home will be forced to register for work for as little as \$1.20 an hour on a job not of their choice (OPF).

4) Women with children under 3 years old who work inside the home will be forced to take in other children during the day and care for them (FAP).

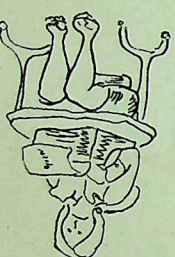
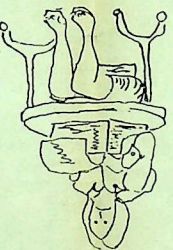
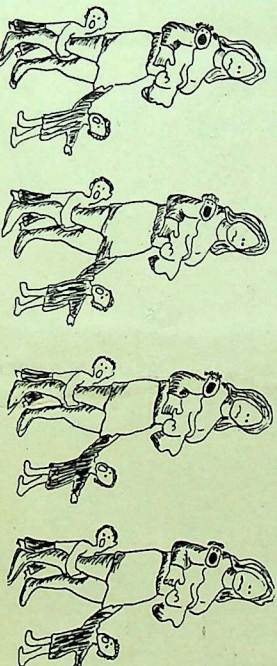
5) A person 16 years or older not in school is forced to register for work for as little as \$1.20 an hour in a job not of his or her choice.

6) Men and women now employed outside the home will often be laid off in order to hire FAP and OPF recipients for cheaper wages and forced labor.

A DRASTIC REDUCTION OF THE WORKING DAY IS ACHIEVED, FOR ALL MEN AND WOMEN, WHICH WOULD ALLOW QUALITATIVELY GREATER POSSIBILITY OF SOCIAL LIVING. ALL THIS MEANS A WORKING WEEK OF 20 HOURS.

- C. 1) After specifying the precise goals of women, we align ourselves, both as housewives and as wage workers, with the struggle of the working class and the whole proletariat for:
- Guaranteed wage, separated from all productivity and working hours;
 - Drastic reduction of working hours, on the basis of equal pay and work sharing with free access for women to all jobs;
 - Elimination as far as possible or reduction to a minimum of unpleasant, dirty work;
 - Total elimination of night shifts which upset the physiological balance of individuals;
 - Free and beautiful housing;
 - Efficient and free transport;
 - Free schools for all.
- C. 2) This last point (Section C) is extremely generic since it does not discuss the discriminations that women undergo at the place of work, in terms of both pay, job hierarchy, and types of work. It does not provide objectives on this question. This is justified to the extent that this programme is for the struggle of women in the neighbourhood and reference to general goals, within the factory or outside, is only made in order to clarify the nature of the overall process of struggle within which we wish to insert ourselves. We shall deal in a further document with the specific goals of women as wage workers. At this stage we emphasize that wage labour only concerns a minority of women and does not encompass women at the mass level.

Movimento di Lotta Femminile, Padova
July, 1971



7) The corporation or employer not only gets labor at lower wages; the boss receives a "kickback" in the form of a tax break for every FAP or OPF person hired.

8) The office workers in the welfare department, manpower services, etc. will be burdened with more paper work, confusing regulations, and another pile of obscure laws that will not help them to do their job, but will actually hinder them from serving the recipients efficiently, honestly, and on time.

9) If a woman refuses to let the government take her child away from her and in to a government center, she will be fined and her welfare wages will be cut.

10) If an unemployed man or woman who is looking for a stable and decent paying job or a woman who works inside the home refuses to register to work in an unstable and low-paying job, he or she is fined and funds are cut.

11) If an unemployed man or woman or a woman who works inside the home refuse to give personal information to the government, he or she is fined.

12) Priority for federal funding of centers will be given to those centers with children whose parents are forced into the labor market under FAP or OPF. Existing centers who are serving families in the lower or middle income bracket may lose funding and be forced to close.

WHO SUFFERS?

Any worker inside or outside the home, or any child who is part of a one-parent family are threatened in a serious way. Instead of getting jobs that are stable and decent, those who have been laid off get jobs that won't support their family and which the worker has no control whatsoever. Instead of continuing to do essential work in home-making and child-rearing inside the home, a woman who receives welfare wages must break up her family, get some cheap, unstable job and must send her children to a government center.

WHO BENEFITS?

TWO sectors benefit:

1) The corporations and small employers benefit. In 10 years can now make mo-

duced on page 7)

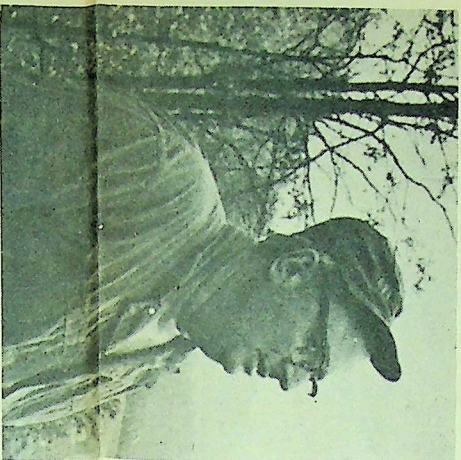
CHINA

(continued from page 16)

It's impossible for us to experience that type of life unless you are in the military service, and then you begin to see it. But I don't think they could have any other kind of system in China. I think they will change as the Russians have changed. As they develop more and the people's needs begin to broaden away from the basic essentials, we don't need those basic essentials. We have more luxury goods than we know what to do with. This is not true in China or Russia. I think it would be a great idea if Nixon went to Russia and started ironing things out there. If we started to do some good, shipping goods to Russia and need for our military complex.

NAM: EXCEPT FOR VIETNAM.

NAM: Well, we're going to get out of there. We have no choice. We have the same choice as the French had and they had to get out because they couldn't handle it. A frontal military system cannot work against a guerrilla system. So we spend billions building up a defense against something that doesn't exist because even the Russians and Chinese combined never really had the military capacity to attack the US. The US is invasion proof. Nobody seems to realize that.



white man and woman, retired:

NAM: I think the trip was a good thing. I don't know what the outcome will be, but at least he's taken the chance.

NAM: A GOOD THING TO START HAVING RELATIONS WITH CHINA?

NAM: Yes, you might as well.

NAM: You might as well. They may change.

NAM: DO YOU HAVE ANY FEELINGS ABOUT CHINA?

NAM: Yes, we have feelings about their government, but the idea is they're a great nation and they need somebody to put them on the right track.

NAM: DID YOU LEARN SOMETHING ABOUT CHINA?

WOMAN: I think so. I've been looking at things in magazines. The National Geographic gives alot about China, especially the older ones. I think it's all right. I think the people are fine, but I think they're a little bit misled by their government.

NAM: They're more or less slaves. In other words a person in China just can't pack up and, say like we can go from California to Nevada. Wherever you feel like it. They can't do that over there.

NAM: DO YOU HAVE ANY FEELINGS ABOUT WHY HE DID THIS AT THIS TIME?

NAM: Yes. One is he wants to end the Vietnam war and China is the key to ending that war. If they tell the Vietnamese to quit, they'll quit.

WOMAN: I think he got their confidence. The Chinese.

NAM: Yeah. That's why I think he did all right, going over there.

NAM: YOU THINK IT WILL HELP END THE WAR?

NAM: It will help end the war, yes. Because they realize what's up and I think cause they've got more to gain than they have to lose.

white husband and wife, 30's, wife grad student in classics, husband professor of physics:

NAM: DID YOU FOLLOW NIXON'S TRIP?

WOMAN: Yes. Frankly we were disturbed about it. About this reverse propaganda being obviously people were suddenly being brainwashed in the other direction after

年 命 不 是 修 学 吃 饭

A revolution is not a dinner party'

Mao Tse-tung

all these years. Suddenly everybody is being told how marvelous China is after all those years of being told that they're dirty commies. We are both very much in favor of opening relations with China, except it's disgusting to see Nixon do it now.

NAM: DO YOU THINK THIS TRIP WILL OPEN RELATIONS?

WOMAN: I think he just went to increase business... markets.

NAM: There was this newspaper article which said that RCA was going to supply something.

WOMAN: It's just a big market for big business. And it disgusts me.

NAM: YOU DON'T THINK HE DID IT WITH GOOD INTENTIONS?

WOMAN: Oh no. Except he needed some good propaganda. I think people were pretty unhappy with him. Fooling around with the war the way he has.

NAM: DO YOU THINK THE TRIP WILL HAVE ANY EFFECT ON THE WAR?

WOMAN: Oh no. He's going to end the war the day before the election.

black woman, 22 years old, counselor at University:

NAM: WHY DO YOU THINK NIXON WENT TO CHINA?

WOMAN: I guess he's trying to get re-elected. I think he desperately needs anything he can get to help him get re-elected.

NAM: DO YOU THINK IT WILL WORK?

WOMAN: Yes, unfortunately.

NAM: DID YOU GET ANY IMPRESSION OF WHAT CHINA WAS LIKE?

WOMAN: I got some idea. From looking at the countryside. Not any idea of what the people think or what their views are. Just about the country. It's very clean. And they showed you select areas of China, so you really couldn't get a good idea of their standard of living. They only showed what they wanted you to see

black woman, 67 years old, retired

NAM: DID YOU FOLLOW NIXON'S TRIP? WHAT DID YOU THINK ABOUT IT?

WOMAN: I think it's wonderful.

NAM: WHY IS THAT?

WOMAN: I know he's a nice man.

NAM: WHY DO YOU THINK HE TOOK THE TRIP TO CHINA?

WOMAN: I don't know why he took it. Do you think he's not coming back?

NAM: NO. HE'S BACK.

WOMAN: Is he? Well, that's wonderful. I wonder did he have a nice trip.

NAM: DID YOU GET ANY IMPRESSIONS OF WHAT CHINA WAS LIKE FROM SEEING IT?

WOMAN: No, I didn't see it. I didn't even know he went until you told me.

NAM: OH, YOU DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT IT.

WOMAN: No. Bless your heart. But I'm glad he's back. He had a nice trip, I hope. He's a swell man. I know that. And I'm going to re-elect him. If he doesn't get in there I don't know what I'm going to do.



white woman, 45 years old, administrator:

NAM: I thought Nixon's trip was wonderful. I've felt for a long time that you can't isolate a huge bulk of people from communication. So I was excited about it.

NAM: DO YOU THINK IT WILL AFFECT THE WAR?

WOMAN: I hope so. It reminded me of what happened when Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia. It was very exciting then too. You know, the world has shrunk. It's too small, and you have to live in it. There are huge ideological differences between the two countries, but we can't say you don't exist, right?

NAM: DID YOU HAVE ANY IMPRESSIONS ABOUT LIFE IN CHINA?

WOMAN: One of the most interesting things was to see how they handled the snow problem. Did you notice them sweeping off the snow with brooms?

NAM: DO YOU THINK WHAT YOU SAW ON TELEVISION WAS A FAIR REPRESENTATION OF LIFE IN CHINA?

WOMAN: Oh, it couldn't be. We saw so little. The way you really see any country is when you get back into the country. But certainly we saw what was going on. For example, Nixon's arrival was not particularly noticed by any of the Chinese when he first came. They went about their business. Bi-cycling to lunch. That sort of thing.

NAM: DO YOU HAVE ANY OPINION ABOUT THE STANDARD OF LIVING THERE?

WOMAN: How can you make a generalization with such a small sample? I'd sure hate somebody to make a generalization about this country on the basis of Berkeley, for example. But I did think it was very exciting.



phone workers

(continued from page 9)

We intend to move ahead against AT&T, and would like to communicate with other chapters about coordinated actions. The price Commission has declared a moratorium on utility rate increases, but some whopping increases have been granted or are scheduled to be granted anyway by a number of state Utility Commissions and the FCC. We might be demanding refunds at local business offices, publicizing the FCC hearings on discrimination, and exploring the possibility of various injunctions against various telephone company actions. There is a stockholders meeting coming up in Denver in April. Let America's largest corporation know that there are people who will not allow its flaunting of monopoly power to go unchallenged.

Ohio conference

(continued from page 10)

Concrete results of conference

1) Communications--Many people doing similar things were brought together, contacts made, experiences exchanged. NAM chapters and individuals at the conference will begin to send reports and organizing materials to the Oberlin NAM people, a newsletter will be regularly printed and distributed throughout Ohio, internal and external document, movement ads will be taken to pay printing-mailing costs, will include theoretical discussion, anyone interested in receiving the newsletter should contact:

Oberlin NAM Chapter
c/o Michael Charney
North Hall
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

2) Power Structure Research--Bob Sheak of Athens is preparing an annotated bibliography of all of the power structure research which has been done in this area, it will be included with the newsletter; people throughout the country who have done research should send samples of it to him with descriptions of what kind of organizing they have been doing and how cooperation might be possible. Contact:

Bob Sheak
Monticello Village
Bldg. 7, Apt. 102
Athens, Ohio 45701

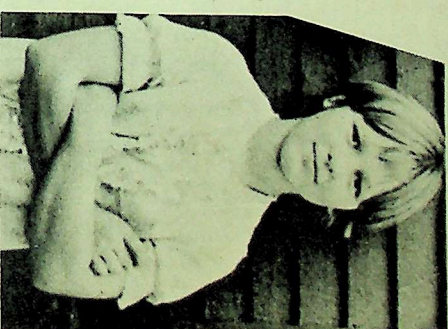
The conference took place in a very relaxed atmosphere. People from the Revolutionary Union attended the general session on Saturday and participated in the theoretical discussion--no problems.

CHINA TRIP: WHY DID DICK DO IT?

These interviews were done by Sandy Kri-cker and Joni Rabinowitz on the street in Berkeley and Oakland. We decided to do them so we could have some sense of how people were reacting to the sudden exposure to China, although we don't mean to imply that this is any kind of representative sampling. While the significance of the interviews is certainly doubtful, we were struck by people's cynicism of the political process in general and also by their general feelings of benevolence towards the people of other countries.



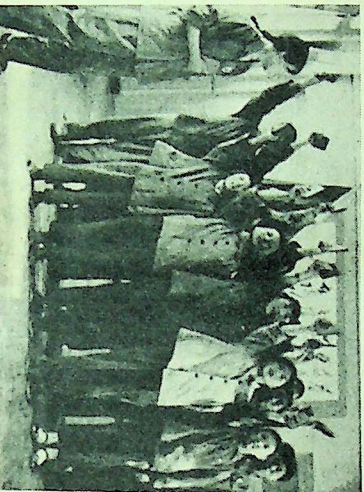
NAM: HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE WAY OF LIFE IN CHINA?
 MAN: For China it must be wonderful. For me, perhaps not. But it's got to be better than what I've got now, because capitalism must go, as far as I'm concerned. They seem to be organized. They seem to have a distinct pride in themselves. I think the reaction of their women is just fantastic. They speak up. No cowering. Equality, apparently, in almost everything. I can't say they have full equality, but a lot more than the western cultures. I think their pride is just marvelous. They're proud of their achievements, and well they should be.
 NAM: HOW DO YOU THINK THE TRIP WILL AFFECT THE ELECTIONS?
 MAN: I'm sure there is nothing Nixon does that doesn't have something to do with his re-election. I think he's going to be re-elected. Overwhelmingly. He's unbeatable. He's undercut the Democrats in everything they've got going. And, after all, what are they offering us? A Muskie? A Humphrey? Oh no. If you're going to try to be a pseudo-nixon, why not opt for the real thing?



NAM: The war is on anyway. Nixon said when he first came in he's gonna have the war over, and it's worse now than it was before.
 NAM: Well he should really have gone to Russia. We have never been able to reconcile ourselves to the monetary loss that occurred in Russia. Therefore we can't obtain any peaceful solutions with Russia till some compensation is made for the confiscation of investment capital we lost in Russia.
 NAM: DID YOU HAVE ANY IMPRESSIONS ABOUT LIFE IN CHINA FROM WHAT YOU SAW?
 MAN: I wouldn't care to live there. It's too regimented. It's too much like living in a military situation. I've had this feeling all along. This country is industrialized and China is not. Nor is their educational level as high as it is here. So we really can't make a judgement on communism in this country because we don't have that type of life here.

越 是 國 的 越 是 好 同志

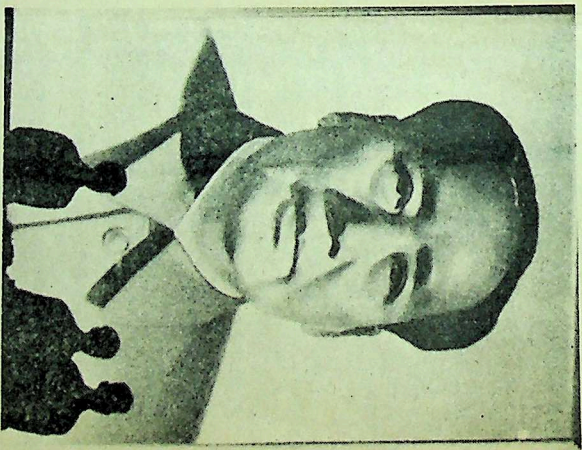
white woman, 17 years old, hairdresser:
 NAM: HAVE YOU FOLLOWED NIXON'S TRIP?
 WOMAN: I watched a little bit when he was by the wall.
 NAM: WHAT DO YOU THINK THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRIP WAS?
 WOMAN: I really don't know. Except to try to stop the war if he can.
 NAM: DO YOU THINK THE TRIP WILL HELP STOP THE WAR?
 WOMAN: I hope so.
 NAM: DID YOU GET ANY IDEA OF WHAT LIFE IS LIKE IN CHINA?
 WOMAN: The Premier looked awful mean. Everybody looked mean. They were looking mean at the President.



black man, 34 years old, photographer:
 NAM: To give my opinions on Nixon's trip would be a long rap. I can only give you my feelings about the current state of affairs. All I can say about Nixon's trip is, since he fucked up the thing in the first place by bad-mouthing it twenty-one years ago, it's reasonable for him to try to correct the situation. But the only thing it's done is to bring American foreign policy back to it's position that Truman had, which was internal problems--civil war in China. Taiwan is a province of China. That's where he's apparently left it, so we've made no real progress. We've only tried to put a band-aid on a bleeding situation. I'm interested in where we go in the future. Perhaps it's because those are my Third World brothers over there and I feel a tremendous tie to them. They represent the future to me in some ways.

black male, 50 years old, laborer:
 NAM: WHAT'S YOUR FEELING ABOUT WHY NIXON WENT TO CHINA?
 MAN: My first impression was that it's an election year. I think he's trying to get re-elected. I don't think any fruit can be gained from it. Such a sudden change of policy seems somewhat ironic.
 NAM: DID YOU GET ANY IMPRESSION ABOUT WHAT LIFE WAS LIKE IN CHINA?
 MAN: No, I thought we saw just what the people wanted us to see. I think it may have been played up a little bit. I don't know if we saw the real thing or not.

white man, 75 years old, retired:
 NAM: COULD YOU GIVE ME YOUR IMPRESSION ABOUT NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA?
 MAN: Well, it's nice but still, he didn't get a big welcome like he's supposed to.
 NAM: WHY DO YOU THINK HE WENT?
 MAN: I don't know.
 NAM: DO YOU THINK IT WAS A GOOD IDEA?
 MAN: Oh yeah, it's a good idea to make relationships and all that stuff, but those people over there, they're funny people... they don't want to be friendly. Nixon took the trip on account of his election. To give himself a little more of a lift. There's a lot of things to be done in this country, too. Don't forget that.
 NAM: DO YOU THINK THE TRIP WILL AFFECT THE WAR?



(continued on page 15)

A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater'
 Mao Tse-tung

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