

# PARTY BUILDER

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## SWP Organizational Discussion Bulletin

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POLITICAL WORK IN THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS (AFT)

Submitted by Trade-Union Director,  
Oakland-Berkeley Branch

*Background*

The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO (AFT), is one of the fastest growing unions in the United States. Rapidly approaching the 300,000 mark, the teacher union movement may well include more than three million in the near future if the tendency toward merged organizations continues. The AFT's long-standing competitor, the National Education Association (NEA), has moved swiftly away from its former well-deserved designation as a company union. Despite recent NEA pronouncements that it opposes labor affiliation as well as further state or local mergers with the AFT, there is little doubt that the generalized militancy which has been expressed by public employees over the past period is evident among the ranks of the NEA. In some areas the NEA has even surpassed the AFT in militant labor action. In Florida, for example, it conducted the nation's first statewide teacher strike some six years ago. Since that time NEA chapters throughout the country have engaged in strike action, won collective bargaining contracts, and otherwise moved in the direction of teacher unionism. In New York State, the 95,000-member NEA organization voted to merge last month with the 90,000 teachers in the state AFT. Merger negotiations are presently underway in Illinois and Michigan.

Although a good deal of the company-union baggage of the past has yet to be discarded, the trend towards teacher militancy and merger seems more than likely to continue. The next decade may very well see the teachers in the largest trade union in the United States.

In California, in the AFT some two years ago, we introduced a resolution into the proceedings of the state convention of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT), the state organization of the AFT. Passed unanimously, the resolution called upon the CFT to support the April 24 peace demonstrations called by NPAC, to contribute \$500 to NPAC and to publicize the demonstration in the statewide newspaper, the *California Teacher*. The resolution also designated myself as the CFT representative to NPAC.

The CFT sent a mailing to all 165 AFT locals in the state requesting support for April 24. Local AFT presidents were called personally. It became CFT policy to support mass demonstrations against the war. CFT locals rented busses, contributed money, sent speakers and participated in labor contingents in demonstrations organized by NPAC.

*California Labor Councils*

Every AFL-CIO local in California is entitled to send delegates to the meetings of the County Central Labor Councils. These 38 councils make up the essential structure of the AFL-CIO in California. In the Alameda County Central Labor Council, for example, there are more than 150 local unions representing some 150,000 workers.

Representatives of the CFT introduced resolutions supporting the mass demonstrations of NPAC in ten of these councils over the past two years. Some seven passed

resolutions for the first time in opposition to the war and/or in favor of mass demonstrations. In several councils, the resolutions were passed, after extended debate, in opposition to the bureaucratic leadership. In others they passed unanimously.

It became clear in the Bay Area that antiwar work could be effectively done, within limits, in the official organizations of the AFL-CIO. In some cases, the county AFL-CIO paper printed extended articles on the demonstrations as well as covering the discussion on the council floor.

The Hayward Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1423, sends a delegate to the meetings of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, and he presents the antiwar position of the Teachers union to the Central Labor Council.

While this council has been on record against the war for some time, it has yet to endorse a demonstration on the grounds that they are not wholly controlled by labor, a situation which, so the argument goes, could lead to the demonstration being taken over by elements such as pro-NLF or other violent groups! This argument is now finding less and less support in the council as the antiwar movement grows. For the first time, the council referred to the Executive Committee rather than defeated a motion to endorse the April 22 NPAC demonstration. The motion to refer included the provision that a representative from NPAC be asked to present a full report on the demonstration before a decision was made. Participation in the council allowed us to meet a new layer of militants and a few secondary officials who were in opposition to the war. Persistent introduction of antiwar resolutions at appropriate moments has given credibility to NPAC as the national antiwar organization. While two years ago we had to spend weeks of preparation rounding up delegates in preparation for labor council votes on the war, we can now pass motions to support mass demonstrations with little effort and in some cases enlist the council in the actual building of the demonstration through leaflet distribution, press conferences, etc.

*NPAC Labor Support Committee*

Prior to the April 24 demonstration in San Francisco and Washington, D. C., this committee was set up to raise the question of the war in as many Bay Area unions as possible. Several CFT locals were drawn into the work of the committee either in the form of direct participation or through building the demonstration in their own local. Many of these CFT militants are now contacts of the party, read *The Militant* and participate in other political activities we engage in. Over the past two years the Labor Support Committee has introduced resolutions on the war in some 60 union locals, ranging from the ILWU, UAW and IBT to several Building Trades locals, to the ITU (Printers). In many cases the committee was able to secure invitations to send speakers. Most of the time, antiwar resolutions are passed by large majorities. In some cases such as the TWU (Transport Workers Union) and a few Labor Councils, the ranks had to overrule the lead-

ership when they refused to put the question to a vote or otherwise prevent a motion of support from being passed.

#### *AFT National Conventions*

Through the work of NPAC, AFT locals throughout the United States had come into contact with the antiwar movement. At the 1971 national convention of the AFT in San Francisco, more than 200 California delegates and alternates to the convention introduced a resolution calling on the national AFT to endorse the November 6 demonstrations. Prior to this convention, more than 12 AFT locals had individually submitted resolutions to the convention calling on the AFT to support the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam. The majority of these locals agreed to support the California Resolution which called for direct support to the NPAC actions. Although the Shankar machine was able to defeat this resolution as well as another immediate withdrawal resolution, it was not able to prevent the convention from finally passing a resolution opposing the war.

This year, two state federations, Minnesota and California, as well as several locals, have passed and are introducing resolutions supporting NPAC's fall actions. For the first time a Vietnam Caucus of the AFT will be organized at the National Convention, thus making the war an even more vital part of the convention proceedings.

#### *The War and Inflation*

It has become common to link the war to the questions of inflation, unemployment, the wage freeze, etc. Many of the resolutions passed in the AFT make this connection. While in the past the war was frequently opposed on moral considerations, AFT locals in California and elsewhere are now beginning to raise it outside of convention halls and newspaper articles. In some cases opposition to the war has been directly related to AFT strikes such as the recent strike at the University of California at Berkeley.

There are an approximate 100,000 unemployed teachers in the United States with close to ten thousand in the state of California. Inflation has wiped out virtually all wage increases over the past six years. As state and local budgets are slashed, teachers are handed non-negotiable pay cuts when school boards literally close the schools because of lack of funds. Under these circumstances it is not difficult for teachers to see that the war has been a major drain on federal revenues.

CFT representatives have been in the forefront of the trade-union movement in California in linking the war to the day-to-day problems of working people. The resolutions which the party has introduced into the CFT have always stressed this relationship as well as the necessity of mobilizing working people against the war. The CFT sent two representatives to the recent Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis and will report the proceedings to its membership.

In the Detroit AFT, comrades initiated an official union Peace Committee which is given space in the union paper. The committee has publicized NPAC actions and brought the war into the classroom. Peace committees have been established in several other locals in the AFT.

In California, more than 50 AFT locals contributed over \$800 toward the placing of a half-page ad in the two major San Francisco newspapers prior to the No-

ember 6 demonstration. This ad was finally signed by some 750 unionists from 100 locals. It linked the war to the wage freeze, inflation, unemployment and to government attacks on labor.

#### *Statewide Conference of Labor in Opposition to the Wage Freeze*

The Nixon wage freeze came at a time when the wages of most California teachers had been effectively frozen for some time. At a meeting of the State Council of the CFT where some 100 representatives of locals throughout the state were present, a resolution was introduced calling on the CFT to initiate with other interested unions a statewide conference of labor for the purpose of developing a program of united action against the wage freeze.

The resolution caught the CFT leadership somewhat off-guard. It had been previously passed at a membership meeting of the Hayward local and sent to the state council for action. No one spoke in opposition and most of those who favored the resolution appreciated the CFT taking steps to bring about such a conference. The resolution provided for the forming of a special CFT committee under the direction of President Teilhet to immediately begin work on the project. This committee was to be composed of "interested CFT leaders." It passed unanimously. The next move was left to Teilhet.

After a few weeks he sent the Hayward local a letter requesting that it prepare the necessary letters to be sent to all California Labor Councils and CFT locals to actually call the conference. He put this small local in charge and designated its president as the chairperson of the special CFT committee to work on the conference. Teilhet felt that some delegates intended to use this conference to push a labor party and he was dead set against it. But rather than kill it directly, he decided to request that the committee set the date for the conference, send out a call and in effect let it die on its own. That is, he couldn't imagine any union actually sending a delegate to such a conference and at that time he thought the committee would simply go ahead and write up the call.

It was explained to him that the resolution did not require the CFT to initiate a statewide conference of labor on its own. This would be rather foolish since the CFT represented only 25,000 teachers in the state and lacked even a single collective bargaining contract. Teilhet learned that the committee intended only to contact interested unions in the state to move in the direction of such a conference. To this end it would secure the support of all CFT locals in raising the need for united labor action in all the Labor Councils and unions in the state. The special Committee, which by this time had representatives from some ten locals, was to coordinate the work of propagandizing for the conference. It could send out speakers to interested unions and perhaps hold a planning conference if sufficient interest was present.

The party saw the opportunity to begin to propagandize within some unions for a conference of labor through this CFT committee. The committee provided a vehicle to raise the question of the need for labor to move in this direction in unions throughout the state. The committee could become a clearing house for resolutions passed in all labor bodies in relation to action against the wage freeze.

Obviously, the CFT leadership was not prepared for this kind of long-term effort. Teilhet quickly pulled in

the reins and wrote a letter to Jack Henning, the Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, asking him to devote a special session to the wage freeze at an upcoming Sacramento Joint Legislative Conference of the State Labor Federation and the California Building and Construction Trades Council. Henning ignored the request and Teilhet was again forced to maneuver to slow down the work of the committee. At this moment work on the statewide conference has slowed to a standstill but this has been more due to the press of state and national convention activity than it has to lack of interest in united action against the wage freeze. There is an important layer of activists within the CFT who would like nothing better than to see the state labor movement take action of a concerted nature, outside the legislative arena. The existence of this CFT committee is valuable in continuing the work of educating the ranks. It remains to be seen whether it will be able to take additional steps leading to some form of statewide conference.

#### *Caucuses in the AFT, CFT, etc.*

There are no opposition caucuses in the state of California. We have steered clear of any attempts by the various sects to organize so-called revolutionary oppositions to the leadership of the CFT. For the most part, such formations have usually ended up to the right of the CFT or gone out of business in a matter of days. The CFT represents the most militant ten to twenty percent of the teachers in California. It has defended Angela Davis, supported the rights of gay people, women, Blacks and Chicanos, supported preferential hiring, as well as the positions I have stated above. For the most part these positions have been translated into action. CFT officers for example, including the state president, have spoken at Angela Davis rallies and have endorsed demonstrations supporting her rights. I have already described some of the activities relating to the war.

At present there are no barriers to raising the kinds of questions we are interested in. Members of the SWP participate in the CFT as open socialists and their ideas and affiliation are known to a wide variety of union members. Our work in the CFT around the issues of the war and the statewide conference of labor have enabled us to meet broad layers of activists in the union. A caucus in opposition to the leadership around issues such as the war, the wage freeze, women's liberation, community control, preferential hiring of Blacks and Chicanos, and a host of related issues, would be worthless at this time since a great deal of activity around these issues has already been generated with the full support of the state and local leadership.

Nevertheless, Teilhet and the rest of the CFT leaders are staunch Democrats and have absolutely no vision of change outside of this party. While they see a certain value in actions such as the March for Education they organized on the state capital last year, they spend much of their energies lobbying the various legislators begging for a few crumbs.

But a caucus around the issue of independent political action, a break with the Democrats, etc., would draw practically no forces except a few sectarians who become involved in such formations in order to insulate themselves from the ranks. This is not to say we don't raise the question of a labor party. We have found several opportunities to introduce this aspect of our program

into the CFT. We raise the labor party slogan as it relates to the concrete developments facing teachers and in an educational-propagandistic manner. We don't shove it down the throats of the ranks and denounce them for rejecting salvation, as is the rule for the ultralefts in the AFT.

In general, the formation of an opposition caucus should reflect some motion in the ranks around issues which we are vitally concerned with. We are not interested in forming the kind of opposition where our comrades must take full responsibility for the functioning of the organization. Rather than become involved in this sort of work, we have chosen to concentrate our energies around the issues described above, i.e., the war and the conference against the wage freeze. In the process we seek out the few individuals who are interested in the ideas of the party. More than fifty *Militant* or *ISR* subs have been sold to teachers in California in the process of our political work in the CFT.

In other AFT locals, opposition caucuses do exist and have functioned successfully. Our comrades have been active participants in opposition groups in New York City and Detroit where the issues of community control of the schools, i.e., Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican education, and the war were key aspects of an opposition program. In these situations and in others in the AFT we were able to draw around these formations significant numbers of rank-and-file teachers in action around a program of class struggle politics.

In general there are no rules or formulas for the organizational forms our ideas will take in the union movement. The road to the construction of a class struggle left wing must start with the recruitment of the best militants to our party. Sometimes the formation of an opposition group gets in the way of this process. By the same token, we are not interested in accumulating "brownie points" for doing endless amounts of routine work of a non-political nature. While a certain quantity of this kind of work is often necessary, it is a mistake to assume it is a prerequisite for introducing our political ideas into the unions.

In some AFT locals we have found the most effective work a comrade can do is to speak with a single individual about the ideas of our party. In others, we have been able to play a leading role in large opposition formations.

#### *Elections in the AFT*

Individual comrades have run for various posts in the AFT ranging from delegate to the national convention to vice-president of a state federation. We have run as individuals, as independents, as part of opposition slates or as part of non-partisan single-issue groups. In all cases our participation has been geared to finding the most effective way of introducing our ideas. Sometimes this has required that we specifically not run in an election.

We have always been careful to avoid participating in power caucuses or slates which aim to replace the leadership without a class-struggle program. We do not want to give the impression we are interested in getting a piece of the pie. Power caucuses frequently seek out sincere individuals and political oppositionists in an effort to "broaden the slate." They are common in the AFT on the local, state and national levels.

In every case, comrades have made their decisions on questions such as I have discussed above in consultation with the branch leadership. The accumulated experience

of the party will continue to prove invaluable in this respect.

July 23, 1972

### SOME COMMENTS ON BRANCH FINANCES by Ralph Schwartz, Minneapolis Branch

Every branch financial director is aware that a solid sustainer base is the key to successful branch financial operation. Expanding local activities, raising the per-capita to the national office, etc., all rest on how much and how regularly the comrades contribute to the branch. Yet, a good sustainer base isn't everything. A great deal of money can be wasted in subsidizing various branch operations and activities that should, if not make money, at least break even. In the Twin Cities we have been able to develop a mode of operation in which expenses are minimized, and most activities in which our party engages bring money in, rather than drain it out. In the last two years we have been able to liquidate a \$1500 debt to the national office, raise our per-capita by almost \$5.00 per month, and accumulate a reserve of several hundred dollars, with which we have made, and are continuing to make, much needed improvements on our headquarters. We have also been able to eliminate all fundraising activity from the branch budget, allowing the YSA and the campaign committee broader scope in that area. Morale is higher, financial consciousness among the comrades is better, and our sustainer base is more solid than it ever was since our financial crises were eliminated.

Thus, a branch's ability to make money in all its activities, when added to a solid sustainer base, can completely reverse a worsening financial situation and rapidly improve a poor one. I think that there are three aspects of branch finances relevant to this subject: the role of the various branch departments in branch finances; proper timing and planning of major activities such as summer schools, banquets, etc.; the minimizing of normal operating expenses, such as telephone bills, office supplies, etc. Of course, the three are very much related, and there is one common factor involved in all. That factor is control. The organizer, the Executive Committee, the financial director, must exercise tight control over *all* expenditures and must carefully watch the financial affairs of the branch. Inherent in this concept is the necessity of a budget for all activities, and careful record keeping to insure that the budget is adhered to. I will discuss this in relation

to the three areas outlined above.

At the beginning of each budget period, the role of each of the departments in branch finances is evaluated, and a projection made for the next budget. Subsidies for various departments that tend to lose money are listed in the budget under expenses, and profits from others under income. Realistic appraisals are necessary, and it is important that the department head and the branch as a whole understand the role that each department has played and will play in the branch finances. The financial director should keep detailed records so that the status of each department can be immediately evaluated. These records help in accumulating experience, so that more and more accurate projections can be made. Perhaps several examples will make the above more concrete.

We projected, in the past budget period, an income of \$65/month from forums. This was based on the previous fall's figures which showed that we had made an average of \$28/forum. We kept track of attendance, expenses for mailings, printing, refreshments, etc. All telephone calls made for the purpose of arranging forums were billed to the forum committee. The committee has its own envelopes and art-type, so an accurate record of expenditures in this area can be kept. With this arrangement, it is easy for the forum director to supervise the size of the mailing list so that it doesn't get out of hand. We also used speakers from our own area for the most part, and took advantage of outside speakers when they came through on tour for other reasons or for other organizations. We were thus able to avoid large travel bills. All this contributed to a politically and financially successful forum season. As an aside, the larger the forums, the better the sales in the bookstore, and the better it does financially as well. We also took advantage of other opportunities to build the forum. After the November 6 antiwar demonstration, we scheduled a forum on the Russian Revolution. But we combined this with an open house and buffet dinner, so that participants in the demonstration could come to the hall after the march and stay right through the talk. I recount this incident to make

a point: opportunities such as using speakers who pass through on other business, mass gatherings, etc., should not be missed.

*The Militant* is also closely supervised. A weekly accounting of all sales is kept. Comrades who sell must sign out the paper and sign in their money, so that *The Militant* director has a reasonably accurate idea of how many of each issue is sold. This lets the branch know when to raise the bundle, when to push for increased sales, and how much the branch subsidizes the paper each week. If the subsidy exceeds the figure budgeted, immediate correctional measures can be taken.

Our branch serves refreshments during the break at branch meetings and other internal functions. We have been able to make quite a bit of money, but again, only with careful supervision and record keeping.

To sum up, we keep careful track of each department's financial status. We use our records as guides to improving functioning, cutting expenses, projecting figures for future activity, etc. We have been able to turn the branch departments into financial assets for the party: either they make money, or we tightly control the losses.

We have also been able to turn major affairs such as educational weekends, banquets, and the summer school into money-making affairs. Generally, we aim to break even when projecting expenses for the affair and deciding on the donation we ask for. Attendance above our expectations yields the profit. We start, as always, by drawing up a budget once the program is decided on. (The major expense for most educational weekends is transportation for national speakers. We have been successful in minimizing this by splitting the speakers with another branch.) The key to these affairs is the number who come. An attractive program must be put together and the comrades motivated to attend. High attendance by comrades has always been associated with a successful program. Generally we sell advance, cut-rate tickets for the entire series of events, and this helps as well. Other sources of income for educational weekends have been dinners and socials. This is true of the summer school as well; on several weekends we have a special program with a national speaker, including several classes, a dinner or picnic, and a social. All efforts must be made in planning dinners to hold down expenses while not skimping on quality. Well-placed collections at public meetings are a big help, but if they are held too often their effects can be detrimental and the size of the collection suffers.

Let me try to concretize the above with an example. We had planned a spring socialist weekend, with Andrew Pulley speaking at a banquet on Saturday, and a national speaker on Friday. We deliberately scheduled the conference to take advantage of Pulley's campaign tour. Honoraria were used to cover the tour quota. The branch, then, had to pick up half the plane fare for one speaker, who went to Chicago the next day, dinner expenses, publicity, and miscellaneous costs of arrangements (including telephone calls). The banquet was used in the following manner: it would be an excellent way of winding up Pulley's tour and provide a fine opportunity for a collection, and it would add to the attractiveness of the total educational weekend. Thus, comrades were looking forward to the event, and the whole program drew in many contacts. With the large attendance, the socials held after each evening's talk were more successful, the bookstore

did a booming business, the admissions covered a larger percentage of the expenses, and the whole thing was a smashing political success (on which we also made a \$200 profit). It must be admitted that Pulley's presence in the Twin Cities in the spring was fortuitous, but this does serve to illustrate the point that a branch should take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself. As a further example of a more "normal" instance, I have added as an appendix the budget for our fall '71 educational conference, which was held over Thanksgiving weekend, and a summary of how we did.

The third aspect of our finances are the day-to-day operating expenses. Again, we keep careful track of all expenditures. The YSA and the campaign each have their own office supplies, so that the party does not end up silently subsidizing them. We do not, as a rule, let other organizations use our equipment and supplies; they have more resources open to them on campus, and they have a broader financial base. The branch keeps careful track of all supplies and facilities which the YSA, and campaign, and other organizations do use, and bills them accordingly. (I mention facilities here, but this applies to the other organizations only: we charge them to use our mimeo machine and folder.) It is the same with the telephone: all long distance calls are recorded in a book and assigned to the appropriate place. We then have a record of all calls made for internal business per se, for the forum, *The Militant*, education committee, and the other departments. We bill the campaign committee, YSA, etc., for the rest. Thus, we are able to exercise greater control over the use of the telephone. Without this control, phone bills can skyrocket. Primary responsibility for reducing expenses rests on the department heads, and ultimately, the organizer, for they are in a position to directly supervise the day-to-day operation of branch facilities. But without accurate records, actual telephone usage, office supply expenditures, etc., can remain unknown quantities. Sometimes, Draconian measures are needed: the forum committee and the branch have, at times, hidden their supplies of stamped envelopes—this may seem ridiculous, but envelope consumption dropped rapidly and over \$10.00 per month was saved. Of course, locks and keys are efficient, but education of the comrades is better, and we have made great strides in this area. It is no longer a natural thing, for instance, for YSAers to look for stencils, paper, and other things in the SWP office. Also, we knocked \$15/month from our electric bill by the simple expedient of removing the switch from the upstairs lights. Comrades had a tendency to leave the lights on all night, although there was no pressing reason to use the upstairs once the branch got rid of printing equipment which had been kept there. Besides separating the phone and office equipment, we try to share the expense of the hall itself. The bookstore pays one-fourth of our monthly rent, and the YSA pays one-eighth. This alleviates quite a burden from the branch itself.

I have tried, in this article, to point to some of the methods that we use in the Twin Cities to cut our operating expenses to a minimum and bring added income into the party treasury. Financial consciousness on the part of the branch leadership, accurate and realistic budgeting, good record keeping and proper planning are the keys to this task.

July 22, 1972

## APPENDIX

### EXPENSES

Plane fare—Peter Camejo	\$ 78.00	(Split with Chicago)
Plane fare—Linda Nordquist	96.00	
Ad in Militant	20.00	
Telephone Calls	30.00	
Leaflets	60.00	
Decorations	20.00	
Posters	15.00	
Tickets and schedule sheets	3.00	
Expenses for two dinners	100.00	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$422.00</b>	

### INCOME

60 prepaid tickets	<b>\$300.00</b>
Misc admissions	90.00
Two socials	70.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$460.00</b>

As I stressed above, we relied on attendance to make the conference for us. We knew that we could sell the 60 prepaid tickets to comrades and close sympathizers, and we began selling them two weeks before the conference. This also had the effect of enthusing people for the conference. We counted on 20 or more others attending the sessions and one or more dinners to make the other \$90.

Thus, simply meeting the budget meant making a small profit. In reality, plane fare was \$182 total, food was \$71, printing \$95, all other \$44, for a total of \$425. Advance sale of tickets was \$270, we took in \$130 at the door, and the socials made \$118. All in all, we made about \$95 on the weekend.

## THE CHICAGO CAMPAIGN TO KEEP CURRENT

by Bernie K. and Howard S., Chicago Branch

During the past year and a half, the Chicago branch has recorded significant gains in the national campaign to keep current financially with the national office and all national departments. At the same time, the methods used have resulted in a significant strengthening of our local finances.

A year and a half ago, Chicago had the highest debt to national departments of any branch in the country, and it was increasing. In the fall of 1970, the branch embarked on a campaign to start turning this situation around. A financial committee was set up for the first time, giving organizational expression to the importance of finances, and establishing a division of labor to deal with the different aspects of branch finances. For the first time also, regular frequent financial reports were given to the exec and the branch, which gave the branch opportunity for discussion, and involvement in the financial campaigns, and a feeling of direct participation in the financial affairs of the branch. Much greater attention was given to the branch bookstore, and its finances were seen to a much greater extent than before, as part of the branch

finances. As a result of more attention and consciousness, the \$1200 debt to Pathfinder was cut by 75 percent, and at the same time that this was happening, the bookstore finances were stabilized enough so that the bookstore was able to pay \$10.00 a week rent to the branch. Thus, at the same time that the Pathfinder debt was being paid, the bookstore was able to make increased local expenditures.

In line with this heightened awareness of finances, the financial committee and the exec initiated a campaign in the branch to cut down the back debt that comrades owed to the branch in their sustainer pledges. This debt was a considerable one. Partly as a result of regular charts, listing each comrade and the amount owed, the debt was cut at one point in the fall of 1971 from \$1600 to \$600. Equally important was the increased attention given to finances as a whole motivating comrades' contributions.

There were also increased attempts to get income for the branch from outside fund raising, such as socials and honoraria, which in addition to increasing our income, gave us a picture of the potentialities outside fund



raising has.

The branch had reached the point, by the end of 1971, where it was sending some money to the national office every month. Before our campaign had begun, there were sometimes months when the branch had sent nothing to the national office.

However, although we had regularized sending some income into the national office, there was still, up through January 1972, no month in which the branch had kept completely current to all national departments. Our debts, except for Pathfinder, were still going up, although at a slower rate. There was thus a need for further stabilization of our finances so that we could keep current with the national office on a regular monthly basis and start paying back our back debt.

We saw the next stage in our campaign to focus directly on our ability to keep current to all national departments on a consistent basis. For a branch to keep current has tremendous importance for the party nationally. The money that the national office gets from the branches is necessary for the day-to-day national functioning of the party, to see to it that all the national functions of the party are carried out on a steady basis. If the income from the branches comes in irregularly, it would be just the same as paying rent every few months, or paying branch organizing expenses at irregular intervals. It disrupts and makes normal functioning impossible, and it means that in order to carry out this normal functioning the party is forced to retard its rate of expansion nationally, and take money away from national expansion projects. Also, keeping current with the national departments is a concrete measure of our ability to finance all branch activities. The conscious planning and development of a budget that is necessary to keep current require the same steps as are necessary to finance all our activities and also to pay off back debts. Because of this, we knew that if we were able to keep current, we could solve all our financial problems.

We found that in order to make sure we kept current in all departments, increased centralization of finances was necessary. The financial director had to have a good enough feel for the functioning of all areas of branch work so that it could be ascertained what effect their financial functioning would have on the branch as a whole. This obviously meant that all areas of the branch would collaborate with the financial director in drawing up their monthly budgets, and in making frequent financial evaluations.

In doing this, it was found that much could be gained from a thorough professionalization of all branch financial records. This would enable comrades to see clearly how money was being spent, where it was coming from, and to be able to tell concretely, for instance, if we didn't keep current a particular month, what the reason for this was. The significance of this cannot be overemphasized. It is absolutely impossible to have well functioning branch finances without having financial records which clarify exactly how money is being spent and where it is coming from. Without this knowledge, it is impossible to do much more than guess about where the strong and weak points are in finances. No one knows for sure.

One additional benefit that came from the increased centralization and collaboration of the financial director with all departments was the ability to develop a sense of proportion about various options the branch had in spend-

ing money. For instance, there are always choices: if there is \$200 at the end of the month, should it be used to pay off back debt to the national office, or should it rather be used to put out a new campaign brochure for the local campaign. If there is a little extra money in the account, should it be used to ensure keeping current, maybe if the branch's sustainer income is a little low this month, or should it be used for some other project. Being able to look at the finances in this way, weighing all expenditures in terms of national and local options, is a crucial aspect in keeping current with the national office and developing balanced local finances.

One reason why this close collaboration of the financial director with all departments is necessary is because often the comrades heading various areas of work are not in as good a position as the financial director to see how their areas affect branch financial functioning as a whole.

For instance, we in Chicago were responsible for organizing the Illinois petitioning drive, and getting 41,000 signatures to put the SWP on the ballot in Illinois is a very expensive undertaking. Because of the close collaboration between the petitioning committee and the financial committee, as far as a month ahead of time, the financial committee was able to take into account how local finances would be affected by petitioning, and was able to make sure enough money was laid aside for it. If the financial committee hadn't known well ahead of time how much the petitioning would cost, if the branch didn't know how much we could afford to spend, we would likely have been in a situation where paying for the petitioning would have prevented us from keeping current with the national office or meeting other regular operating expenses.

If the branch feels it needs a tape recorder, for example, the financial director is in the best position to see how this expenditure would affect keeping current with the national office. It may be that the branch needs a tape recorder, but the decision must be one where the branch as a whole knows exactly how it will affect overall branch finances.

The financial committee and summer school committee jointly worked out the approach of motivating comrades to pay a flat preregistration fee for the whole summer before classes began. This ensured that the summer school would more than meet its expenses, and that the rest of the income could go for other branch uses, or to pay some of our back debt to the national office.

This is not to say that the financial director substitutes for the campaign director, or bookstore or press director, but rather that this comrade actively collaborates in the carrying out of these areas of work. This makes it possible to be able to estimate in as clear a way as possible their financial effect on the branch, and also to discuss financial implications of certain decisions that comrades in other areas of work may not always be conscious of, so that the branch as a whole will be in a position to make a conscious decision on priorities in spending. It is important for this kind of collaboration to take place not only in the branch Executive Committee, but also in discussions with the organizer and comrades heading up various areas of work.

Chicago also tightened up other financial policies. We stopped cashing checks, for instance, and stopped making loans. We also avoid gimmicks like exchanging checks with others. These types of things just make finances hard-

er to unravel.

As a result of all these measures, Chicago has been able to keep current with all national departments for the last five months in a row, (March through July 1972) as well as paying off \$1000 of our *Militant* debt and several hundred dollars of additional debts. We didn't, however, pay any debts until we were sure we could keep current, since it is self-defeating to pay one debt while accumulating another, and it creates disruption for the national office.

We found that greater consciousness with national finances meant greater consciousness with local finances too. At the same time we were paying the national office, the branch has financed a good deal of petitioning, bought a tape recorder, painted the headquarters, and gone through with several other projects falling outside the scope of our regular operating expenses.

During the coming months, Chicago will continue keeping current and paying its back debt to the national office. We will make further improvements in tightening up, such as developing a billing system, and keeping a closer watch over how equipment, such as the mimeo machine, is used. However, the big way we will move forward is through increasing our income.

While our finances were being professionalized, we didn't ask the branch for a sustainer increase, although there are a number of comrades in the branch the financial committee felt could raise their sustainers. We felt that such a proposal would be more fruitful after the branch had maintained a record of keeping current. Comrades would contribute more when they had really built up a feeling of enthusiasm about the financial progress the branch was making.

There is also a vast, untapped potential for outside fund raising. There are a lot of individuals outside the party who will give us money on a regular basis, if we only ask them. The Speakers Bureau will be an important new source of income, and we anticipate raising money through such things as book sales and rummage sales.

The full value of such outside fund raising can't be realized though, until the basic branch finances themselves are stabilized in the ways described above. If there isn't a solid financial foundation, there will be "leaks" and money will go through the drain, to be spent in unproductive ways, not for what the branch as a whole really wants to spend it for.

July 22, 1972

## SUGGESTIONS FOR BALLOT WORK

by Judy Uhl and Larry Seigle

One of the areas in which the SWP 1972 election campaign is qualitatively bigger than any previous SWP campaign is our petitioning and ballot work. This year we will collect nearly one-half million signatures. This is four times the 1968 total. It is one of the measures that puts us far ahead of the campaign efforts of the People's Party and the Socialist Labor Party; and, so far as we can tell at this point, it puts us significantly ahead of the Hall-Tyner campaign as well.

In the course of our 1972 ballot work, we have learned some political lessons and techniques that will be useful in future local and national campaigns. The purpose of this article is to summarize some of those lessons which are generally applicable. Because of the wide variations in the laws from state to state, there can be no "manual" for petitioning. However, some of our experiences and observations may be helpful in most states in the future.

### *Know The Law*

Election laws vary widely from state to state, and they are frequently revised from year to year. Don't *assume*

that requirements or procedures from one state apply in another state. For example, in one state all petitions may have to be sorted by county or town; in another state it may be permissible to file some in a category of "mixed" counties or towns. Or in some states, precinct numbers may be required by law to be filled in next to signatures; in another state this may not be the case.

Also, major or minor changes in the law may be enacted between elections. Don't *assume* that what we did one year will meet the requirements next year. We should constantly stay on top of any bills or legislative hearings in the state legislature having to do with the election code.

Study the law carefully and thoroughly. It is sometimes helpful to have an attorney who will help you understand the technical language. But don't rely on an attorney's "interpretations." The only interpretations of the law that are binding are those of the Secretary of State or the state Attorney General. If there are points in the law that are not clear (and this is more often than not the case) get a written and signed statement from the Secretary of State or the Attorney General clarifying what must be

done.

A working knowledge of the election laws should be acquired at the beginning of any campaign, so that plans for petitioning can be made well in advance, and the ballot work can be coordinated with all other aspects of the campaign and other party activities.

#### *Complete The Ballot Work As Quickly As Possible*

In general, our experience has shown that the most successful, most efficient and least disruptive petition drives are those that are done on a "blitz" basis. It is usually an illusion to think that the petitioning in one state can be spread out over a long period of time so as not to interfere with routine branch functioning. If this approach is taken, the ballot drive can become a burden that must be carried by the branch for a long period, and comrades and campaign supporters can get weary of a seemingly endless series of "partial mobilizations" or "spare-time" petitioning efforts.

It is much more effective to compress the petitioning into the shortest possible time, recognizing that for the brief duration of the drive other activities must be relegated to a subordinate status. With this approach, it is much easier to maintain momentum and enthusiasm, to organize real mobilizations, and to get the maximum participation from all comrades and campaign supporters.

When people can see clearly the limited duration of the drive, and the necessity of an all-out effort to complete it quickly, it is easier for them to adjust their schedules to allow time for this special effort.

This "blitz" approach works best, regardless of whether it's a one-day push for 1,500 signatures, or a three-week campaign for 100,000. (Of course, where a branch is responsible for petitioning in more than one state, the different state drives should be scheduled to minimize conflict with each other and with other branch responsibilities.)

Another advantage of the "blitz" approach is that it allows us to file early. Usually, although not in every case, we want to file as early as possible. In some states, the order of appearance on the ballot is determined by the order of filing, giving the advantage to those who file earlier. Also, filing ahead of our opponents can make us look stronger and better organized than they are, especially to the media. Often the media gives coverage to the first candidates to file as a "kick-off" to their campaign coverage.

Also, in some states, if we file early enough, we may still have time before the final deadline to submit additional signatures if our petitions are challenged.

Finally, it is almost always to our advantage to have an early decision on whether or not we will be certified for the ballot to give us the most time to initiate a lawsuit if that should become necessary.

#### *What Is Legal?*

We are, as a matter of principle, opposed to all laws which restrict access to the ballot by means of petitioning requirements, filing fees, loyalty oaths, etc. These laws invariably have the effect and intent of discouraging all anticapitalist electoral efforts.

However, in order to get on the ballot, we must comply with these laws. Obviously, in complying with these laws, we do so honestly and to the best of our ability. We do

not circulate petitions under false pretenses, nor submit signatures obtained in any other way than that prescribed by the laws.

In meeting the requirement to the best of our ability, however, *it is not our job* to validate or censor our own signatures. That is the job of the state. Every signature we collect is collected in good faith and we should assume that it is valid and submit it. If additional information is required, such as precinct numbers or voter registration numbers, these should always be filled in, even if we can not be certain that the information is accurate. There is no point in collecting signatures and then submitting them without all of the information required, since they will automatically be discounted.

Obviously, a certain percentage of our signatures will be invalidated for one or another reason. But it is the job of the state election officials to decide which signatures are not valid—it is not the responsibility of those submitting the signatures.

#### *How Many Is Enough?*

Because we know that, even with the most exacting compliance with the requirements, a certain number of signatures could be invalidated, we always submit more than the law requires. But how many more?

There is no way to guarantee against having our petitions challenged. No number of signatures—even ten times the number—is absolute insurance against challenges from state officials determined to deny us a place on the ballot. The primary purpose of collecting extra signatures is to make it publicly evident that we have more than met the requirements, and to therefore make it politically more difficult for the state to keep us off the ballot. We want to make it as clear as possible that, if our signatures are challenged, it is not the result of any short-coming in our petitions, but a politically-motivated attempt to deny us ballot status.

The number of extra signatures is therefore as much a political question as one based on technical considerations. (In those few states where every signature is automatically validated by town clerks, the question of validity rates assumes greater importance.)

Generally, we have tried to collect about twice as many as the state requirement. In some cases where the requirements are very high like Illinois (25,000), we have been satisfied with getting an extra 15,000 beyond the requirement. In states with requirements of 1,000 or less, we have often gotten two and a half or three times the requirement.

#### *Why Go For "Bulk" Signatures?*

In aiming to get enough signatures to make it clear that we have met the requirements, we have found that "bulk" petitioning is the best method. "Bulk" petitioning means asking anyone and everyone who is old enough to vote if they will sign our petition. If a person is not a resident, not a citizen, not registered, or for some other reason not qualified, they will say so. Trying to select registered voters before asking them to sign generally slows down the petitioning. Many people will say "no" just to avoid slowing down long enough to sign. Also, some voters honestly do not know if they are registered.

"Bulk" petitioning, because it is faster, will get a greater number of signatures in a given time period. And it will

get more valid signatures than the method of trying to determine beforehand if a person is qualified, even though the *percentage* of valid signatures may be somewhat less.

### *The News Media and Petitioning*

The ballot drive, including the petitioning itself and the act of filing, makes good copy and should be an important element in our general campaign publicity effort. Ballot work can help generate publicity for the campaign in general.

In addition, publicity about our ballot drive is added protection against challenges because it helps establish the legitimacy of our ballot attempt, and makes clear that any challenge will be fought in public, under the scrutiny of the media. This can encourage state election officials to treat us honestly and with a minimum of harassment.

Publicity about petitioning and filing in states where we don't have branches and are not running local campaigns is especially important.

It is generally unnecessary and unwise to announce to the news media our own projected goals in a petition drive. First, we may revise our goal downward in the course of the campaign. Second, we may not quite meet our own projections, but decide that we have enough signatures to file anyway. It is silly to be locked into some arbitrary figure sent out in a press release. For example, suppose the requirement in a state is 10,000 signatures, and we have told the press we will get 20,000. But after the last scheduled mobilization we have "only" 19,200. We might want to file anyway. We don't want to look like we came up "short" when in fact we went 9,200 over the requirement.

It is much more effective to tell the press that we intend to get "well over" or "substantially more than" the requirement, and let the extra signatures be seen as the result of the momentum and enthusiastic response to the campaign.

We also want to avoid giving the impression that we suspect some of our signatures may not be valid. In our public statements we should always assume that every single signature is 100 percent valid. For example, it's better to tell as reporter, "We are filing twice the number of valid signatures to show our support in this state," than to say, "We're filing twice the number of signatures required because we assume a lot of our signatures aren't any good."

For the same reason, we should never report to the press any "validity checks" we might run on our own signatures. First of all, these checks are based only on samples, and unless they are carefully conducted by someone thoroughly acquainted with the science of statistics, they're not likely to be very accurate. More important, however, is not falling into the trap of doing the state's work by disqualifying in front of the press a percentage of the signatures.

### *Quotas and Mobilizations*

The most successful petitioning "blitzes" are those where a careful and accurate projection of the number of people and the number of hours or days needed has been made by the leadership. Everyone knows exactly what must be done and how long it is likely to take. It is important to include the estimated amount of time that the paperwork will take in the original projections.

On the basis of our 1972 experience, it is possible to be fairly accurate in judging the "petitioner-hours" or "petitioner-days" needed to meet our goal. We have found that a good *average* in most cases is about 100 signatures per person per day. This can go higher where petitioning is easy, and lower where good locations are hard to find, or where specific requirements, such as keeping signatures separate by town, can slow down the work.

However, the organizers of the petitioning drive should be careful not to translate a projected *average* into a projected *quota* for individuals. The average (whether it is 75, 100, or 125 per day; or 20, 25, or 30 per hour) assumes some people will do much better and some much worse. It assumes variations in weather, in location, in the number of petitioners concentrated in one area, etc.

When comrades and campaign supporters begin to think in terms of individual quotas, two problems always arise. First, some people who could easily go well over the average think they can stop work or ease up after they've met their "quota." Since many people will get less than the average, this will pull down the total and throw off the projections.

Secondly, some people who may work hard, but get less than the "quota" might get disappointed or discouraged, or think that they are not "good petitioners" and should let someone else do the petitioning.

Large-scale petitioning is above all a team effort, with every person contributing something towards the total. Quotas are a good idea, so that people have a target to shoot for; but our quotas should be team quotas, to which everyone contributes. For example, a branch might set a goal for each day of the week, or for each mobilization, and keep everyone regularly informed of how we stand in relation to our goal. It is often a good idea, when petitioners are out all day, to let people know during the day how the petitioning is going overall that day.

Of course, individual competition on a voluntary basis to see who can get the most signatures, and special recognition of top petitioners, can add to the overall team performance and spirit.

By keeping everyone constantly informed of the progress of the campaign, and by making it clear that *every single* signature gets us closer to our daily or weekly quota, the maximum participation and momentum can be maintained.

### *Involving Independents in Petitioning*

Our campaign supporters tend to be activists, and petitioning is an activity that is easy, obviously important, and requires no great commitment of time. One of the central considerations in planning out any petitioning drive is how to utilize it to draw independent campaign supporters closer to us.

Let people know well ahead of time about the petitioning. Send letters to campaign endorsers, *Militant* subscribers and others, to let them know our plans. While it is a good idea to ask people to come to the regional center to help, we should make it clear that they can petition in their towns or their campuses. Advance stories or ads in *The Militant* are helpful. As soon as the petitions are printed they should be mailed out with a cover letter to every campaign supporter, asking them to get even a few signatures and mail them back.

Orientation sessions for petitioning should be planned so that independents will feel welcome and confident that they understand what has to be done.

Campaign meetings, radio and TV appearances by the

candidates, street rallies, sidewalk tables and leafletting should all be geared into upcoming petition drives with the aim of enlisting support of independents in our ballot drives.

\* \* \*

These general suggestions are not intended to be viewed as a complete list of things to be discussed in planning a petition drive. A great deal of weight should be given

to what has already been proven successful or unsuccessful in each state, or in each branch. For this reason, thorough records of each petition drive should be carefully compiled, including legal questions, reports on good locations, press clippings — the works. These records should be carefully filed so as to be readily available for the next campaign committee, and copies should be sent to the national campaign committee for the national files.

July 24, 1972

## NEW ENGLAND SPEAKERS BUREAU AND REGIONAL WORK REPORT

by Dave Jerome, Boston Branch

In the last couple of years our movement has significantly stepped up its regional activity. While increasing numbers of people are interested in our politics in all areas of the country, it has been in the region that we have been least well organized to recruit new members. As our movement has grown in the regional centers, it has allowed us the opportunity to assign experienced comrades to begin to organize the geographical expansion of our movement.

Financing such an apparatus, however, did not immediately flow from the expanded opportunities. To a large degree our regional work was, and still is, handicapped by insufficient finances. This experience has made clear the fact that as we develop new areas of work we must also develop new means to finance them.

At first the party carried much of the responsibility for financing the regional activity, either directly through its regular budget or indirectly by carrying back bills for an extended period of time. Sustainers to the regional committee from locals and at-large comrades in the region are able to provide a certain portion of the necessary income, but it was obvious that they by themselves could not adequately finance our regional activity.

One general problem of financing regional work is that you want financing to flow directly from the activity itself. That is, as the YSA is a campus-based organization, it is only logical that campus fractions plan fund-raising activities on the campuses to help finance the campus activities. The same should hold true for regional work. The regional committee should not be off baking cookies to be sold on street corners, but should be raising funds in the course of carrying out regional activity.

Another note on this aspect of regional work is that a relatively large amount of money is necessary in order to finance a smoothly operating regional committee. Establishing regular contact with locals and members throughout the region and traveling to new areas on a

full-time basis requires a considerable amount of money. This is aside from the normal long-distance telephone expenses, travel expenses, office materials, etc. In order to measure up to this need, fund raising has to be seen as a major effort of our regional activity.

It would not be correct to say that the idea of establishing a speakers bureau came directly out of the contradiction between the rising objective opportunities in the region and the financial inability to expand as rapidly as we would like. The idea of the speakers bureau has been with us for years. It is correct, however, to say that the political motivation did not become altogether clear until it was realized that without it, a properly financed (and therefore functioning) regional committee could not exist.

In the course of this contribution I will relay some of the experiences that we have had in New England in the development of our regional work and speakers bureau.

The relationship between the speakers bureau and regional work has developed with increasing clarity the longer that we work in these two areas. It is now evident to us that you can't do either of the two well without the other. That is, in order to develop the speakers bureau it is essential that it is promoted in the region. In order to have regional committee members travel in the region it is essential that there be the necessary finances. This gets back to the point that the financing of an area of work should flow from the activity itself.

This should be reflected first and foremost by the responsibilities of the comrades assigned to regional and speakers bureau work. From our experience we felt that given the organic link between the two, assignments to these areas should not be separate but should be on in the same. The regional organizer, who is responsible for the overall functioning of regional work, should also be responsible for the overall functioning of the speakers bureau. This includes consulting with regional locals in regards to

the speakers bureau. The regional traveler, who works with at-large comrades and goes into areas where we don't have members, should be responsible for promoting the speakers bureau in those areas.

When the assignments were separate, it meant either that the activity wasn't getting done or that we were duplicating our efforts. The speakers bureau will, of course, arrange speaking engagements at schools that we would not send either the organizer or traveler to at this time, but that should be the second priority after we have already worked on arranging speaking engagements at the schools where we are concentrating our major political efforts. In any case, it is at those schools that we should begin our speakers bureau activity. This fall, when the YSJP teams are out in the region, one of their first responsibilities will be to visit student government officers to obtain speaking engagements.

In developing the speakers bureau we have learned other methods about the functioning of the speakers bureau itself that will relate to other regions.

The first is that our work on the speakers bureau must be characterized by the same trait that we instill to all other areas of our work—professionalism! We aren't attempting to "trick" schools into hearing us once. We fully expect the Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau to operate a long time, which means that we want to provide speakers for the same schools many times over the years. While we may be able to get a school to sign a contract for a speaker and then give them a shoddy performance, the speakers bureau will get a reputation of not taking its responsibilities seriously and be unable to continue arranging speaking engagements.

A necessary starting point is a high quality printed

brochure. This will be repaid in the long run. We must be professional throughout the entire operation of the speakers bureau.

The proper selection of speakers and topics is also important. We must remember that the person who books the speakers is primarily concerned with what will draw the largest number of students, so imagination and foresight are essential.

One note on the promotion of speakers: credentials as revolutionary socialists should only be stressed when a person is speaking on a subject requiring an expertise on the topic of Marxism. We should assume that when a person is selected to speak on the antiwar movement, the speaker was selected because he or she has credentials as a leader of the antiwar movement.

Speakers should also be articulate and have a real knowledge of the topic on which they speak. Whether or not the school hires our speakers in the future is dependent upon how the initial speaker performs. One measure that we have taken in Boston is that all comrades who are assigned to give talks for the fall period will have their presentations completed by September 1. This assures that the speakers will be prepared and will allow many other comrades the opportunity to help develop the speech.

While we send the brochure to every prep school and university in the region, it is rare that an engagement is booked directly by the mailing. Ninety percent of all bookings are secured by representatives of the speakers bureau making visits to the schools. If this is carried out as part of our regional work by the organizer, traveler, comrades in regional locals, at-large comrades and by the YSJP teams, the speakers bureau can be successful in every region.

July 24, 1972

## HINTS FOR INCREASING BOOKSTORE SALES

by Helen Schiff, Lower Manhattan  
Branch, New York Local

Good sales in the bookstore depend in large part on how well the branch and local are functioning. A steady increase in contacts and membership, regular, well-attended forums, and a campus fraction conscious about setting up literature tables will increase bookstore sales. On the other hand, the bookstore can both be an important source of income and attract new members.

One of the most important ways to boost sales is to increase the selection of titles the bookstore carries. In most cities there is no reason why the branch bookstore cannot become the best radical bookstore in the city. To begin with, no other bookstore starts off with a complete collection of all Pathfinder books and pamphlets. It is very important, however, to carry the many non-Pathfinder titles that are of interest to radicalizing young people.

Although branch bookstores should carry many titles relating to all aspects of the current radicalization, it is a good idea to pick out several areas to specialize in. Carrying everything published (books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines) on the Chicano movement, Irish struggle, Native-American history, etc. (depending on which movements are strong in your city), can begin to give the bookstore a certain reputation among activists in these movements.

Campus consignments and literature tables at conferences, meetings, teach-ins, etc., not only serve the very important political function of getting out our ideas, but

can become the major source of bookstore sales and regular bookstore customers.

Within this context the following are hints for increasing bookstore sales:

- 1) Get new titles as soon as they are published.
- 2) List new titles in the city letter every week and display new books prominently.
- 3) At forums, set up special displays of books and pamphlets that relate to the forum topic.
- 4) Prepare a bookstore leaflet to be made available at all literature tables and for posting and pasting up in campus areas.
- 5) Prepare special bookstore leaflets for special events, demonstrations, and constituencies.
- 6) Have special sales on new Pathfinder titles, new paperbacks that have broad appeal in the mass movements, contact and new members packets, books that aren't selling, and books remaindered by Marlboro Remainder House.
- 7) Have a banner or sign at literature tables on campus, at demonstrations, at meetings, with the name and address of the bookstore.
- 8) If possible, advertise the bookstore with a sign in front of the hall.
- 9) Place ads in campus, underground, and movement newspapers.
- 10) Inform other bookstores and movement centers of your existence so they can refer customers to you.

July 24, 1972

