

PARTY BUILDER

SWP Organizational Discussion Bulletin

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REPORT TO THE SWP JUNE 1974 NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON PARTY TASKS AND ORGANIZATION

by Barry Sheppard

This report will be divided into two main parts. One will be on the kinds of interventions, propaganda actions and protests we have been doing in collaboration with broader forces, or at least with external forces or in relationship to the mass movement. The second part will be a discussion of our own propaganda offensive that the August 1973 SWP convention decided to launch.

At last summer's convention we noted that there is no national, centralizing focus for our work as the antiwar movement was, and that has been confirmed by the events since then. This remains the situation. At the same time, however, there are possibilities for intervening in protests and other propaganda actions of the labor movement, Black struggle and other such areas.

This report will first go over some of the activities of different branches in the past year. This will not be an exhaustive list, giving a rounded picture of all the work of all the branches. Rather, the report will pick out some of the work some of the different branches have been engaged in. Many of them have been local in the scope of the activity, although not local in the fundamental social or political problem that they're dealing with. They all relate to the present stage of the class struggle. But by looking from a national point of view at several concrete activities that various branches have engaged in, we can all get a better idea of the openings.

One area of work that a number of branches have done, especially in the last immediate period, relates to protests against police actions in the Black community. As the political report indicated, ruling class forays attempting to utilize racism, police attacks in the Black community, continue. San Francisco Mayor Alioto's fake death-angel plot and so-called Zebra plot were two examples of this. I remember seeing the Muslim minister on television in Los Angeles talking about these two fantastic stories when Alioto made the arrests of seven people, all of them Black Muslims. The reporter asked the minister if he had ever heard of the death-angels. He said, yes, he had read of them and heard of them in the Bible, and that they were a group of avenging angels that came down. It was the only place he had heard of them and the only zebras he ever saw were in the zoo. It is exactly that kind of spirit that should typify our response to such racist actions, and a number of branches have been instrumental in carrying out some important protests in recent weeks in relationship to such attacks. A number of these have appeared in The Militant. There was the protest in Oakland against the police shooting of a Black youth, and a protest that the comrades helped organize in Atlanta. Recently in Los Angeles, comrades were able to

help organize a protest against the police rampage when the police murdered the SLA members in the Black community. In these three examples, and there may be others, party initiative was key in organizing the protests. We played an important role in being able to carry those protests off.

I'm not sure exactly what we were able to do in Denver concerning the assassination of the Chicano activists there; we were able to have a protest in southern California around that also.

We've also been involved in a number of defense cases per se, many of them also relating to the oppressed nationalities. Comrades in Minneapolis have been involved in the Wounded Knee defense. The J. B. Johnson defense in St. Louis, the defense of doctors that were arrested in Boston related to efforts to chip away at the abortion victory, and the Salm Kolis defense in San Diego are all important examples. In relationship to our national PRDF suit, we were able in Houston to help expose the role of the local police in infiltrating the Socialist Workers Party and other organizations. We've also had some defense cases concerning our own right to sell The Militant.

The party has also been involved in a series of actions relating to the rights of immigrant workers. The Haitians in New York and the largely Mexican workers in southern California are examples of areas where we've been able to carry out actions or from which it looks like actions will be looming in the immediate future.

One of the most important of the kinds of struggles we've been engaged in, important because it has lasted for some time, has been the District One struggle in New York. Comrades know about that from reading The Militant. It may be the outstanding example of consistent party work in an area of outside work.

Other examples of current party activity are the Federal City College struggle in Washington, D. C.; the child care struggles with CAPA in San Francisco and other areas; actions around the ERA in Georgia; the African Liberation Day protests; and a new area of action is opening up around the whole question of Portugal and the colonies.

The party has been active in a number of protests and defense actions in relation to foreign students, especially Iranian and Arab students.

Another very important area of work has been our USLA work. This is true on a national scale. After the coup in

Chile a number of branches were able to engage in successful teach-ins around the issues raised by the coup. Next came the Edelstam tour, which was very important in helping to build USLA and the party's own intervention into Chile defense work. After that there were the May 11th demonstrations in many cities, which were, by and large, very successful in stepping up the party's work in this area. USLA has made projections of continuing protest of the treatment of political prisoners on the anniversary of the coup on September 11, and that's going to be nationwide so all branches will be able to relate to it.

The party is involved in actions and interventions related to the labor movement. There have been a number of activities that branches have been involved in around organization drives and other issues. There was a drive in Seattle around campus workers and the organizing drives comrades have been involved in at Columbia University in New York. Perhaps the outstanding example has been the work that our comrades in San Francisco did in relationship to the Sears strike. Exactly how we would estimate the importance of our participation in the support to that strike, I'm not sure, but we were certainly important to its victory. And it was an example of consistent work over a long period of time. The initiative of that activity helped put us in a better position to intervene in the San Francisco city workers strike, mainly with our general propaganda and with our election campaign.

Related to our District One work in New York was the work that our comrades were able to do in the teachers union in getting support inside the union for the community control slate in the recent elections. As the political report indicated, the whole question of education has become a big question in relationship to the teachers union, where a lot of questions intersect. These involve the question of the oppressed nationalities, the crisis of education, what kind of leadership and program the union must have in order to deal with these problems correctly against the reactionary positions put forward by figures like Shanker. We'll be having important propaganda interventions in the upcoming conventions of the NEA and AFT this summer around such questions as these.

Farmworkers Struggle

Two areas of work should be singled out for some discussion. First is the support work we have done in relationship to the Farm Workers. It is important to single this out because we projected at last summer's convention an important part of our activity in this support work. In drawing the balance sheet now of that activity, we have to say that while we did some important work, there were limitations placed on what we could do by the objective situation, especially the failure of the Chavez leadership to meet adequately the attack of the Teamsters, and the failure of the AFL-CIO on a national scale to give adequate support to the

struggle of the Farm Workers. And that's on top of the objective difficulties we know about in organizing farmworkers. Chavez never projected during this year an actual program for a mass, sustained boycott, which was a key weapon for victory for this particular union in the situation it is in. No, he placed reliance on deals, reliance on negotiations with the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and with the Teamsters. In not projecting an effective mass boycott line, Chavez greatly weakened the boycott movement. In no city have the boycott houses which are dominated by the union projected a mass orientation toward a sustained boycott. Rather we saw an on-again-off-again tactic projected by Chavez. He would call the boycott on and off or be very unclear even about what was to be boycotted. It's still unclear, exactly what is to be boycotted. Many of the young people who came around the movement were similar to those who came around the early civil rights movement -- ready to work for five dollars a week, fully supported the cause, and were inspired by the cause of the Farm Workers. But Chavez would treat them like you could turn them on and off like a faucet. Okay, the boycott's on this week, go out and do something. Then he would say, no, we're negotiating something with the Teamsters and it's all wrapped up. Then, nope, the Teamsters stabbed us in the back. This on-again-off-again tactic with no clear line tended to demoralize this whole layer and resulted in no effective mass boycott campaign, at least to date. This places objective limits, obviously, on what we can do in this work. But in the work we have done we have made some gains.

First, we've made some recruits. Some attracted to this cause agreed with our concept of an effective boycott, and we were able to recruit them.

We were able to raise the issue in several unions and get motions of support passed. We were able to participate in certain actions of support organized by sections of the union movement organized outside the Farm Workers. There was the Cleveland example where comrades were able to intervene in the central labor council against the stab in the back that the retailers officials and butchers officials gave to the UFW boycott. And we've been able to do effective work on the campuses.

There will continue to be certain things we can continue to do in relationship to the boycott, which we support, but within these objective limitations.

CLUW

The second area that is important to single out is CLUW. We've recognized the potential of this development and the importance of what's happened already. The national meeting CLUW had and the ideas it has already raised have been an important step forward. The potential, of course, goes way beyond that. First we note all over the country

the generally favorable response of women workers to the idea of CLUW. It meets an objective historical need of women which is deeply sensed by a growing number of women workers and it can, as it develops, be one of the ingredients of the class-struggle left wing of the labor movement. CLUW's potential importance is thus very large even though we can't be sure how far it's going to develop and how fast.

This potential cannot be realized unless CLUW is built as part of the labor movement, and that's a very important point to firmly grasp. It can't go around the labor movement or around the officials who began CLUW, who are its initial leaders. That is a mistake some of the sectarian opponents we meet in this work have made -- some of them have attempted to see if they can take CLUW around these officials and around the labor movement. That simply is not going to work and could make the labor officials even more nervous about CLUW anyway. The labor officials want CLUW, but many of them are nervous about the potential, the very thing that we see as positive. They are in a contradiction. We want to work with them and help them in the direction of building CLUW, not giving them excuses or making obstacles for the development of CLUW. Our job is to build CLUW and not to launch attacks on the women officials or to differentiate ourselves from them. That's the key thing that has to be done and the key determinant in the next period as to whether CLUW's potential is going to be realized. CLUW must be built, must be made viable as a rank-and-file organization, and it must be built as part of the labor movement.

The big problem at this stage is not for us to think of what immediate issues must be projected by CLUW. The issues which the various CLUW chapters will begin to organize around will come from the very reasons that women workers are inspired by CLUW. That is, the very reasons why women workers are attracted to such an organization mean that they have all sorts of grievances and aspirations and they look to this formation as a potential organization that can help realize those aspirations and from that will flow the struggle.

We also have to follow all the rules that have been set up by the national CLUW. Partly these rules have been set up because some of the officials are nervous. We've got to make sure that we follow all the rules and, again, not give a handle to anyone who may want to pull back or to exclude radicals from CLUW. That's another important consideration, even if the rules are somewhat arbitrary. That is, we have to go through three meetings, pay dues, and get the membership cards in order to get CLUW set up.

Some of the rules are useful, such as the one that instructs local units to get endorsement from the official bodies of the labor movement in the area. This can be used to

help broaden CLUW out. One of the important things in building CLUW is that it should go to official bodies and union locals and get sanction. Such an effort will be one of the ways we can help build CLUW, make it legitimate, get it approved, and make the initial contacts that will help build the organization itself. The stipulation for the three meetings can also be used to build CLUW. We've got to have three meetings? -- Okay, let's help plan out three meetings, talk about how to build them, how to reach out and use them to help build the CLUW chapters in each area.

We have to make sure we have adequate fractions that can intervene in the work in each area. And we can't make the mistake of thinking we can go around the rule that CLUW is an organization for trade union women only. Every woman that wants to help build CLUW must have a job where she can be a member of a union. This is sometimes difficult because many jobs that women workers in general have are not in unions. And that's reflected often in the jobs that our members have. But this can be changed with a little direction from the branch leaderships.

This is over and above a more general question of steering young comrades who are looking for work toward union jobs, both male and female, and especially into any situations where the branches may feel there are some openings or politically important unions in the city. As Frank points out, these are also often among the higher paying jobs that comrades can get. Some of the branches, I think, where this has been done have also had some financial aid in the process of doing this.

But the need for swift action concerning the need for adequate participation in CLUW is over and above that. And while we can't predict for sure how CLUW will develop and at what pace, we must take these steps so we can become a part of this important development.

Some Generalizations

If we look at this list of activities, which are not broken down into categories, they range from relatively small protest actions initiated by USLA or somewhat larger protest actions in combination with other groups to something like intervention into CLUW or Farm Workers support work. If you look at the scope of these activities, we can see that all of them reflect the current stage of the radicalization, the point we're at in the class struggle. And there's a number of things we can note about them.

We can note that there's an increase, an important increase, in work branches have been able to do in relationship to the Black community. And there's an increase in the work we've been able to do in relationship to the labor movement.

We can't create such opportunities ourselves for intervention -- we can't suck them out of our thumbs. But we must be alert to the opportunities when they do happen. Many are different than something like USLA where the party nationally can help give a national direction to it. Many are local manifestations of the kinds of problems that the masses of working people face in this country, and thus branches have to be on the alert to such opportunities and be able to take initiatives to intervene in them. And there are no rules that can be given about that.

Many of the things we have been involved in, many of the things I listed, could easily not have happened and we wouldn't have known the difference, because it took some initiative on our part in order to make them occur at all. Some of the protests wouldn't have occurred without us. We could easily have let District One go by without seeing it as an opportunity for the kind of participation we've been able to do.

Not only do we have to be ready to participate in some of these things as they develop, we also have to be alert to recognize opportunities which we can't create but which are not going to develop without our intervention. This was true with a number of the protests around police attacks in the Black community. They either would not have happened or they would have been much, much different and much smaller. And some of them were fairly significant for what our party was able to do at this particular stage.

Much of this work is united front type work in the sense that we have to work with either some of our opponents, individuals, or other forces interested in one particular aspect of the mass movement reflecting the present stage of the class struggle -- everybody from Johnson in the Sears strike to people involved in CLUW, etc.

Through this kind of activity we're learning more about the Black community, about the labor movement, about the Chicano community, etc., and we're even learning more about our opponents as we run into them.

Of course, from this work we generate contacts and we're becoming more widely known and respected in various areas.

The parents in District One, for instance, know of two groups that they consider "radical": the Socialist Workers Party, which supports them and are good people, and the Labor Committee, which are crazy racists that attack them.

Our Propaganda

The second major part of this report concerns our propaganda offensive -- the tools we use to present our general ideas in conjunction with our work with outside forces.

The first of these is our propaganda offensive around the undemocratic nature of the government related to the Political Rights Defense Fund suit and the new ACLU suit concerning our opposition to the so-called reforms in the election laws which are undemocratic. Larry, in the supplementary report, will go into these two areas in more detail (see Party Builder, Vol. VIII, No. 1).

One of our key weapons in getting out our general ideas and answers on the big problems and major questions facing the American working people is our election campaigns. The campaigns we're running, although they are on a state level, are very ambitious. I think comrades will agree in discussing the various state campaigns that they seem to be on a higher level than previous state campaigns. And in addition, for the first time we have been able to have some national coordination of these campaigns with the setting up of the national campaign committee. The tours by speakers from the national campaign committee were successful, and the committee has put out some national literature.

A third aspect of our propaganda offensive is the sale of our press. We can say that through the recent sales campaigns we have succeeded in making sales of The Militant a regular and integral part of branch functioning. One indication is the lowering of the branch debt, the Militant debt to the Militant business office. Almost all branches are able to make money on their bundles. More important, of course, is the regularization of sales and integration in all areas of work.

We should also note an increase in the sales to Black people. There has been an increase, as the statistics indicate, in sales in the Black community, but even that doesn't tell the whole story, because many of the campus sales, sales at work places, sales at shopping centers, etc., are to Blacks and to members of other oppressed nationalities. We want to continue to keep sales an integral part of branch work in this way, although at this time we do not yet have any projections for the kinds of campaigns, subscription and individual sales campaigns we'll be launching this fall. We will make final projections of that at the conference in Ohio in August.

Another weapon is the branch forum series. We continue to move forward in the direction of making forums a regular part of branch functioning and a regular activity of branch membership like sales has become.

Finally, the fifth propaganda weapon is Pathfinder and the bookstores. Here we can have some room for improvement. In organizing our literature sales we want to think of them as another propaganda arm. We want to look at the assignments and overseeing all aspects of the use of literature, the bookstore, campus sales, sales to special

conventions or meetings, rep work, going to various professors and attempting to get adoptions as a single unit. The literature assignment is to look at all aspects of that work and to integrate it into the branch work, just like the sales committees tying this work in with our general propaganda face, our forums, outside work, and so on.

Perhaps there is a sixth weapon we have -- that no other tendency has. That is the number of open headquarters we have which the bookstores are part of. We don't want to underestimate the importance of having a socialist headquarters in each city which we utilize in this period especially to organize our interventions and propaganda.

Using these propaganda tools is key to party building. We want to present our ideas to the widest audience possible ready to listen to us, and to the wider audiences we discussed in the political report. We want to get our ideas on the big important questions that are in the minds of masses of people. We also want to tie this propaganda work with our work in propaganda actions and protests, and see it all as part of one campaign.

Also, we want The Militant to reach out. In past reports we've discussed how The Militant has become well known, way beyond our influence, in the Chicano movement. We keep running into evidence of this -- this continues. The Militant is an important Chicano paper in the Chicano movement which is recognized as such and which Chicano leaders feel they must read in order to be abreast of current opinion and reportage in the movement.

The success we had concerning the expose of the FBI memos about the Black movement and distributing that information goes in the same direction with relation to the Black community. I saw a television program two weeks ago, Black Journal, which had on it Jack Anderson and Dick Gregory. They were talking about the FBI attack, and for about a minute they had The Militant on the screen, which is one indication of the impact that we had around that question. And going along with the increased sales in the Black community we can have a goal, an objective goal to do the same thing with the Black community in relationship to The Militant that we have already been able to do in relationship to the Chicano movement.

We can utilize the Pathfinder interventions in exactly this way. At the Little Rock convention and at the African Liberation Day meetings, the literature intervention became an important part of our comrades being able to get up and participate in the discussions there. Pathfinder tables can be used at other big interventions, but also at the regular ones too -- the regular campus sales, the regular interventions with literature alongside the campaigns. We can also

use Pathfinder and sales in things we don't give political support to, such as the impeachment rallies. In Los Angeles, Priscilla, who is a master at organizing such literature distributions, organized the intervention in such a way that as you came into the impeachment rally, which was supposed to be a pro-Democratic Party rally, the first thing the marchers saw was a forty-foot banner that said, "Vote Socialist," and a big giant table filled with socialist literature which, in addition to The Militant, made a big impact on our intervention into the demonstration.

We're at a stage where radical attitudes are spreading, but are not yet focused in action. We're in a preliminary stage, a preparatory stage, a stage when molecular processes are preparing the explosions that will come. Our propaganda interventions therefore are quite important. And we don't want to look at propaganda narrowly, either, as just selling The Militant or just participating in certain protests, but the combination of utilizing all our tools in rounded party campaigns and work with well-rounded branches intervening into many areas of work and being alert for openings in many different kinds of areas -- these are key in preparing the party for the next stage beyond. We want to utilize this period for party building, extending our influence and in relationship to our opponents, who will be vying with us for leadership in the period ahead.

I just want to say one other thing in relationship to our opponents and these tasks. All of them are missing the boat by not having this kind of orientation at this particular time and it is helping us vis-a-vis them. We do not see our opponents intervening into as wide a range of things as our branches are. The CP is intervening the most, but even there we don't see them in a whole range of activities. And their failure to wage a consistent offensive with sales and for various reasons -- political, organizational -- their failure to have many election campaigns right now, is dealing them blows.

Utilizing our party-building weapons, we are inching our way more toward the center of the left, more and more as an important organization that the others must take into account. That relates to what we were talking about before, that is, the initiatives we have to be able to take.

I just want to go over one experience we had in relationship to this, and that is the Chile experience we had in Los Angeles. No opponent group wanted a united front; all the groups had their various reasons for trying to destroy a united front, from the CP to the Spartacists. And the CP was playing into the hands of the Spartacists by demanding that they be excluded. We had a discussion in the local executive committee: should we go ahead and try to build a united front anyway and fight them all? We thought about it, taking into account the CP's size and strength in Los Angeles, which are considerable, but we decided, yes, we're going

to do it. We went ahead and did it and forced the united front all the way from the CP to the Spartacists. The Spartacists didn't like that, of course, because then they couldn't be left critics and so they didn't come, which exposed them completely. But it took a decision on our part and we had some hesitations -- should we go ahead and do it? What we're seeing more and more is that if we go ahead and take the initiative, we might make some mistakes and try to bite off a little more than we can chew, but those aren't such tragic mistakes, and we can make important gains. Our ability to move out and take the initiative in more of these spheres is producing results for us and, in some cases, pretty important results on the scale on which we are operating at this particular time. Doing that kind of activity is placing us more in the center of the left in the struggle for hegemony. Every day that goes by that we've got candidates out there and the CP doesn't makes us more the center of the radical movement. More people know about us, more people think of us as the socialists, as the big left party. We can begin to see a cumulative impact, for instance, just on Militant sales.

Our headquarters, consistent forums, literature, candidates, sales, interventions -- all of this has an inch-by-inch impact of helping to move us toward the center of the left, to become better known, wider known with our ideas becoming more spread out.

So no matter what we call it, I think we are zeroing in on what it actually is in the current situation -- it's not a period of sitting back, of not much activity for the branches. We have way more openings than we can possibly take advantage of due to the limitations of our own cadre, resources, finances, etc.

Education

I want to say one or two words about education. Education of course is a continuing need of strengthening our cadre, an important part of the process of building cadre, of preparing us for the big class battles to come. In this respect, I think that many of the projections the branches have made for more intensive summer schools are along the correct lines. We also have to emphasize the importance this year of the Activists and Educational Conference in Ohio.

It is going to be an important place for us to mobilize the party, to carry some of the ideas we've been discussing here further and to help mobilize the whole party in the carrying out of them.

There is one area that some of our opponents have done better, I think, than us. That's the use of recruitment classes on socialism. Such classes flow right from everything we've been talking about, about the nature of the present stage of the radicalization. There's a different problem in recruiting now, a little different than at the height of the antiwar movement. The Cuban revolution, the upsurge of the Black struggle, and the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese -- those massive examples more readily impelled a layer of young people toward revolutionary conclusions, toward the conception that they had to overthrow this system. At this time there doesn't exist the same kind of direct inspiration for people to become revolutionists who have already become radicalized. We've seen some cynicism and a little bit harder time in recruitment since the end of the antiwar movement. Not just for us, but for all our opponents too. But there is big interest in the ideas of socialism and we have to work hard on recruitment, pay attention to it. There's no gimmicks to it, just hard work. And part of that should be the projection of consistent recruitment classes. For instance, I understand the Lower Manhattan New York branch has organized a special class for parents and others who have been attracted to us around the District One struggle. Having classes on socialism for beginners is important. Classes on why you should join the YSA, which were useful with the antiwar movement when the YSA looked like it was the leader and many wanted to find out about this organization, are not that fruitful today. What is more appropriate are classes on what is Marxism, what is socialism.

A word or two finally on party expansion. The figures on membership show that we continue to grow, if relatively slowly. At the convention we projected that immediately following the convention the St. Louis organizing committee and the Pittsburgh organizing committee would become branches, and now we have two functioning regular branches in St. Louis and Pittsburgh. We also carried out a division in Los Angeles, which is a significant step forward in the expansion of the party. This process of geographical expansion will continue this fall.

SOME COMMENTS ON BRANCH BOOKSTORE FINANCES

by Philip Hardy, Houston Branch

Political bookstores have a long history in the American socialist movement, but it is only in the recent past that the bookstores located in our branch headquarters have become tested, basic branch institutions.

As late as 1966, a collection of reports from the branches on literature distribution revealed that many, though not all, branches had rather informal means of displaying the books and pamphlets distributed by the publishing house. Today, our nation-wide "chain" of outlets is known and patronized by thousands of people every year.

The primary audience of our bookstores remains our own members, who use them as aids in their education in socialist politics and theory, whether through self-study or through party educational programs. Second, they function as recruitment centers for those who come to the party through our forums or other activities. Third, they are tools for our intervention into political fights and for reaching radicalizing social layers.

In order to perform these functions most effectively, we have found that accurate, simple and up-to-date financial records are necessary. Unless we can state with accuracy how our bookstores are functioning, that is, whether they are making profits or losing money, and at what rate, it is impossible to prepare successful projections for future activity. Likewise, the necessary reports to the branches and national office require this same information. Compliance with government regulations for licensing and sales and income taxes also necessitate these records.

It is not necessary here to repeat the information contained in "Suggestions for Preparing a Bookstore's Budget," by Marta Reinhart, or in "Bookstore Stock Control," by Paula Reimers, both of which have been made available to bookstore directors by Pathfinder. It can be valuable, though, to review some guidelines for bookstore operation, and to share some of the techniques that we have found workable in Houston.

Legal Status of the Bookstores

Generally, our bookstores are sole proprietorships or partnerships. That is, legally they are the commercial activities of one or more people operating under a name such as Pathfinder Bookstore. Just like any other self-employed person, the owners of our bookstores are, typically, required to file declarations of the name under which they do business, to obtain state or city licenses to conduct business, to pay state or city sales taxes which they collect, to file federal, state, and city reports of their income and

expenditures, and to pay taxes on profits above certain amounts.

Legal requirements vary tremendously from city to city. Information about various laws and procedures can be obtained from special city government offices. Don't forget the Chamber of Commerce, which frequently has summaries of local requirements.

What Records Must Be Kept?

The general types of information which must be recorded are (1) physical inventory, (2) sales, (3) merchandise received, (4) expenditures, (5) receipts, and (6) assets and debts. Our records should store this information in a manner that allows easy access, consistency, and accuracy. Records that are not decipherable to any except the "initiated" are almost useless. Records more detailed than necessary defeat the purpose of record-keeping, which is to provide information abstracted from the activity. Records that cannot be compared month-to-month and year-to-year do not allow detection of progress or backsliding. Records that are not accurate are not records, but myths.

Sample Records

In the Houston bookstore, all book and pamphlet titles are assigned an inventory number from 001 - 999. Titles are grouped by subject area (Marx, Engels, Lenin, women's liberation, Latin America, etc.), and by author within each subject area. The inventory number is marked lightly on each item as it arrives from the publisher. Sales people use the inventory number when writing a receipt.

A physical inventory is taken quarterly (1/1, 4/1, 7/1, 10/1). All inventory figures are recorded on 4 x 6 ruled index cards (see figure 1). The purpose of the inventory card is to maintain a record of the quarterly inventory for each title, to provide a ready source of ordering information, and to maintain a source from which individual sales of each title during a specific time period can be computed. Rather than indicating the wholesale cost of each title on each inventory card, it is possible to compute the value of stock by adding the retail value of all stock at a particular discount rate (such as Pathfinder's 40 percent, International's 34 percent on pamphlets, or Pathfinder's 20 percent on non-Pathfinder titles) and subtracting the appropriate trade discount on the total.

We record stock on consignment to campus fractions or branch departments at the time of the inventory separately in the "inventory" column as a guide to which titles are most frequently being used on outside sales, and to assist in

ordering sufficient quantities to cover both the walk-in trade and sales outside the bookstore. Five copies of a book may be an adequate normal stock for the bookstore, but if one copy is needed for each of four campus consignments, there is an obvious need to maintain a larger inventory.

All sales are recorded in sales books which provide duplicate copies. Each receipt is listed on a monthly sales worksheet (see figure 2) which breaks down sales by type of merchandise, as well as source of sales (campus, forums, branch meetings, etc.).

Books and pamphlets received are logged as they arrive (see figure 3). Totals are drawn quarterly, at the time profit and loss statements are prepared. Periodicals received are logged as they arrive on 3 x 5 index cards, on the reverse of which we list ordering information, cost, etc.

On July 1, 1973, Pathfinder Bookstore in Houston had a back debt to Pathfinder Press of \$957.89. By July 1, 1974, this debt had been reduced to \$450.00. We have followed a policy of paying all new bills as they are received--or of paying by invoice in the professional manner. We then send lump-sum amounts to Pathfinder Press toward our back debt as funds accumulate. We have found that payments of \$50.00 or \$100.00 are not hard to send in on a semi-regular basis.

Use of the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Statement

The records we have been discussing provide the basis for preparing monthly reports which include a statement of condition (balance sheet), and are used in the production of quarterly profit and loss statements. The method for preparing these statements is outlined in "Suggestions for Preparing a Bookstore's Budget," and is the same as that used by any other small retail store.

Comparison of our profit and loss statements and balance sheets with those of other small businesses can be misleading. For instance, the net worth of our bookstores is often only five to ten percent of the minimum investment usually required to run a successful small retail store. Often, our bookstores have no paid staff. Rent is usually much less than that of other small businesses.

Given those differences, it is still possible to draw some important facts from the profit and loss statements and balance sheet.

For instance: how often does our stock "turn"? The ratio
$$\frac{\text{annual sales} - (\text{annual sales} \times \text{average trade discount})}{\text{inventory at cost}}$$

is the number of times our inventory turns each year (is completely sold out and replaced). Fewer than three or four turns probably indicates that excess inventory is being carried. A significantly higher ratio probably indicates that the bookstore needs to beef up its inventory, to cut down on running out of fast-moving items.

If inventory appears to be in line with current sales, how fast can debts be liquidated without significantly cutting down the inventory, and thereby possibly losing sales "because we sold the last copy two days ago"? Without reducing inventory, the only place from which money can come is profit.

What is the effect of "20% off" sales on the store's profit? Did we make up the 20% discount on certain items through increased sales? The answer is in the profit and loss statements.

Once we know how the bookstore is doing financially, it is then possible for the branch to make political decisions such as: How fast can back debts be liquidated, and which ones take priority? Is expansion of the physical plant warranted? How much rent should the bookstore pay? If there is evident loss of money or merchandise, how can security be improved?

To sum up: besides being necessary to comply with the regulations governing business operations, accurate financial records are a valuable tool for guiding bookstore operations. The work involved is not complicated, but it does require adequate time, attention to detail, and the appreciation that we are building a firmer base from which to organize our propaganda and recruitment work through literature sales.

August 3, 1974

APPENDIX: SAMPLE RECORDS

MULLEN, ROBERT W.			1.45
BLACKS IN AMERICA'S WARS			757
PAT			
INV	ORD	REC	
6	0	0	
	2	2	
	4	4	
5+	3	3	
	0	0	
	2	2	
4			

Figure 1 -- Inventory card

Pathfinder Bookstore
June, 1974 Receipts P. 1

DATE	TOTAL	BOOKS (1.00+)	PAMPHLETS (<1.00)	PERIODICALS	TAX COLLECTED	OTHER (SEE OVER)
6/1	0 ⁶³		0 ⁶⁰		0 ⁰³	
6/2	2 ³¹		2 ²⁰		0 ¹¹	
	0 ²⁶				0 ⁰¹	
	0 ⁵³			0 ²⁵	0 ⁰³	
6/3	2 ³⁶	2 ²⁵		0 ⁵⁰	0 ¹¹	
	2 ⁵⁷	2 ⁴⁵			0 ¹²	
(Campus sale)	4 ⁵⁰	4 ⁵⁰				
6/5 (Bz. Mtg)	20 ³²	17 ⁵⁰	1 ³⁵	0 ⁵⁰	0 ⁹⁷	
	1 ⁰⁵				0 ⁰⁵	1 ⁰⁰

Figure 2 -- Monthly Sales Worksheet

Pathfinder Bookstore
Merchandise Received - 1974
(at cost)

Date Rec'd	Pathfinder	SWP N.O.	International Publishers	Other		Postage/ Handling
1/19	42 ³⁰					2 ⁰³
1/22				2 ⁰⁰	(Imported Pub)	0 ¹⁶
1/27		26 ⁵⁰				
1/27	41 ⁴⁰					1 ⁸⁵
1/29			139 ⁸⁴			6 ³⁴
2/21	66 ²⁸					2 ⁶⁷
3/2				21 ⁸⁰	(China Books)	
3/22	11 ⁸³					0 ⁵⁸
3/27	35 ²⁹					1 ²³
1st 1/4 TOTALS	197 ¹⁰	26 ⁵⁰	139 ⁸⁴	23 ⁸⁰		14 ⁸⁶

Figure 3 -- Log of Books and Pamphlets

SUGGESTIONS ON GIVING A FUNDRAISING SPEECH

by Linda Jenness, Brooklyn Branch, New York Local

A good fundraising speech by itself cannot raise money. People are moved to contribute by the whole atmosphere and tone set by our campaign or whatever activity we are raising money for, and the professionalism of the specific rally or banquet. Furthermore, a certain amount of the collection must be organized in advance of the meeting. But an effective fundraising presentation can help to raise the maximum amount of money possible.

There are no hard and fast rules for giving a fundraising speech. Different types of presentations are needed under different circumstances. The tone of an effective fundraising speech at a rally in support of a frame-up victim in a defense case could be quite different from that at a spirited election campaign rally, for example. Also, speakers are different and one person may be able to do something that another cannot do so easily. Some speakers are able to relate their own experiences better than others. Some fundraisers are more adept at motivating people in a straightforward, no-nonsense way, while others have a knack for using greater flair. A wide variety of methods of presentation can be effective, provided that each of them is thought out and appropriate to the circumstances.

At the same time, there are certain problems common to all fundraising speeches and that all fundraisers should consider when thinking through their presentations.

First, a fundraising presentation generally falls into two parts--a prepared speech and the actual fundraising part. It's best if the speech is brief, usually no more than ten minutes long. One good way of constructing it is as a short political speech centered around a current objective political topic, such as Watergate, Chile, the truckers' strike, etc. This will be a brief political presentation. Then, a transition into the fundraising section can be made by stating what our response is to this event or situation and that our response costs money. In other words, your opening remarks don't have to be about money, although they may be.

It is basic to the success of any fundraising speech--or effort--to make clear why you need money and to be concrete about the need. It is useful to break down the costs of the project into concrete units and to give examples of what various sums will buy. For example, if you are raising money to put teams on the road, it is effective to give a concrete indication of what it will cost, perhaps by the day, for gas, food, literature, and lodging to keep, let us say, three people on the road for a certain number of weeks. This tells people exactly how the money can be useful and is more effective than simply stating in a general way that money is needed to put teams on the road.

In breaking down the costs of the project into small, concrete units, avoid the pitfall of "poormouthing" the project. It has to sound big enough to matter. At the same time, it is crucial to make everyone present realize, because it is true, that every contribution counts and theirs is not too small to be helpful.

At the point of actually beginning to raise the money, the speaker should take a moment to tell the crowd what he or she is about to do. This is because although most party members may be familiar by now with our fundraising speeches, newer members and guests may never have seen such an event before. They may be startled to see people suddenly appear in the aisles with buckets and others shouting out donations from various parts of the room. The speaker should prepare them for what is about to happen by saying something like, "I am going to ask you to contribute money. There are people in the aisles with collection cans into which you can put your money or filled-out pledge cards that you found on your seats when you came in." Then the speaker should say, "I am going to start at \$500," or whatever figure has been decided upon. It is also important at the outset to remember to tell people that checks, as well as cash and pledges, are acceptable and to state clearly how checks should be made out. This information can be repeated occasionally. (Of course, the pledge card should contain the information, "make checks payable to...")

At this point, you are into the fundraising section. The key to this is flexibility and being attuned to the crowd. In general, you want to keep what you say focused as much as possible on the specific project or undertaking for which you are raising the money and the contributions.

One of the most important things to keep in mind is not to get so caught up in telling anecdotes that people feel they cannot interrupt you to give money. What you are doing is raising money, not telling anecdotes. The fillers you prepare are just that--fillers between contributions. The most effective fillers are very brief anecdotes and comments, not stories. Stories can interrupt the flow of contributions once it has begun. You should feel absolutely no compulsion whatsoever to get through all the fillers you have prepared. In fact, if the collection goes very well and a momentum of contributions develops, you will use very few of them. This is what you are aiming for. The more contributions you get, the fewer fillers you have to use and conversely. The fillers should be reserved for points when the momentum of contributions is interrupted and then used to get it going again. Once that happens, they can be cast aside. A very good example of this process took place during The Militant 45th Anniversary Celebration kick-off rally at Oberlin last August.

The activity and attention of the crowd became more and more centered around contributions and the speaker, Norman Oliver, simply cast aside his prepared fillers and focused on the contributions.

The fillers you have prepared ahead should be varied. While it is good to include among them some humorous ones, it is a mistake simply to tell jokes. A variety is needed because different people respond to different things. It's good to include a few political anecdotes about subjects related to what you are raising money for. It is good also to include something directly inspiring, such as a letter from a prisoner (although the emphasis on prisoners can be overdone), or a telegram of support or a good quote. The first few fillers you plan to use should be a mixture of these things because you may never get through all those you have prepared. Also, if the fillers are written on cards, then they can be shuffled around, allowing you maximum flexibility in choosing which of them to use at different points depending on how things develop with the crowd.

Establish a tone of, "We're all in this together." Avoid dichotomizing the speaker and the crowd through formulations like, "This is what we will do with your money." Instead, say things like, "Ten dollars will put out 10,000 leaflets." Sometimes the speaker may actually make a contribution, too.

Sometimes it's good to build up suspense in the meeting by posing variants of the question, can we do this? For example, at some point the speaker might say, "We need \$100 to print 10,000 leaflets; can we raise it?" This keeps the focus of the crowd on the contributors. As the fundraising develops, the speaker can find ways to pick up on what is actually happening in the meeting. He or she might say, for example, "We've just had three contributions from this side of the room; now how about this side?" Or, "We need \$50; can a group of people get together and contribute \$50?" This can help build participation in the form of contributing. If someone has volunteered a matching fund beforehand, an especially exciting part of the collection can be trying to match it on the spot.

At the same time, avoid in-group jokes or using people's first names. No joke or story should be told that the newest person present wouldn't understand.

How to know what sum of money to ask for: It's necessary for the speaker to know what money is in the crowd in order to give the fundraising speech. This requires prior consultation with the meeting organizers. If you know there are two \$500 contributions, you know that you can start at least at \$500. You can start above that, to be audacious, but you would not want to dwell on trying to get a \$1000 contribution in such a situation. The rally organizers should have a pretty good idea of what money is in the crowd.

As you are raising the money, don't waste time at a level where there isn't any. Move to where there is. This is a very delicate question of judgment, actually, because it is important in fundraising to let people think a bit about their contributions. The speaker must not be afraid of periods of silence.

It is especially important to leave enough time for the \$25s, \$20s, \$15s, \$10s, and \$5s since this is where the bulk of the money is in most of our gatherings. Rushing through this contributions range will lower the amount of the collection.

Do not neglect the \$1 bills and change; every bit counts. Also, this is all some people can give and we want to be sure they can participate and that they know their contribution is important.

It is usually anticlimactic for the speaker to make extended remarks at the end. It's best to say perhaps a brief sentence or two and thank people.

The whole presentation--from the time the fundraiser gets up to speak till the time he or she sits down--should have a set time limit. While the time limit varies depending on the size and character of the meeting, anything longer than thirty minutes at most of the events we currently organize would be unusual. It is a mistake to let the meeting go on to the point where people begin to get uncomfortable and you ruin the enthusiasm of the occasion.

The fundraising speech should be presented just as professionally as all of our speeches. The speaker should dress as though they were giving a speech for an election campaign on television.

CHAPTER BUILDING PERSPECTIVE FOR USLA WORK

by Gary Prevost and Marvin Johnson, Twin Cities Branch

The following report will attempt to show how an on-going chapter of USLA was organized in Minneapolis during the past year in the context of the openings which have occurred in the wake of the September 11, 1973 coup in Chile. It should be noted from the very beginning that while the authors are writing almost exclusively from experience in the Twin Cities we do not think the Minneapolis experience should be unique, and a major purpose of the report is to stimulate the forming of USLA chapters in cities where they do not now exist.

In October 1973, USLA work in the Twin Cities was re-evaluated and three basic goals were established. They were: (1) to establish the authority of USLA in a broad constituency, to include church leaders, union officials, community leaders, and politicians; (2) to organize visible, periodic, public events which serve to keep the issue of Chile alive in the Twin Cities; (3) to develop a chapter of USLA with regular meetings, sound finances, ongoing activities, and most importantly, a core of activists.

Today, more than nine months since the goals were set the following results have been achieved. The Minnesota USLA chapters has a core of 10-15 independent activists. The chapter meets bi-weekly, even now during the summer months, and sustains itself financially through contributions and special fundraising projects.

The chapter is in the process of formalizing a local sponsors list, which will reflect the breadth of authority USLA has achieved. The list includes Rev. John Sinclair, President church executive; Joe Bash, Director of Student Affairs, American Lutheran Church; Rev. Vince Hawkinson, Grace University Lutheran Church; Fran Moscello, Spanish Department, Hamline University; Mulford Sibley, Political Science Department, University of Minnesota; Alfredo Gonzalez, Chicano Studies, University of Minnesota; Larry Grimes, Spanish Department, University of Minnesota; Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor Party. Others are considering becoming sponsors, including the president of ADA and a member of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Board. Rep. Donald Fraser, U. S. Congress, has worked closely with us, although he has not yet agreed to be a sponsor. USLA's authority locally is also shown by people who are interested in doing political work on Latin America naturally bringing their concerns to USLA.

The list of ongoing activities sustained by the chapter is impressive, including: a) a locally initiated political prisoner case; b) consistent interventions at Latin American and other political events. Interventions have involved the sale of approximately 50 USLA Reporters per month, and a

total of over 2,000 signatures on various petitions for Chilean political prisoners. During the year USLA used three different petitions. USLA felt it was important that individuals coming to programs have a personal thing to do. Initially USLA used a list of 34 political prisoners, followed in January with the Chile 7, and, around May 11, used the list put together for that action. c) an investigation of complicity between the University of Minnesota and the junta controlled University of Chile; d) outreach to meetings of trade unions, church groups, and political and community groups; e) publication of a regular newsletter, which has produced a consistent flow of contributions; f) a telegram campaign in defense of the PST in Argentina and political prisoners in the Dominican Republic.

Evolution of the Chapter

Having outlined our original goals and what has been now achieved we would like to describe in some detail the evolution of USLA work in the Twin Cities.

During the 1972-1973 school year the work of USLA was centered on two national speaking tours, Daniel Zadunaisky of Argentina and Mary Elizabeth Harding, a former Maryknoll nun who was a political prisoner in Bolivia. The two tours were successfully conducted in the Twin Cities and began to show the potential for ongoing work. Daniel gave a well-attended talk at the University of Minnesota and the USLA was used publicly for the first time in Minnesota.

The Mary Elizabeth Harding tour of May 1973 was highlighted by a meeting of over 100 at the University of Minnesota Newman Center, which was attended largely by the adult Catholic community. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Sister Council and Priest's Senate of the St. Paul Archdiocese. The Harding meeting began a good relationship with the Newman Center, which remains in effect today. Though a collection was taken and 35 names were collected for ongoing work, no follow-up was attempted until after the Chile coup.

An emergency picket line was called following the coup on last September 11; about 40 persons marched on the picket. Outside of USLA, the party and the YSA, the most significant involvement was that of the Communist Party.

Unfortunately, there was no consistent USLA work done following the initial demonstration largely because there was no major assignment made to the USLA chapter. The shortcoming was not remedied until mid-October, but not before considerable damage had been done and USLA had been put in a difficult position vis-a-vis our opponents, including the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC).

The Chile Solidarity Committee, headed by the CP, organized a Chile-eyewitness speaking tour in early November and due to USLA's weak position, completely excluded us to the point of our not being allowed a literature table at the major events. USLA did organize a successful intervention into several of the meetings, with sales of the Reporter and a petition on political prisoners. The CSC organized successful meetings financially but did not bother to get a mailing list.

The first public activity of the Twin Cities USLA was the national Linda Wine tour. Coming directly on the heels of the CSC tour, it was not terribly successful but was a beginning.

In the absence of any nationally planned action USLA decided to initiate a film tour on Minnesota campuses to raise money and establish its authority over the CSC. USLA worked to organize the film tour and a symposium at the University of Minnesota for about two months, beginning in early December. During that time CSC committed suicide when the Communist Party pulled out of it, and the remaining independents lacked the organizational skill or desire to maintain the group. Ever since CSC's demise USLA has remained the only Chile group in the Twin Cities. CSC's most active independent now works with USLA.

The film tour, using When the People Awake and Campamento, was the first major step forward for USLA. The films were shown ten times on eight campuses to over 900 people. A profit was realized, which put local USLA on sound financial footing and permitted a contribution to the USLA national office. The tour allowed USLA to greatly expand its mailing list and provided contacts throughout the state of Minnesota. A chapter of USLA was formed at Mankato State College as a result of the tour.

In connection with the film tour, a symposium was organized at the University of Minnesota, the largest campus in the region. The major purpose of the symposium was to involve Latin American Studies faculty and students, who we found are more receptive than the average faculty and students to the USLA campaigns. The symposium firmly established USLA as a campus organization and significantly raised its prestige among the Latin American Studies faculty, which has been very important in many current campaigns.

Unfortunately, the tour did not solidify any new activists for USLA in the Twin Cities, but the core of the chapter began immediately to make plans for another film tour in the spring.

At the same time, the national tour of former Swedish ambassador to Chile, Harald Edelstam, was announced by the national USLA. The significance of the Edelstam tour for Minneapolis USLA was the realization of broader trade union, church, and political support which had been projected earlier but not achieved. A broadly endorsed city

wide rally featuring Edelstam drew about 250 people and helped to raise over \$1000 for the national Chile Appeal fund.

The second film tour, which featured Chile: With Poems and Guns, was conducted in late April. As with the earlier tour the film was accompanied by an USLA speaker who discussed the current Chilean events and USLA projects. The tour was less successful in some ways than the earlier tour as it drew but 350 in ten showings and raised a modest profit for the chapter. However, the most important result of the tour was the solidification of six to eight activists who attended the showings and indicated their desire to do ongoing work with USLA. Almost all of them are now active in the chapter.

The May 11 national action provided an opportunity for outreach similar to the Edelstam tour but with a new element, the existence of a working coalition which included such groups as New American Movement (NAM) and Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The May 11 action in the Twin Cities was successful with 175 people turning out as compared to the demonstration of 40 immediately following the coup. One drawback of the May 11 action was that because the action was organized through a May 11th action committee, which held open planning meetings, the ultraleft sects were given too much power in the coalition. In retrospect, we feel that the action could have been just as broad if organized under the auspices of USLA.

Current Ongoing Work

Since the May 11 action the work of the USLA chapter has actually increased rather than dropping off as might be expected following an action. However, USLA had the perspective of maintaining ongoing activities, and with a good number of activists willing to do work, it has organized several important activities.

Since May 11 USLA has done its first consistent labor union outreach. USLA has made presentations and had resolutions on Chile passed by the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59, Robbinsdale Federation of Teachers, University of Minnesota Federation of Teachers, Local 2408, and the Minnesota Federation of Teachers State Executive Council. The Minneapolis and Robbinsdale Federations are the first and third largest locals in Minnesota. We are presently making plans to present resolutions to several other union locals in Minnesota.

A special campaign for a Chilean political prisoner with Minnesota connections has underlined the authority of the local chapter. The prisoner, Galo Gomez, received a masters' degree from the University of Minnesota in 1969 and was known to many people here. He was vice-president of the University of Concepcion at the time of his arrest. After getting many letters on behalf of Gomez through litera-

ture tables for a month, the chapter decided to step up the campaign. Within ten days emergency telegrams were obtained from many prominent professors at the University of Minnesota, and also from Senators Kennedy and Humphrey and Congressman Donald Fraser. The campaign included a telephone call to the prison camp in Chile where Gomez is being held. The call was made by a faculty member in the Spanish department.

University of Minnesota activists working with USLA are investigating an agreement between the University of Minnesota and the University of Chile which may involve the medical school, the agricultural school, and the Mayo clinic. It appears that the agreement went unimplemented during Allende's rule but was recently renewed following the secret visit of junta representatives to the Twin Cities. The chapter feels that the agreement may provide an excellent basis for an anti-complicity campaign at the University of Minnesota next fall.

Another area of work which has expanded since May 11 has been church outreach. Since an excellent reception at the University of Minnesota Newman Center in January, the chapter has been aware that outreach work toward the churches could be very productive. USLA found it necessary to take its program to the individual churches that are sympathetic, so it requires considerable persistence to arrange the engagements. The program consists of the Chile film Campamento and speaker from USLA. Several church presentations have been made since May 11 with the most sympathetic being at Lutheran and Catholic churches. Church social action committees and sympathetic pastors have been the best contacts for USLA. The church visits can be productive in obtaining numerous signatures on petitions and letters, in addition to financial support. USLA may use a slide show prepared by NICH (Non-Intervention in Chile) in future programs.

Work with church officials can also be important for giving breadth and authority to the USLA committee. Recently, USLA has had conversations with officials of both the Presbyterian and Lutheran churches about their role on behalf of victims of repression in Latin America, particularly Chile. They are proposing that an ad hoc committee on Chile be formed in their churches.

USLA has long recognized that support from the Chicano community can be an important boost to our work. Though the Twin Cities Chicano community is relatively small, USLA has actively attempted to involve Chicano community groups,

USLA is now achieving some success, through its presence at a community fair. USLA has arranged meetings with two significant groups, the Spanish Speaking Cultural Club and the Brown Berets.

Recruitment

It should be noted that only through continuous activity will USLA result in recruitment to the party and the YSA. Some success has already been achieved in Minneapolis. One has joined the YSA, while a couple of others are interested in attending our activities. The presence of an USLA chapter also can provide new YSAers with an important assignment with which to integrate themselves into the work of the YSA.

In Summary

In summary, we feel that the most important lesson for USLA work stemming from the Twin Cities work is the importance of the chapter-building perspective. The chapter-building perspective is a long-range one which requires considerable patience and hard work on the part of the initial core of activists. As the report noted, the Minneapolis chapter did not actually obtain a number of independent activists until six months after the chapter had been initiated and several successful events had been organized.

The key factor in projecting a chapter is the formation of ongoing projects. Demonstrations and national speaking tours are simply not enough to sustain an ongoing chapter. Such events will be better organized if a chapter exists but they will not produce a successful chapter by themselves. Therefore, the chapters must initiate local activities. The report has described in some detail such activities in the Twin Cities--film tours, local political prisoner case, complicity case, interventions in Latin American events. Projects may vary from area to area, but the openings exist wherever there are branches.

Finally, the potential for ongoing Chile work clearly exists nine months after the coup, as shown by both activists willing to work for USLA and the prominent individuals willing to support Chile projects. Some may say that the Minneapolis USLA experience is unique, but such is not the case. Actually, Minneapolis has many objective limitations, the most of important of which is the lack of any substantial Latin community to support the work. The objective conditions are ripe for the formation of USLA chapters in many more cities. All that is needed is a clear conception and commitment to doing ongoing work rather than just organizing a demonstration on May 11 or September 11.

August 7, 1974

REPORT ON DANIELSON TOUR OF COLORADO

by Peter Seidman, Denver Branch

About one-half of Colorado's population is concentrated in the Denver-Boulder metropolitan area, and even more than half within a two-hours drive of Denver. Most of the rest of the state is sparsely populated with few big cities or campuses. For this reason, most of our campaigning is concentrated within a relatively small part of the state. However, a number of the key political issues we wished to publicize during our campaign -- the impact of the energy crisis on Colorado's environment, the Farm Workers' struggle, and the Indian struggle -- have important focal points in other regions of the state.

For example, the center of oil shale experimentation and projected development for the entire U. S. is near the town of Rangely (pop. 1,200); the United Farm Workers of America has attempted several organizing drives in the San Luis Valley; and there is an AIM chapter on the Southern Ute Indian Reservation in Ignacio, a small town near Durango (pop. 10,000).

In order to give our campaign as much of a statewide character as possible, and to lend authority to what our candidates would be saying about some of the key issues in the campaign, we decided to organize a statewide tour for our gubernatorial candidate, Nora Danielson.

There were other considerations in allocating two weeks of candidate time to a tour like this. First, we felt it was important to "Colorado-ize" our campaign by getting out into the state and finding out what people were thinking about the oil company schemes, the problems of organizing migrant workers, etc. Second, we considered that Militant coverage of such a tour would be an attractive way to present our campaign in the Denver area. Lastly, we felt the contacts we would make on such a tour, even if our first try at this was on an experimental basis and a limited scale, would be useful for more ambitious efforts in the fall.

From considerations of both finances and available personnel, we decided to conduct this tour more as a "fact-finding" trip than a full-scale regional effort. Only one other comrade went out with Nora on the different legs of her tour. The tour was also broken up with return trips to Denver for various political events that were taking place in the regional center.

We found from the first stage of the tour that not setting up meetings and places to stay in advance forces the candidate to waste a lot of time. So in subsequent parts of the tour, we tried to arrange by phone in advance as much as possible.

We found that there were a number of small campuses that generally were ignored by our past regional teams that could serve as stopping off areas in places we wanted to go. Arrangements were made at those campuses, even though we didn't have any contacts at them, by calling the campus switchboard and explaining that we were the socialist campaign and wanted to speak there. Almost without fail we were connected with someone who was very helpful -- either an administrator in charge of such events on campus, the student paper or government, or a radical professor.

Within very little time, a schedule of meetings could be set up in this way as well as housing arrangements.

We tried to arrange the schedule so that there would be plenty of time in a given area for the candidate to talk to people as well as have flexibility with regard to going on side trips to meet people or explore places that looked promising. At the same time, since most of the campuses we visited were extremely small (200 to 1,200), there wasn't much point in planning to stay in one area for very long -- since it was pretty easy to "saturate" a campus in a reasonable period of time. We assumed that if we made really good contacts anywhere, we would always be able to follow up later.

Armed with an advance schedule, camera, and a stock of literature, we sent our campaigners out in this manner for the rural areas of Colorado.

An account of most of the tour was printed in The Militant of May 31, 1974.

One thing we found was that we were the first campaign to venture out into many parts of Colorado. This made a very good impression on people -- who took our campaign very seriously and were glad to see that we took their problems very seriously as well.

One indication of how the socialist campaign is viewed is the reaction of the local press. In Durango, we just went into the town paper's office and told them who we were and that we wanted to be interviewed. The editor himself came out and interviewed Nora for almost an hour. In Grand Junction, a larger town, we went into the newspaper office, repeated our request for an interview to the obviously harassed editor. He muttered something like, "Oh, the candidates are starting again," and assigned a reporter to talk to us. The Rangely Times carried an advance article on Nora's tour.

One phenomenon we noted is that our movement was already known in a number of areas. This was not only due to the general propaganda work of our campaign, but also because of the high mobility of many young people. In the course of this tour, we met people in AIM who knew us from our work on the Mideast at UCLA in Los Angeles, a professor who was a supporter of ours on the Cal State San Diego campus, and an ex-member of the ex-Communist League from France!

Many of these radicalized people were very friendly and wanted to talk to us at length. Because there is so little radical activity in these rural areas we were like water in a desert for them. We also found that a number of professors, even those not particularly radical, really enjoyed talking to people with a thorough socialist analysis of the world that went deeper than the usual material they taught or the usual discussions they had. One professor, who fed us and put us up for several days, who is a member of the Rangely Chamber of Commerce and the Rio Blanco County Democratic Party board, was so eager to talk he

wouldn't let our campaigners get any sleep at night!

While many of these people of course are not immediately recruitable, cultivating relationships with them will be of great value in organizing future tours.

Partly because of the relatively slow start we had in organizing the tour, we were unable to get any honoraria. However, expenses were rather minimal apart from gas since in most places housing and even food were free.

This tour has given us a good base for our fall campaign tour. As will many other branches, we want to concentrate the fall campaign tour here in Colorado, the state in which we're running our campaign, especially since, with very few exceptions, most other places in our region are extremely far away. With the advance knowledge of where to go and the contacts made in our fact-finding tour, the effectiveness of the fall tour will be greatly expanded.

August 3, 1974

FORUMS IN HOUSTON

by Louis Proyect, Houston Branch

During the fall of 1973, the Houston branch built a series of exceptionally successful forums. The average attendance was about 80. I want to highlight some key aspects of the work that went into these forums.

Saturation Posting

Houston, like many cities of the new, suburban, sprawling type, lacks a real downtown. It also lacks the type of intersections where masses of people regularly pass through or congregate in. This makes the job of posting very difficult. To compensate for this difficulty, the forum committee regularly posted over 300 printed 11-1/2 by 14 inch leaflets on the University of Houston campus where 20,000 students attend both day and night. This helped to get the word out.

Constituency Reach-out

We found that almost every forum had an appeal to certain special interest groups. We could count on ecology activists attending a forum on the environmental consequences of the energy crisis, but we made sure to contact all such groups well in advance of the forum to insure their participation. One forum in which this approach paid off handsomely was one on "Nixon's Crimes" where four carloads of impeachment activists came from 25 miles out. Over 100 people attended that forum.

Outside Speakers

We went to great lengths to involve non-party speakers. We always took the attitude that despite the relevance of a socialist viewpoint to any current event, that most people would come to a forum to hear "name" speakers -- such as local liberal politicians, etc. There was only one forum out of the entire series that lacked an independent speaker and that was where a party comrade provided commentary on a film about the Russian Revolution. There were 90 people at the forum!

Suppleness in Topic Selection

The forum committee always tried to get a relevant forum off the ground as soon as a "big" event hit the news. I may be wrong, but I think that we were the first to hold forums on the coup in Chile, the energy crisis and the "Yom Kippur" war. Strike while the iron is hot! That was our motto. Whenever we did, there was always a huge turnout.

We were also flexible in the selection of topics that weren't narrowly political. For example, during the immediate period following the mass murders in Houston, the local cops began to harass gay people over and above the usual amount. We were able to build a forum on "Mass Murders in Houston -- Who are Society's Real Criminals" in which a party speaker and a leader of the gay community spoke on the implications of the police crackdown. It was a very well attended forum.

How successful were we? I want to answer this question and close this article by quoting verbatim an article that appeared in one of the two major Houston dailies in the middle of the "Yom Kippur" war which illustrates the impact of our forums. It appeared on the page where front-page articles on the war were continued, articles that had the usual pro-zionist slant. The article was headlined "Arabs Claim Liberation Fight." It read as follows:

"Liberation of Palestine--'not just another Arab country but the heart of the Arab world'--is what the Arab countries are fighting for, a spokesman for the Organization of Arab Students said Friday night.

"Aziza Al-Hibri, a graduate student from Austin told about 80 persons at a Socialist Workers Party Militant Forum at 3311 Montrose that Arab countries will continue to fight against Israel 'as long as we haven't gotten our liberty.'

"If Israel wins the current war, she said, 'it will just be another round in the struggle -- and we can see a new phase, the increasing United States involvement on the Israeli side.'

"Efforts to portray Arabs as 'stupid Bedouins suddenly drunk with oil power' have increased, she said, although Arabs are finding that 'we are as good as anybody if we decide to fight.

"She claimed Israelis were walking into homes 'armed with American machine guns and American information supplied by embassies or the Central Intelligence Agency, spraying faces with bullets and walking out and bragging about their victory.'"

August 7, 1974

MEDIA WORK

by Ann Glick, Boston Branch

Media work in Massachusetts is centered around one theme: The SWP is the third party in this state and as such we are entitled to receive equal amounts of coverage with our Democratic and Republican opponents. Concretely, this means that every time our opponents are mentioned we should be also. If we are not, we make a systematic practice of complaining, demanding something be done to compensate, and working out a way with the media to avoid being "overlooked" in the future.

To begin this, the major bourgeois press had to be tackled. This was accomplished by setting up a meeting with the political editor of the Boston Globe. We picked specific issues to use as a basis for setting up this meeting, e.g. leaving us out of a major poll. When calling to set up the meeting we started at the highest level rather than talking to a reporter (although we did ask a friendly reporter who was the best editor to call). We had our leading candidate for statewide office call, and we carefully picked a delegation: two leading candidates, media director, and campaign director.

Prior to the meeting, a discussion took place with those people who were going to attend. Various roles were assigned, e.g. a candidate was to make the initial presentation, etc. A list of 14 specific points that were to be presented was reviewed. These points ranged from an article on our position on school desegregation to a promise that we would be included in all future polls. A copy of the 14 points was given to the editor at the outset of the meeting and then reviewed with him. We also made a point of insisting on obtaining a list of reporters covering the campaign and the name of the head of the city desk so that we would know exactly who to contact for future articles and about any problems.

We went to this meeting well-documented in the amount of coverage given to the Democrats and Republicans as opposed to us. We were also prepared, if the meeting did not work out right, to organize some sort of pressure campaign which would involve some of our prominent endorsers in calling the editor, writing letters, etc.

Following this meeting the paper was called continually. Every time something specific came up -- either some event in our campaign or coverage for other candidates -- we called the appropriate contacts, even if we were also issuing a news release. The campaign must be made familiar to a number of people on the staff of the papers. The administrators (head of the city desk and associate editor) must also be kept in touch with. They are the most influential people on the paper. If it means calling the editor to get an article done,

then the editor must be called. Reporters cover events; they do not decide what gets covered.

With this information and experience from the Globe, a meeting was then set up with the Bay State Banner, the only Black paper in the city. This meeting proved extremely important. After becoming aware of the limitations of this paper (they only have one reporter), a vehicle -- direct interviews -- was found to be the only way of reaching them. This resulted in a major front-page article on our candidate for Lt. Governor.

There are numerous ways of reaching the press. Each newspaper should be reviewed. It should be checked for coverage of the other candidates; if an article mentions many or all of the other candidates and not the SWP, the reporter should be called and told of his/her error. A means for correcting this should then be established. If the reporter is unable or unwilling to do this, find out who can do it and approach that person. In one such instance a 500-word "Letter to the Editor" from the SWP candidates appeared in the next issue of the major "underground" weekly.

Another way this paid off is when an article appeared in Boston Magazine, a monthly publication, on one of our leading Democratic opponents for Governor, Mike Dukakis. A call was placed to the reporter on the magazine. Although he could not do anything about it he was interested in the campaign and was sent a packet of material. He later appeared on a televised news conference and confronted Dukakis about why he did not support the SWP suit against the undemocratic election laws. The final result of this was a 10-minute interview with our candidates on television and inclusion in a major article the magazine is doing this September.

In essence what this means is that every paper, no matter what type, should be read, clipped, and kept in contact with all the time. Don't take "no" for an answer and don't hesitate to go right to the top of the paper staff and editorial staff. Our campaigns are very serious and the media work is the tool that brings them to the public.

Beepers

Beepers -- 30-second spots -- on the radio are another tool for extending the campaign. By taping a 30-second message by one of the candidates and then using a telephone adapter, it can be played and rerecorded by the radio stations.

Almost all radio stations take beepers and use them during their regular news broadcasts. Regional radio stations

should be used as well so that an extremely large area can be covered at any one time.

While 30 seconds presents us with certain theoretical limitations, it does not cut across the general usefulness of the message. Here's an example of a beeper we sent on the very complicated question of the state's attempt to keep our congressional candidates off the ballot:

"Statement by Jeannette Tracy Bliss, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U. S. Representative in the 9th Congressional District: The State of Massachusetts is attempting to deny the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 9th and 8th districts our right to be on the November ballot, despite the fact that the Socialist Workers candidates have fully complied with all the election law requirements. Access to the ballot should not be reserved as a privilege for the Democratic and Republican parties, but should be a guaranteed right for anybody who chooses to seek public office. I urge the support of the citizens of Massachusetts for the right of the Socialist Workers Party candidates to be on the ballot."

It doesn't explain our full program in the same way a news release can, but it gets our main points across and, most importantly, it gets out the name of the campaign. This particular beeper was picked up by 13 different radio stations in the Greater Boston area as well as regional Massachusetts. Radio stations like this news format and expect to receive our beepers. We try to send one or two every week.

News Conferences

News conferences are not used as frequently as other devices but they are important. For one, they involve the television stations. Several liberal state representatives who

we know from other activities help us to obtain the press room at the State House for campaign news conferences. This makes it much more accessible to the major television stations as well as the various reporters. All of the media have regular staff assigned to cover everything at the State House.

News Services

A tremendous tool that helps get the word out to large areas of the state is the use of the various news services. At the State House there are three different news services. The State House News Service takes news releases and distributes them free of charge to all the major papers across the state, and the same procedure is followed by AP and UPI. Broadcast News, a service that covers the broadcast industry, not only covers news conferences but also takes press releases and distributes them to their list of subscribers.

By doing these and other types of activities involving the media our campaigns will begin to get the kind of coverage they deserve.

Editorial Replies

Television and radio stations continuously program editorials and frequently invite the public's response. Many of these editorials deal with some of the same issues we address in our campaigns, i. e. school desegregation, abortion, prisoners rights, etc. We alerted the entire branch to be conscious of listening for editorials and when appropriate we attempt to reply. Most stations aren't anxious to put us on, so you have to be quite aggressive and persistent. Editorial replies are valuable because they are broadcast during the major news broadcasts and have a very broad listenership. As a bonus they usually run your reply on three separate broadcasts.

OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

by Dan Fein, Houston Branch

This article will describe the party's and PRDF's participation in the National Education Association convention. The convention was held in Chicago June 27-July 3, 1974. A total of 11,653 people attended the convention, 9,729 of them delegates.

The NEA has almost 1.5 million members. The American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), the other teacher organization, has 400,000 members. Teachers in the state of New York are members of both organizations, paying dues to both organizations and able to participate in the life of both organizations. Most of our comrades who are teachers are members of the AFT because in most big cities, which is where we have branches, the AFT is by far the larger of the two groups.

In Houston, the NEA affiliate has over 5,000 members and the recently organized AFT local has about 100 members. Our teacher-comrades in Houston are in the NEA affiliate. We viewed the AFT organizing drive here last year as a move against teacher unity.

At the NEA convention we agreed that our major effort would be to try to get NEA to endorse PRDF. This decision was made about three weeks before the convention. We had two opportunities to present PRDF to delegates before arriving in Chicago.

The first opportunity was at a meeting of all Texas delegates held two weeks before leaving for Chicago. The meeting was to inform delegates of the important issues to be voted on at the national convention. We used this opportunity to pass out our PRDF brochures and inform delegates that a motion for NEA to endorse PRDF was going to come up in Chicago. We were also able to talk to a number of delegates and state leaders individually about our suit against government Watergating.

The other opportunity came at a meeting of the Houston Teacher Association's Representative Assembly. (The HTA is NEA's local affiliate in Houston. The Representative Assembly is the policy-making body of HTA.) A motion was presented that HTA endorse PRDF and that HTA sponsor a motion in Chicago to get the NEA to also endorse PRDF. We were able to explain why teachers have a stake in the suit. The motion failed 17 to 19, which meant we would have to introduce the motion from the convention floor in Chicago without support of the Houston delegation.

Upon arriving in Chicago, we studied the next day's agenda and mapped out a plan of sales, what seminars

to attend, and what PRDF work could be accomplished the next day.

The N. O. had asked all teacher comrades from the Midwest to come to the convention to help out. Two teacher comrades (AFT) from Minneapolis were able to come and help out during the first few days of the convention. Two from St. Louis (AFT also) were able to attend the last few days. The Chicago teacher comrades as well as non-teacher comrades helped out every day with sales and other activities. The Militant sent a reporter to cover the convention.

The first two and one-half days of the convention were reserved for the "Critical Issues Conference." This consisted of speeches and seminars. The major speeches were given by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Congressman Andrew Young, Karl Menninger, Henry Steele Commager, Art Buchwald and John Gardner. The seminars were on such topics as "Students as Decision-Shapers: Current Issues," "An Historical Analysis of Morality and Ethics in Government," "The Movement for Women's Rights," and "Brown Plus Twenty." The remaining three and one-half days were spent primarily in plenary session.

After the first day, fraction meetings were held every night to evaluate our work that day and to plan out in detail what we would do the next day. The fraction meetings were attended by the organizer, assistant organizer, the teachers from Minneapolis and St. Louis, the labor director in Chicago, and the Militant correspondent. We consulted daily with the N. O. trade union director.

PRDF's Intervention

At the fraction meetings we discussed possible opportunities to familiarize delegates with PRDF. We were able to do the following before our motion got to the floor of the convention the last day.

Part of the convention was an exhibition arena where hundreds of companies, NEA caucuses, state delegations, etc., rented booths and set up displays. The cost of a booth was \$450. Probably 10,000 persons walked through the exhibition arena to see the 200 or so different displays. PRDF had already considered renting a booth, but the cost was considered too high. However, an NEA committee on Watergate had rented a booth. We asked the people there if we could put PRDF material on display along with the other literature. They looked at it and replied, "Yes."

For two days we were able to distribute PRDF literature from this booth. A comrade from Minneapolis took over

the booth the second day. As delegates came by the NEA's Watergate booth, we introduced PRDF to them and told them about the motion for NEA to endorse PRDF. We collected fifteen individual endorsers for PRDF through these discussions. The other NEA staff people at the booth were friendly and sympathetic. The second day we tried to sell PRDF buttons. We sold 48 in one hour before being informed that nothing could be sold inside the exhibition arena. Most people we talked to were interested in our suit and wanted to read the PRDF brochure. But only a small fraction would endorse on the spot before "thinking about it."

Henry Steele Commager's speech was on Watergate. This gave us an opportunity to speak about PRDF in the questions-and-comments period after the speech. (The content of Commager's speech as well as others' was: Our constitutional system of government has weathered many crises in the past and survived. Watergate does not illustrate the bankruptcy of the American form of government -- it just shows that we have a lousy man in the President's seat.) During the discussion period, we were able to explain to the audience of three or four thousand that one important way to fight Watergate crimes was by supporting PRDF.

State delegation meetings were held in the mornings prior to the plenary sessions. In Texas' second meeting, we introduced a motion that the Texas delegation go on record as endorsing PRDF. Some other delegates from Houston wanted to help the motion get passed. They distributed PRDF literature to the entire Texas delegation (about 500) and agreed to speak in favor of the motion if anyone spoke against it. There was no further discussion on the motion after one speaker in favor of it. The motion lost about 2 to 1, which was a better vote than expected. Most of the "no" votes were due to the fact that socialists were involved in the suit, and this scared them.

In one of our fraction meetings we decided to distribute 3,000 leaflets to the delegates urging them to vote for the PRDF motion when it got to the floor of the plenary session. The leaflet also had a coupon to get in touch with us or to write national PRDF for more information, etc. The Chicago comrades were able to distribute all the leaflets within a matter of hours.

Within the NEA there is a women's caucus and a Black caucus, which met daily during the convention. A Black woman from Houston had agreed to introduce a motion in the Black caucus to support PRDF. At the last minute, she got another assignment from the head of the Texas delegation and could not attend the meeting. She asked me to go and speak for her. I was able to make the presentation to the Black caucus. I was not able to make the motion to endorse PRDF, but a number of caucus members went to the microphone to make the motion. After some favorable

remarks in the discussion period, a caucus member asked if passage of the motion would obligate the Black caucus to publicize the suit and raise money for the legal expenses. The answer was, of course, no, but there was some confusion raised. Then a motion was passed to table the motion.

Another important aspect of the PRDF intervention was talking to leaders of other state delegations to solicit their support when the motion came to the floor. I also tried to get the leaders to speak about PRDF in their state delegation meetings and also to speak on the floor in the plenary session when the motion came up. This assignment only I, as a delegate, could perform. I was only able to reach agreement with a leader of the Colorado delegation and a leader of the Michigan delegation.

On the last day of the convention, there were 112 new business items to consider. After a couple of hours spent discussing the first two or three items, a motion was passed stating that before beginning discussion on any motion, there would be a vote on whether to even consider the motion. All the delegates had in their possession a written copy of all 112 new business items. Endorsement of Political Rights Defense Fund was item #56. By the time item #56 came up, more than half of the items were not even being considered. Item #56 was also not considered. The feeling of almost everyone I talked to after the convention was that the time provided for new business items was totally insufficient. There was a new business item (that was ruled out of order) which said in regard to next year's convention, "All non-business items of a ceremonial, reporting, or introductory nature (except nominating speeches) will be postponed until action is completed on said by-laws, amendments, resolutions and new business items."

The Party's Intervention

The party's intervention centered around sales of The Militant. There were special articles that week about issues facing teachers. The back page was designed to facilitate sales at the convention. Since we did not expect to be able to sell inside McCormick Place where the convention was held, sales were organized the first day at the hotels in Chicago where the delegates were staying. Many Chicago comrades sold in addition to the teacher comrades from St. Louis and Minneapolis. On the second day of the convention we found it possible to sell inside the convention site. We sold 1,031 copies and gave away about 800 on the last day of the convention. We also sold over 100 Fuentes pamphlets and about 20 Watergate Conspiracy pamphlets.

In the fraction meetings, we discussed other issues besides PRDF that might be raised. It was agreed to speak within the Texas delegation on issues that might come up which we deemed important. It was also decided to speak

in the open hearing on U. S. presidential endorsement procedure, as well as on the floor of the entire convention when it came up.

Within the Texas delegation, I spoke in favor of a motion supporting civil liberties of gays and also in favor of a motion to adjourn early in order to join an NEA-sponsored demonstration in support of striking teachers in Timberlane and Hortonville.

The NEA is preparing to endorse a presidential candidate in 1976. A Report of the Special Ad Hoc Committee to Develop an NEA Presidential Endorsement Procedure was published and open hearings were held before it came to a vote on the convention floor. Without the report explicitly stating so, only the Democratic or Republican candidates will be considered. (The report used words like "major parties" and "both parties.") At the open hearing, where about 500 people attended, I objected to the fact that the proposed ballot would only have two choices, whereas there will be more than two candidates for president in 1976. Many people agreed with my comments, giving names of "third parties." The ad hoc committee said they would take the suggestion into consideration before presenting it to the convention.

The report came to the convention with no changes so I took the floor to ask a question. How could the proposed endorsement procedure work if more than two candidates ran for president in 1976? The reporter never really answered the question and the proposed endorsement procedure passed overwhelmingly.

Opponents

None of our opponents on the left were delegates. However, International Socialists had two people who sold their paper and a pamphlet entitled, "Teacher Power." They were there only one day.

A few Communist Party members came for one day also. They gave away (of course) the Daily World and a brochure by Celia Zitron containing reprints from the Daily World on teacher and education issues.

Progressive Labor Party members spent most of their time building a meeting of the "Rank and File Caucus." The Rank and File Caucus is a PL front group in the AFT concentrated in New York City. Their meeting was for the purpose of meeting their candidate for the president of the AFT. Their candidate is a long-time member of the New York State Committee of the Democratic Party. The meeting was small and the Shanker forces came and dominated the discussion. PL also sold Challenge one afternoon.

Summary

Because the convention was so open (compared to most national union conventions) we were able to publicize PRDF to thousands of teacher activists. We did not expect to be able to sell inside, to share the NEA Watergate booth, to speak at so many meetings, and to pass out leaflets. Except for speaking at meetings, the other activities were carried out by comrades who were not delegates and were not required to register as guests.

The convention was very educational for all the teacher comrades involved. We learned more about teachers' problems and concerns nationally. We learned more about how NEA is organized and how their conventions are organized. Furthermore, we were able to have informative conversations about experiences in our cities.

Houston's Perspectives

Two more comrades in Houston have jobs as teachers, increasing our numbers in the Houston Teacher Association. Two of us were elected to the Representative Assembly last year. We are now discussing possible issues to concentrate on in our teacher work in the fall.

Our experience in Chicago brought a number of Houston delegates close to us. I think we can work with these teachers as well as HTA's leadership around certain important issues in the future. There will be many opportunities opening up this fall for our teacher-comrades. Our Tasks and Perspectives Report after Oberlin will place us on firm foundations to take maximum advantage of these opportunities for party building and strengthening teacher struggles.

BRANCH SUMMER SCHOOL CLASSES

by Bill Anderson, Lower Manhattan Branch, New York Local

As its central political activity for the summer Lower Manhattan branch held a two-part summer school series. The first was an eight-class series on Stalinism and the second was a four-class series on the American labor movement. The decision to hold classes on these subjects was made together with the organizers and summer school directors of the New York branches. Several of the instructors were used by all three branches, but the actual organization of the summer school was left up to each branch.

In the Lower Manhattan Branch we motivated these topics as particularly opportune at this time for a number of reasons. We noted that at every major historical juncture and at every crisis in our party's history, the Russian question has come to the fore. This has often taken the form of the question of Stalinism. It is the understanding of this question which has been the dividing line that separates us from all of our Stalinist or Social-Democratic opponents. This is also a major question that we have to explain to those who come around us. We felt that the study of Stalinism raised all the questions of revolutionary principle, program and strategy. We hoped through these classes to instill an understanding of Stalinism among new members and to raise the level of understanding of those already familiar with the subject. We also hoped to encourage comrades to continue their study on this subject on their own initiative.

The class series on the American labor movement was motivated primarily by the immediate questions facing the party through our present work in the labor movement, of which there are currently some interesting examples in New York. We wanted to instill in comrades an understanding of the problems revolutionaries have faced in determining the relationship between the revolutionary party and the unions, the history of the rise and stagnation of the CIO, the role of the Stalinists in the CIO, and finally to sharpen our understanding of our present strategy in the labor movement with regard to our propaganda for the formation of a labor party.

In organizing these series, we made use of the study guides on the subject that had already been made available, but we also developed classes and discussion questions of our own. Following are the classes that were held on the two topics: The Origins of Stalinism; Internationalism vs. Socialism in One Country; Stalinist Foreign Policy; The Class Nature of the Soviet Union (two classes); The Question of Culture, The Family and Nationalities under Stalinist Rule; The Post World War II Revolutions; Chinese Stalinism--Maoism in Power; The Marxist View of Unions; The Rise of the CIO; The Decline of the CIO and the Role of the Stalinists; The Labor Party.

The summer school was designed specifically for the education of party cadre and not as contact classes, although we did encourage contacts to attend. We felt that although the class was not oriented toward contacts or sympathizers, there was still much they could gain from it and that it would help to bring them closer to the party.

What were the results? It is our judgement that the summer school was an unqualified success both politically and financially. We asked donations of \$.50 per class or \$5 for the entire summer school. Our total income was \$307 while our expenses were around \$20. Of course, we had no travel expenses. The average attendance per class for the entire school was 51. Attendance at the series on Stalinism averaged 55. Attendance at the series on the labor movement averaged 44. Considering the intensive schedule (there were two classes per week plus biweekly summer forum series plus a weekly branch and YSA meeting) the effort put in by each comrade who participated in the summer becomes significant.

The basic format of the classes was a 45-minute to one-hour lecture followed by a one-hour discussion period.

For the purpose of post-lecture discussion, we divided the class into five groups, based on a division of comrades into two categories. One set of discussion groups would be for those who were familiar with the subject and intended to do supplementary reading, while the other set of discussion groups would be for those who were new to the subject or had not had the opportunity to study the material in depth for some time. Comrades decided for themselves which grouping they wanted to be in and we wound up with two discussion groups for those who planned to do supplementary reading and three groups for those relatively new to the subject.

In general, this arrangement worked out well, although there were a few problems. We found it absolutely necessary for the same person to be the discussion leader each week in the groups that were new to the subject. Continuity is especially important in these groups. The ideal size for a discussion group seems to be about ten to twelve. If the group is much larger, there isn't enough opportunity for everyone to participate in the discussion. If the group is much smaller, the discussion can tend to lag or even come to a complete halt. All the comrades felt the need for question sheets to orient the groups, and these were provided by the summer school.

Probably the most difficult problem to solve was that presented by the groups new to the subject. In these groups were both those who have been in the movement for at least

a short period of time and those who recently joined (including contacts and just-recruited YSAers). Some of the new people had questions which dealt with very basic questions or that went beyond the subject and yet needed to be answered.

Our conclusion is that it would be beneficial to make every effort to get the new people and contacts into a separate group and also to schedule extra sessions for them. In the case of classes on Stalinism, for instance, this might include discussion on the Russian Revolution and the nature and role of the Bolshevik Party.

At the conclusion of the summer school series we asked everyone to fill out an evaluation sheet on the summer school so we could get an idea of their feelings and find out how to

improve our educational work in the future. We found that almost all of those who attended felt they learned something from the series, that it was of significant value to them, and that they were motivated to study the subjects further.

A total of about 25 contacts came to one or another session of the series. Of these, three attended continuously and began to help sell The Militant and work with the campaign committee. These contacts were drawn to us by the summer school and had not been around us previously.

One advantage we had for our summer school was the availability of comrades working in national departments who were experienced lecturers and very knowledgeable about the subject matter.

August 2, 1974

ORGANIZATION OF THE SPRING SALES CAMPAIGN

by Harvey McArthur, Philadelphia Branch

Organization of the Sales Committee

Four or five comrades were assigned to the sales committee at all times. Prior to the start of each sales week, the committee would meet and plan out exactly where we wanted to sell, listing each sales spot and time, how many comrades were need at each spot, how many papers we could expect to sell there, etc. We could thus be sure that the total sales interventions planned added up to the total number of papers that we wanted to sell that week.

The sales committee should also know in advance of special events to coordinate with regular sales: external meetings involving large numbers of comrades, internal educational, etc., or special sales opportunities, concerts, large political meetings, etc. It should also plan out the balance between Militant and YS sales for each sales event, making sure that both goals are met by the end of the week. With this planning, the committee knows how many papers should have been sold by each day of the week, and can tell immediately if the branch is falling behind and if special sales are needed.

After planning the sales, the entire membership of the YSA and SWP were divided up amongst the sales committee. The committee would then contact all the comrades and sign them up for specific sales during the coming week. We sold our bundle from Saturday through Friday, so this contacting was started immediately after the Thursday night sales committee meeting, and continued into the next week. We kept a master list of sales interventions at the headquarters, listing who had signed up, so that the committee could tell if some teams needed more people, or if some comrades had not signed up yet. We could also call comrades the night before to remind them of sales commitments.

Planning sales in advance like this allows comrades to plan their week and schedule time in for sales, and it helps prevent comrades from putting off thinking about sales until the end of the week when something may come up and they aren't able to sell at all.

We also assigned a comrade from the sales committee to be at the headquarters each evening to make sure that all comrades going out to sell had enough papers, that they left on time, had directions, a car if needed, etc.

Sales Teams

Very rarely did we send just one comrade on a sale. Teams of three or four to a street corner, four or five to a campus, etc., are much more effective. They help ensure that comrades are on time for sales, since they know that other comrades are waiting for them; and they keep comrades

from getting demoralized and quitting if sales are slow at first, as can happen when selling alone. They are also a good way to help new comrades get used to selling, since they can be teamed up with more experienced salespersons.

Each team would be assigned a specific number of Militants and YSs to sell--a goal based on previous experience with sales at that or similar locations. One comrade, an exec member if possible, would be assigned as team captain--to see that the team stayed out and made its goal, and to collect all the money and unsold papers and turn them in immediately. They were also given forms to fill in reporting how many papers were sold, how much money was collected, etc. Thus, the committee knew right away how sales were doing instead of having to wait for the end of the week for money to trickle in.

Over the spring, these steps helped lead to regular comrade participation in sales. We also projected that all comrades would sell at least once during the week and once on Saturday, and many comrades actually sold more often than this. Per-capita sales were increased considerably--16 per comrade per week, up from 13 over the fall, and 11 comrades averaged more than 20 papers per week compared to only four doing so last fall.

Important Regular Sales

The two mainstays of our sales were Saturday and campus sales.

We projected that all comrades would go out and sell for two or more hours each Saturday. Regular locations, mostly street corners, were picked by the sales committee, and comrades signed up in teams of three or four. A quota was set for each team and a captain assigned. The captain was responsible for seeing that the team made its goal and for calling the comrades in the morning to make sure that they showed up on time. Many teams signed out their papers at the Friday night forum, and left directly from where comrades lived, as opposed to coming to the headquarters first.

These sales have become a regular institution, in all sorts of weather. They involved over 20 comrades each week, enabled us to establish regular sales in the Black and white working-class communities, and counted for about 45 percent of our weekly Militant sales.

A special innovation were our Campaign Saturdays, which happened about once a month this spring. Comrades would go out and set up campaign tables at the regular sales spots and stay out a couple of hours longer than usual. This meant that little other fraction work could be done on these Saturdays,

but sales were greatly increased.

These Saturdays helped integrate the election campaign with sales. The campaign committee was involved in planning out the different teams, street rallies were held at some corners, comrades were urged to get endorsers for the campaign, and a special push was made to involve campaign supporters. We had a brief campaign rally at the headquarters before going out, and a wrap-up rally, often with prizes for high-selling teams, at the end of the day. Then there followed a party to talk with contacts and generally round out the day.

These Saturdays were very successful, even in the middle of February. We sold between 400 and 525 papers each time, and total sales on these weeks were consistently the highest ever in Philadelphia. They were also a good way to kick off a new YS bundle, making sure that we could make the regular Militant goal but also sell a lot of YSs. They also emphasized the importance of the sales campaign and its close ties to campaign work.

Campus sales accounted for 32 percent of our weekly Militant sales. About half came from four center-city campuses where we had comrades as students and employees. Some of these sales were also done by off-campus comrades selling during the evening, and a lot of these latter were sold by full-time comrades selling during the day at Community College, which is near the headquarters.

The other half came from regional campuses, located up to one and one-half hours from Philadelphia. We would send four or five comrades on an all-evening team, and they would spend about one and one-half hours selling in the dormitories. Sometimes there were large political meetings on a campus that we tried to get teams to.

It is especially important that these teams be well organized. They should leave early enough so that comrades can get something to eat but still have time for sales; they have to have a car available and good directions, including which dorms are men's, which are women's, co-ed, etc.

We found that it was best not to hit these schools more than once every two weeks, or else they tended to get saturated and sales fell off. We went to about ten different schools during the spring, some of them very regularly. We averaged three teams a week, and sold about 20 papers per team. These teams are also a good way to make contacts for regional work and to publicize SWP campaigns, forums, etc.

Young Socialist Sales

We tried to sell the bulk of the YS bundle in the first couple of weeks of each month so that we wouldn't get caught at the end. At first, we thought that we couldn't sell our Militant goal on weeks when we had a specially high YS goal,

because it would cut into our other work too much. This turned out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. We didn't even make the lower sales goals that we set.

Therefore, at the end of March, we had a discussion in the sales committee and in the exec and decided to make both goals consistently. This required organizing extra sales many weeks and extra political motivation for them. By carefully integrating sales with other work we were able to make both goals for the last eight weeks of the campaign.

Increasing comrade participation and per-capita sales are the best way in the long run to increase weekly sales of both papers. However, another important factor is the priorities that the branch sets for each week--Campaign Saturdays, educationals, etc., and where sales are fitted into these.

High School Sales

Prior to April, high school sales in Philadelphia were not too frequent, although we had hit a couple of schools once a month. In April, we organized a special blitz to turn this situation around. Since a special effort would be needed to get comrades involved in large numbers in these early-morning sales, we did not try to add just one or two sales per week, but launched a two-week blitz during which we went to at least one school every day. The YSA assigned a comrade to coordinate high school sales, seeing them as a major part of high school work. A big campaign was initiated in the YSA to explain the importance of the sales, and a special youth report was given to the branch to urge them to participate also.

We sent teams of three or four comrades on each sale, selling YSs only, and often set up campaign literature tables too. The team captains had another special role to play here; they had to be responsible enough to wake themselves up extra early and then call the other comrades to make sure they were also awake.

These teams were very successful. Even though most of the schools we went to were inner-city ghetto schools, and many students didn't have much money, we sold 105 YSs during the April blitz. We were able to spread out the sales a bit more during May, and sold 74 YSs then. In all, we hit 14 high schools during the campaign, several for months in a row; and sales there ranged from a low of three one day to a high of 24 another.

Educational Weekends, Etc.

Special problems arise when activities are planned that involve all the comrades and cut into regular sales. The Philadelphia Educational Weekend eliminated almost all Saturday sales, and another special meeting planned for that week cut into our regular Thursday wrap-up sales.

To meet our goal despite this, we stressed regional campus teams on the nights left open (4 teams sold 112 papers), city campus sales (69 papers), and getting comrades out to sell in center city before meetings in the evening (13 comrades sold 131 papers). We also explained the problems that we would have making our goal, and got comrades out at almost all conceivable times, even during lunch breaks at the educational conference. With this planning, we were able to meet our Militant goal of 400.

Political Direction

Important as careful organization is, sales have to be seen as a part of the overall political work of the branch for the campaign to be a success.

Sales should be seen as part of our campaign work-- a way to reach people with our program and to take on our opponents. Campaign Saturdays, making sure that articles about local SWP campaigns are sent to The Militant, and stuffing each paper with a campaign platform are important.

In fact, sales was the single most important way that the Pennsylvania campaign reached new people this spring-- since about ten thousand copies of the platform and several thousand copies of articles on our campaign were distributed this way.

The weekly sales reports in The Militant, including the listing of each branch's weekly sales, help to build the atmosphere of a national campaign around sales and show comrades how important the local sales effort is to the national goals.

Finally, the exec has an important role to play in making sure that all fractions and committees are setting aside enough time for sales, in making sure that enough comrades are assigned to the sales committee, in making decisions about special sales, like the Campaign Saturdays, and in setting an example for other comrades, both through motivation in meetings and in going out on sales teams as often as possible.

July 25, 1974

REPORT ON PHILADELPHIA PRDF BENEFIT

by Dick Osborne, Philadelphia Branch

On Saturday, June 29, a benefit party for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) was held in Philadelphia. It raised over \$1,000 for the suit. The benefit was the result of many weeks of careful planning during which PRDF enlisted the active support of a broad range of individuals and organizations.

The success of the benefit party once again proved the wide appeal of the PRDF suit against the Watergaters. PRDF was supported in its efforts by pacifists, peace activists, and civil libertarians, many of whom were working with PRDF for the first time. They understand the importance of the challenge to Watergating tactics since many have experienced incidents of harassment and intimidation themselves.

The benefit was viewed as an activity of the whole movement. Various individuals and organizations helped send out mailings, lent their own mailing lists, helped prepare food, and gave their assistance in other ways. The result was an event of tremendous legitimacy. That so many people participated set an important precedent of solidarity in defense of our rights.

Sponsors, Time, Place, and Date

The first step in planning the benefit party was to secure suitable sponsors and a place to hold such an event. An important past contributor to the National Peace Action Coalition, who is well known and respected in Philadelphia as a supporter of movement causes, agreed to help PRDF. He put PRDF in touch with a well-to-do peace activist who had previously held a large fund-raising party for the Harrisburg defense case. PRDF arranged a meeting with her and discussed the idea of holding a similar benefit for PRDF. Although she was unable to offer her own home for the event, she called friends and obtained another large home and garden from a member of Women's Strike for Peace. Her friends agreed to work together on the benefit.

The first planning meeting was attended by these core people plus a few they knew in the peace movement who came to listen to the PRDF proposal. A letter was drafted, signed by four of these individuals, inviting prominent local figures to sponsor and attend the benefit. The letters were not sent out by PRDF itself but rather as personal appeals by this group of concerned PRDF supporters, motivating the suit and asking these people to help out.

By the second meeting PRDF had lined up an impressive list of sponsors. The sponsors list included: the head of the local Lawyers Guild, the heads of SANE and Resistance, prominent members of Women Strike, WILPF, and Resist, three local journalists, the two defense lawyers for the

Camden 28, and a common-pleas court judge who was on Mayor Rizzo's "enemies list." In addition, PRDF contacted Tony Auth, a well-known political cartoonist, and he agreed to sponsor the event, auction off several original cartoons, and narrate a slide show of his work.

PRDF decided to have the party on a Saturday and to avoid the cocktail party rush hours by scheduling it to begin at 8:00 p. m. To cut expenses PRDF decided that donations would be requested for refreshments, and that food would have to be donated.

Program

Numerous political benefits had been held in Philadelphia in the recent past. Although PRDF was confident that it could obtain an impressive sponsors list, it felt that the event could be strengthened by the participation of a nationally prominent supporter of the suit. After some discussion PRDF decided to invite Philip Berrigan to speak. PRDF felt that he commanded great respect in Philadelphia, a city with a large pacifist milieu.

PRDF agreed that the program would be short and to the point. PRDF planned to begin with Harry Levitan of the National Lawyers Guild, then John Ratliff of PRDF speaking on the legal status of the suit, then Philip Berrigan speaking and making the fund appeal. Finally, a local PRDF spokesperson would further motivate the financial needs while the collection was taking place. The evening would end with the raffle drawing for Tony Auth's cartoons and his slide show, for those who were interested.

Invitations

The next step was to design an invitation and send it out to a large number of people. Because of PRDF's time schedule and lack of financial resources, it designed a simple but attractive mimeographed invitation. After consulting with the sponsors, PRDF set an admission price of \$6.00

At the same time PRDF began contacting various organizations and individuals to ask whether they would be willing to provide mailing lists or send out invitations themselves. Since many prominent members of peace organizations had sponsored the event, it was relatively easy to obtain their cooperation in this respect. PRDF secured mailing lists from the Camden 28 and the Harrisburg cases, the Main Line Peace Center, ADA, and Philadelphians for Equal Justice. In addition, mailings went out from SANE and Women's Strike, and a few other individuals sent out their own mailings as well. A total of about 1,500 were invited, of which less than 100 came from the PRDF lists.

Results

About 125 people attended the party. At least ten people helped prepare the food, and a prominent local peace activist offered to greet guests at the sign-in table. The decision to charge admission proved to be a wise one. The bulk of what was raised came from the door fees,

although PRDF did collect \$350 through contributions. In addition, there were some contributions mailed in prior to the party.

The benefit party introduced PRDF to an important group of people in Philadelphia. They will be valuable contacts for future activities PRDF will project.

August 6, 1974

THE CAMPAIGN AROUND THE "HOME RULE CHARTER" IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

by the Washington, D. C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee

In Washington, D. C. in a three-month period between February and May, the Socialist Workers campaign waged an aggressive campaign around the "Home Rule Charter." Our candidates, especially Nan Bailey who is running for Mayor, became known, not only as spokespeople against the "Home Rule Fraud," but as activists speaking out on issues such as the cutbacks at Federal City College.

We were featured on nine hours of media time, six of that on television. The candidates and their supporters spoke to 3,000 high school students and 1,500 in 45 community meetings and on campuses. Approximately 20 articles covered our campaign, including such news media as the Washington Post, the Star-News, and the Afro-American.

The campaign distributed 18,000 pieces of literature, including 12,000 of a specially printed brochure, "There's No Home Rule in the Home Rule Bill." Although this brochure became an essential piece of campaign literature during the spring, the campaign put out twelve other pieces of literature, including a four-page program and statements on a variety of issues, from the Hatch Act, to support for the demands of the Washington Teachers Union, to an end to the cutbacks at Federal City College (FCC).

During the spring the campaign maintained a full-time volunteer. The enthusiasm for the campaign was so high that the \$3,000 pledged at a spring banquet was sufficient to pay the costs of the campaign far into the summer.

The greatest gain from the campaign around the Home Rule Charter was the involvement of the branch and local. Comrades studied the facts and arguments around our position of opposing the Charter, and almost every comrade was involved in accompanying a candidate or speaking themselves at a meeting. By attending the dozens of community meetings, the campaign came into contact with neighborhood associations, tenants organizations, and other Black groups throughout the city which were a basis for contact later in the campaign.

The vote on the Home Rule Charter on May 7th was an exceptional opportunity for the D. C. campaign to make a major propaganda initiative in this city with an 80 percent Black population. Media and community meetings were accessible in an unusual way. However, the reasons we were able to make gains around the Charter, which every other political tendency ignored, was because of our thorough political analysis and our aggressiveness in getting out our ideas.

Washington, D. C. has been directly ruled by Congress for over a hundred years. In 1871, the District was given a

territorial form of government which was only to be taken back three years later when Congress claimed that the Black population was not acting "responsibly enough." Since that time a small body of congressmen and senators have been responsible for passing every piece of legislation that governs D. C., including regulations on flying kites in the park and a law allowing a change in the uniforms of the police band.

In the last several years there has been a considerable movement for "Home Rule" in D. C. -- that is, for the right of the population in D. C. to have the same civil rights as citizens of the other fifty states. Some concessions were made so that in 1964, D. C. voters could vote for president and in 1971 for an elected school board. Considerable sentiment had built up also for full self-government, which was embodied in the electoral formation of the Statehood Party which had received enough votes to achieve ballot status in the 1972 elections.

Reacting to this pressure and to the pressure of the Democratic Party which could build a sizable machine in this city in which 80 percent of the voters are registered Democrats, Congress passed the "Home Rule Charter." This bill, the result of deals with a number of local political hacks, retained the essential control in the hands of Congress, but allowed an elected mayor and City Council which could take care of the "nuisance" legislation which previously had taken literally an "act of Congress" to pass. Now City Council could debate the merits of kite-flying, while Congress still passed the budget line by line, retained the power to veto any legislation passed by the City Council, and could still pass any legislation for D. C. it deemed necessary. In addition, the president continued to appoint the local judges and could assume emergency control of the police anytime he thought necessary.

Needless to say, this bill which was passed by Congress December 24, 1974, had no modicum of "Home Rule." Although it did grant a 13-person elected City Council and mayor, these figureheads had no power to change the deteriorated conditions in D. C., which has the highest cost of living in the U. S., where the schools are rundown and drop-outs are numerous, and where areas burned out in the rebellions in 1968 are still not rebuilt six years later.

However, the political hacks, particularly in the Democratic Party, were eager to jump on the bandwagon of the "Home Rule Charter," especially if they could run for office. "A new day of self-government is coming," they declared, "Black people will have self-determination at last." They told people that if you vote for the Charter and elect the "right people" (Democrats) to office, you will be able to correct these conditions of poverty and oppression.

In discussing the Home Rule Charter, we came to the conclusion that this bill was a fraud, which the political hacks were using to try to undercut the sentiment for genuine self-government. If there had been genuine reforms in this bill, we could have supported it critically, but the bill changed nothing--leaving ultimate control in the hands of Congress and the president.

However, we were virtually the only group to oppose the bill, with the exception of some far-right groups who maintained that D. C. was a "Federal City." A "No" position was a difficult one to take and to debate, since the media and the organized political groupings were characterizing any opposition to this bill as opposition to home rule. The first task was to educate ourselves about the bill. The central political question was not whether or not the Charter would pass in a vote on May 7th, but the essential question of a strategy for Black liberation for the overwhelmingly Black population in D. C.

In the debates in which our candidates participated, they stressed that Black people in D. C. could not advance their struggle for self-determination by accepting "token" power as in this bill, or by acting "responsibly" so that Congress would step-by-step grant them more self-government. We reviewed the "Transitional Program for Black Liberation" to lay out a strategy for self-determination in these debates. We emphasized that Blacks must organize independently of the capitalist parties, especially the Democratic Party, and we supported the formation of a Black political party. We pointed to struggles taking place such as the demonstrations of FCC students against the cutbacks of \$1 million as examples of forms of struggle through which genuine change can be made. Particularly in debates with Black Democrats, our candidates pointed out that the same capitalist parties which were putting a hard sell on the Home Rule Charter had been selling out the struggles of Blacks for years. Our primary goal in the campaign was to expose the role of the Democrats of undercutting independent political action to gain real self-government in D. C.

The most important factor in the campaign around the Home Rule Charter was the political understanding of the issues and ideas, and we continued to refine our position throughout the spring. However, a second factor was the aggressive attitude the campaign took in getting out this

position. This position on the Charter was not something to hide, but a tool with which we could reach out to young, militant Blacks who had many doubts about the Charter and who were looking for a strategy for political change.

The campaign wrote letters to every high school social studies department and every college student government offering to set up debates on the Charter. We followed this by calling contacts and the high schools, with the result that we had speaking engagements in seven high schools ranging from an assembly of 600 to classes of 40. We contacted and wrote letters to every organization which had speakers supporting the Charter and asked to present opposing views. We went to dozens of community meetings where we asked to speak from the floor.

One of the most successful areas of work was our requests for equal time to radio and television editorials. We spoke on three television stations and several radio stations in editorials, which netted us extensive coverage and requests for more information about our position and campaign. This was also the source of some of the requests for speakers on television and radio debates. Nan used these editorials to do more than oppose the Charter, but also to support the struggle of the FCC students. She became so well known that the President of FCC called her to ask her to stop talking about FCC on television.

The campaign also tried to use other functions to get out propaganda around the Charter. A debate format was set up as a forum; frequent articles were sent to The Militant, which we then sold at the Home Rule meetings; a major part of the spring banquet featured a speech on our analysis of the Charter. We had street rallies and sound trucks touring to get out our ideas about the Charter. The candidates used other speeches, as when Nan spoke to rallies of FCC students, to refer to our position on the bill.

In conclusion, the campaign was able to wage an aggressive campaign around a correct and carefully articulated political analysis of the Home Rule Charter. Every other political grouping on the left misjudged this debate--the CP supported the Charter, but released their position on it through an internal newsletter a week before the vote. This spring campaign activity laid the basis for an active and aggressive campaign in the summer and fall.

ABORTION WORK IN BOSTON

by Carol Henderson Evans, Boston Branch

Since the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, there has been relatively little activity on the part of abortion rights forces, with the exception of the lobbying done by organizations such as NOW and NARAL (National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws). The anti-abortion forces, however, have been very active. In virtually every state and in Congress, they have introduced anti-abortion legislation, ranging from the proposed constitutional amendments which would outlaw all abortion, to restrictive clauses in state bills, such as those requiring parents' or husbands' consent.

A more recent tactic of the "right to life" forces has been the introduction of legislation aimed at curbing or prohibiting fetal research. A bill prescribing limits on such research has been passed in Massachusetts, and a similar bill has been introduced into Congress. The "right to lifers" are trying to do several things with this legislation. One is to frighten people with the idea that experiments are being performed on "live" fetuses. Another is to outlaw experiments on fetuses scheduled to be aborted. Some proponents of this type of legislation want to prohibit testing which is performed on fetuses to see if there are birth defects or diseases in the fetus. Doctors and medical researchers are concerned that the passage of such legislation will make it more difficult, if not impossible, to carry out research, such as that which led to the development of the Salk vaccine. In addition, the wording of the Massachusetts bill is so vague that doctors are worried that they will be victimized if they carry out certain tests or experiments.

In Massachusetts, the "right to lifers" introduced an extremely restrictive anti-abortion bill, a bill restricting fetal experimentation, and managed to have five doctors at Boston City Hospital indicted -- four on charges of "illegal dissection" for experiments performed on fetuses scheduled to be aborted, and one on charges of "manslaughter" for "killing a 24 week-old baby boy." One of the results of these indictments has been that BCH, which serves the Black, Puerto Rican and low-income communities of Boston, has stopped doing all but therapeutic abortions.

On the basis of this sharply increased activity by the "right to lifers," the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance took the initiative to call a meeting open to anyone interested in defending the right to abortion to discuss the possibility of taking action against the anti-abortion moves. Out of this meeting the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Abortion Rights was formed. The group was and still is made up primarily of women from campus and

community women's centers and health projects and unaffiliated women. One member of the committee is a member of the Young Workers Liberation League.

At the first meeting, which was held on May 16, there was strong consensus that even though there were only three days before the anti-abortion legislation was to come before the House of Representatives, an action was necessary. The participants viewed it as a means not only of staging a protest against the legislation, but also as a way to gauge the possibilities for future activities. The picket line the committee called drew about 50 to 60 people and received some media coverage from several radio stations and the Harvard Crimson. At the picket the committee leafletted for a second meeting of the committee.

The interest and enthusiasm shown in the picket line clearly indicated that further activity was possible. The committee then called for a teach-in/protest meeting which would focus on the local anti-abortion and fetal research legislation and the indictments of the doctors at Boston City Hospital.

The committee set up press, publicity and program committees and an expansion committee to try to draw in other groups and broaden the base of the committee. We did manage to draw more women into the committee and many clinics and women's centers supported the rally and took leaflets and posters. We also found that it was extremely easy to raise funds around this issue and several hundred dollars was raised for the committee in the course of building this activity.

NOW and MORAL/CDP (Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws/Constitutional Defense Project) did not become involved in building this action, preferring instead to concentrate on lobbying. However, both groups set up tables at the rally, and NOW publicized the meeting on their local radio show. In the course of building the rally, the Ad Hoc Committee became known as the only abortion rights group with an action perspective, and on that basis it attracted a group of 25 to 30 women who were active in taking on responsibility in the committee. The rally, as was reported in The Militant, was a major success. Two hundred fifty people attended the rally, which was held at Faneuil Hall. The speakers were Dr. Leonard Berman, one of the indicted doctors; Neil Chayet, Berman's lawyer and a key person in the fight against the anti-fetal experimentation legislation; Bill Homans, Dr. Edelin's attorney (Dr. Edelin is the doctor who was indicted for manslaughter); Elaine Noble, a gay activist and Demo-

cratic candidate for state senate; State Senator Jack Backman; and Jeanne Lafferty, the SWP candidate for Attorney General. The meeting received good TV coverage, and a large collection was taken.

The sentiment in favor of continuing public protest activities was strong among those who attended the rally. The most enthusiastically received speeches were those which called for the formation of a broad coalition of abortion rights forces to continue building large-scale activities.

A few hours before the Faneuil Hall meeting, Governor Sargent had signed the fetal-research legislation into law. The meeting then voted unanimously to call a picket line for the following day to protest the legislation. That picket drew around 70 people and also received some media coverage.

Since these activities in June, the anti-abortion legislation has been considerably amended by the legislature, and the major unconstitutional parts of the bill have been removed. Virtually every other group views the bill as it now stands as a victory because it appears to conform to the Supreme Court decision. However, there are several things wrong with the new bill, such as defining abortion as "the knowing destruction of the life of an unborn child," and requiring consent of both parents for women who are minors. In the first 24 weeks, this bill leaves the decision as to whether a woman can have an abortion completely up to the physician and only if "in the best medical judgment of the physician the abortion is necessary under all attendant circumstances."

While all other abortion rights groups view this bill as a victory, there was virtual unanimity in the committee on the position that it had to oppose this legislation for the reasons outlined above and also to point out that the ability of the "right to lifers" to win even a small concession would only encourage these attacks.

Another picket was called for July 30 to protest this legislation as it is now written and to demand that Governor Sargent veto it. This was an extremely successful action, drawing over 100 people. It was covered on all the television and radio stations and some newspapers.

As of this writing, Governor Sargent has just vetoed the bill and it is due to go back before the legislature in an attempt to override the veto.

Our perspective in the committee has been to make realistic projections for action. The possibilities for continued action in the fall depend to a large degree on what the "right-to-lifers" do. If further attempts are made to pass restrictive legislation, the committee will be prepared to respond. We also feel that if the objective situation is right, it will be possible for the committee to expand on the campuses once school opens in the fall. The trials of the BCH doctors may also open up possibilities for activity. At present, we are working on an action to protest the Boston City Hospital policy of doing only therapeutic abortions and have already spoken to NOW, Americans for Democratic Action and a number of other groups about possible co-sponsorship. We will also be participating in an August 26 city-sponsored "women's fair," where we will be participating in workshops and presenting our literature.

We have already made some modest, though important, gains through our work in the committee. It has attracted a solid group of activists who are interested in continued work on a reasonable scale, some of whom are beginning to come around the YSA. We have also managed to draw several campaign supporters into the activity of the committee. The success and authority of the committee activities, particularly the Faneuil Hall meeting, have opened up the possibility of doing work with NOW and other abortion rights groups. Our activities and consistent response to events as they have occurred has succeeded in establishing the committee in the eyes of the press, who have begun to seek it out to ask its reaction to new developments.

While our ability to help form such committees and mobilize women in large numbers to defend abortion rights must be viewed realistically, there is considerable interest among a significant layer of women for countering these attacks whenever and wherever they occur.

The Ad Hoc Committee is the only group in this area doing anything besides lobbying and is the only group with a mass action perspective for continuing struggle.

August 2, 1974

SPRING 1974 BUSTIN TOUR

by Lynn Foster, Boston Branch

The Boston Campaign Committee divided the organizational work for the tour as follows: the office manager, who did media work at the time, was assigned to coordinate the tour overall and to set up media interviews; the regional YSA organizer arranged the regional campus meetings (for the fall tour the campaign will set up the regional meetings, working with the regional organizer); and at the time there was one YSA local director who arranged in-town campus meetings in conjunction with the YSA fractions.

The campaign committee immediately saw the potential for such a national tour in helping to augment our local campaign. We had already planned to have a spring tour of local candidates in Massachusetts at a later date. Instead, we moved up the local candidates' tour to coincide with the national tour, and wherever possible we sent a local candidate with Debby.

The Young Socialists for Gurewitz (YSG) was already planning a spring endorser drive and the YSG team would be on the road to help build regional meetings. To the media we explained that Debby, National Chairwoman of the SWP Campaign who was on Nixon's "Enemies List," would accompany our gubernatorial candidate (or 9th C. D. candidate, etc.) at speaking engagements on major Massachusetts campuses. She would explain not only why we were running in Massachusetts, but what we are doing nationally to fight government harassment, etc.

It is very important to connect the national tour with the local campaign in every way possible. In Boston, we had Debby focus on endorsement of the local campaign. Our campaigns are action campaigns, and we want people to participate in the areas of work in which we're involved, and to join our movement. Having a national speaker like Debby (or any of the comrades on the fall tour schedule) gave the local campaign a concrete way to initiate our endorser work and to get the youth support group off the ground.

Media

From our campaign kick-off news conference in January we had begun to make contacts with media. We sent out a mailing on Bustin to Boston-area media and did follow-up phone calling. From this, we were able to set up several Boston-area media interviews. They were very interested in interviewing someone with credentials like Debby's and willing to have a local candidate or spokesperson for the campaign at the interviews as well. We could have set up more interviews if we had gotten in touch with talk shows, etc., at an earlier date. The campus support groups where Bustin would be speaking arranged interviews for campus

radio and press. Where this was not possible, campus comrades prepared and submitted the articles themselves.

We had even more success with the regional media, especially in Worcester. The Bustin tour was a perfect opportunity for the Worcester YSA to become involved in campaign work and to make contact with the media. They assigned one person who was able to schedule a very impressive day of interviews. Debby had one hour on a call-in talk show on the major Worcester radio station, interviews for news broadcasts on three other radio stations, an interview with a Worcester TV station and daily paper, as well as articles by comrades for two campus papers. After the Bustin tour we were able to use these contacts to schedule interviews for a statewide candidate with the same media on two subsequent occasions, and we'll be able to do this again in the fall.

Springfield is the second major city in Massachusetts, and it is an important area for our campaign to do work. Since there isn't a YSA local there at this time, we coordinated the Springfield part of the tour from the center. We sent an announcement to the Springfield radio, TV and newspapers about the Bustin meeting which had been arranged for Springfield College. Because of the time limitations we were unable to do the very important follow-up calling -- even so, a TV station came to the meeting for an interview and a radio station called Boston about setting one up.

At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the YSA local arranged an interview with the campus paper and to have the meeting taped by a UMA student for a local cable TV show. The person who did the taping was so impressed with Bustin's talk that he endorsed the campaign.

All the media that covered the Bustin tour became contacts for our local campaign. Some shows in Boston who weren't able to cover Bustin when she was in town became future interviewers for local candidates and campaign speakers. Combining the local candidates' tour with a national speaker turned out to be ideal.

Meetings

The Bustin meetings gave the YSG an opportunity to call its key '73 endorsers and '74 endorsers about general campaign plans for Massachusetts, the YSG, and to encourage them to attend the upcoming Bustin meetings on campus or the "campaign" Militant forum. The center did the calling with Boston-area contacts and the regional YSA locals did the same with regional contacts.

The meetings were a focal point for the YSG and a way for the YSA and campus fractions to become involved in campaign work -- building the meetings and getting endorsers along with selling the press, subs, etc. The meetings themselves were smaller than we had hoped due to a number of unavoidable technical difficulties (the tour fell right before, during or after the spring break on most campuses), but size isn't always indicative of a successful meeting. The majority of the tour quota was raised through honoraria from one meeting. We were very conscious of asking for endorsement because of the YSG endorser drive and of selling subs and the press because of the spring sub and sales campaigns. PRDF was obviously linked to the meetings because of Debby's billing and talk. Over half of those who attended the seven campus meetings and Militant forum endorsed the campaign (29 endorsers, six added to mailing list, and three asked to join the YSA).

The Militant forum was one of the largest meetings we held for Debby and all areas should try to include a forum in their tour schedule. The forum already has a separate committee that takes the organizational steps to build the meeting and the party has an established periphery attending forums that the campaign wouldn't necessarily reach at the campus meetings.

The spring tour gave us a real taste for what we can accomplish with a national campaign speaking tour in the future -- both in the area of media coverage and contact work. Now our campaign committee is well established, has functioning media and interventions subcommittees and a substantial number of endorsers to draw to meetings. By the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference a comrade will be assigned to head up the fall tour and will participate in the workshop on fall campaign tours. Ideas discussed at this workshop can then be utilized in the concrete planning for the fall tour.

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