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PALESTINE DEFENSE PANEL
1971 SWP Convention

Peter Buch, Brooklyn

I will review some of the highlights of the tour that I undertook last October speaking in defense of the Palestinian revolution, and give you some of my conclusions resulting from it. Then I'll cover some other matters related to Palestine defense work.

The tour started in the beginning of October last year in Denver and from there it took me to all parts of the country and to several major Canadian cities. So it was an international tour, in fact. I lost track of how many campuses I was on, but I figure it was about 75-100. At least it felt that way after I was done! I talked directly to thousands of people and was able to reach many more thousands on the campuses and in communities through radio, TV and press coverage. There were quite a few media interviews and they were often very fair. Many of the press interviews were headline interviews. In Detroit and in Phoenix, for example, the campus press felt that the topic was worthy enough to put it right on the front page.

I would make a generalization: when press conferences, or television interviews, were scheduled by a campus authority, usually a campus forum group or something like that, they would usually be very successful. The press would come down—TV, radio, etc. Whereas, when we would schedule press conferences at the party headquarters, it often was not as successful. So, it seems like a good idea to get some kind of an official campus hall for press conferences. It usually works out fairly well, especially in the small campus towns, where the local press is starved for worthwhile local news.

I encountered Arab students in practically every city that I visited. They welcomed the tour and were extremely friendly to our movement. They helped to sponsor, build and defend the meetings. After the meetings, or sometimes beforehand, there would be long, sometimes very intense discussions between ourselves and the Arab and other foreign students. These meetings would cover a wide range of topics and our whole political program, beginning with our defense of the Palestinian struggle. We went on to all the other questions, including Stalinism, Maoism, the permanent revolution, building of the anti-war movement—you name it, we discussed it. They were extremely interested and would stay for 3 or 4 hours, sometimes, at a stretch.

Many individuals among the Arab students were, or will be coming very close to us politically. They helped to circulate our literature, attended public classes and forums, and worked with us in various support activities.

Now this extended tour came after the Sept. 1970 civil war in Jordan. I noticed that there was a great deal more sympathy for the Palestinians, or at least greater open-mindedness than on previous tours. There was a greater willingness on the part of people to actually hear the facts and not shout you down. They were critical-minded regarding Zionism and its claims to represent Jewish liberation and democracy in the Middle East.

Obvious to me, because of the general radicalization that has been encountered in so many other ways, is the sympathy that students had with other liberation struggles around the world. This reaction, this kind of response, would infuriate the "left" Zionists that I would often en-

counter, either in the audience or in debate. The "left" Zionists, you know, have a tough job. Their job is to provide left cover for capitalist, chauvinist Israel, in a period of radicalization. Their "radicalism" is very easily exposed to the radicalized youth. On the other hand, that same facade of radicalism doesn't endear them to the bourgeois Zionists either, from whom they often want support and money.

For example, one "left" Zionist whom I debated, a man named Jonathan Brandow, would get laughed at when he would make a number of points, especially when he argued that Arabs were excluded from the Hisdadrut, the labor federation in Israel, because the Zionists didn't want to have Jews exploit Arab labor. He could not understand why people were laughing at that!

In Portland, I debated a woman who was a former member of the Hashomer Hatzair, the left-Zionist youth group that I once belonged to. (Everyone has an original sin: I used to be a Zionist.) She left because it was too left, she said. But she got in trouble after a long discussion when she finally wound up with the slogan that the Zionists had a right to Israel because God helps those who help themselves. All I had to do in reply was to shake my head.

In Berkeley, where the Organization of Arab Students cosponsored my talk with the YSA at the University of California, they had wanted to arrange a debate. They tried and tried and went from religious groups to secular groups, back and forth, to find someone to debate. Finally, on the last day, the day of the debate itself, the OAS (Organization of Arab Students) placed an ad in the *Daily Cal*, the student paper: "Wanted: Zionist to debate Peter Buch." I liked that ad. I don't know if I cut it out, I should have. But there were no takers.

All of this indicates some of the changing attitudes on the Mideast. The Zionists are no longer as self-assured as they once were.

As an example of the various levels of consciousness among the students that I encountered on the tour let me tell you about the University of Dayton. Two or three comrades from nearby Antioch who had just been driving around, on a lark, went to see the student body president. "Hey listen," they asked. "How about having a meeting for Peter Buch who is coming through?" "Fine, how much do you want?" The comrades ventured \$100. "\$100? All right." And that was that. It's a Catholic university and this is the poster they put out advertising my appearance on campus. For those of you who can't see it, this is all it says: "Peter Buch speaking Tuesday 12:30 in the ballroom." To make sure that everyone knew what the topic was and the nature of the speaker, they had one other indication, the star of David with the hammer and sickle in the middle of it! But it was a very friendly audience.

In Minneapolis the tour was very worthwhile. I won't talk about the teach-ins and the meetings I had there, but I want to pick out this highlight. Some local comrades had been working with the Arab students who had helped to build the main teach-in. We had joint discussions with the Arab students we were working with, in connection with setting up a regular study class that would deal with the problems of the Palestinian and colonial

liberation. It was to be held under the auspices of the Arab students and other Third World students who desired to be involved. It would cover fundamentals of socialist thought, including the ideas of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Malcolm X, the writings of Castro, and so on. Some of the books that were to be included as texts were: *Left Wing Communism*, *State and Revolution*, *The Transitional Program*, *The Catastrophe in Indonesia*, various speeches and writings by Castro, Guevara and Ben Barka. (Ben Barka was the Moroccan revolutionary who was also coming very clearly, in his last writings, to understand that the movement for national liberation had to be a socialist and working-class movement. His was a book published by Cuba, under the title, *The Political Thought of Ben Barka*.)

Now similar projects like this are being considered in other cities and maybe some of the comrades can report on how those have gone. I don't know how many sessions they had in Minneapolis, but I am told they had several and they seemed successful.

Now a word about our opponents: I would run across ultraleft sectarians like the Wohlforthites and the Spartacists, and they would usually attack me for our party's supposed "uncritical" and "unconditional" support to Fatah, instead of singling out organizations like the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, for example, which announces that it believes in Marxism-Leninism.

The "left" Zionists would use similar demagogy too, as if they were actually in favor of the Palestinian revolution, only very critical of the *program* of the revolution. They wanted to be very certain that the Palestinians were "Marxist-Leninist," and would attack us for not being genuine Marxists, because we supported all groups in the Palestinian resistance vis-a-vis Israel.

The Stalinists have set up a front committee, called the Committee for a Just Peace in the Middle East. They support the UN resolution. They defend the existence of Israel and the present (pre-1967) borders, once Israel gives back the occupied territories. They see the Palestinians as refugees, not as a revolutionary nationality.

The social democrats have set up their little committee, The Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East, which is simply in business to defend their fellow social-chauvinists now ruling Israel.

YAWF (Youth Against War and Fascism) has set up its front committee, a group called the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation. They have made an impact on some Arab activists and some of the officials of Arab organizations by their constant activism and demonstrations. They put out a newsletter which covers the Palestinian struggles. However, because of YAWF's sectarian positions and the way they run this committee, it is incapable of, and unwilling to build, any broad movement in support of Palestine. Their line is that the antiwar movement is being hypocritical for not supporting Palestine, and that the SWP and the YSA was a conservative force for blocking such a decision in the National Mobilization Committee and NPAC.

In May, I was invited to go to Algeria for a one-week conference there. The invitation grew out of the role that I played in the tour and it was an indication of the high esteem in which the Arabs hold our movement to invite a representative of our movement there—it indicated our standing with them. Other people who were also invited, however, included Rita Freed of YAWF, as well as a Brook-

lyn College professor, and Courtland Cox, a former SNCC leader who's now in Washington, D. C. In Algeria, Rita Freed attacked me and the SWP, and then wrote an article which was published in *Free Palestine*, which I will answer, in which she raised the YAWF criticisms. That is, that we kept the antiwar movement from taking a position in support of Palestine.

To conclude, in regard to Palestine defense work: first of all, the key to it is the united-front tactic. That is, you can build coalitions or united fronts for the defense of the Palestinian revolution, composed of those who are prepared to take measures to do that, whether it's a demonstration at an appropriate time, or teach-ins, or various educational activities. Secondly, there is the defense of Arab student rights on the campus, which could include many others who may not agree with the Palestinians, but who may want to defend their rights against Zionist hooligans and JDLeers to set up their pro-Palestinian literature tables and carry out other activities. I spoke to many Arab students who indicated that they were fearful of setting up tables because of threats. It's our job to stand in the forefront and to put it to any progressive student activists or leaders: how do they stand on this question—the rights of guests in our country from the Third World to have their views known. Also we can build united front coalitions and actions around the demand "No U. S. troops to the Middle East!" when that's appropriate, as it was in September 1970. The form that such coalitions would take at this time is probably through ad-hoc committees to which we'd invite all those who want to work.

Our job is to support, and to make it clear that we support, the entire movement—the whole Palestinian liberation struggle. We must be careful not to get caught up in any factional disputes that inevitably spring up among the various groupings within the Palestinian movement as they try to figure out, and discuss among themselves and before the world revolutionary movement, what their course of action is to be. We have to be very careful and sensitive to that. We can set an example for the entire movement in terms of building such united front actions, building the movements for defense of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Finally, it is possible today to win to the ideas of our movement, both locally and in terms of the world Trotskyist movement, many individual Arab people and sympathizers of our movement who are in this country now. This would be a tremendous gain for the continuing struggle for Palestinian liberation.

Eloise Linger, Washington, D. C.

About a year ago at our educational conference, we had just undergone some very successful Palestine Solidarity Week work around the campuses in Washington, especially around George Washington University. At that time, we were in the process of establishing closer contact with the people in the Organization of Arab Students at GW who were then beginning to find an organizational center around Palestine House. I'd like to bring comrades up to date, and explain something about Palestine House, because I don't think this phenomenon exists anywhere else so far.

I understand that comrades in some areas have certain difficulties working with all Arab students, especially on campuses where there are factional or political differences.

Luckily for us in facilitating our work Palestine House, right from the beginning, was very consciously organized as a "cultural center" which would be established for the purpose of disseminating information about the Arab revolution and about Palestine in particular. All political tendencies would have the opportunity to channel the information through Palestine House to both Arab students and American supporters. They consciously set out to have an executive committee which would be representative of various political tendencies and various sectors of the Arab community in Washington, including the student community and the older adult community, which is fairly sizable in the Washington area.

It has no political program, except "Free Palestine." That is, it's a place existing simply for the dissemination of information about the Palestinian revolution. Right from the very beginning, we supported this idea of a center. We said yes, we'd do as much as we could. We didn't take organizational responsibility for Palestine House or its activities. We tried to send our comrades there to get information. They had a regular weekly lecture series and we assigned certain comrades to attend that lecture series to try to sell our literature, to try to establish contact and to follow the events and to educate ourselves as much as possible on the history of the Palestine struggle and to try to win as many Arab students, or radicalizing Palestinians and other Arabs, to our ideas.

Last year, the Palestine Solidarity Week was a very large phenomenon around GW. Once Palestine House was established, it had a certain weakness, and I think it hasn't been compensated for yet. This was that, once all the organization was taken off the campus and into Palestine House, there were only shells of OAS (Organization of Arab Students) chapters on the campuses. This, along with a sort of general decline in attention to the Palestinian revolution among the American student movement, meant that there wasn't too much that was happening on the campus, although during last summer and in the early fall there was heightened interest, among the ultralefts, at any rate, and ourselves. For some time there was the idea floating around that what we needed to do to connect Palestine House with the student community was to have some sort of anti-imperialist coalition set up. I believe that this idea happened to originate with Rita Freed and some of the YAWF people. The idea was being put forth that we should have some sort of anti-imperialist coalition which would take up the question of Palestine, Vietnam, Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, and so forth and so on. We felt that the best thing would be more of a single-issue coalition around the question of Palestine. We finally got the ultralefts to agree that this would be a good thing, and there was one teach-in held and a couple of OAS chapters did have activities on their campuses (film showings and so forth) over the year. But by and large there had been a decline from the previous year in work done on the campus—something that I think will be corrected this fall now that Palestine House has been established for a year. It has a weekly forum series on Sunday and has other activities aimed at drawing in the community. Out of Palestine House there will probably be more of an effort getting back to having campus meetings and other activities this fall.

After the success of Palestine House, there has also been an Iran House now set up about a block away. Their two headquarters and our headquarters are all

about a block from each other and there is a sort of collaboration, or a working relationship of sorts, between the two organizations and the YSA and the SWP, which is expressed in social activities like joint picnics a couple of times a year. Whenever there's a demonstration called by one, the others try to mobilize their members for it, and so forth.

This summer, we have been able to intervene politically more among the people who function out of Palestine House in terms of some seminar discussion groups which were set up for the summer months. Previously at GW there had been seminar groups in the early part of the year, there had been study groups on various Marxist topics, on Zionism, etc. We were not involved in this at first, but at the beginning of the summer it was decided to have some kind of a real educational discussion group. This was to be on Wednesday nights, and two or three people were to prepare seminar-type discussions by reading books or pamphlets and giving reports. We were invited in from the very beginning, planning for these topics. We have been participating regularly every week and I'd like to just give you an idea of some of the topics. I don't remember all of them, but some of them were: Minorities in the Arab World; Urban Guerrilla Warfare; Women's Oppression, taking up both the general historical causes and the particular oppression of Arab women.

I feel that there is a very serious attitude among the Arab students and the radicalizing Palestinians that we know in Washington on the question of women's oppression and women's liberation. It's not simply laughed at, and people are beginning to study. Most importantly, Arab women are beginning to speak in the discussions and give reports. For the first time that I've seen, there were Arab women speaking in Washington, one at the women's liberation conference and another woman who is in Washington, who was speaking in defense of the Palestinian revolution.

Some of the other topics were: Towards the Revolutionary Party, the reading for which was "What Is To Be Done"; Ideologies in the Arab World; The Dynamics of World Revolution. As I said, we are participating in those classes and trying to win people to our ideas.

At first we had a certain advantage in our Palestine defense work in that the OAS came to the SMC in Washington to try to get it to endorse the Palestinian revolution. Through that some comrades active in SMC began to have discussions, but I must admit that there was a certain amount of suspicion which had to be overcome in the course of doing defense work. You can't hold up a piece of paper and say "See, we support the Palestinian revolution and here we are." It has to be carried out in concrete work where people see that you actually support, you go out and help build, organizing teach-ins and so forth. We had to overcome the suspicion that we wanted to interject our program in place of defending the Palestinian revolution, or that we would accept only that section of the movement which seemed closest to our ideas.

The actual course of events in the past year has seen a tremendous politicalization among the people we've worked with, people who half a year ago were saying things like, "Well, who needs to even talk about Marxism or Leninism, all I want to do is get my home back." Those very same people, just a month ago, were changing their minds and beginning to rethink many questions and beginning to do some reading and questioning. It's

not simply on the question of Marxism or socialism or just theoretical questions. Most of what I've seen, especially in the last two or three months, is a growing interest in the question of what is the relationship of the nationalist question to the Leninist party. What is the permanent revolution? How do we build a Leninist party? What is it? What is its role? This occurs on the level of organizational questions. How is this organized? How is this done? This shows a really serious attitude on the part of people who a year ago were saying that these questions were irrelevant and all that you had to do was effectively, militarily, organize the armed struggle.

Russell Block, Seattle

I want to talk about practical work that we've done in defense of the Arab revolution in the last year in Seattle. Our work has been centered around the Organization of Arab Students at the University of Washington, the major university in Seattle. That's where most of the foreign students are, and most of the Arab students. There is a Catholic university, but there are very few foreign students attending, and it tends to be very conservative. There are also a number of community colleges. There's also a fairly sizable Arab community in Seattle, but the relations between the Arab activist students and the community are somewhat strained, and this has caused us some problems.

About a year and a half ago there was a split in the OAS between the more radical and the more conservative elements with the conservative elements supported by the community. What resulted out of that was that some of the more conservative students formed a Muslim student organization, and a large number of the Arab students lapsed into inactivity. Now, in some places there are difficulties with faction fights in the OAS. But one of the problems we have is that there are no such difficulties, that the organization is dominated by three students who are sort of the gurus. There's no internal life, and it's very difficult to involve other Arab students. This is not a problem that we've been able to overcome in working with them, but that's one of the things that we want to try to do next year—to encourage other Arab students to become involved.

The students who do dominate this group pretend to be very Maoist and ultraleft, but from working with them we've found a very interesting thing. Sitting over coffee in the cafeteria, they will tend to be very ultraleft in their ideas, and especially in their formulations. But when it comes time to organize something, like a demonstration or a teach-in, they change radically and come around very well to good formulations, solid formulations, and we've been able to work with them on that level of activities. They make a real distinction between a coffee-klatzsch discussion and when they want to organize something. They do take a very serious attitude toward their work.

I want to say something about the organization of our fraction. The fraction varies in size. There's always at least one person, and sometimes as many as three. We have a Middle East director who's in charge of the work, does contact work with the Arab students, keeps an eye on what's going on. We recently expanded the post to one of Middle East and foreign student director because we've had some opportunities to make contacts with other foreign students through our Middle East work. The Mid-

dle East and foreign student director meets with the Third World director. It will become clear later why we do that. Then we usually involve one other comrade with some experience in that field when there is a meeting or something that we have to go to. With three people, we can usually handle the situation fairly well.

One thing that we've found in the fraction is that in working with Arab students who are extremely political, you have to be up on what's going on in the world. It's necessary to read *IP*. As a matter of fact, we used to use that sometimes in coalition meetings with the ultralefts. The attitude of the ultralefts towards the Arab revolution can be typified by one incident: when we had a demonstration around the Jordanian civil war, we had a number of speakers and this one Weatherwoman got up to speak. She said that she didn't really know very much about the Palestinian liberation movement, but she was "willing to do some spray-painting on the subject." So we sometimes make it clear to them that they don't know what they're talking about. This keeps them in line within the coalition.

In terms of our on-going work, we have frequent forums, especially around new developments. If there's any big newsworthy event that we think we can attract some people around, we will hold a forum. Either we will ask one of the Arab students we work with to speak, or a comrade, or a combination of the two. We also worked this into our election campaign. We had one of our candidates talking about why Jews should support the Palestinian revolution. And we had the national tour [Buch]. So we do that kind of on-going work.

When we have demonstrations or teach-ins, we work through a coalition which is called the Palestine Support Coalition. In the fall, when there was considerable interest over the civil war, it was rather large. The SWP and the YSA were involved, the Radical Union, such as it is, and YAWF. I.S. came around but didn't stay. We were also able to involve the Black Student Union, which was quite a breakthrough. In the spring, after things had quieted down, the coalition which put together the spring teach-in was very much smaller. It was only ourselves, the Arab students and Iranian students. IS did not become involved. YAWF was involved, but in a very minor way.

On the demonstrations that we organized: first was the one around the Jordanian civil war. We were able to get out about 300 people in about three days' notice, mostly from the campus. We were able to convince the SMC to adopt the perspective of no U.S. troops to the Middle East and mobilize a number of SMCers for that demonstration. We held a rally in front of the Federal Court House and marched through the city on the sidewalk with posters, handing out leaflets to the passers-by, and got a fairly good response. We also got very good press coverage for that demonstration.

Over Thanksgiving weekend there was another demonstration. This concerned a testimonial dinner for Senator Henry Jackson, who had done some "marvelous" work in selling Israeli war bonds. We seized upon this as an excellent opportunity to make the connection between Henry Jackson, who's known throughout the country and especially in Washington, as "Mr. Hawk" on the question of Vietnam. We were able to hold a fairly large demonstration, getting some people to come out from the community, in the cold. We were able to leaflet and get

some press coverage. We built it around the slogan "No Troops to the Middle East!" It was very important to do that. The dinner was to raise money for Israel, and there are some people who think that by giving Israel money, the U.S. won't have to send troops. What we tried to make clear in the leaflet that we put out was that this was only the first step. We developed the slogan "Palestine 1970 is Vietnam 1954." We made that very clear, that this was only the first step in the involvement, and it was a good way to relate the antiwar consciousness to the threat that was developing in the Middle East. We could quote the incidents from the period of the Jordanian civil war when Nixon mobilized troops, and so on.

The third demonstration was around Israeli Independence Day. We pursued a policy of giving the Zionists no rest. They do not show their faces on campus, they don't hold meetings, anything, without being picketed, without being leafleted. They announced this Israeli Independence Day cultural celebration. We announced a demonstration. It appeared in the student newspaper, very symbolically put. There was an article in two columns announcing their celebration and in between it, surrounded by a wavy black line, was the announcement of our demonstration. During that demonstration, somebody phoned in a bomb threat. They accused us of doing it but it just gave us a chance to get into the paper again and we defended ourselves quite well.

Just a few general remarks about building such a coalition. In doing press work, which is extremely important, it's important to take an aggressive attitude. The press is very interested. When Peter was in town, for instance, we had a press conference for Peter and Abdeen Jabara, who was speaking at the teach-in and for Hani Faris, who came down from Canada to speak at the teach-in. The press stayed for an hour (and I've never seen them do this in Seattle) and just asked questions because they were really interested. They were really pumping for information and they were really very sympathetic. We got excellent coverage in the papers—pictures and everything. So you have to take a very aggressive attitude.

It's very important to have Arab representatives for the Palestine Support Coalition. We would try to find somebody who had a resident, immigrant visa or somebody that was a citizen. That is, somebody who was not touchable by immigration to do the public speaking to the press for the Arab students. Later, when we introduced the whole issue of anti-Zionist Jews into our propaganda work, we would also have an American representative who was Jewish and anti-Zionist. That made it a little easier.

In general, the issues that we worked our propaganda around were facts about Palestine. People don't know the history of Palestine. What they know about it is an extremely distorted Zionist version. So we would come up with key facts about what had happened, about how the Arab people were driven off their land. We would also expose the police state conditions of Palestine—we'd make those clear. The second point that we would always want to make is that of no U.S. intervention. We would make this comparison with Vietnam 1954 and Palestine now.

Then in the teach-ins and places where we could do more in-depth propaganda, we would add the theme that not all Jews were Zionists. In fact, we made this a major

part of the spring teach-in. We got Peter to come out for the spring teach-in and we challenged the Zionists to a debate. We did it in a different way. The Zionists like to think of themselves as being calm and rational while the supporters of the Arab revolution are excitable and unreasonable. So we challenged them to debate on the subject of whether Zionism was a national liberation movement. First they accepted, then they used this bombing incident to back out. So we put out publicity on it, saying "Peter Buch speaking on 'Is Zionism a National Liberation Movement?'" originally scheduled as a debate." This prompted them to write a letter to the student newspaper in which they explained that they didn't like debates, because they only liked to engage in activities that produced consensus. We wrote a very effective reply to that in which we accused them of emotionalism and said that we weren't at all unreasonable or emotional. We could understand how they might be emotional because, while Arab commandos had ripped off two or three airplanes, they'd ripped off a whole country and they had good reason to be upset about it. So we would use this kind of challenge.

For this spring teach-in, we got articles in the city newspapers. We also got four articles in the University of Washington paper. We had a front-page article with a picture of Abdeen Jabara. We had coverage on Peter's talk. We had a long article on why Zionism was not a national liberation movement signed by anti-Zionist Jews who are also in the YSA and the SWP. And the reply to the Zionists on their refusal to debate. It just so happened that that particular issue also had an article about a women's forum we held on campus that day and, with the advertising that must necessarily go into the paper, we pretty well filled it up.

The other thing that we were able to do in this teach-in was to involve the whole issue of women's liberation. We had a certain amount of difficulty in overcoming reluctance on the part of the Arab male students that we worked with, but we were able to convince them to include a panel of two women. One was a Palestinian woman who had been there during an Israeli invasion and she was able to talk about that. And we also had another speaker on just the role of women in Arab society. What we're looking forward to is involving other Third World groups. The Iranians became involved. We would like to try to involve both the Arabs and other foreign groups in the antiwar movement this fall. We also hope, as a result of involving foreign students in action and proving our politics to them in action, to be able to win some of them to Trotskyism.

Berta Langston, Brooklyn

The comrades who attended the conference here last year may have heard the report I gave on the Arie Bober tour to the Mid East panel or read the more detailed assessment of the Bober tour in the Party Builder. I just want to briefly summarize what we felt were the main accomplishments of that tour and then very briefly describe one of the less happy consequences.

The tour took place in the spring of 1970, just about at the beginning of the change of attitude on Israel among the mass of radicalizing students. The tour contributed not a little to that growing support for the Palestinian revolution. It was a very effective tour indeed. Bober

addressed many large audiences around the country in the three and a half months he was on tour. He debated left Zionists whenever it was possible to arrange such a confrontation, which was very seldom indeed. He spoke on national television, on numerous local TV and radio shows and received a really substantial amount of press coverage. His very eloquent talk, his exposure and indictment of Zionism and Israeli policy helped us make initial contact with a number of Arab student groups and help solidarize the contacts we had with those we had been working with for some time. The Arab groups, as a matter of fact, were our chief aid in helping to publicize and build his meetings. His meetings also helped transform many young Jewish radicals into confirmed anti-Zionists and even in a few cases, convinced some Israelis who were in the audience. The tour had such an impact that it evoked a rash of articles in major publications like *Commentary* and *The New York Times*, decrying the spread of anti-Israel sentiment, especially among young Jews. While Bober was here, as a matter of fact, the Knesset committee considered a bill which would revoke the citizenship of Israelis who "slandered the state abroad."

The Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, which sponsored Bober's tour, was formed with our help and had a rather illustrious list of sponsors headed by Noam Chomsky. It was a more or less ad-hoc committee, formed specifically to sponsor Bober's tour, but was left open so that other actions could be undertaken if all the sponsors approved such actions. At the conclusion of the tour, which coincided with the beginning of the civil war in Jordan, we decided that the committee had served its purpose and that what was required was a committee, or committees, which could conduct activities which were more directly in support of the Palestinian revolution than it was possible for CONAME. But unfortunately a number of sponsors were eager to use this now-established committee to propagate some more acceptable, less "extreme," views than Bober's. We suggested at first that they change the name of the committee. They refused to do this. This is precisely what they wanted to do, to use the reputation of the committee in order to bring to the audiences that Bober had spoken to, these more moderate views. We opposed this, but since we had decided to withdraw from the committee, we were in no position to fight this perspective.

As secretary of CONAME, I sent out a letter to all the sponsors and supporters of the committee indicating that I dissociated myself from the committee and indicated that the old CONAME was no longer in existence and that the new CONAME was different, sharing some of the same sponsors, but with a completely and fundamentally different character. I pointed out that the new Committee on New Alternatives planned to engage in a wide variety of activities of an undefined character and stated that I could not associate with a committee that was not unambiguously anti-Zionist. As a result of the letter, the new CONAME was unable to get any significant Arab support, something that this new group was very anxious to have.

Alan Solomonow, who had been on the executive board of the Jewish Peace Fellowship, agreed to serve as the secretary of the new CONAME. They were able to get most of the major liberal and pacifist peace groups like SANE, to endorse the work and contribute substantially to the committee. They were also able to get a number of foundations, and still do, to contribute, again quite

handsomely. They're also now in the process of getting tax-exempt status. If that's not sufficient to describe what the new CONAME is, I'd like to read from their statement of aims: "We are committed to seek out reconciliation, peace and justice in the Middle East. We firmly believe that we cannot wait for peace, that we must work now unceasingly to make possible a peace that will resolve the conflicting national aspirations of all parties concerned. We will encourage creative approaches to conciliation in the Middle East through speakers and literature seeking that end. We will not undertake to make dogmatic judgments, nor to present one-sided answers to the complicated and often contradictory questions posed in the Middle East."

Dave Frankel, YSA National Office

I'd just like to review and summarize what we want to do and the type of attitude we want to take in this work. Since the June war, our movement has been involved in a variety of activities on the Middle East. This has included speakers, forums, tours, heavy emphasis on this question in our election campaigns, the organization of teach-ins, widespread literature sales, classes, demonstrations like those that Russell described, and the organization of Palestinian contingents in antiwar demonstrations, at least in L. A. in May 1970, and in Washington on April 24. We want to continue this activity in as active and consistent a manner as is possible. At the same time, we should be clear that we do not see, at this point, the development of any mass movement around the Middle East comparable to the antiwar movement, and we wouldn't expect that short of the commitment on a similar scale of American troops, or at least a commitment of some troops.

The other side of it is the work that we do in the radical movement, on the campus, in the mass movements that we're involved in, in publicizing the truth about the Middle East and explaining the facts about the situation there, has an extremely good effect on the radicalization of political people in this country—in terms of their attitudes, their thinking, and in terms of the possibility of organizing and building widespread opposition to any American involvement in the Middle East at any future date. It also helps to enhance the influence of Trotskyist ideas among Arab students and among the Middle Eastern movement as a whole.

We want to carry out these activities primarily through ad-hoc formations, that is, committees formed to carry out a specific activity, such as a teach-in, bringing a speaker or series of speakers onto the campus, or a demonstration. Exceptions to this are possible, of course, but we should make exceptions very carefully. We should not plan to take on a tremendous degree of organizational responsibility in long-term on-going organizations unless there is a basis for them. On anything we get involved in with Arab students, any types of formations on an ad-hoc basis or any more ambitious projects, we want to make sure that we have discussions and agreement with the Arab students who are the activists in the local areas and who are participating in this work in local areas. It would be a mistake to take on projects around the Arab revolution when there is disagreement or widespread opposition among the Arab students in local areas.

Finally, we want to make sure that these ad-hoc forma-

tions do not become factional battle grounds for the different perspectives on the Middle East, something which is a dead end as far as we're concerned; nor do we want to get involved in the factional differences between supporters of different guerrilla organizations among the Arab students in this country. We want to avoid that, and we also want to make clear to them why we do that.

The basic thing to keep in mind is that our activity in these groups has to be outwardly directed. We have to keep in mind our objectives. The slogans we raise, the literature and explanations that we put out are not governed by the degree of agreement that we can get within small ad-hoc united-front-type committees. They are governed by the type of explanation which is appropriate to reach the American people. Just as we do not need to discuss the question of Lenin's imperialism in antiwar leaflets on the Vietnam war, we don't want to get into that type of thing in leaflets around the Middle East. We should be clear on the explanations and

slogans. They should be on a level of the democratic rights of the Palestinian people, on the undemocratic and racist character of Zionism, and on the points that Russell made in his presentation, on the character of the Middle East as another Vietnam.

Our entire political program should be discussed with Arab students, particularly the question of the need for a revolutionary party to lead struggles to victory, and the whole question of involving the masses in the struggle. In that regard, the discussion that our own movement is having around guerrilla warfare in Latin America is something that is important and that comrades should keep in mind and read the literature on. We want to win over these students to the ideas of Trotskyism.

Finally, the report on international student work, which was given to the YSA plenum in the beginning of July, is being reprinted and will be available shortly. Comrades should make a point of getting a hold of that and reviewing the material in it.

LITERATURE WORKSHOPS

1971 SWP National Convention

[introductory note: Two literature workshops were held at the convention, one for Pathfinder sales representatives and the other for bookstore directors. They appear together in this bulletin, with remarks edited to eliminate as much duplication as possible.]

[Note: The following report by Marta Reinhart was given at the workshop for Pathfinder sales representatives.]

Marta Reinhart

I want to begin by reading some recent reviews that Pathfinder has gotten for its books. First is a review of George Novack's *Democracy and Revolution* in *Library Journal*, which is one of the two key journals read by librarians and used for the selection of books for the library. It begins, "In this eminently readable book, the author has made a valuable contribution to the study of the evolution of democracy." It goes on to give a run-down of the book itself and concludes by saying, "as a whole, the book offers valuable insights on the subject of democracy and socialism. It should be especially attractive to young students of Marxism."

The second is a more recent review, obtained in July, of *Towards an American Socialist Revolution*. This is a quote from near the end of that review: "The authors of this book are Marxists, revolutionary socialists active in the Socialist Workers Party, but their statements are lucid and forthright, refreshingly unlike the rhetoric of the Old Left, with its tedious harangues and cliches. These are revolutionaries who offer specific constructive suggestions for building a new political party that could turn the country around." That was published in *Publishers' Weekly*, which is a major journal in the book trade. It is read by book buyers for stores, by librarians and professors.

These reviews are just two indications of how the deepening radicalization is opening new doors to Pathfinder Press and to Trotskyist ideas as a whole. The potential market for Trotskyist books has increased from one of relatively tiny enclaves of radicals in the 1950s and early '60s to tens of thousands of potential readers. As the Pathfinder report in the kit you have received shows, Pathfinder's growth has been most impressive over the last period. The total dollar sales in 1970 of Pathfinder titles increased 88 percent over the 1969 sales. Pathfinder sold about 300,000 books and pamphlets in 1970, which is nearly double that of 1969. 1971 does not show quite as dramatic an increase over last year, but it does indicate a steady increase over the first six months of 1970.

Another indication of Pathfinder's growth is the quantity and quality of the promotional leaflets which it has been putting out. Several of the most recent ones are included in your kit. The first flyer was put out in June 1969; many of you might remember it, it was an eight-and-a-half by eleven size leaflet and it had pictures of all the Black pamphlets and books on it. During 1970 and the first six months of 1971, Pathfinder has increased the number of leaflets and the professionalism of the leaflets. In South Hall there is a scrapbook of reviews and another scrapbook of all the flyers that have been put out.

There are also charts of the monthly sales since 1965 and another chart of the new titles that have been put out since 1929, first by Pioneer, then by Merit, and now by Pathfinder.

This growth of Pathfinder is also indicated by the increased staff of Pathfinder in New York. Over the last year Pathfinder has added additional people to virtually every department: the business department, the book-keeping department, the packing department, the promotional, the editorial and the sales departments.

Because the radicalization is very deep, professors are eager to examine Pathfinder books for possible use in their classes. Surprisingly many professors already use these books considering the very limited number of person-to-person interviews which were held with professors prior to the last six months. The kit you have also gives the list of the titles that have been adopted during this period.

Now of course, Pathfinder's titles are not best sellers in the same sense as Soledad Brothers, Abby Hoffman, and many of the women's liberation titles. They are not generally sold in the tens and hundreds of thousands because Pathfinder is a small, still relatively little-known publishing house, handling exclusively quality paperbacks and pamphlets. The big mass market houses such as Bantam and Dell publish hundreds of thousands and even millions of copies of a single book. These are distributed nationally through dealers and companies which service not only bookstores, but also drugstores, airports, newsstands, etc. In addition, these big companies buy full-page space ads in the mass circulation magazines and newspapers like *The New York Times*, and they are able to get reviews of their books in influential publications, as well as television spots and all kinds of publicity which Pathfinder does not receive. Pathfinder produces quality paperbacks with rather specialized content in rather small press runs. But a very high percentage of the titles get reviewed in the types of journals which I quoted from earlier, and Pathfinder is producing really excellent promotional materials. Pathfinder's budget is very small even compared to other small houses like university presses. It is unable to buy the large ads that other companies do. And it doesn't take review editors out to lunch and dinner, which is standard practice in the book trade.

What Pathfinder does have, however, which is unique for a publishing house, and which can and will prove to be decisive in this period, is a potential sales force consisting of YSAers and SWPers across the entire country. This is a potential sales force that exists in all the major large cities—which are the major book-selling cities—and in the largest college towns. The goal of the SWP and YSA is to utilize this potential to its fullest possibilities. We want to consolidate a sales force consisting of one or more representatives from every local and branch. The work of these sales reps is explained in detail in the "how-to" folders which are in your kits. If you need more of these, you can get them by writing to Pathfinder. One of the "how-to" folders is on campus work—that is, getting professors to "adopt" Pathfinder titles by putting them on the required reading list for students to buy. The college bookstore then orders large quantities of these books from Pathfinder. The other "how-to" folder

is on retail, wholesale and library sales. This information will also be further expanded on by other members of the panel.

What I want to do now is expand on one area of this work, the area which we want to devote special attention to this fall—the university and college campus. The potential in this area is obvious. Gathered together in one central location are thousands, sometimes tens of thousands of young radicalizing people—students questioning society and their role in it, students eager to read radical literature. Also gathered in the university community are professors who have to deal with these students. Most of these professors, both young and old, are attempting to make their courses appeal to the radical and radicalizing student body by assigning more relevant readings. It is to this campus community that we want to take Pathfinder books and pamphlets. Here we can sell a wide cross section of titles—best sellers such as *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* and *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, as well as titles like Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* and *Revolution Betrayed* which seem rather esoteric to some retailers. Both of these latter titles are fairly widely adopted, but are more difficult to place in retail bookstores in cities.

We also sell pamphlets to college bookstores. Pamphlets are more difficult to sell in retail bookstores because of their low profit margin and the difficulty bookstores have in displaying them in their racks. But on college campuses that problem is minimized.

Throughout the radicalization the main way we have tried to reach this market has been through the sale of Pathfinder titles at campus literature tables by the YSA; and the response has been excellent. It is easy to see that the classroom adoptions increase the number of students coming into contact with Pathfinder titles and reading them. The size of classroom adoptions varies very greatly. Sometimes there are five or ten students in a seminar-type class; sometimes there are five hundred or more in a freshman political science or English class.

The impact of Pathfinder titles being studied as course material by thousands of radicalizing students around the country can be immense and can play a significant role in the process of our ideas gaining hegemony on the campuses. Just as we want the YSA to be the major radical youth organization, just as we want *The Militant* to be the most widely read radical newspaper, we also want Pathfinder Press to become the publishing house on the left. This fall we want to greatly intensify our sales work on the campus in order to begin the process of getting our name out in this massive type of way. In your kits is the list of titles adopted in the last year and a half, which shows the possibilities in making dramatic gains if we approach this work systematically and vigorously.

There are many ways to do the work. Priscilla March and Jim Kendrick have written handbooks to explain the basic technique that their experiences have shown to be valuable. There are many more ways I am sure that Pathfinder reps are going to be thinking of as they get started on the work. One such technique can be used when Pathfinder authors come through campuses on speaking engagements. Boston, for instance, conducted a very successful tour for Myrna Lamb this winter. I hope the rest of the panelists can get into discussion of ideas like this.

Now, Pathfinder has set up a national desk to coordinate the sales work and will be in frequent contact with the sales representatives both by phone and by letters and various communications. It plans to publish a monthly sales newsletter which will contain important information on the new and out-of-print titles, and reviews obtained. This will also be a means of communication in which the reps from around the country send in their experiences so that it will be possible to generalize from the experiences of Pathfinder sales reps across the country. This type of newsletter should aid you in getting new ideas for your work. It will also help to keep the branch and local informed of Pathfinder work, and also aid the reps in preparing reports to their branches and locals.

Now I want to explain briefly a new method that Pathfinder has of keeping reps informed of sales in their areas, so that when you get these things in the mail you'll know what they are for. Pathfinder is beginning to send out a copy of the invoices for all orders to the Pathfinder reps. When you visit professors, and give a book to a professor to read over, you might not know for quite a long time if they actually sent an order. But when you get the invoices that are sent out, you'll get that information quickly. You'll also get information about bookstores that have ordered independently from you, so that you can do follow-up work on them.

Finally, I want to emphasize the importance of integrating Pathfinder work into the normal day-to-day work of the branch or local. I've tried to indicate in this report the political importance of Pathfinder sales to the branch and local. It's true that the rep works closer with the New York office of Pathfinder than many other comrades who are assigned to local work, but that makes it all the more important that the branch be kept informed and in close touch. Regular reports giving information about the national picture as well as the local developments in your area, such as what professors and bookstores have adopted titles, should be given periodically, perhaps once a month. [The other panelists in the workshop for Pathfinder sales representatives were Paul Boutelle, Jim Kendrick and Priscilla March. Their remarks dealt with techniques of Pathfinder sales to retailers, wholesalers and professors. Full information on these sales techniques can be obtained in the two handbooks for Pathfinder sales representatives: (1) "Pathfinder Campus Sales Work: A How-To Folder"; (2) "Pathfinder Retail, Wholesale, and Library Work: A How-To Folder." Both of these handbooks are available upon request from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.]

[Note: The following reports by Louise Armstrong, Julius Snipper, and Sara Gates were given at the workshop for bookstore directors. The remarks by the fourth panelist, Gus Horowitz, are omitted because they duplicate the report given by Marta Reinhart at the workshop for Pathfinder sales representatives.]

Louise Armstrong

Probably few of us had been operators of commercial firms prior to being assigned to direct Pathfinder literature sales in the branch or local. However, there is one important lesson that each of us has learned from the capitalists, and that is that the best salespeople are those who understand the value of the product which they are selling. And we have several distinct advantages over

commercial firms in this regard. First of all, we are handling products that are unique. Pathfinder publications are the best quality radical books and pamphlets which consistently deal with living mass movements and topical issues. Second, our salespeople are familiar with the content of Pathfinder literature, and they recognize the potential, both politically and financially, for selling these materials. Third, we have a clear political program that is elucidated through this literature, and we want to get that out to as many people as possible. Now with these sales tools we can determine how to coordinate our literature sales with our political expansion in the most effective way. We want each branch bookstore to become the radical book center of the area in which we are working. We need to begin viewing our literature operations in these terms, developing the reputation for being on the pulse of the mass movements and the political issues of the day. The increasing potentials for our literature sales in this period must be reflected in the organizational forms which will enhance and strengthen this work.

This means making literature sales an integral part of all branch and local activities, and more specifically this means having regular reports on branch and local bookstore work, special bookstore sales, advertising in local and campus press and other promotional campaigns. Literature sales should be a regular part of our intervention in conventions, forums, campus activities, special public meetings and educationals. The key to successful branch bookstore and YSA literature sales is the integration of the sales into all the activity of the branch and local. This means approaching literature sales in the same scientific and professional manner which characterizes all of our political activity. Julius and Sara will be discussing more fully this aspect of building up literature sales, but I want to cite one example of how this has been done.

At the Merit Bookstore in New York, every person who drops in during the day to browse through the bookshelves is asked how he or she found out about the bookstore. Recently one woman who came in was asked this question, and she replied that she had been looking through a bookstore in the West Village and had been told that if she was interested in women's liberation material, then the Merit Bookstore has the best material on that subject. That's precisely what we like to hear. Not only have we begun through this kind of thing to develop the reputation that we have that kind of comprehensive literature stock, but also the bookstore director in this case demonstrated a systematic way of finding out what methods of publicity were most effective in getting the bookstore known.

I'd like to discuss a few things about the financial side of the branch and local literature sales organization. One aspect of the expansion of Pathfinder sales, which was a clear indication of our organizational strengthening in this period, has been the increasing financial stability of the branch bookstores. Since the February plenum and Judy White's tour, the bookstores' debts to Pathfinder have decreased by over \$3,000. For those comrades who have copies of the report that was passed out at the February plenum, if you compare those figures on the branch bookstore debts with those on the sheets that were passed on in this kit, you'll see the tremendous decrease in bookstore debts.

This is due to the changing financial consciousness of the bookstore managers. Branches are beginning to

make regular monthly payments on their literature bills and are also beginning to order in a more systematic way. In the last year, the bookstore buyers have begun to order on a much more sophisticated level. They use much more sophisticated buying techniques. More and more of the branch bookstore and YSA literature agents are ordering in such a way as to obtain the maximum 45 percent discount on Pathfinder materials. Many of you are also learning how to order from wholesale distributors and other commercial publishing houses in order to branch out in new materials and those Marxist classics that Pathfinder does not publish.

This improved buying technique is exactly what we like to see. Pathfinder no longer has the space or the funds to invest in large quantities of non-Pathfinder publications. Pathfinder has an ambitious program for publishing all kinds of new materials of its own and has a limited amount of space and a limited amount of funds to invest in these non-Pathfinder items.

At one time in our history, the most expedient way for the branch bookstores to obtain a stock of other radical material was to order everything through Pathfinder. But all of us now have the resources to branch out and to begin to order from other commercial publishing houses and also to get a greater discount from them. As most bookstore and YSA literature agents know, Pathfinder can only give a 20 percent discount on non-Pathfinder material.

You've probably noticed the 50-percent-off specials on the literature table here at the convention. That represents part of the attempt to cut back on the overstock on these non-Pathfinder items that Pathfinder is beginning to eliminate. Pathfinder will continue to stock those Marxist classics which YSA literature agents need for the campus literature tables to maintain a well-rounded balance of Marxist literature. However, it will be cutting back on the number of different titles.

In his report, Julius will be explaining in detail how Pathfinder literature agents should order from non-Pathfinder distributors.

Another aspect of book buying from Pathfinder is standing orders. This is a form of advance book buying at a 40 percent discount. Comrades place a standing order for a regular number of books and pamphlets as they are published. There was a time when Pathfinder was able to send out standing orders as soon as a book or pamphlet came off the press. But now, because of the size of the business, it's necessary to wait and process standing orders about once or twice a month, by holding the books as they come off the press until there are three or four different titles to mail out. I think this has created some confusion as comrades, when they see advertisements in *The Militant* and in the *ISR*, expect these new publications to be sent immediately to the branch bookstores or to the YSA literature agents. So, while Pathfinder wants to expedite standing orders, it's really not economically feasible to mail out books immediately after they come off the press. It's far more feasible to wait until there are two or three different titles and go through this whole handling process then.

There are a couple other things I want to add about ordering from Pathfinder. One of them seems really obvious, but I will say it anyway. Comrades, Pathfinder would really appreciate it if you would type or neatly print out your orders when you send them into the business

office. Obviously, when it's difficult or impossible to read an order, some confusion occurs: you either receive the wrong book, the wrong number of books or else the order is returned for clarification. We would urge all of you to use the Pathfinder order form when you mail in book orders. That's why they were designed. Right now the catalogue is somewhat outdated, so each month Pathfinder mimeographs off a new list of things that have been printed since the publication of the 1970 catalogue. Business managers will be sent copies of these with each order, and you can use this as sort of an appendage to the order form that is already printed up, and that will help expedite the processing of your order. Pathfinder expects to be completing an updated catalogue soon and a new order form that will correspond with that.

YSA literature agents have been requesting a sample literature order for a campus literature table, and so you'll find in the kit that we have passed out today the new sample order copy for the YSA. This will be printed up in the *YS Organizer* sometime before the fall term begins. This sample order includes several pamphlets that have not been completed yet, but they are scheduled to be finished before the fall semester begins, and that's why they were included. We think that this is a really attractive sample order because it can amount to a well-balanced display of literature at a minimal investment for the local.

Julius Snipper

Comrades, this report is to deal with establishing a new bookstore and ordering from Pathfinder. The branch bookstore is an important area of branch work. Establishing a bookstore or attempting to turn a mediocre operation into a good operation is a big job. The branch should appoint a comrade as the bookstore director whose major assignment is to take care of the bookstore, somebody who does not have a major assignment in antiwar work or sales work, etc., but whose primary responsibility is the bookstore.

The bookstore director should make periodic reports to both the E.C. and the branch, or in the case of the YSA locals, to the YSA E.C. and the local. This is so the branch has an idea of what is going on in the bookstore and is able to add suggestions on anything that they feel needs to be corrected or added.

For the physical plan of a bookstore, it is suitable to set aside an area of the headquarters, preferably at the entrance of the headquarters, so that when anybody walks into the branch headquarters the first thing that they go into is the bookstore. Preferably the bookstore will be at the entrance to the forum hall, so that you have to go through the bookstore to go into the hall. Of course some branches have physical layouts where this is not possible. Branch bookstores which have the financial capability should build permanent shelves that include area for storage which will make a nice attractive display.

There are really basic items and forms that every bookstore needs to start a good operation. The bookstore needs a checking account to deposit the money and to pay the bills. This checking account should be separate from the branch account so that the finances of the bookstore do not get mixed up with the branch finances, with the money from one being used inadvertently by the other. The bookstore should be a separate financial institution which should be able to make it on its own, and even-

tually make a profit, which in turn can help to pay the rent and help put money into the branch treasury.

The branch bookstore will need a receipt book to record the receipt of all money. A cash box, an order book and other basic financial equipment is also needed in a larger branch. Louise already mentioned the use of the Pathfinder order form, but I've found in larger branches that an order book is useful, especially in ordering literature from many different publishing houses. These order books are easily available from any stationery store. In this way, when you place an order with a publisher, they see right away that they are dealing with an established business. Secondly, it gives you a copy which you can keep on file so that you know what you have ordered; this is important because quite often it takes three or four weeks to receive an order.

Inventory cards are also useful. A sample of inventory cards contains the author's name, title, etc.—the essential information. You have a card for each title. When you receive your books, you mark down the amount you received, and every month you take an inventory and mark down how many are left. In this way the bookstore director is able to gauge the sales in the coming period and make the adequate orders without becoming either understocked or overstocked.

Now on sales sheets: there are two kinds of sales sheets that we use in Atlanta. One is a consignment sheet. This is a sheet that is used on campuses and trailblazes. There are usually two copies made out, including the name of the individual who is going out, the places visited, the date, the titles, the prices, and the number of each title taken, so that when they come back from the sale, you can total up an adequate record for the bookstore director. In Atlanta we always have one copy of this record kept in the bookstore so that it cannot get lost or misplaced. At the same time, the bookstore director making an order is able to determine the books he needs by looking at the sheet and finding out how many books are out on consignment.

The other type of sales sheet is the daily sales sheet. It has the name of the book, its price, how many are sold, etc. I hope that Pathfinder will be able to send out samples of the daily sales report that we use in order to determine how many books are sold. Some branches prefer to put cards inside the books. When the book or pamphlet is sold, they take the card out and keep it in a box to keep track of their sales.

The last point I want to talk about on basic items and forms is the question of business licenses and tax permits. It is very important that every branch bookstore be sure to apply for whatever state and municipal tax licenses are required. This is a necessary measure to protect the bookstore, and even the branch headquarters as a whole, from harassment.

For example, there was an incident in Atlanta where SDSers were brought up on charges that they owed something like \$10,000 in taxes because they had not applied for the tax license.

Atlanta is a medium-sized bookstore. We stock about four to five hundred titles in the bookstore— all the Pathfinder titles and a wide variety of non-Pathfinder titles. Over a period of time, by watching the inventory cards, we can tell which pamphlets we have to order two or three of and which ones we have to order forty-five or fifty of.

Louise already described ordering from Pathfinder, so I want to go into ordering from other publishing houses. There are three publishing houses that most branches will want to order from. The first is International Publishers, which publishes most of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and various other books that are of interest. Another one is Monthly Review Press. It publishes quite a large number of books that are of general interest to the radicalizing students. There is a demand for the books they publish on the colonial revolution, economics, Marxism, etc. The third is the Moscow Editions, published in Russia, that are distributed by about four different distributors in this country. Two of them that I'm familiar with are Victor Kent in Washington, D. C., and Universal in New York. There is also Four Continents in New York and a distributor in Chicago.

I personally have some problems with Universal in New York—they aren't very good to deal with; Four Continents just never answered my letters. I have found Victor Kent in D. C. to be the best, even though they don't stock as much as the others. I have found that for basic Marxist-Leninist works these Russian Editions are much cheaper than the International editions. Even though the discount is 30 percent, it is much more advisable in my opinion to use the Moscow Edition. The only problem with the Moscow Edition is that the distributors are quite inconsistent in having the editions in stock.

The comrades should investigate different publishers and their catalogues. The best place to get a list of the different publishers is in *Books in Print*. *Books in Print* is a seven-volume catalogue which has all the catalogues of all the publishers in it. You can find it in the reference room of most libraries. It has the publishers' addresses in it. *Paperback Books in Print*, which most libraries have, has a list of publishers. *Publishers' Weekly* is the trade journal—the bible of the book trade. Every library has a copy.

Mimeograph a form letter saying, "Dear Friend: Please send us your catalogues and rate charts" and send it to the various publishers. A rate chart gives the publisher's discount schedule. All publishers have discount rates. You have to order a minimum of ten books to get a 40 percent discount from International, a minimum of five from Monthly Review, etc. The Russian books are usually 30 percent, and you have to order a minimum quantity from the distributors.

There are other publishers that publish good books, but I would advise being very careful about avoiding over ordering. You can pick up a catalogue of one of these publishers, see a lot of very attractive books in there, and end up ordering a lot more books than you can afford.

Another way to find out what books are available is by going to other bookstores. In most cities there is a large paperback bookstore that carries all the lines of all the publishing houses. When you see a book that is interesting, make a note of the title and the publisher. By following the reviews in *The Militant* and *ISR* you can find out about new books.

You have to apply for credit when you order books from publishers. You can usually order right off the bat from International and Monthly Review by using Pathfinder as a reference. Make a small order at first. Once you have established credit with them, it's just like credit

in society. Once you go out and buy a car or something and make a down payment, you can get credit with anybody. Book publishers run the same way. There are, however, a number that are more difficult, such as Random House and Grove Press.

The other source of non-Pathfinder books are book distributors. In quite a few cities there are book distributors that carry the complete lines of many publishers or the best selling titles. They usually give you between a 30 and a 38 percent discount. You can just walk into the distributors and pick the books you want and establish an account. All comrades in this area of work should look into this and see if getting books through distributors is better than having to order directly from the publishers.

There are also distributors that specialize in mass paperbacks, the little \$.95 to \$1.25 paperbacks you see in every drugstore. There is usually a distributor in every city that carries them. Just go into a bookstore and ask who their distributor is, or look in the phone book. Quite often these distributors don't carry the complete line. They usually give only a 20 percent discount, with returns. Usually it is cash on the barrel, no credit.

There are quite a few cities with distributors that carry popular hard-bound books, such as *Sexual Politics*. They usually give you one-third off, and you can just walk in and pick up what you want. Even though it doesn't give you as large a discount as you could get by ordering a minimum of ten books, let's say of *Sexual Politics*, from the publisher, you might only sell three of them and end up losing in the end. By going to the distributor, you will be able to make your money pay off and not spend a lot of capital.

In Atlanta we take inventory at the first of the month and use this as the basis for ordering. If it was an exceptionally heavy month of sales, we make a spot check on the fifteenth, using the Pathfinder order sheet and the International order sheet. This way we can make an additional order on the fifteenth if necessary. We found that it takes three to four weeks from the day you send in the order to the time when you get it in the bookstore.

Keeping strict financial records and having an idea of where your money is going and where it is coming from is a very important part of the bookstore. Your finances determine how many books you can order and how much money from the bookstore can be turned over to the party.

So avoid over ordering. A few branches have ended up in the position of having over ordered. They buy a case of books, say fifty copies of the *Age of Permanent Revolution*. They have a lot of capital tied up, and they can't pay their debts off. What they usually do is pay their debts to the outside publishers first and Pathfinder last, because they know that Pathfinder probably will not cut their credit off. By keeping the stock under control through careful ordering and good financial records, and by having good promotion of the bookstore, the bookstore can be successful both politically and financially for the branch.

All bookstores should set up regular hours that they are open. There are three ways to advertise the bookstores. The first is by putting a small ad once a month into the underground and campus press. It usually costs about ten or fifteen dollars. A lot of people look at these ads, and it brings in business. Secondly, you can make

up special leaflets advertising the bookstore and pass these out on literature tables and on demonstrations. And finally, every month *The Militant* runs an ad for the bookstores which I think costs three dollars a month. This is a way of bringing in additional customers.

Sara Gates

I'll continue where Julius ended, on how branch bookstores can become known as *the* radical bookstore in the area. I want to stress the fact that the functioning of the bookstore should be totally integrated into the life of the branch. The bookstore shouldn't be tucked away forgotten, in some corner, remembered only by the bookstore director who comes in every now and then to take an inventory. Julius pointed out that one of the ways that we can integrate the bookstore into the life of the branch is by giving regular reports to the EC and to the branch.

Forums also are an area of work which shouldn't be neglected. There is a great potential for selling our literature after each forum. Comrades should be urged during forum reports to use the bookstore in doing contact work after the forums. The bookstore director should display current pamphlets and books related to the subject of the forum in a prominent place. During the forum reports, the forum director should report the amount of literature sold after each of the forums. This is another way to inform the comrades in the branch how the bookstore is doing.

The integration of the bookstore into the branch is especially necessary with respect to consignments. We have found that consignments in New York are an excellent way to advertise the presence of the bookstore in the area. If it is at all possible, each fraction should have a literature agent who is aware of what activities are coming up that we should sell at. This person should meet with the branch bookstore director to work out the best selection of literature for a particular activity. This should be done in advance so that you are not faced, fifteen minutes before an antiwar activity on campus or a women's liberation meeting on campus, with trying to throw together some kind of consignment.

Bookstore directors should also be in consultation with the organizer of the branch to cover any activities that the fractions are not involved in, such as the Middle East teach-ins that were held in New York last fall. We've found in New York that the ability to sell our literature depends on the type of activity where we sell it. This sounds fairly elementary, but for a while we tried setting up regular consignments in Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village, an area where there are a lot of people. We were not successful, because people who came to Washington Square Park don't come for radical literature. They are not in a very radical frame of mind. We were far more successful when we set up consignments where we knew that radicalizing people would be gathered. Both the NPAC conference and the abortion conference in New York were obviously very good examples of the kind of activities that we are talking about. We were able to take in over \$850 on these two consignments. This does not happen regularly, but these two activities do illustrate the kinds of activities that we do want to look out for. They point out the necessity of integrating the bookstore into the day-to-day activity of the branch, of being in constant touch with fraction litera-

ture agents, and the organizer.

We found that it is very good to have a leaflet about the bookstore on the lit tables. This leaflet should tell the name and the location of the bookstore. It should point out the fact that the bookstore has the best materials available on women's liberation, Black liberation, the student and antiwar movements, as well as Marxism and socialism. This leaflet is helpful if a person comes up to the table and doesn't have money with him or her at the time. Just give her or him a leaflet and tell them to drop by the bookstore. If someone asks for a pamphlet or book that you don't have on the literature table but is in the bookstore, give that person a leaflet. In fact, it is a pretty good idea to give a leaflet to everybody who comes to the table.

These leaflets can also be used as publicity flyers. You can stuff them into the branch's bundle of *Militants* so that each time a *Militant* is sold, there is also an advertisement for the branch bookstore. Pasting them up on buildings around the area is one of the best and least expensive ways of getting the presence of the bookstore known.

You should see if you can get free or inexpensive ads in the campus papers. You can try to get ads in places like the student handbooks that list courses, places which a student would have to consult during registration. In New York paper bags cost a penny each, and if the branch bookstore can afford it, you can run off your publicity leaflets on the paper bags. When someone goes out with literature in the paper bags, they are advertising the presence of the bookstore, and then they throw the bag away and that also advertises the presence of the bookstore.

It is necessary to have a professional attitude about getting the word out on the bookstore, just as it is necessary to have a professional attitude on every aspect of managing the bookstore. In New York we try to ask each person who comes in how he or she found out about the bookstore. In New York one woman found out about the bookstore through a commercial bookstore. The clerk there said we were the best bookstore in the area for books on women's liberation. That experience gave me an idea which you can try out in your areas. You can ask someone on the bookstore committee to go around to local bookstores and talk to the clerks there to see if you can work out an agreement that if customers ask for books on the mass movements, they will send them to your bookstore. Pointing out that it certainly wouldn't be any competition if they didn't have the books there in the first place, that the kinds of books in the store that you are involved in are specialized.

You should also try to work with the Pathfinder sales representatives, the agents who try to get professors to adopt Pathfinder books in their classes. The Pathfinder representative should, if possible, inform the professor of the branch bookstore, where the students can get the book or pamphlet that has been adopted. Another way to inform professors that there is a radical bookstore in the neighborhood is just go into the buildings where professors have their offices and stick leaflets under the doors.

In New York we have lists of books that we carry by subject. For example, we have a list of the more than two hundred different titles on women's liberation with prices and instructions on mail orders. You could work up lists like these on women's liberation, Black liberation,

the Mid East, economics and any topic that you have a number of titles on. If it seems like it is a very small list, you can try annotating it, that is, giving a brief description of each pamphlet on the list so that it will look more presentable. You can take these lists and send them to professors with a covering letter explaining that this bookstore is the only place in the area that has the best selection of titles on subjects that students are really interested in, that it has the best books on the mass movements that students are involved in.

Finally, in order to get the reputation as the best radical bookstore in your area, you must *have* the best radical bookstore in your area. It is rather obvious, but it's necessary to constantly have the perspective of expanding the bookstore. Julius told how to order from the non-Pathfinder publishing houses. Every effort should be made to get the best titles that these publishing houses have on women's liberation, Black liberation, the Middle East, etc. You should definitely carry the classics of Marx and Lenin that are available from International and other publishing houses. Carry the periodicals that come out around the different mass movements, for example, in women's liberation we should carry *Off Our Backs*, *Women: Journal of Female Liberation*, and *Everywoman*. We can

write to the Trotskyists in other countries and carry their newspapers.

Pathfinder will be publishing books by non-Trotskyist authors, authors that we may not be in total agreement with. I think that we should take the same kind of attitude about the bookstores and the nature of the material that we carry in the bookstores. If a book is in the bookstore, it does not mean that we endorse every word and every idea that is in it.

Finally, I'm sure that through the course of the activities this week we have all come to realize with renewed force the key role our movement will be playing in the immediate future. The presidential campaign, the anti-war and abortion actions all offer us tremendous opportunities for expansion. Branch bookstores can and should play a significant role in these activities. The wealth of experience and the richness of ideas that we have is concentrated in the branch bookstores. As our activities expand, the reputation of our bookstores will also expand. We must strive to keep the level of functioning of the bookstores at an organized professional level which will continue to meet the educational demands of our developing cadre.

APPENDIX

TOP TEN PATHFINDER TITLES FROM JANUARY THROUGH JULY 1971

<u>Title</u>	<u>Total # Sold</u> <u>in 1971</u>
1. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	7,221
2. Problems of Women's Liberation	6,125*
3. Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	4,358
4. By Any Means Necessary	4,253*
5. The Mod Donna and Scyklon Z (1/71)	3,666*
6. Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music	3,528*
7. Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	2,519
8. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	2,458
9. Genocide Against the Indians	2,433
10. How to Make a Revolution in the U. S.	2,266

TOP TEN PATHFINDER TITLES IN 1970

<u>Title</u>	<u>Total # Sold in 1970</u>
1. By Any Means Necessary (2/70)	17,975*
2. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	12,100
3. Problems of Women's Liberation	10,500
4. How to Make a Revolution in the U. S.	8,100
5. Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	8,000
6. Pioneers of Women's Liberation	7,400
7. Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation	7,000
8. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	6,600
9. In Defense of the Women's Movement (4/70)	6,000
10. La Raza! (3/70)	6,000

* signifies that this figure includes both cloth and paper editions.

A comparison of the two years' totals to date gives a somewhat uneven picture of Pathfinder's sales as a larger proportion of sales in classroom adoptions occur in the fall months.

Women's Liberation and Black struggle titles are clearly the best sellers, as has been the trend over the last few years.

About 300,000 books and pamphlets were sold in 1970--almost double the number sold in 1969.

Total dollar sales of Pathfinder items in 1970 increased by 88 percent over Pathfinder sales in 1969. Non-Pathfinder sales decreased by one-third in 1970 from the 1969 figure. Branches and locals increasingly bought non-Pathfinder items directly from publishers in order to get a higher discount.

Eighty-seven percent of total Pathfinder and non-Pathfinder sales in 1970 were in Pathfinder titles as compared to 70 percent in 1969 and 60 percent in 1968.

YEARLY PRINTING OF NEW TITLES

<u>Category</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971**</u>
New Books	4	7	13	6
New Pamphlets	7	22	24	12
Reprinted Books	4	8	17	5
Reprinted Pamphlets	13	26	30	10

** Through July 1971

SALES BROKEN DOWN INTO CATEGORIES

<u>Category</u>	<u>% of Total 1970 Pathfinder Sales</u>	<u>% of Total 1969 Pathfinder Sales</u>
Branches	22.1%	23.0%
Locals and Movement Organizations	6.7%	13.7%
Foreign	12.0%	11.5%
Distributors	12.6%	6.8%
Retail Bookstores	25.9%	26.7%
Libraries	4.8%	4.5%
Library Middlemen	9.3%	5.9%
Individuals	6.6%	7.9%
Total	100%	100%

Although sales to branches made up a slightly smaller percentage of total sales in 1970 than in 1969, the total dollar sales to branches increased by 48.4 percent. The sharp decrease in sales to locals is partly explained by the fact that branches were formed in some areas where booksales were previously handled by larger locals.

BOOKSTORE DEBTS TO PATHFINDER, JULY 31, 1971

<u>Bookstore</u>	<u>Amount Owed</u>
Atlanta	63.55
Austin	322.32
Berkeley	2076.73
Boston	119.89
Brooklyn	275.66
Chicago	474.35
Cleveland	2.92
Denver	729.29
Detroit	366.41
Houston	754.63
Los Angeles	1596.58
Lower Manhattan	38.18
Minneapolis	114.63
Philadelphia	285.28
Portland	28.67
San Diego	550.11
San Francisco	53.93
Seattle	533.12
Upper Manhattan	245.61
Washington, D. C.	179.57 (credit)

YSA SAMPLE LITERATURE ORDER--FALL 1971

<u>Women's Liberation</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
5 Problems of Women's Liberation	\$1.45	\$7.25
1 Women and the Family	.75	.75
2 Kate Millett's <u>Sexual Politics</u>	.50	1.00
2 Sisters in Struggle: 1848-1920	.50	1.00
3 Women and the Cuban Revolution	.35	1.05
3 Sisterhood Is Powerful	.25	.75
3 The Family	.25	.75
2 Pioneers of Women's Liberation	.25	.50
4 Abortion: A Woman's Right	.25	1.00
5 Black Women's Liberation	.25	1.25
2 Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation	.25	.50
		<u>15.80</u>

National Struggle in the U.S.

2 By Any Means Necessary	1.95	3.90
1 Last Year of Malcolm X	1.95	1.95
3 Malcolm X on Afro-American History	1.00	3.00
2 On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination	.95	1.90
2 Black Nationalism and Socialism	.50	1.00
2 Case for a Black Party	.35	.70
2 How a Minority Can Change Society	.35	.70
2 Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	.35	.70

3	La Raza!	.30	.90
4	Transitional Program for Black Liberation	.25	1.00
5	La Raza Unida Party in Texas	.25	1.25
5	Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth	.25	1.25
			<u>18.25</u>

Arab Revolution

2	Trotsky on the Jewish Question	.50	1.00
5	Documents of the Palestinian Resistance	.40	2.00
5	Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis	.40	2.00
5	Truth About Israel and Zionism	.25	1.25
			<u>6.25</u>

Vietnam and Colonial Revolution

1	Cuba for Beginners	1.95	1.95
1	GIs Speak Out Against the War	1.75	1.75
2	The First and Second Declarations of Havana	.50	1.00
5	War and Revolution in Vietnam	.35	1.75
2	On Vietnam and World Revolution	.25	.50
			<u>6.95</u>

Marxist Theory

1	Permanent Revolution	2.45	2.45
3	Socialism on Trial	1.50	4.50
1	Introduction to the Logic of Marxism	1.50	1.50
3	Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	1.00	3.00
3	Communist Manifesto	.75	2.25
1	Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class	.65	.65
2	Death Agony of Capitalism	.50	1.00
2	Marxist Theory of the State	.50	1.00
			<u>16.35</u>

Revolutionary Strategy Today

1	Revolution Betrayed	2.95	2.95
2	Towards an American Socialist Revolution	1.95	3.90
2	May 1970: Birth of an Antiwar University	.95	1.90
2	Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics	.65	1.30
2	Maoism in the U.S.	.50	1.00
5	The New Radicalization	.50	2.50
3	Worldwide Youth Radicalization	.50	1.50
5	Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action	.25	1.25
10	How to Make a Revolution in the U. S.	.25	2.50
			<u>18.80</u>

Miscellaneous

1	Trotsky on the Trade Unions	.95	.95
1	Their Morals and Ours	.95	.95
2	The "Population" Explosion	.65	1.30
2	Fascism	.50	1.00
2	Genocide Against the Indians	.50	1.00
4	Socialism and Man	.35	1.40
			<u>6.60</u>

Non-Pathfinder Classics

2	Origins of the Family, Private Property...	1.85	3.70
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2 Malcolm X Speaks	1.25	2.50
1 Age of Permanent Revolution	.95	.95
2 Essential Works of Lenin	.95	1.90
		<u>9.05</u>

Total retail value of Pathfinder titles=\$89.00
Total 40 percent discount cost for YSAers=\$53.40
Total retail value of non-Pathfinder titles=\$9.05
Total 20 percent discount cost on non-Pathfinder titles for YSAers=\$7.24
Total discount cost of order to YSAers=\$60.46

This sample order provides a YSA local with a wide variety of titles for a campus literature table at a minimal investment. If the local sells \$10 worth of literature each week, the local will make a profit of about \$15 per month. Based on this sample order, at the end of nine weeks, the local would have paid off the original bill, replenished the original stock, and would be able to invest about \$30 profit in new stock or partial payment on the new bill. This additional investment of the profit in new Pathfinder and non-Pathfinder literature could amount to as much as \$50 in retail value. Therefore, if literature is sold consistently on the campus and the money from the sales is applied directly to the bills and the expansion of the literature display, literature sales can become a regular source of income for the local.

CLASSROOM ADOPTIONS--JANUARY 1970 THROUGH FEBRUARY 1971

<u>Title</u>	<u># of Classes</u>	<u># of Books</u>
1. Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	69	3050
2. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	35	1800
3. Socialism and Man	27	975
4. Problems of Women's Liberation	25	1500
5. Permanent Revolution	22	1060
6. Revolution Betrayed	20	490
7. Cuba for Beginners	17	500
8. By Any Means Necessary	17	470
9. Communist Manifesto	14	975
10. Their Morals and Ours	14	410
11. Reform or Revolution	13	335
12. Black Voices from Prison	12	745
13. Black Nationalism and the Revo. in Music	12	565
14. Rev. Potential of the Working Class	9	610
15. Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	8	250
16. Fascism	8	175
17. Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland	7	635
18. How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination	7	450
19. La Raza Unida Party in Texas	7	365
20. Revolutionary Student Movement	6	550
21. How a Minority Can Change Society	6	405
22. Second Declaration of Havana	6	310
23. La Raza!	6	275
24. Genocide Against the Indians	6	240
25. Introduction to the Logic of Marxism	6	120
26. Revolution Must be a School of Unfettered Thought	5	235

27. Two Speeches by Malcolm X	5	150
28. Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism	5	115
29. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	5	115
30. New Stage in the Advance of Cuban Socialism	5	110
31. Rosa Luxemburg Speaks	5	110
32. Those Who are Not Revolutionary Fighters	5	85
33. On Socialist Man	5	85
34. On Vietnam and World Revolution	5	75
35. Should the U.S. Be Partitioned?	5	60
36. Fifty Years of World Revolution	5	35
37. The Black Ghetto	4	375
38. Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis	4	325
39. Marxist Theory of Alienation	4	100
40. My Life	4	70
41. In Defense of Marxism	4	22
42. Marxism and the Negro Struggle	3	235
43. Castro's Tribute to Che	3	210
44. Death Agony of Capitalism	3	160
45. Empiricism and Its Evolution	3	115
46. Black Nationalism and Socialism	3	95
47. Marxist Theory of the State	3	95
48. Women and the Cuban Revolution	3	65
49. Douglas Bravo Speaks	2	80
50. How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.	2	75
51. Pioneers of Women's Liberation	2	65
52. On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination	2	50
53. Case for a Black Party	2	50
54. The Mod Donna and Scyklon Z	2	50
55. Revo. Strategy in the Imperialist Countries	2	50
56. Assassination of Malcolm X	2	45
57. The Chinese Revolution	2	30
58. GIs Speak Out Against the War	2	25
59. Truth About Israel and Zionism	1	80
60. Answer to the Naked Ape	1	50
61. Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism	1	50
62. Why Watts Exploded	1	45
63. The Last Year of Malcolm X	1	40
64. Marxist Essays in American History	1	40
65. Myths About Malcolm X	1	40
66. Revolt in France	1	40
67. Understanding of History	1	35
68. Whither France?	1	35
69. Land or Death	1	30
70. Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation	1	25
71. Invasion of Czechoslovakia	1	15
72. Zionism and the Arab Revolution	1	12
73. Black Uprisings	1	10
74. Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism	1	10
75. Socialism on Trial	1	10

These classroom sales amount to about 8 percent of total sales in 1970. Additional classroom orders were placed by university bookstores directly with wholesalers with whom Pathfinder does business. So approximately 10 percent of yearly sales are in classroom adoptions. Also, more than half of these sales were from the last few months (winter 1970-71 term)--an indication that more requests for books for classroom use occurred in the last term than in the two previous terms.

CLASSROOM ADOPTIONS--MARCH THROUGH JULY 1971

<u>Title</u>	<u># of Classes</u>	<u># of Books</u>
1. Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	35	1149
2. Black Nationalism and the Rev. in Music	14	342
3. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	11	649
4. By Any Means Necessary	11	244
5. Problems of Women's Liberation	10	563
6. Permanent Revolution	7	137
7. La Raza Unida Party in Texas	6	193
8. Two Speeches by Malcolm X	6	164
9. Their Morals and Ours	6	129
10. Reform or Revolution	5	212
11. Fascism	5	170
12. W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks	5	67
13. Trotsky on Literature and Art	5	53
14. Women and the Cuban Revolution	4	410
15. Socialism and Man	4	132
16. Genocide Against the Indians	4	88
17. Cuba for Beginners	4	81
18. Rosa Luxemburg Speaks	4	65
19. Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class	4	55
20. First and Second Declaration of Havana	3	160
21. La Raza!	3	95
22. Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	3	70
23. Communist Manifesto	2	262
24. Women and the Family	2	195
25. Revolution Betrayed	2	110
26. The "Population" Explosion	2	73
27. Assassination of Malcolm X	2	70
28. Fifty Years of World Revolution	2	65
29. Introduction to the Logic of Marxism	2	65
30. My Life	2	55
31. Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society	2	55
32. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	2	50
33. Myths About Malcolm X	2	40
34. Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland	2	36
35. Black Voices from Prison	2	35
36. Revolutionary Student Movement	2	30
37. How a Minority Can Change Society	2	26
38. Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism	1	100
39. Trotsky on the Jewish Question	1	75
40. Black Uprisings	1	50
41. Marxist Essays in American History	1	40
42. Struggle Against Fascism in Germany	1	40
43. Whither France?	1	40
44. Marxist Theory of Alienation	1	35
45. Democracy and Revolution	1	30
46. Answer to the Naked Ape	1	25
47. Black Nationalism and Socialism	1	25
48. Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism	1	25
49. Understanding of History	1	20
50. Empiricism and Its Evolution	1	15
51. GIs Speak Out Against the War	1	12
52. Should the U.S. Be Partitioned?	1	12
53. Socialism on Trial	1	12
54. Murder in Memphis	1	10

55. On Vietnam and World Revolution	1	10
56. Stalinism and Bolshevism	1	10
57. Third International After Lenin	1	10
58. Why Watts Exploded	1	10
59. The Chinese Revolution	1	8
60. Case for a Black Party	1	6
61. In Defense of Marxism	1	5
62. Trotsky on the Paris Commune	1	5
63. Marxism in Our Time	1	5
64. Towards an American Socialist Revolution	1	5
65. On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination	1	4

A new technique is being experimented with for procuring classroom adoptions. The Pathfinder sales representatives visit campus professors and display the catalogue and the titles which would be desirable for that particular professor's needs. They then offer the professor examination copies for consideration for classroom adoption. It is not yet known what results this will have on classroom sales as the testing period of this method has been of short duration.