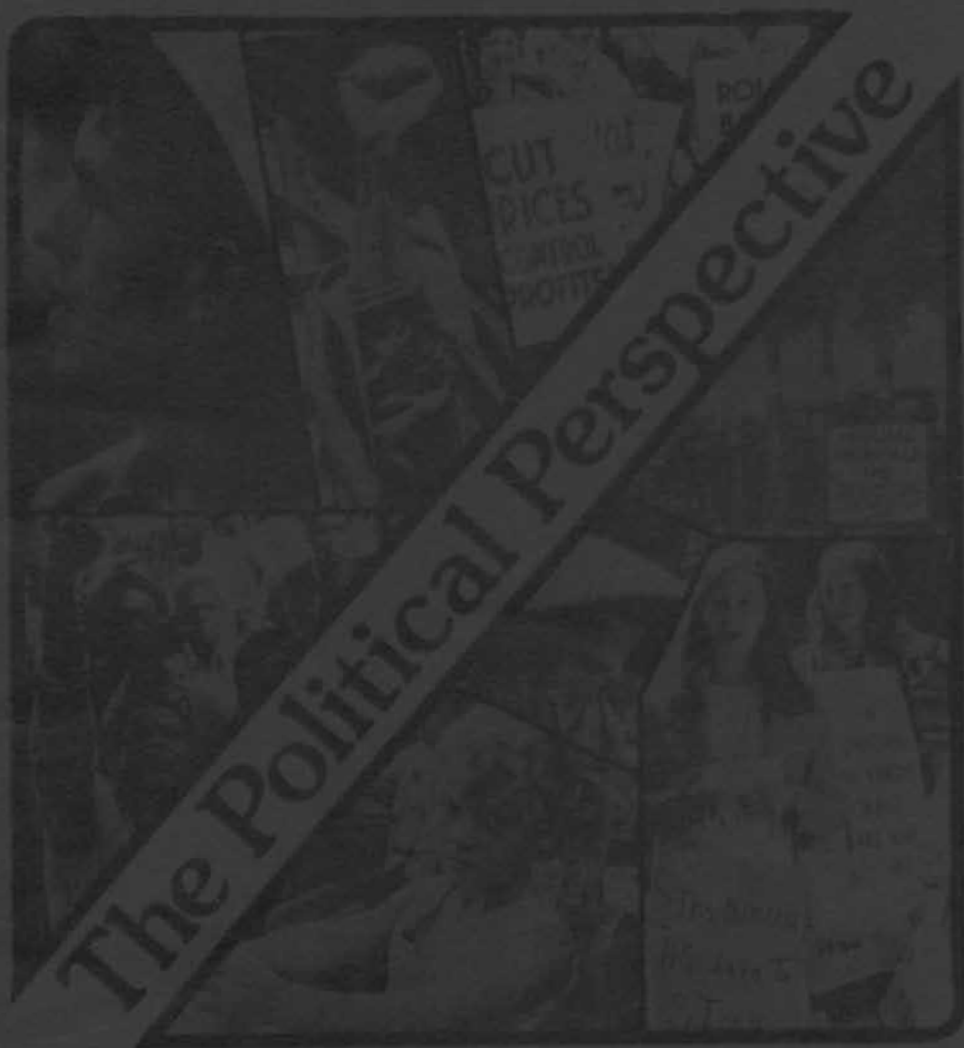


NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT



adopted june 1972

THE NAM POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE was written in June, 1972, at the Founding Convention in Minneapolis. Three hundred delegates from thirty chapters contributed to its writing through three days of debate and discussion in small groups and plenaries, until the final draft was finished and approved by the entire Convention. Despite the march of history and our participation in a wide range of organizing efforts that have compelled us to sharpen our understanding and analysis, the Political Perspective remains the most fundamental and collective expression of NAM politics.

The section on Racism was revised at the 1974 Convention in Lexington, and the Political Perspective reprinted in November, 1974.

NAM publishes a variety of other pamphlets and papers on topics of interest to the organization. These appear regularly. The New American Movement, the monthly newspaper, provides a left analysis of the news and debates on strategies for the socialist movement. It is 35¢ a copy, or \$4 a year, available from 6023 Shattuck Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609. Moving On, a monthly newsletter written by the National Office, has reports on chapter activities, the National Interim Committee, and national programs. It includes an up-to-date list of NAM literature. A yearly subscription is \$3. The Discussion Bulletin is published bimonthly, with credited articles and longer reports on theory, strategy and program—on questions like the party, socialist feminism and building a multi-national movement—written by members of the organization. The cost is \$1 an issue. Moving On and the Discussion Bulletin—and other publications—are available from the National Office, 2471 E. Franklin Av., Minneapolis, MN 55406.

Become a NAM Sustainer

The New American Movement is a growing and vital organization on the Left with over forty chapters across the country carrying on a variety of programs on community control of redevelopment, control of local utilities, strike support, workplace organizing, building multi-national community organizations, campus struggles and anti-imperialist work. We need financial support to aid in developing programs and building a working class movement for socialism. You can help by contributing money every month to sustain our growth.

Yes, I would like to contribute \$_____ per month.

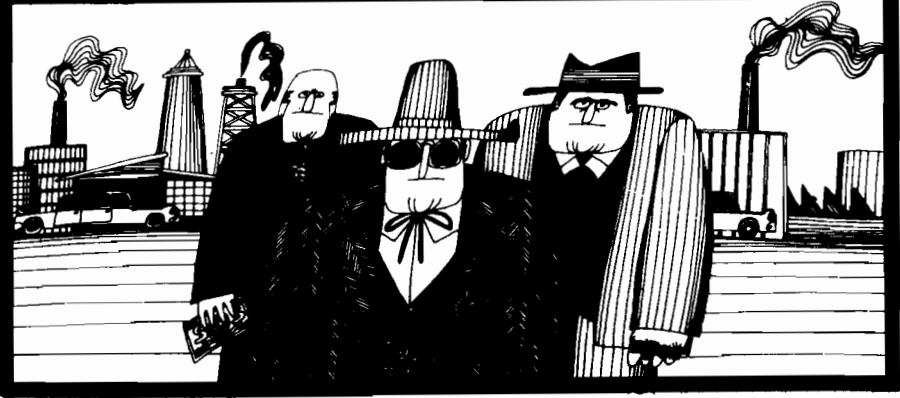
I would like to know how to join NAM and/or start a chapter.

I'd like to keep in touch. Put me on the mailing list.

I'd like more information on the New American Movement.

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The Political Perspective



The left in the United States has an unprecedented opportunity to reach the American people in the 1970's. American capitalism is in crisis and millions of Americans are losing confidence in the system. In the 1960's this developing crisis was reflected in the growth of radical movements of blacks and other oppressed national groups, students, college-educated workers, and women. These movements began with a liberal, interest group consciousness; their emerging revolutionary consciousness reflects the increasing inability of American capitalism to solve its social and economic problems.

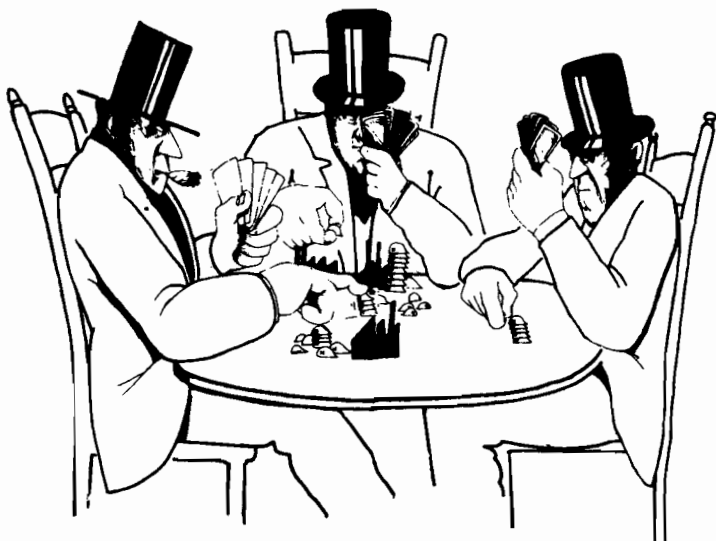


The war in Vietnam and the inability of American capitalists to defeat the liberation forces has become the central experience in creating a widespread understanding of American imperialism, including its limits and weaknesses. While American corporate capitalism spends billions of dollars to kill colonial people who are trying to liberate themselves from its rule, this same system is unable to provide security, safety, health, decent education, or public transportation for tens of millions of people at home. Despite the industrial capacity to provide abundance in the United States, half the population have incomes substantially below the government-defined moderate level for a family of four, and public life continues to deteriorate. While life in our mushrooming ghettos and decaying cities has become increasingly miserable, Africans, Latin, Asian, and native Americans (American Indians) have become more and more conscious of their oppression. The separation of private and public spheres defines women in terms of their role in the family and defines men as producers in the outside workplace. Working people have little power over social decisions and over their own destinies, while power is increasingly centered in the hands of a few giant corporations and their political servants. People increasingly experience anxiety, meaninglessness, anger, or despair in their daily lives.



The New American Movement (NAM) exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working-class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, and in which the full and free development of every individual will be the basic goal. Such a society will strive for decentralization of decision making, an end to bureaucratic rule, and participation of all people in shaping their own lives and the direction of society. A socialist movement of this kind is based on the following analysis:

The ruling class



I. THE NATURE OF CAPITALISM AND THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

NAM sees a revolution occurring in the United States only through the active organized commitment to socialism of the great majority of working people.

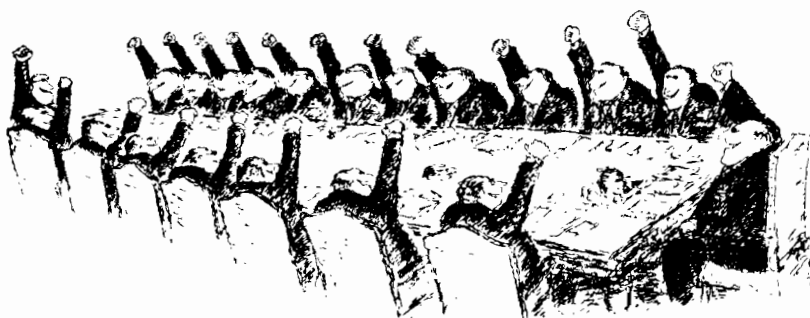
American capitalism today is characterized by the increasing interdependence of social institutions --government, corporations, family, schools, etc. The power of the corporate ruling class is enforced and sustained by institutions such as universities which create a skilled labor force and by the action of the government in creating opportunities for investment at home and abroad. At the same time, capitalism increasingly creates antagonism between social groups by making their immediate interests seemingly unrealizable except at the expense of others. This interdependence and integration of all institutions in the United States at the service of monopoly capitalism has made it necessary to conduct struggles on many fronts and to make clear connections between social institutions and between the state and these institutions.

Fewer people and corporations now control an ever increasing portion of the nation's wealth. Paralleling the process of concentration of wealth has been the gradual destruction of the middle class as

the number of independent farmers, small businessmen, and independent professionals decline, further reducing the avenues of upward mobility for many Americans.

Because the United States is the most highly industrialized nation and the leader of the world imperialist system, achievement of socialism here will have a different meaning than earlier socialist revolutions, both for Americans and the rest of the world. The achievement of socialism in the United States can neutralize the primary counter-revolutionary force facing the struggle of the colonies for liberation.

Because earlier socialist revolutions have occurred in countries at the earliest stages of industrialization with low material bases, those countries have recreated some of the characteristics of industrialization under capitalism. Because of this country's high material base and democratic traditions, the potential for the elimination of social divisions of labor hierarchies and bureaucracy under socialism exists to an extent not possible in earlier socialist revolutions. The continued existence of capitalism alone prevents the elimination of these conditions.



"All power to the board of directors!"

II. THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The social basis for democratic socialist movement in the United States is the increasingly diversified and stratified working class created by large-scale corporate capitalism. This working class consists of all those who have to sell their labor power in order to survive, who must work without pay in the home, or who are forced by age, disability, imprisonment, or lack of jobs to be supported by the state. (However, we recognize that there are those, such as upper-level management, who sell their labor power but who will not identify their interests with the working class as a whole, because of their authority and high income.)

The working class has been divided by the "technological revolution" and by the expanded role of the state in socializing the labor force. The percentage of workers engaged in immediate goods production has continually decreased since the 1920's while the percentage of white collar and so-called professional workers has continually increased. To these divisions there often correspond drastic differences in income, life-style, and authority and autonomy in the workplace. These differences pit men against women, minority racial groups against white workers, and American workers against foreign workers. These differences also lead some workers to identify themselves as "middle class." They believe they are not part of the working class because they own a home, work in clean, comfortable environments, or have been to college. The task of socialists is to clarify the origins of the internal divisions in the working class and to find the basis for unity.



We believe that all groups within the working class (blue collar, white collar, housewives, state workers, the unemployed) are necessary parts of a socialist movement in the United States and that all the institutions in which we live and work (the home, factory, office, university, labor union, municipality) are vital arenas in the struggle for socialism. We do not believe in socialist strategies that concentrate on a "key" sector of the working class to "lead" the revolution. This only intensifies the existing divisions within that class.

This does not mean that we do not recognize that at certain historical moments certain sectors of the working class (e.g. during the sixties, blacks and students) may play a strategic role in the development of a socialist movement. But commitment to socialist revolution in all sectors will be necessary for the successful overthrow of corporate capitalism and the creation of democratic socialism.

This perspective on the working class leads us to encourage a variety of activities, including community, institutional, and workplace organizing. (Workplace organizing of women should include both women in the home and on the job). Our view of a divided working class also leads us to seek class-wide alliances among diverse groups around specific issues. We would participate in these alliances as a socialist organization. In addition, as a long-term perspective, NAM should look towards building organizations (factory councils, people's committees) that represent in embryo the self-organization of the entire working class and that will form the basis for authentic democracy under socialism.

Racism and sexism create division and fragmentation among working people both in the workplace and in the community. Some analyses link sexism and racism. The most obvious reason is that both are easy forms of oppression to maintain since women and racial minority groups are easily recognizable.

The idea that both are only psychological and cultural forms of oppression, which will disappear with the onset of a socialist revolution, reduces both forms of oppression to secondary importance in the struggle for socialism and often sets women and racial minorities in competition with each other.

This approach is contradictory to our analysis, which recognizes racism and sexism as having a semi-autonomous character in American society. Struggles against both racism and sexism are vital to the success of socialist revolution.



III. RACISM

Racism has been an essential part of American capitalism from the first seizures of native American lands and the enslavement of Afro-Americans in the early 1600's to the continued use of Afro-American, Latin and Asian labor in the most dangerous and low-paying jobs in the 1970's. The labor of slaves was an important source of the accumulated capital which fueled the U.S.'s economic takeoff in the first half of the nineteenth century. Seizures of land from native Americans and Mexicans provided for the territorial expansion necessary to maintain a dynamic capitalist economy. Belief in the superiority of the white race developed, in large part, as a justification for these acts. When the U.S. economic, political and cultural expansion moved beyond continental limits, this too was done in the name of white America's "mission" to civilize and control "inferior" peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The experience of Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, native Americans and Asian Americans is that of neo-colonized nationalities, i.e., there are increased political rights and economic benefits but the people remain subject to political, economic, social and psychological domination. Puerto Ricans, however, are classically colonized, i.e., they have restricted political rights and derive no economic benefits from direct U.S. occupation. The histories of these nationalities have been shaped according to the needs of



white American capitalists. But they have responded to national oppression by forging their own cultural and social identities and by asserting legitimate demands for self-determination and equality.

At the same time, these oppressed nationalities have (over the last 150 years) become predominantly working class. The expansion of the economy since World War I and the increased demand for labor has forced a shared experience on people of all racial and ethnic origins within the working class. Within this work force, Afro-Americans and other groups have continued to be oppressed as nationalities and as workers. In alliances with white workers they have often led working class rebellions against capitalist oppression. Examples of this are the struggles in the 1890's and 1930's, the 1970's alliances of Black and white workers in the South (like the Mississippi woodcutters' strike). But the racism maintained in many unions has stood in the way of broad working class unity against the ruling class.

The ruling class responds in various ways to the demands of these peoples: by concealed or overt ap-

peals to white feelings of racial superiority; by inadequate social welfare programs designed and administered by white capitalists or their agents in ethnic minority communities; and by promises of support for Black or Chicano capitalism. This last promise, at best, allows a few Blacks or Chicanos the opportunity to own low-profit, economically precarious businesses whose actual control remains in the hands of the corporate capitalists that created them. Those responses have two common features: they utterly fail to meet legitimate demands for self-determination and equality and they increase hostility and suspicion among working people.



The New American Movement commits itself to the creation of a class-conscious socialist movement whose perspective on the liberation of oppressed nationalities is based on its understanding of the two forms this struggle is already taking: (1) a multi-national movement which is composed of people of various racial and national origins in the same organizations and (2) a multi-national movement which is composed of alliances between autonomous organizations of oppressed nationalities and broader multi-national revolutionary organizations. Consistent with this commitment, we must demonstrate to white working women and men that the nation cannot be free if it continues to oppress other nationalities, whether they happen to be in Asia, Africa, Latin America or the inner cities of this country. As long as white workers regard the Afro-American and other subject people as an enemy and not as an ally, they necessarily strengthen the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over themselves and over non-white peoples. The perpetuation of these antagonisms has proven to be of great service to the capitalists in prolonging their social power. White American workers must see that the national emancipation of subject peoples within the U.S. is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but a condition of their own emancipation.

The New American Movement seeks to take part in establishing a socialist democracy in the U.S. and throughout the world. Our goal is a society in which a full share of society's wealth and political power is the basis for women and men of all races and national origins to live together in harmony and mutual respect. We commit ourselves to combatting white racism in all of its forms, whether cultural, economic or political, and to the achievement of full equality for all peoples in the U.S. At the same time we recognize and will honor, the right of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, native Americans and other oppressed nationalities to self-determination with the understanding that only socialism can provide the basis for full liberation and equality. Self-determination can be guaranteed and made effective through the control by each nationality of a definite proportion of the national wealth.

We commit ourselves to building a multi-national organization and, at the same time, consistent with our recognizing that non-white nationalism is not necessarily inconsistent with revolutionary socialist strategy, we look to alliances with proletarian and socialist movements among the oppressed nationalities as another promising basis for a revolutionary socialist movement uniting people of all races and national origins.



The New American Movement is attempting to develop an analysis of the oppression of women and sexism that synthesizes the insights of the feminist and socialist movement in order better to understand the relationship between class and sexual oppression. This statement begins that analysis by placing the pre-capitalist sexual division of labor in the broader context of the sexual division of production and thus in the current capitalist mode of production.

In capitalist society women are oppressed both in the home and in the workforce outside the home. At home they bear and raise children and perform socially necessary housework that is unrecognized and unpaid, and they are economically dependent on their husbands or the state (if on welfare). At the same time, the 42% of American women who work outside the home are doubly exploited by jobs subordinate to men in both pay and function. Sexism is the ideology used to justify this oppression of women, which operates both in the home and in the labor force.

DANDY CRAPP



1 12 This ideology, with its accompanying image of "femaleness" as passive, dependent, and submissive, is transmitted through the process of socialization --the learning of social roles. Since heterosexuality is the only "acceptable" form of intimacy, women who have chosen sexual independence from men through gay relationships are socially condemned while those who continue to relate to men are often regarded as mere appendages to their husbands or boyfriends. Such deeply imbedded self-images and cultural expectations reinforce the difficulty for women in breaking out of exploitative work situations as well as sexist social relations with men.

These social roles and relations are rooted in the SEXUAL DIVISION OF PRODUCTION, a division that occurs between the home and the outside workplace. Goods and services are produced primarily by men (secondarily by women) in the outside, while the production of labor power (children and husbands), the maintenance of daily life and household services is performed by women in the home. Social value is assigned to men's work outside the home through the payment of wages while women's work in the home is considered valueless.

The sexual division of production fragments social life into "public" work life and "private" isolated home life. The relegation of the domestic to the "private" and valueless sphere roots the oppression of women then not primarily in the division of labor--which subordinates women to men on the job--but in the sexual division of production which forces women and the family out of public life.

As a productive social unit, the family is integral to the capitalist organization of production: the male worker continues to perform alienated labor to support the family unit while the family provides a "refuge" from the outside world and a holding ground for marginal and unemployed people (women, veterans, college graduates), which serves to keep them off the welfare rolls, off the streets. This interdependency hinges on the oppression of women as mainstays of the family as an institution.

The erosion of many of the traditional functions of the family has created intense contradictions for women. As schools have progressively taken over much of the job of socializing children, as technical advances have lightened the burden of housework, and as economic pressures have pushed women into the job mar-



ket, the percentage of women in the paid workforce has increased. Yet the unfulfilling and exploitative job conditions serve to redirect women into their "true" role as housewife/mother. In the rapidly expanding state sector, in the social services and in non-productive sectors such as retailing, increasing numbers of women are entering jobs which reproduce the ideology that limits women to this role or is actually an extension of it (e.g. teachers, social workers, waitresses, nurses). Many of these jobs are temporary or part-time, making women a marginal labor force, hired and fired according to changes in the economy. As a result, women are the majority of welfare recipients and they are humiliated and forced to become dependent on the state rather than on individual men or a single boss. For black and third world women, exploitation is multiplied as sexism and racism reinforce each other. The isolation most women experience on the job as well as male dominance and sex discrimination divides men and women workers and prevents class consciousness.

In the past five years, a developing consciousness of women's oppression in relations with men, in on-the-job exploitation, and in the confusion and oppressiveness of the family role has led to a growing movement for the liberation of women. The feminist and gay movements have infused the traditionally "personal" realms of life with a political understanding of male-dominated social relations: the need to struggle over sex roles in the family, the limits and narrowness of traditional forms of sexuality and intimacy, a critique of consumer society. These movements represent the embryo of a new conception of human possibility.

1
NAM seeks to integrate the struggle for the liberation of women with the struggle for socialism; basic to this is the idea that women are central, not auxiliary, to the revolutionary class struggle since their social role is central to production. Our struggle will be based on overcoming the sexual division of production which is at the root of the split between the home and the outside workplace and determines the specific form that sexist social relations have taken under capitalism.

To fight the separation we must develop programs that fuse the demands of women in the workforce (equal pay for equal work, unionization, etc.) with issues that relate to their simultaneous oppression in the home/community (socialization of production in the home, childcare, etc.) This directs our struggle not at the family itself but at the class, the institutions and the ideology that maintains the limited role of women as housewife/mother and thus maintains the separation between the home and the workplace, the private and the public.



Programs organized around the fast-developing state-supported social services--childcare, social welfare, planned parenthood--such as struggles for client, worker and community control, can unite various sectors of the population around demands tying together women's oppression in the home and on the job in a context that highlights the conflict between government control and the needs of people. The key to the liberation of women will be the creation of community-worker alliances that will challenge the ruling class power over all spheres of life.



Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

Working Mothers Day protest: Weinberger wouldn't come out

NAM believes that men are not auxiliary to the struggle against sexism as their lives are also manipulated by the division between home and work. Despite this, men clearly receive direct material, psychological, and social advantages from the sexual division of production. As part of the struggle against male dominance, we will challenge all forms of the systematic and brutal sexual division of labor, as well as individual forms of male oppressiveness and male-defined social relations and sex-roles.

As sexuality must be a free choice of all people, we will demand that all women gain control over their bodies; understanding their roles as producers gives added importance to this struggle to seize control over the means of production.

While a strategy for the liberation of women must be integral to a socialist movement, the experience of male dominance and the unique position of women in society may lead women to choose to struggle in an independent women's or gay feminist movement. NAM supports such movements--as well as autonomous women's groups and chapters within NAM--that will struggle for the liberation of women and continue to critique the socialist movement itself even as it gives that movement vitality and direction.

For the first time in history masses of gay people are publicly demanding an end to their oppression. Since the Stonewall riots of 1969, a new mood of militancy and combativity has characterized the growing movement for gay liberation. Court cases, demonstrations, sex-reform legislation, services and self-defense efforts are only some of the means gay activists have used to fight their oppression.

The United States has some of the most oppressive sex laws in the world, including ones that provide not only for jail sentences but, in some states like California, even for castration. These laws make a crime of homosexual love while they actually encourage real crimes such as blackmail of gays. Gays are subject to verbal abuse, physical attacks, even murder. Gay prisoners have especially been subjected to sadistic beatings by guards. The army also treats known homosexuals in a brutal manner.

On the job, gays have almost no security because of sex discrimination. Some occupations won't consider gay applicants. For instance, gays are not thought fit to teach young people. The discrimination gays experience in hiring practices is increased by the extensive invasion of privacy by investigatory agencies. Similarly, discrimination in housing forces many gay people into high-rent gay ghettos.

Several social institutions shape this oppression. The nuclear family plays a central role in fostering sexual misery, instilling in children the bourgeois morality of class society, male-supremacist attitudes, and anti-homosexual fears. The educational system further reinforces and extends those repressive attitudes. Regarding homosexuality as unnatural, orthodox religion infuses many gays with a profound sense of guilt. Furthermore, the psychiatric industry makes millions persuading gays to conform to the prevailing norms instead of helping them to accept their sexuality. Popular psychologists write sensational bestsellers which continue to perpetuate fear of homosexuality and make gays feel inferior and sick.

Psychological oppression is important to the nature of gay oppression. The pervasiveness of anti-homosexual attitudes forces gay people to suffer unbearable anguish. Gays daily suffer the humiliation of sitting silently while friends and fellow workers

tell "queer" jokes. The cumulative effect of this oppression is to make gay people alienated from not only others but from themselves. Gay people are forced to question their very identities, stifle in themselves feelings of love and affection for members of the same sex, and remain "in the closet," concealing their full gay sexuality. But now the gay liberation movement has incited gays to "come out," demand an end to this oppression and declare that gay is proud.

We support the struggle of gay people in developing programs to end police harassment and legal discrimination against gays, to end marriage restrictions and support gays fighting job discrimination, etc. We welcome gays to our ranks while also making our support available for actions called by the autonomous gay liberation movement.



We also pledge ourselves to further developing an analysis and strategy that strikes at the center of the sex-repressive institutions of advanced industrial society. As of now, we believe some general guidelines can be outlined to encourage such a critique:

In order to liberate gay sexuality and struggle against sexism in general, we believe gay activists must view their oppression as an integral part of the whole society and not as something that can be isolated. Struggles against the state to abolish existing sex laws deserve our support, but a few legislative reforms will at best alleviate some of the more superficial aspects of sexism. In contemporary society, sexism is dependent on capitalism which in turn is structurally dependent on sexism. We cannot limit ourselves to a narrow fight for rights or self-inter-

est, but must commit ourselves to the development of an analysis that relates sexuality to class struggle and includes an awareness of psychic repression in people's daily lives. In doing so, we acknowledge that the liberation of women, gays and men must not be posed as a mere adjunct to the main body of socialist theory and action but be structurally integrated into both efforts.

Finally, we must begin to encourage an alliance of gays as a distinct oppressed group with other workers so that gay liberation does not appear to be gained at others' expense.

VI. INTERNATIONALISM

NAM sees itself as part of the international socialist movement whose principal enemy is American corporate capitalism.

American corporate capitalism is the key to the world imperialist system. It seeks to preserve a cheap supply of raw materials, develop new areas for investment, labor at low wages, and open new markets for its products.

Direct foreign investment has become a major mechanism of imperialism because of increased competition from other capitalist countries and because of the growth of overseas markets. Government officials justify this export of capital by claiming that poor countries can only develop through American corporate investment; but this development is intended only to keep up profits.

At home, in order to build support for its policies, corporate capitalism promotes a narrow-minded patriotism and racism. Abroad, American-based multinational corporations attempt to control social change in other countries, dominate their economies, and deform their social, cultural and economic development. Racial and cultural ideology, developed in the imperialist countries, is exported and imposed upon the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Maintaining the neocolonial empire at the expense of the international working class involves development of counter-insurgency warfare, anti-personnel weapons and nuclear arms. The corporate elite has sought more and more non-useful employment to stimulate demand and prevent higher rates of unemployment at home; the chief forms that this has taken are military conscription and defense and aero-space production.



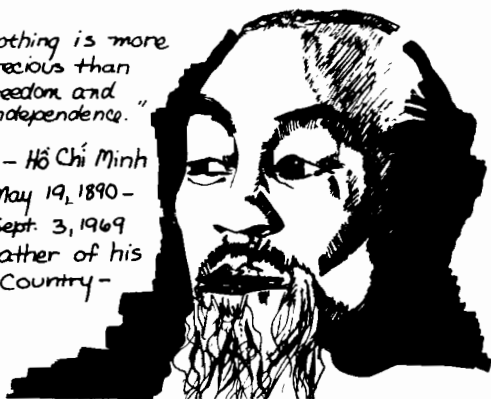
"Nothing is more
precious than
freedom and
independence."

- Hồ Chí Minh

May 19, 1890 -

Sept. 3, 1969

- Father of his
Country -



The greatest challenge ever to the American hegemony is the struggle of the Indochinese people against their colonial oppressors. The heroic fight of the Vietnamese people is an inspiration to oppressed peoples around the world, and this is the main reason American imperialism has fought so tenaciously to defeat their revolution. Although this war can be ended without destroying capitalism, only a socialist revolution can end imperialist intervention throughout the world.

We will support national liberation movements against American imperialism and will support, and learn from, the positive accomplishments of existing socialist states. International solidarity is based on opposition to corporate capitalism as the common enemy and struggling for similar goals through world socialism.

At the same time, we recognize the social divisions within and between socialist countries: (the attempt by one country to dominate another and to suppress political dissent at home.) In addition, we condemn the maintenance of traditional sex roles, the oppression of gays, and the destruction of the culture of ethnic and national groups, and the suppression of political dissent within the socialist movement wherever it occurs.

Our attitudes of criticism and support for socialist countries will depend upon their specific actions and can only be decided on the basis of specific historical circumstances. We recognize the imperfections of socialism in a world still dominated by nation-states and threatened by imperialism.

We will fight anti-communist ideology with which the ruling class has convinced many in the working class that socialism is evil, thereby preventing them from embracing socialism as a viable, appropriate, American alternative.



Mozambique women's militia.

VII. AN ALTERNATIVE: SOCIALISM

NAM's goal is democratic socialism; a society based on collective ownership and democratic control of the means of production and characterized by the active participation of all people to achieve material comfort and security.

Production under socialism will provide the goods and services for the development and well-being of all people. People will redefine their needs in a society no longer organized for the profit of the few but organized and run by and for the consumers.

Such a reorganization of production will end the exploitative and alienating nature of work and reaffirm its social value. Institutionalized forms of oppression which sustain exploitation will disappear. Social and employment discrimination will give way to open avenues of social involvement; hierarchical relationships will be overcome in order to permit the development of increasingly non-competitive and co-operative human relationships. In the new society, the basis of productive and social decision making will be the working class itself. The presently oppressive and alienating character of work under capitalism will be replaced by people controlling the process of their productive labor. Worker's self-management will be integrated with the needs of the entire human community. People themselves will democratically decide on how to best use the material and human resources of the community for the collective benefit. We recognize the diversity of training among people and the need for those that have particular skills to be able to use them for the benefit of the society. However, we feel it is vital that those with special training and expertise do not become a new and privileged elite. Working people themselves must always be practically involved on all levels of social decision-making. In order to maximize the creative potential for everyone we feel the need for continued programs of self-education and self-examination in which new ways of learning and working together will be explored.

Advanced technology in the United States provides the basis for eliminating drudgery and involuntary divisions of labor, and for protecting the ecosystem. The irrationality of capitalism will be replaced by an economic and social system that does not need to produce waste, wage wars, pay farmers not to grow food while many of the world's people starve, or thwart the development of the economies of other countries.



"One Big Union"

BEWARE

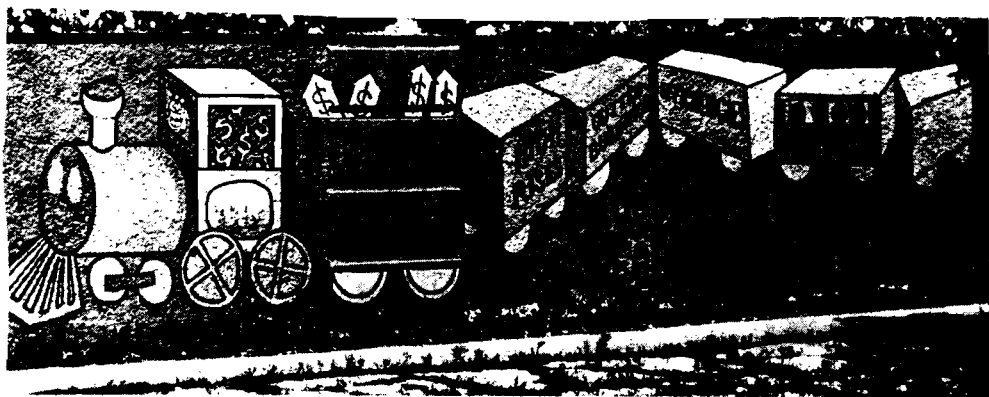


SABOTAGE



Technological advance will enable isolated work in the home to become socialized in such a way as to overcome what is now privatized and socially unacknowledged labor of women and to extend responsibility to all who benefit from it. Accordingly, advanced technology must mean the drastic reduction of working time so as to allow for equal participation in the community by all working people.

This concept of shared responsibility will extend to the process of human reproduction itself. Technological change will provide the free choice for all women, and men as well, to control our bodies. Parenthood will be determined neither by the dictates of those who wish to control population rather than redistribute resources, nor by those who wish to insure the continual production of labor-power to work for the corporations and profits. Social provision for the aged will enable people to plan their lives free of the insecurity and social irrelevance old age now holds.



Wholesome food can be produced to eliminate hunger and provide greater nutrition and enjoyment; health care with a special emphasis on preventative medicine should be available to everyone. Systems of rapid public transportation must be made available to everyone in city or countryside. Education for people of all ages should be planned to encourage the broadest and deepest contributions of each individual to the community and personal satisfaction.

Democratic socialism will eliminate the split between the public and private domains of existence. Fundamental changes in the social organization of production will provide the material basis to re-integrate society in a wholly new way--one which will extend deeply into the quality of life.



VIII. WHAT NAM IS NOW AND INTENDS TO BECOME

Like our tactics, the composition of NAM will change with historical circumstances. Since NAM grew out of the student and anti-war movements of the 1960's, its membership is still limited largely to those in the college-educated labor force. As NAM's influence grows and as more members of the working class become open to socialism our composition will reflect all sectors of that class--industrial workers, secretarial, communications and government workers, technicians and semi-professionals, housewives, and the chronically unemployed. We also see the necessity to broaden our movement to include the young and old, who are especially oppressed by capitalist society. This transformation in membership must be one of our priorities in the next years if we are to fulfill our intention of encouraging socialist consciousness among the majority of the working people.

More limited than NAM's class makeup is its racial makeup. This is partially due to the historical development of the sixties, when minority racial groups in the movement found it necessary to work apart from whites, and also due to the defects and immaturity in our practice. NAM recognizes the need for autonomous third world movements, but believes that ultimately only a multi-racial movement can succeed in achieving a fully democratic socialism that will eradicate racist attitudes and institutions.

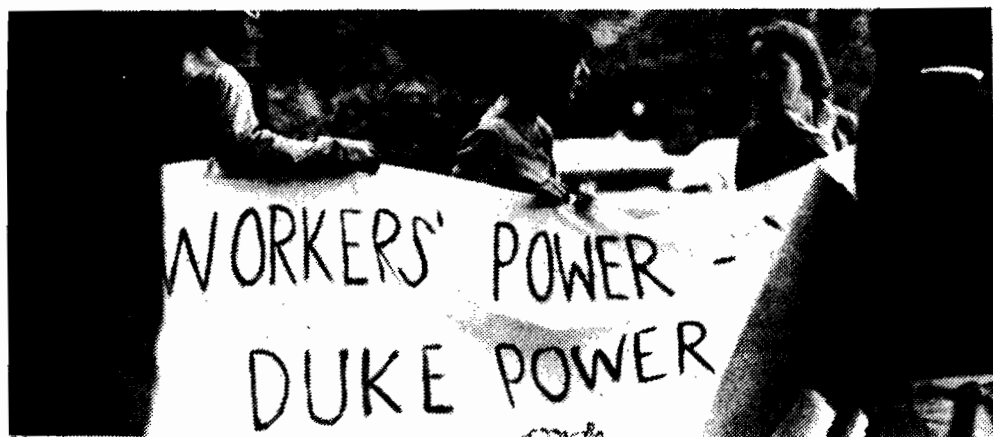
At present, women have not joined NAM in equal proportion to men. This is due, in part, to the experiences of women in past movement groups and their shared skepticism of a mixed organization. We believe that women's oppression is integral to capitalism and therefore we are actively developing a socialist analysis and program to link feminism and socialism.

NAM understands the inseparability of the struggle for socialism in the community and workplace. We come to NAM with a sense of the impoverishment of our own lives. We see a challenge to the domination of our lives by existing social relations as a key part of our political work. We understand the need to incorporate the socialist values in our day-to-day work.

We are a socialist organization with our own political perspective and not a coalition. Although our politics will continue to develop and change, membership in NAM implies substantial agreement with this political statement. Members are encouraged to engage in political debate, but will also be expected to come together in collective practice.

IX. NAM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

In organizing around people's immediate needs NAM must develop specific programs that bring out the common class interests of various sectors against capital. NAM is developing programs around housing, taxes, transportation, health, education, food, child care, corporations, war and imperialism. These and other programs concern working people who in recent years the left has been unable to reach.



Singing traditional worker's songs Saturday, 20 members of NAM referred to the proposed hospital as the "inflationary monster." (Photo by Frank Owen)

UNION HOME

JOIN THE STRIKE

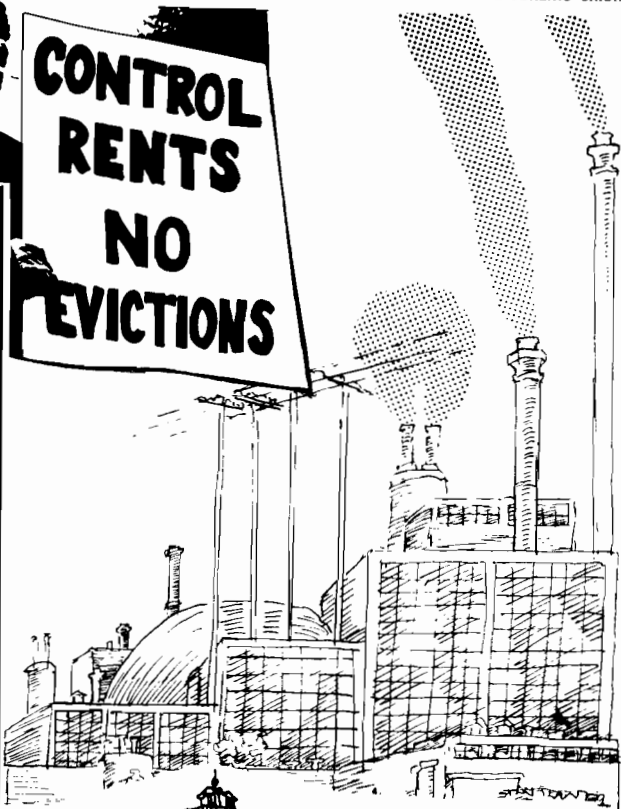
West Bank Tenants' Union



**CONTROL
RENTS
NO
EVICTIONS**

TO HELL WITH URBAN RENEWAL!

THE BOSTON ADVERTISER, AUTHORITY WITH THE SUPPORT OF MAJOR COLLEGE AND MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL, DESIRES THE LEASING AND DEMOLITION OF THESE HOMES, SO THAT A PRIVATE, WELL-MAINTAINED SPECULATIVE BUILD ON THE LAND WITH HIGH RENTAL, LUXURY APARTMENTS FOR PRIVATE PEOPLE IS THIS NOT DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING?



Overcoming false consciousness is a necessary step in reaching these people. "False consciousness" is not a matter of wrong ideas; it is a set of strategies-patterns of living--that people use to get them as much as possible within the existing social system. Socialist consciousness is formed in struggle against the limits of class society. In this process people learn new ways of thinking and acting.

The basic experience in the formation of socialist consciousness is class polarization--engagement in struggles where lines are clearly drawn between the ruling class and the rest of the population.

Class programs include demands which meet the following criteria:

- (1) They demand that reforms be paid for by the ruling class.
- (2) They show that the inadequacies of existing institutions and services are dictated by the imperatives of profit and ruling class interests.
- (3) They unite constituencies from workplaces and communities.
- (4) They challenge the divisions of labor--sexual, racial, hierarchical, and professional.
- (5) They demonstrate the role of the state in sustaining and subsidizing capitalism.
- (6) They show how struggles around local and specific issues are parts of a broader struggle for socialism, thus providing a basis for unity.

In struggles around such programs socialists can present socialism as an alternative. Through these programs, people can begin to overcome divisions created by racism, sexual oppression, and individualism.

A challenge to these divisions is essential if there is to be any revolution; racism, sexism and the oppression of children offer the basic models of power that teach us how to act within a competitive, hierarchical, capitalist society. Sexual oppression is central to the division of life between home, community, and the public workplace--a division essential to capitalism.

Most working people will not become engaged in such struggles merely by being asked to join NAM. They will become engaged in struggles that transcend immediate issues and become part of the class struggle through working actively with NAM members on projects that both address their immediate needs and have a class perspective. NAM must participate in mass struggles and seek to form class organizations around class programs. Such organizations can bring together



groups from different constituencies. While retaining roots in such constituencies, they should attempt to become independent class formations, with an integrity and political program of their own--in some cases their own members, officers, etc.

The role of socialists in such activity is two-fold: 1) To give programmatic leadership by articulating clear class programs that unite diverse sectors of the working class, struggle against capitalist divisions of labor, and unify now distinct spheres of life (such as home and public work); 2) To contest for a socialist political leadership by advancing a clear socialist vision and politics.

It is primarily through organizational activity, based on class unity that class consciousness will emerge, that NAM itself will become a mass socialist organization with a membership drawn from diverse sectors of the class, and that socialism will become a meaningful alternative to millions of Americans.

Such formations will not be mere appendages of NAM. Rather they will lead toward an American revo-

lution conducted by the mobilized working class itself, for which the revolutionary socialists can furnish leadership but which they will not manipulate.

The future will require new political analysis and strategies. In the course of its development, NAM will study past revolutionary movements, but these examples will not be dogmatically emulated. Other socialist movements offer much from which we can learn, but they must be viewed critically in their own historic situation and considered in the light of what is significant for the strategic questions facing the revolutionary movement in the United States.

In order to build a popular movement for socialism, it is necessary for NAM to embody in its organization the principal social relations of the society we hope to create, to the extent that is possible. This means that NAM must not be only formally democratic, but must also strive constantly to raise the level of class consciousness and theoretical understanding of its entire membership. It must develop as fully collective methods of work as possible, including criticism and self-criticism, and must encourage maximum initiative by individual members and chapters. We realize this can only be begun, but if there is no concrete demonstration of our principles in action, there is no reason to expect people to take us or our principles seriously.

We also need a national organization and national leadership. NAM considers these bodies necessary to build a mass socialist movement capable of challenging the rule of the corporate capitalists and their federal government.

In the decade of the bicentennial of the United States, of the founding of a formal political democracy, we in the New American Movement are "digging in" to build a mass movement for a real political and economic democracy, a society the people can claim as their own.

THIS POLITICAL STATEMENT REPRESENTS A FIRST STEP IN A PROCESS OF DEBATE AND POLITICAL SELF-DEFINITION WHICH WILL GO ON WITHIN THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT.



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