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*Class, Populism, and Progressive Politics:  
Santa Cruz, California 1970-1982*

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by Michael E. Rotkin, December 1991

Chapter VI

The New American Movement: Santa Cruz Chapter 1979

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The following chapter examines the ideology, formal and informal organizational structure, membership, and activities of the Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement in 1979. We will be looking at the group at the peak of its size and influence in an attempt to understand the nature of its successes and failures, and more particularly, the relationships between the group's ideology and structure on the one hand and its practical activity on the other. Because the Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement maintained a similar structure and range of activities for most of its existence, examining the group through a focus on a single year will not give readers a misleading sense of the group's total experience. Although the chapter includes a brief historical introduction for the purpose of placing the organization in context, the approach is fundamentally sociological.[1]

The Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement played an important role in the development of progressive politics in Santa Cruz in the 1970s and early 1980s. A small group of activists, who never numbered more than 25 at anyone time, had a large impact on local politics at the grassroots and governmental level. In doing so, they faced an ongoing contradiction between their ideals of a participatory democracy involving millions of average citizens in the control of their own society and the reality of maintaining a small but committed group of political activists. Working within this contradiction, the group developed an organizational structure, ideology, and work style which attempted to resolve the contradiction in a manner that would represent neither an abandonment of their vision nor their practical needs as an organization.

Because the contradiction was impossible to fully resolve for a small group with a socialist ideology attempting to radically affect real politics in the context of Twentieth Century America, the group faced inevitable difficulties in every aspect of its work. And yet an analysis of the group's ideology, structure, and practice reveals a synthesis which, while problematic in many respects, constitutes an effort worthy of some attention by activists and students of social change.

### Historical and Ideological Context

The New American Movement, to which the Santa Cruz Chapter belonged, grew out of the experience of the New Left student and anti-war movements of the 1960s. "The Political Perspective," which was adopted at the founding national convention in Minneapolis in June 1972, begins with a preamble which sets out the explicitly socialist goals of the organization:

The New American Movement (NAM) [2] 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. [3]

The document also sets out a number of other assumptions that guided the group's work throughout its decade of existence. Among these were:

- 1) A belief that socialism could only occur through the active organized commitment to socialism of the great majority of working people, and not, as many other left groups believed at the time, through the seizure of the state by a small but disciplined "vanguard party."
- 2) An understanding of the working class as "increasingly diversified and stratified." NAM shared a belief held by many left groups that particular sectors of the working class might play more strategic roles at particular times, for example, Blacks or industrial workers. In NAM, however, emphasis was placed upon the importance of building commitment to socialism in all sectors of the working class and the necessity of building "class-wide alliances."
- 3) A belief that socialism would take a different form in an advanced industrialized society like the United States than it had in revolutions in relatively underdeveloped countries in the past. The group saw corporate capitalism as a central impediment to human liberation at home and abroad and believed that no existing socialism could provide a "model" for socialism in the United States.
- 4) An emphasis upon the central role played by sexism, racism, and homophobia both as dividing the working class and as autonomous forms of oppression. Throughout the group's existence, most members explicitly labeled themselves and/or NAM as "socialist-feminist" in order to mark their special concern with the struggle against sexism and attention to group "process" issues that had been raised so forcefully by the feminist movement. NAM recognized the right of oppressed groups to organize autonomously, but also adopted a commitment to a "multi-racial" organization and society.
- 5) A commitment to "internationalism" and critical support for national struggles of liberation which explicitly identified American Corporate Capitalism as the "key to the world imperialist system." [4]

By 1979, based on the political perspective described above, the New American Movement had developed a small national organization ~f about 800 highly active members organized in 43 chapters around the country. In addition, the group had an active periphery of

less active or more loosely associated activists estimated to be about three thousand individuals.

[5]

In addition to the chapters, which were mainly concentrated in urban areas in the northern Midwest and east and west coasts, the organization had a number of issue-oriented Commissions that generally published quarterly newsletters (Socialist-Feminist, Energy, Labor, Political Education, Urban and Community, Health, Anti-Racism, Culture, and International), interest group caucuses, a Gay and Lesbian Task Force, a national office in Chicago with three paid elected leaders and additional paid staff, and a National Interim Committee of about a dozen representatives from around the country who met five times a year to help set organizational priorities between annual Conventions. The level of membership commitment can be gauged from the statistic that about one-third of the general membership attended the four day annual Conventions which were held in the Midwest. [6]

### The Santa Cruz NAM Chapter

As was outlined at the beginning of the previous chapter, the Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement originated on the University of California, Santa Cruz campus. By 1979, the group had moved well beyond the confines of the campus and the health care project described in the previous chapter. Active in a wide range of external and internal activities, the Chapter had grown significantly in size and developed a rather complex organizational structure.

By 1979, the Santa Cruz NAM Chapter had a committed core of about twenty active members. Most of the Chapter meetings were attended by an additional five to ten people who were not members of this core group. This latter group included prospective new members in the process of being recruited or individuals in what was considered NAM's periphery interested in the particular topic under discussion at the meeting. During the whole of 1979, the group met every Sunday with three exceptions for conflicting events. The lowest attendance was twelve members and the highest thirty-eight.

During 1979, the group had 31 different dues-paying members, of whom 17 were male and 14 female. The lowest number of dues-paying members was 17. The largest number of dues-paying members at anyone time was 23. Of the 23 members, 12 were between 20 and 25 years old: 7 were between 26 and 35 years old: and 4 were between 36 and 65 years old. There were two "out" lesbians and, unlike most other years in the Chapter's experience, no members of color or openly gay men. The Chapter included one unemployed worker, two blue-collar workers, six service workers, four professionals, six students, and four "others." Five of the members had

children. There were also twelve Associate Members who only paid minimal dues and had only minimal connection with the active work of the Chapter.

Since the earliest campus meetings in 1973, the group had evolved a complex organizational structure. In 1974-5, the group held regular weekly meetings on Sunday night. In early 1975, a formal "agenda committee" was established. By late 1975, this committee had been renamed the Steering Committee and given new powers to act on behalf of the larger group in between weekly meetings. Late in 1975, the group's first formal project, the Health Care Coalition, began to hold meetings outside of and additional to the regular Sunday night meetings. In subsequent years membership in Santa Cruz NAM increased, additional projects, internal committees, and caucuses were developed, and a more formal organizational structure and explicit expectations of members were established.

A document titled "Santa Cruz NAM Structure: How We Work," summarized the group's structure and expectations of members in 1979:

In the interest of developing an activist chapter we have developed the following format which incorporates a focus on socialist education and the development of practical skills as well as support for members in developing local practice. Although we encourage people to join NAM who are unable to make a commitment to full chapter participation, our new structure is designed to serve the needs of fully committed and active members, and to help this group develop a socialist practice collectively and enhance our collective and individual ability to understand and do our political work.

#### EXPECTATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP:

- A. Active members will come to as many weekly meetings as possible and pay their local and national dues.
- B. Active members will sell their quotas of Moving On (the monthly publication of the national organization]
- C. Active members will join one of the project groups listed below or establish some mass/outreach work. We will constantly review and evaluate our projects to see that we are setting sensible political priorities and meeting the needs and interests of the chapter. The chapter has established guidelines and questions which are a help in this process.
- D. Active members will be expected to (spend) at least six months of the year serving on an internal chapter committee or position. This would include: Steering Committee, New Person Facilitator, Childcare Coordinator, Literature Table Coordinator, Internal Education Committee, Outreach/Fundraising Committee, and Treasurer.

#### STRUCTURE FOR MONTHLY MEETINGS:

- A. One meeting a month will focus on what has been termed internal education. We try to cover issues that have a theoretical and practical interest for the chapter. This includes feminism, racism, urban fiscal crisis, as well as learning about local political issues. In the past we have tried to review and debate very basic feminist/left positions and learn how NAM is similar and different to (sic] other political organizations and conceptions on the left.

B. One meeting will focus on local, regional, and national questions. NAM is a national organization which attempts to tie work together through common projects and sharing of experience. This meeting allows us time to evaluate our structure and organization to do a better job of coordination. Topics might include reports from the National Office and the National Interim Committee, planning regional conferences, and helping new or struggling chapters in our region.

c. At least two meetings per "month will focus on an in-depth review of a NAM project or other chapter practice. In this meeting the members of a project prepare a written and oral presentation for the chapter which includes a critical analysis of the project: where it is heading, what problems it faces, what kind of issues it raises, and how the project could be improved. This process allow us to share our work and common experiences which are helpful for working with problems in our work.

These three areas provide the basic focus for our weekly meetings. We have found that this framework provides the basis for interesting meetings and an activist chapter. We also try to organize regular cultural, social and sports events.

### VOTING STRUCTURE OF NAM LOCAL

We generally try to make decisions by consensus following full discussion. When this does not work on a particular question, we decide by voting in which each dues-paying member present has one vote.

### THE STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee of the local chapter is composed of five members. One member is the regional representative and serves for one year. The other four positions are for six months and are staggered so two positions are opened every three months. Steering Committee members are elected by a majority of the 'chapter and can be recalled at any time by a majority vote of the chapter (in which case a new person will be elected to serve out the remainder of the term).

At least two of the Steering Committee members must be women. The general responsibilities of the Steering Committee include:

1. Keeping contact with the regional and national organization.
2. Reading the mail, reporting on it, and suggesting what is worthy of further chapter discussion or action.
3. Regarding strategy--it should put forward political positions for debate.
4. Plan the agenda for weekly meetings in conjunction with other committees etc. and the rotating chair for that meeting.
5. Act as a liaison to other groups.
6. It should solicit and coordinate written materials from different projects and make sure that we regularly discuss all of our practical work in chapter meetings.
7. Coordinate contact with chapter members-particularly when they miss meetings, etc.
  8. Make sure that childcare is available at all NAM events.
  9. Be trustworthy, brave, loyal, kind, courteous, obedient, etc.

Only elected Steering Committee members may vote (if it ever comes to that) but all meetings are open to NAM members who may participate fully in discussions.

Prefaces to later iterations of this basic structure document explained that the document was intended to be treated as a "guide rather than inflexible set of requirements," and added a longer narrative to explain the group's commitment to developing female leadership, sharing skills, and helping all members develop organizational and political skills such as chairing meetings, developing political strategy, and public speaking.

In 1979, the Chapter included a women's caucus that met twice monthly (once for a social event and once for a strategy meeting), a gay and lesbian caucus that only existed for a brief period of time, and the following project groups that met formally once every two weeks: Health Care Coalition/Westside Neighbors, Local Politics, Printing, Campus Politics, and Socialist Presence. [7]

### Projects

As explained above, active members of Santa Cruz NAM were expected to participate in outreach work through one of the group's projects. Projects varied with respect to the degree of their autonomy from the NAM Chapter. Some, such as the Printing project and Socialist Feminist Presence Committee, involved only NAM members. The other three projects in 1979 involved non-NAM members as well. All NAM projects were regularly evaluated by the Steering Committee and about three times per year underwent a more elaborate evaluation by the entire Chapter.

Projects were evaluated with respect to a range of criteria including the clarity of their goals and strategies, the opportunity they provided for building a mass movement, the possibilities they provided to do education about socialism or racism or sexism, how they fit into national NAM's strategy, [8] the opportunity they provided for increasing the Chapter's visibility in Santa Cruz or enhancing its reputation in the community, and the opportunity for recruitment to the Chapter. Written or formal oral presentations of project evaluations were prepared for each of the project evaluations done by the Chapter as a whole. Sometimes these presentations were prepared by the project as a whole while at other times a caucus of NAM members in projects involving non-NAM members made the presentation. In either case, all members of a project, whether members of NAM or not, were invited to participate in the evaluation process at the NAM meetings.

The evaluations were intended less as a process of judging a project than an opportunity to help strengthen its coherency and effectiveness. There were, however, tensions that arose in this process. As explained in more detail in the previous chapter about the Health Care Coalition, non-NAM members often had significant fears about the nature of these "evaluations" and what

they meant. In practice, sensitivity to the presence of non-NAM members at the project evaluations taking place at Chapter meetings meant that the evaluation criteria concerning Chapter-specific issues such as recruitment were deferred to NAM Steering Committee meetings and the general meetings focused more on strategy and tactics helpful to the projects themselves. Because most of the project members shared NAM's general ideology, even if not actual membership, there was less tension around the general issue of how a particular project fit into a wider struggle for socialism. In fact, this was often an aspect of project evaluations that was much appreciated by non-NAM project participants who had nowhere else to talk about such issues in a systematic fashion.

Certainly the most active of the projects in 1979 was the Health Care Coalition/Westside Neighbors Project. Because this project was treated in such detail in the previous chapter, we will say no more about it here.

The second largest project was the Local Politics Project. The group recruited its membership from unorganized socialists and leftists, University of California students, and local activists looking for a way to put their single-issue work in a broader context. At the end of 1979, the group had 32 members including an active core of six Chapter members, two NAM Associate members, and five non-NAM members. In August of 1979, the following description of the Santa Cruz NAM Local Politics Project was circulated:

This project group was established to carry out socialist-feminist political work in the City and County of Santa Cruz. In terms of NAM's 1975 National Strategy Paper, we are planning to focus our work on the level of building "progressive forces and struggles" in the local political arena and establishing an explicit socialist-feminist NAM tendency within this broader progressive movement.

#### General Goals

1. Developing a socialist-feminist perspective appropriate to local Santa Cruz conditions and inserting that perspective into local politics. Trying to convince people of the correctness of a socialist-feminist perspective.
2. Eventual formation of a stable (but dynamic) progressive organization with a socialist-feminist tendency within it on a City or a countywide basis (Perhaps on the model of the Berkeley Citizen Action -- BCA group).
3. To be a forum for discussion among socialist-feminists of local politics--with a particular focus on relating short term work to long-term strategies.
4. Establishing a public presence for NAM and recruiting to NAM.

## Activities

In order to carry out these general goals, our project will be involved in four types of activities:

- 1) A major outreach project which will involve all members of the group to some degree. Our present outreach project is a statewide tax initiative that NAM members around California are working on. Future outreach projects might include electoral activity, County or City budget struggles (and at a later date seizing state power).[9]
- 2) Discussion of members' individual mass work (e.g. on the job, Walter's union work, Mike's City Council work, etc.)
- 3) Internal education--this might range from reading and discussion on theoretical topics such as the fiscal crisis of the state to practical questions of local budgets, tax questions, particular issues such as nuclear power, etc.
- 4) Developing NAM presence which may or may not relate directly to our major outreach project. The following list is the result of a brainstorming session on such activities we might take up depending upon numbers, energy, interest, and future proposals and discussions:
  - a) public forums, films, fundraisers, literature tables at events
  - b) equal time with [a developer on a conservative radio station]
  - c) study group/media watch group which could respond to news shows or editorials
  - d) get time on local group agendas to talk about our perspective
  - e) go into schools on particular issues or socialism and feminism in general
  - f) do a section in the NAM newsletter
  - g) more position papers to be read at public events, hearings, etc.
  - h) sponsor study groups/socialist school on questions of political economy, fiscal crisis, etc.
    - i) articles or production for local media
    - j) recruit Associate NAM Members
  - k) establish more regular relationships with other left groups--e.g. Peace and Freedom, CED, CP, etc.
    - 1) help organize. foot soldiers for local struggles

During 1979, the group provided a forum for discussions of the City Council work done by two NAM members on the Council, produced a pamphlet and several radio programs and helped organize a state-wide meeting on a split-tax roll initiative being proposed as a response to Proposition 13 in California, produced a leaflet and organized hundreds of people to attend a number of hearings in conjunction with a recall effort against a conservative member of the County Board of Supervisors, and undertook extensive self-education as preparation for developing a more progressive 1980-81 budget for the Santa Cruz City Council. [10]

From the earliest days of the Santa Cruz NAM Chapter, one of its earliest projects had been the provision of inexpensive offset printing to the progressive community in general. The author had learned the trade at an anti-war movement print shop in 1966 (having worked first as

a volunteer and later on a part-time paid basis). In Santa Cruz, a local publisher/editor of a nationally distributed poetry magazine, *Kayak*, had made his Multi-Lith 1250 press available for anti-war and other movement printing. The author constructed an offset camera in a shed behind his home to make the printing negatives.

In the early 1970s, the author had trained about a dozen individuals from a wide range of feminist and other movement groups to use the press. After the NAM Chapter got started, the author trained a number of members of the organization to run the camera and press. In 1978, a group of these novice printers constituted themselves as the NAM Printing Project and advertised labor-donated printing for the cost of materials, available to any "movement groups." Printing at a cost of about ten to twenty percent of commercial rates, the NAM Printing Project made offset, multi-color printing available to groups that otherwise would never have been able to afford it.

The only explicit benefit that NAM received for this work was the presence of a rather ostentatious NAM printing "bug" which included the words "New American Movement" and "Democratic Socialism" on each job. More significantly, however, the service demonstrated NAM's non-sectarian approach to political work and allowed the group to establish friendly relationships and even respect with a wide spectrum of the Santa Cruz progressive community.

An example of the kinds of issues for which the NAM Printing Project provided service includes: violence against women, local electoral struggles, neighborhood organizing, anti-imperialist struggles too numerous to list, gay and lesbian issues, counter-culture events, anti-racism, student power, anti-war, civilian control of police, reproductive rights, anarchism, health care, environmental struggles, labor struggles, tenant issues, and every variant of socialism existing in Santa Cruz. The variety of groups served by the project alone seemed to demonstrate the interconnection of seemingly disparate issues. In addition, the group provided printing for NAM fund raising events such as International Women's Day dinners and film showings.

In addition to the external service it provided, the project provided an opportunity to develop and demonstrate socialist-feminist principles of collective work in a more tangible way than many other forms of political work. The application of ideas about collective learning, criticism/self-criticism, democratic and non-hierarchical work structures, and non-alienating work and demystifying machines and technical skills was considered as important, if not more important, than the printing job itself. A large sign proclaiming "process and product" hung over the press.

In 1978 and early 1979, the Chapter had largely turned its attention away from the U.C.S.C. campus. By late 1979, members of the group opened a discussion about re-establishing

a Campus Project and some kind of presence on campus. As argued in position papers circulated within the Chapter, this was based upon several factors. First, several members were either students or employees on campus and wanted to try and find a way to "integrate [their] work and political life" a bit more. Second, several members, both members of the first group and others, argued that the campus provided "too good an opportunity for openly socialist work" to ignore, and that such work was an important component of the NAM national strategy. Third, a number of members noted the necessary source of new Chapter recruits provided by campus organizing.

The latter issue probably was critical in swinging votes in favor of a reconstituted Campus Project, since the Chapter at that time was facing a growing concern about the shift of many active members' energy from internal Chapter building to their external project or individual mass work. Arguments were raised against the proposal on the basis that campus work provided an easy alternative to the rigors of grass root and electoral organizing and might draw members away from the difficult but successful work in the community. The concern here was both the concrete erosion of projects and a fear that the Chapter might return to the narrow student base of its early years. But in the end, the Chapter decided to establish the Campus Project and the group began to meet and plan out strategy and recruit members in September 1979.

The Santa Cruz NAM Campus Organizing Project developed the following statement at that time:

This project is being established to carry out socialist-feminist political work on the UCSC campus. In accordance with the 1975 NAM Strategy Paper, we will be concentrating on socialist-feminist presence work, rather than coalition of base-building work. We feel that the chapter has been lacking in this area, and we have the opportunity on campus to become visible as explicit socialist-feminists.

#### General Goals

1. Developing a socialist-feminist perspective appropriate to the conditions at the UCSC campus. Developing an analysis which puts current campus issues within a broader perspective.
2. Politicization of the UCSC campus community (students, faculty, and staff) and eventual concrete change which benefits the campus community.
3. Creation of a student organization to deal with the above. The organization would be a project of NAM (meaning NAM members would caucus, there would be chapter project evaluations, etc.) but it would be open to non-NAM members who are in agreement with NAM's political perspective. NAM presence and politics would be explicit, and members of the organization would be encouraged to join NAM.
4. Establishing public presence for NAM and recruiting to NAM.

5. Developing leadership of students and NAM members.

6. Developing consciousness of our work process and the ways the student organization can meet people's individual needs.

### General Strategy

In order to carry out these goals and achieve a balance between educational and activity oriented work we plan to do the following:

1. Internal Education - reading and discussion on such topics as student organizing, history of UCSC activism, the role of the university, as well as general topics of socialist-feminism (ie: [sic] racism, sexism, imperialism, etc.)

2. Outreach - primarily by education on socialist-feminism and current issues of campus interest (ie: [sic] Affirmative Action, Reorganization, Electoral campaigns, Women Studies and Third World Program Cutbacks, EOP, the New Rape Project). We make a commitment to raising issues of feminism and racism on a parity with issues of socialism.

In the initial phase of our work, our outreach will be done through a Counter-Orientation Program. [11] We see this as being not only important educational work, but also a way to gain visibility for the new student organization. Also, this presents excellent possibilities for NAM fundraising and presence on campus.

3. Eventual Coalition work - In the eventuality of the emergence of an issue that has good mass organizing potential (that activates people), we plan on involving ourselves in coalition work. It is primarily in coalitions that we will involve ourselves in confrontational issue campaigns.

### ACTIVITIES (ONE MONTH PLAN)

1. Get student organizational status - funding, name

2. Initiate an internal education program

3. Develop a Counter Orientation Program

a. Fundraiser - 3 NAM films

b. Leaflet

c. City on a Hill Article

d. Forum

e. NAM literature tables

f. more films

g. social event

h. write our perspective on current campus issues (ie: [sic] Reorganization, Women Studies)

i. Hold general meeting for the new student organization

### Meetings

We plan to meet once every week (regular meeting time to be established).

Our recruitment coordinator is \_\_\_\_\_.

People interested in joining this NAM project or who know people we should contact, please talk to the coordinator or one of the other members of the project.

Following its detailed plan, the group got off to a quick start and was able to carry out about half of its intended program for a counter orientation at UCSC, including several film events, a social event, a forum on the state of the left, a general leaflet about campus issues and an article in the campus newspaper. A student organization was created, but foundered before the Christmas break for lack of ability to define a clear issue with mass appeal. The group reconstituted itself the following September with somewhat similar results. In the 1980 version, a more focused approach to a feminist project on campus concerning violence against women was developed but failed to survive because each of the Project members insisted on working on the issues they personally felt to be the most pressing, and the feminist project collapsed for lack of people committed to the project. [12]

The final Chapter project operating in 1979 was the Socialist-Feminist Presence Committee. Organized in response to the perceived need to carry on explicit ideological work in the downtown (off-campus) community, the project grew out of discussions held in January 1979 about the need to do work which had been done on an ad hoc basis since the Chapter's inception in a more systematic fashion. In those discussions, there was a general consensus that the most promising constituency for such work was the women's movement/community which was quite large and active in Santa Cruz in the 1970s. While some members argued that this community was already familiar with socialist- feminism and NAM politics in general, the position of one member was decisive in convincing the majority of the Chapter of the need to push the vague and inchoate ideology of this constituency into a more explicit understanding of and commitment to socialist-feminist politics.

While accepting the need to more regularly plan and systematically evaluate the Chapter's downtown socialist-feminist presence work, it was conceived and organized somewhat differently than the other projects of the Chapter. Rather than establishing a relatively autonomous group like the other Chapter projects, this ideological work was organized as the NAM Socialist-Feminist Presence Committee. While evaluated like other projects, the Committee would have its meetings as part of the regular Sunday night NAM meetings. Special sub-committees might be established on an as-needed basis to carry out concrete work, but all of the members of the Chapter would be able to participate in the group during time set aside at regular Chapter meetings.

Under this new structure, the Committee organized and evaluated work on the Annual International Women's Day celebration in March 1979 and the following year. In addition, the

Committee produced a number of leaflets on socialist-feminism and developed two radio programs. Also in 1979, the group helped other socialists and feminists in the community create a Socialist School under whose umbrella a series of courses were developed to educate community members about Marxism and the history and politics of women's and worker's struggles. The School continued until the spring of 1981.

### Finances

From its earliest years the Chapter structure had included a progressive dues structure for both local and national dues. This was consistent with the group's socialist ideology. In 1979, the dues structure was as follows:

<u>Income</u>	<u>Local Dues</u>	<u>National Dues</u>
\$0-2000	\$1.00/Month	\$5.00/Quarter
2-4000	2.00/Month	10.00/Quarter
4-8000	4.40/Month	20.00/Quarter
8-12,000	7.50/Month	35.00/Quarter
12-16,000	10.00/Month	50.00/Quarter
16,000-over	13.50/Month	85.00/Quarter

In calculating their dues, members were asked to divide their income by the number of people that it supported. In 1979, all but four members of the Chapter were in the first three dues categories.

Additional funds were raised for Chapter work through occasional film showings and other fundraisers. Direct telephone solicitation of peripheral supporters of the group was employed to raise funds for travel to the annual National Convention. In addition, the minor additional funds necessary for materials and supplies were often raised by ad hoc membership donations as the situation required it. Because the organization depended totally upon volunteer labor, and had no paid staff, no office, and met in people's homes, it ran on a relatively modest budget. Again, consistent with the group's socialist ideology, low-income members were often subsidized by members with higher income in order to allow everyone's equal participation in travel to regional and national meetings and in social events organized by the Chapter.

### Chapter Meetings

As an organization attempting to carry out and coordinate political practice on a number of different issues and levels and integrate such work into a developing strategy, while simultaneously balancing internal process issues with a strong desire for practical effectiveness, the Chapter faced serious time pressure. Unlike either authoritarian groups that function in a hierarchical fashion or, on the opposite side, groups with limited expectations of their long and short term political impact, the Santa Cruz NAM Chapter tried to maintain an open and democratic decision-making process which required sharing large amounts of theoretical and practical information while at the same time making large numbers of decisions under very real and direct time limitations. And this dilemma was further exacerbated by the organization's extreme commitment to equalizing power among all members and developing a self-conscious awareness of and improving the dynamics of internal group process.

More than anything else, this contradiction was handled by the evolution of a unique meeting structure and high expectations of membership commitment. Over a period of several years the group met virtually every Sunday evening from seven until ten o'clock. By 1976, and until the group's demise in 1982, meetings followed a similar format with a written agenda outlining expected time for each agenda item. There was extreme pressure for members to arrive on time, and the meetings always began and ended within five minutes of the announced schedule.

Each meeting began with ten minutes for introductions, the somewhat expanded time allowing for some slippage in starting time and, more importantly, expanded introductions of new or prospective members. Starting in February 1977, the second item was always ten minutes for "personal raps," in which all members paired off to get to know each other in a more personal way than generally possible in group meetings. Members were encouraged to pair off with people that they did not know well or spend a great deal of time with outside of the meetings, and new members were quickly socialized into the expectation that these ten minute personal raps quickly entered into broad ranging issues of personal history, current work and household dilemmas, or such intimate topics as sexuality and life expectations. Shy new members were quickly faced with warm but probing questions that broke down any sense that they were meeting with a group of strangers.

Moved from second to third place by the introduction of personal raps, meeting announcements were limited to ten, or at the most fifteen minutes. Given the large amount of activity being carried on by the members of the Chapter, limiting announcements was accomplished by encouraging people to pass out written announcements whenever possible and training people to give succinct oral announcements when they were necessary. The

announcement limitation was perhaps one of the major reasons for the incredibly large number of internal documents produced by the Chapter.

Each meeting included a fifteen-minute break at about the halfway point. Members on a rotating basis provided refreshments. Breaks were often opportunities for informal and brief recognition of members' birthdays or special events, but more generally provided an additional opportunity to talk with new members, pass on information, or set subcommittee meeting dates and times.

Every meeting ended with a fifteen-minute "criticism/self-criticism" session, modeled on the evaluation process developed during the Cultural Revolution in China, [13] which began at precisely 9:45pm. This was the case even if it meant cutting off a heated ongoing discussion before it was completed. Chapter members saw this fifteen-minute period as the key to the group's commitment to developing a "socialist-feminist process." Members discussed how they felt about the meeting and raised concerns about people talking too long, or at too abstract a level, or with an "uncomradely tone." Quieter members were asked how the group could help them increase their participation. Members also used these sessions as an opportunity to raise concerns about Chapter process problems arising outside of the meetings themselves. Although the sessions occasionally became quite heated or floated at a trivial level of observation when people were unwilling to confront serious conflicts, for the most part they provided an extremely successful group integration mechanism and allowed individual members to confront and change what were perceived to be their own and each other's limitations. At the very least, they provided a significant opportunity for newer or less experienced members to help shape their own political education and integration into the political culture and process of the organization.

The standard structure of each meeting left about two hours for the substantive focus for a particular evening. This period was usually broken down into a number of different formats depending upon the evening's topic, but generally involved some combination of brief presentation and small and large group discussion. A premium was placed upon discussion over presentation, so once again written presentations were strongly encouraged. Whenever possible these were to be handed out at a previous meeting so people would have time to prepare before the meeting and save time for active discussion and decision-making as appropriate.

As outlined in the "Santa Cruz NAM Structure: How We Work" document above, by 1979, the weekly Chapter meetings followed a rough monthly format in which two meetings per month were devoted to evaluation of Chapter projects, one was focused on a topic of internal education, and one meeting was reserved for internal local, regional, or national NAM business. In 1979, there were two to five discussions of each project. Internal education topics included:

electoral politics, science and industry in China, the mid-east, reproductive rights, NAM's socialist-feminist politics, the farm revolt, affirmative action, NAM's labor strategy, inflation, class analysis, and the U.S. left. Other educational topics were also discussed in conjunction with preparing to vote on resolutions being considered by the national organization.

In terms of local Chapter business, several meetings were devoted to the discussion of recruitment and new member orientation and integration, and other meetings covered such diverse topics as forum planning, an International Women's Day event, a proposal for developing a state-wide regional organization, a City Council campaign, creating a paid organizer for the Chapter, dues and selling *Moving On*, national convention planning, childcare, relation to other left groups in Santa Cruz, planning fundraisers, role playing on talking to people about NAM and socialist-feminism, the national structure of NAM and how members could "plug into it," revising the monthly meeting structure, a visit from a national NAM leader, and developing a local one year plan or strategy.

Late in 1979, pressure from members to allow more time for active project work and expand the membership of the Chapter led to the development and approval of a new monthly meeting structure in which the local, regional and national business meeting each month was to be designated as the Monthly Membership Meeting and other three weekly meetings would be seen as optional. It was hoped that the development of a monthly Chapter newsletter would allow members active in a project but only attending Chapter meetings once a month to keep abreast of most critical Chapter issues. Along with this, the plan for associate membership developed in 1976 was to be revitalized as well. About a dozen new Associate Members who paid limited dues, received a newsletter, and attended particular meetings of interest were recruited through this effort.

This was an interesting turn of events since it marked a return to the structure of the formal by-laws of the organization that had been approved in 1977, but which had been superseded in practice to meet the needs of an activist Chapter for weekly meetings. Although a serious effort was made to reserve major Chapter decisions for the formal Monthly Meetings, within a couple of months, once again, the majority of active members were attending all weekly meetings about equally.

Meetings were generally co-chaired by two members on a rotating basis. Newer members were also actively encouraged to make brief presentations to the meetings on small aspects of the larger issues being discussed. The use of co-chairs and sharing presentations allowed newer members to learn these skills and also provided a mechanism for rapidly developing new leadership in the Chapter. It should be noted that these skills were often very useful to members

in various aspects of their mass practice and were often cited by newer members during criticism/self-criticism as what they like most about NAM.

### The Steering Committee

The structure of the organization and its unique meeting format would never have been able to function were it not for the development of an active Steering Committee for the Chapter. The group met once a week for several hours, usually in an informal setting (during 1979 usually in the back room of a beachfront bar and grill). Following the structure outlined in the "How We Work" document, the Steering Committee typically was composed of four of the more experienced Chapter activists and one newer member. The mix of experience and fresh perspective was felt to be important both as a mechanism for developing new leadership and getting a reading on how new members were experiencing the Chapter and its work.

Generally, the Steering Committee was very careful about seeing its role as facilitating the decision-making process of the Chapter as a whole rather than actually making those decisions. Most of the work of the group involved the careful planning of proposed Chapter meeting agendas and making sure that a large amount of information flowed among the projects, caucuses, social events, local, regional and national levels of the organization, and individual members. As individuals, members of the Steering Committee met other Chapter members to discuss and resolve problems, clarify positions, and facilitate communication about upcoming events.

The meetings of the Steering Committee were open to all members of the Chapter and decisions were generally made on a consensus basis, but only members could vote if there was irreconcilable division on an issue needing rapid resolution. In practice, and with rare exception, prospective Chapter meeting chairs and members planning to make presentations at upcoming meetings were the only non-Steering Committee members to attend the meetings. Generally, about half of the elections for Steering Committee positions involved more than one nominee, and Chapter members felt it important that the Steering Committee be accountable to the Chapter as a leadership body. In practice, the Steering Committee made most of the Chapter's decisions about spending money and made many minor decisions about endorsing events organized by other groups.

The Steering Committee produced typed minutes of all its meetings in 1979 and distributed copies to all members at Chapter meetings. Often these minutes were enlivened by the inclusion of Chapter and National NAM gossip and what passed for political humor, for example the use of hyperbole or self-deprecation in describing Chapter work. In addition, the

Steering Committee produced or arranged for the production of written position papers or proposals on issues coming before the Chapter as a whole.

### Recruitment and New Member Orientation

Recruitment was one of the most difficult issues faced by the Santa Cruz NAM chapter. Attracting new members is obviously a critical consideration for any political group, and all the more important for a small group with the high level of expectation of members held by Santa Cruz NAM. At the same time, most NAM members existed in a culture that actively sought to avoid the image of sectarian left groups "selling" their organization to friends or strangers. The result was a constant struggle to get members to take the issue of recruitment seriously or actually engage in the active recruitment of new members.

Ironically, this fear of selling the organization often served to exacerbate the image among some potential recruits of NAM as an "elitist" organization that discouraged new members on the basis of their ostensible inadequacy. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Once an individual expressed interest in NAM considerable energy was expended to inform them about the group and its work, invite them to participate and integrate them into the organization. But actually making an initial contact or inquiry about someone's interest seemed beyond most members' ability.

Collectively, the group was aware of the problem. During the period of 1975-1981 the group generated no less than 25 different proposals of ways to rectify the problem of recruiting new members. Some of the proposals approved by the Chapter and carried out to varying degrees (sometimes repropose or implemented several times) included: orientations for new members at times distinct from regular Chapter meetings,[14] development of a packet of introductory materials on NAM, a New Member Coordinator to oversee the distribution of packets and organization of orientation sessions and to see that older members mixed with new or prospective members at meetings and events, a buddy system to pair new members with more experienced members for the purpose of educational and emotional support, the establishment of recruitment coordinators in each of the projects, and the commitment of Chapter meeting time to emphasizing the importance of individual recruiting efforts. In 1979, the Chapter spent all of one meeting and part of another in role-playing exercises to demonstrate how people could do one-on-one recruitment in a variety of situations.

In the end, the constant self-criticism on the issue of recruitment did succeed in maintaining the active base of the chapter, though at a relatively small size. In any case, it is not

clear that the Chapter would have known how to integrate a much larger membership into the participatory structure and process of its general weekly meetings.

### Child Care

Because of its socialist-feminist ideology, the group made a relatively strong commitment to the provision of childcare at all meetings and events. Generally at meetings, members took turns leaving the meeting for about an hour to provide care for the one or two children attending. At more public events like forums and at longer retreats, individuals were occasionally hired to provide care with more continuity and interest for the children. It is clear that the approach to childcare was adequate to allow the participation of parents in the organization but certainly less than optimum with respect to providing a quality environment for the children. Although there were notable positive exceptions, childcare was not well planned, lacking adequate training, location, and materials to really stimulate the small numbers of children involved. On the other hand, the provision of care at all events was a significant commitment for an organization of such small size and with such limited resources.

### Social Life

The Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement had an extraordinarily well-developed social life. The Chapter provided an extended friendship network for long-time members which, in combination with the extensive commitment to TV meetings and political work, consumed most of the non-work time of the most active members. Meetings were regularly preceded by potluck dinners on Sunday nights and often Chapter or project meetings were followed by late night feeding frenzies at a local diner. Regular social events were organized such as roller-skating, movie and concert attendance, extensive and regular camping and ski trips to Yosemite National Park, and augmented by unscheduled late night "bull sessions." In 1979 about one quarter of the members lived in households with other members and two households had three or more members. Sexual relationships between other members were quite common.

The annual National Convention, held in the Midwest each summer, provided a unique opportunity for solidifying the social relationships of the Chapter. In 1976, three members drove to the Convention in a VW bug. In the following year, eight members drove out in a VW bus. In 1978, 1979, and 1980, 14-16 members, or the majority of the active Chapter members, drove out in large motor homes. In each case, these trips involved virtually no stops except for fuel, and the collective experience of spending 25-30 hours in such close proximity led to intense interaction. The attendance of such a high percentage of the Santa Cruz Chapter also gave the group a

relatively high profile in the national organization and gave local members an extraordinary sense of connection to a wide range of national bodies and the organization as a whole. National leaders and members of other chapters were not abstractions but real, live personalities.

The impact of the social bonds created within the Chapter was a critical factor in supporting the extensive time and work commitment expectations of the group. Little else could go as far to explain how it was possible for the group to maintain its level of commitment over so many years. The extensive social connections also go a long way toward explaining how it was possible to have meetings that seemed so informal and full of humor despite the highly structured nature of the meetings and the time pressures placed upon them.

### Internal Process

Within the framework of the group's formal structure and dense social network, the Chapter underwent constant and deep re-examination of its organizational structure, membership expectations, personal and organizational processes, and political work. In addition to the struggle for the equality of women most people associate with the term feminist, socialist-feminism to all Chapter members implied a special obligation to be self-critical and open to personal and organizational transformation with respect to every aspect of the Chapter's existence. The degree of "commitment to process," varied from member to member, but no one ever suggested, at least openly, that such a commitment was inappropriate. There may have been more than a little sarcasm in one experienced member's private observation that "the best way to avoid getting trashed for elitism is to be the first to jump out with a self-criticism before someone else confronts you." The level of interpersonal interaction was so intense at times, however, that nothing short of at least some degree of changed behavior could deflect criticism directed at Chapter leaders. [15]

As a result, a significant part of the Chapter's energy went into reflection on how it carried on its work. In addition to the regular criticism/self-criticism sessions, the group met twice in 1979 for all-day retreats on Saturdays, and a number of regular Chapter meetings were entirely devoted to discussing or implementing proposed structure changes or resolving perceived process problems. A women's caucus existed for several years, meeting twice a month—once for business and once for a social event, and a gay and lesbian caucus (with, as it turned out, only lesbian members) met for a brief period during 1979. In addition to providing emotional support, these caucuses provided a forum for their members to address process concerns in general and in particular with respect to sexism and homophobia respectively.

During 1979, the women's caucus issued two general letters or position papers to the Chapter on various aspects of "process problems." [16] The papers raised a number of questions but focused primarily on the nature of group discussions. Both found the discussions "overly rationalistic" and raised concerns about caucus members not feeling "listened to" in Chapter discussions. Anticipating potential responses, one of the papers began by asserting that it was not expressing either an "anti-leadership sentiment" or "a desire for an encounter group." Both papers were careful to point out that not all women in the Chapter shared the experience they described, but that a number of women felt that those with more political experience and/or intellectual training were taken more seriously in Chapter discussions and that, as a result, many newer Chapter members, and particularly some women, felt invalidated by the group.

Of course it was true that those with more experience in theoretical and practical politics had more influence over group decisions. Group discussions following distribution of the papers revolved around whether this was in fact an untenable problem or an inevitable consequence of belonging to a group with a range of experience among the membership. That the question even arose is testimony to the group's commitment to creating egalitarian relationships within the organization. In the discussions that followed the distribution of the papers, attempts were made to clarify the difference between instantaneous equality and a process that might lead toward the rapid reduction or dissolution of inequality of influence in the group.

Beyond this, the Chapter took seriously the question of how changes in the style of discussions might help reinforce the shared belief that all members had something significant to contribute to the group and its decision making process. Finally, it is significant to note that, while this question remained a source of tension in the Chapter throughout the group's existence, the caucus members did remain in the Chapter and attempted to resolve the problems they had raised. In the context of a strong autonomous women's movement in Santa Cruz, and its ideology that all power differentials among people could and should be dissolved as a precondition for acceptable group process, the caucus members' willingness to carry on a struggle for equality within a mixed gender group that saw equality as a goal and process rather than a basis for group membership was significant.

### Chapter Strategy

Another unique aspect of the Santa Cruz NAM Chapter was its active commitment to developing and implementing a strategy in relation to its political work. Starting in 1976, the group developed annual One-Year Plans which seriously attempted to connect an analysis of the overall political economy of Santa Cruz County, as seen in a broader world context, to concrete

and attainable goals for political practice. This is even more remarkable when one realizes that the group's defined goals went well beyond the modest expectations usually associated with left practice in the United States in the second half of the Twentieth Century.

Each subsequent One-Year Plan was more sophisticated than its predecessor in terms of its analysis of then current conditions and in defining realistic goals for the year's work. But from the very beginning, these plans raised the question of how a relatively minuscule group like the NAM Chapter might play a key role in stimulating the development of populist and progressive political activity involving thousands of local average citizens and simultaneously create a socialist tendency within this broader movement. The group took great pride in its commitment to teaching all Chapter members to think in such strategic terms with respect to all of their political work and they succeeded to an impressive degree. Of course most impressive of all was the group's success in implementing the strategy in the creation of a mass-based neighborhood organization and a new progressive majority on the Santa Cruz City Council, including two of its members as mayors.[17]

### Santa Cruz NAM in Retrospect

In retrospect, the Santa Cruz NAM Chapter was faced with a number of fundamental contradictions. The unique cadre-like structure and high expectations of membership which enabled a small group of activists to have such a major impact on an entire community made recruitment of new activists and the creation of a large democratic socialist organization difficult if not impossible. Virtually all of the aspects of the organization which helped reinforce and build group commitment, such as the high frequency of meetings, the dense social network and extensive social activities, and the enormous commitment to internal group process, exacerbated the difficulty of drawing new energy into the group. At the same time, the group's very success in pushing members into effective mass work undermined the amount of time and energy available for attending to the extensive needs of maintaining the Chapter itself.

A more contingent problem that arose in 1979 and reinforced the collapse of the Chapter in 1982 was a result of changes going on at the national level of the New American Movement. Beginning in 1979 and completed by 1981, the national organization underwent a merger with another socialist organization. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee or DSOC was an organization of about three thousand dues-paying members with an ideology and set of national priorities similar to national NAM. There were real and perceived differences of emphasis on a number of issues, particularly the approach to feminism, rank and file labor work, electoral

politics, and anti-imperialist struggles, but most significantly the groups had different work styles and membership cultures.

While DSOC had a larger formal membership, significantly greater financial resources, a much more developed national program and established contacts with nationally recognized labor and Democratic Party leaders, NAM's strength lay in its activist Chapters. Throughout its decade of existence, NAM chapters had struggled with the question of how to develop a participatory democratic organization that could simultaneously allow for support of activist work and mass democratic participation by a broader group of supporters. As explained above, the success of this effort was certainly limited and beset with problems. Chapters outside of Santa Cruz had had both less and more success in dealing with the issue of how to maintain an activist base and a large local membership. In general, the larger chapters, which in two cases had over one hundred members at the height of their success, tended to have less success at strategic citywide work. But the national organization did provide reinforcement for the idea that an activist local chapter with high expectations of membership was a reasonable and appropriate manner to approach political work.

As the merger process developed, the Santa Cruz chapter felt increasingly undermined in this respect. As the two national groups moved actively into the formation of the Democratic Socialists of America or DSA, a premium was placed not upon the recruitment of activists who would focus on the development and expansion of Chapter life, but upon mechanisms to recruit large numbers of members and develop local organizational structures that would facilitate the participation of larger numbers of people with less time and energy to commit to the organization. Coupled with the other problems imposed by the cadre structure and the loss of Chapter energy to mass work, the new approach reinforced by the merger was fatal to the local Santa Cruz organization.

At the same time it would be a mistake to underestimate the positive accomplishments of the small group of activists represented by the Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement. They managed, beyond the ability of most left groups, to integrate the ideological and practical development of their members. They played a key, and perhaps decisive role in the creation of a mass neighborhood movement and a dramatic shift of power in City and County government. [18] And most importantly, with respect to themes raised in Chapter III, they developed at least a moderately successful model of how a small group of activists could integrate theory and practice on a number of different and sometimes contradictory levels of political work. Their mixed success at developing a multi-leveled but coherent strategy within the framework of a broad democratic socialist ideology was impressive. That they did this during

a period in which the rest of the United States, and much of the world, was moving rapidly and decisively to the right is extraordinary.

#### End Notes

[1] The reference source for this chapter is participant observation by the author, buttressed by extensive field notes and a fairly complete set of unpublished documents produced by the Santa Cruz Chapter of the New American Movement between 1973 and 1982. These documents include virtually all meeting agendas, phone lists, treasurer's reports, published leaflets and newsletters, internal reports and memos, individual or group position papers circulated within the Chapter, and formal and informal minutes of Chapter, Steering Committee, project, caucus and other retreats and special meetings.

[2] More often than not the organization was referred to by its acronym, NAM.

[3] New American Movement, *The Political Perspective* (Minneapolis: New American Movement, 1972) p. 1.

[4] New American Movement, *The Political Perspective*, pp. 1-12.

[5] Probably not coincidentally, it was also estimated by members of the National Interim Committee that about three thousand different individuals held formal membership in the organization at some time during its decade of existence.

[6] The source for this material is personal field notes based on participant observation as a member of the New American Movement throughout the years of its existence as well as membership on the National Interim Committee in 1978 and 1979. In addition, the author has in his personal possession a large percentage of the material published by the organization during its decade of existence. This material is also archived and available to researchers at the Ben Josephson Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives at the Tamiment Institute in New York City.

For an organization of its relatively small size and budget, the New American Movement published an extraordinary amount of material including a monthly newsletter, *Moving On*, a regular internal Discussion Bulletin, pamphlets and leaflets on particular issues or themes, Working Papers, Commission Newsletters and Digests, handbooks, guides, and internal minutes and notes of meetings. Perhaps because of its commitment to an open style of operation and the educated composition of its membership, there is no dearth of material on the strategy, development, internal struggles or self-assessment of the New American Movement.

[7] Other local projects that existed in years other than 1979 included: The Red Seed, a local socialist-feminist magazine that appeared six times in 1976-77; a Socialist-Feminist/Reproductive Rights project in 1976-77; a campus anti-racist project that also produced and printed the national organization's Anti-Racism Commission Newsletter in 1977-78; a poorly defined feminist project that existed briefly in 1977; a newsletter/media project in 1980-81; and a labor project for union activists, which existed briefly in 1980-81.

[8] New American Movement, Strategy Papers: Where We Stand, September 1975. For a great deal more detail and an expanded and significantly modified form of this strategy as it was generally understood by the Santa Cruz NAM Chapter, see chapter III.

[9] This last was typical of the self-deprecating humor found in most group meetings.

[10] In 1979, the project was building on work that had been done in a less structured way and not as a formal project. During the previous year, NAM members had worked with other members of the progressive community on an unsuccessful fight against a right-wing backed recall of two County Supervisors. Also in that year, they participated in the defeat of the anti-gay Briggs initiative. In subsequent years, the group went on to play a major role in the election of two new progressives resulting in a progressive majority on the Santa Cruz City Council, the election of a progressive majority on the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors, a citizens' initiative in the City of Santa Cruz that passed two-to-one calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. military and Economic aid to El Salvador, an unsuccessful initiative to create rent control in the City of Santa Cruz, a local solarization ordinance, and a number of other issues. These issues will be treated in more detail in the next chapter.

[11] NAM members had worked in coalition with other groups on such programs to introduce new UCSC students to a left point of view in all of the years 1974-8.

[12] It should be noted that this project was proposed to operate in conjunction with a campus-funded Rape Prevention Education Program headed by one of the more active NAM members. That project anteceded this proposal and survived the collapse of the NAM Campus Project in 1980.

[13] Although most members were probably unaware of the inspiration for criticism/self-criticism, when criticism sessions got too superficial, the Chapter occasionally circulated copies of Mao Tse-Tung's "Combat Liberalism" Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-Tung (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1971) pp. 134-7.

[14] The idea of separate orientation sessions grew out of a frustrating experience in the first two months of meetings in 1973, when the need to constantly go over basic information about the New American Movement and its political perspective in each meeting made it impossible for returning participants to move on to actually doing any kind of political work.

[15] Certainly nothing in the national NAM culture encouraged the elevation of leaders to cult status. One of the national NAM leaders observed that NAM's democratic and anti-leader culture was so intense that being a national leader of the organization was "nothing less than a constant bath in criticism and negativity" R.L., personal letter to Mike Rotkin, March 23, 1979.

[16] One similar position paper was also delivered to the Chapter in 1978 and another in 1980.

[17] For a more detailed description of this process see the previous and next chapters of this dissertation.

[18] A theme that will be developed more extensively in the next chapter.