

# **Activists Panels**

## **1970 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference Reports**



Contents

	<u>Page</u>
EDUCATIONAL PANEL	5
BRANCH BOOKSHOPS AND PATHFINDER PROMOTION	13



## EDUCATIONAL PANEL

Gus Horowitz, New York: This entire conference has been dominated by the general theme of our expansion in the context of very favorable political opportunities.

I think there are two important points to keep in mind about our prospects -- they are inter-related:

1) The change in the objective political situation, including the deepening radicalization, the weakened power and authority of American imperialism, and the prospects that this will continue;

2) Our ability to respond to the challenge of political events has led to the growth of our movement, in both size and influence, and there has been a changed relationship of forces on the left. We are starting to pull out ahead of our competitors.

But this is not sufficient in itself. It is also absolutely necessary to make these gains real from the organizational point of view. That is the main purpose of this conference -- to help concretize organizationally the gains we are making politically.

The main job we have, from the organizational point of view, is to turn our general political gains into permanent gains by institutionalizing them. That is the way to make these gains real.

In order to prepare for the expanded opportunities, we are beefing up all of the institutions of the party, such as press and literature, forums, finances, election campaigns, education, regional work, defense work, branch structure, cadre and leadership development.

All of these party institutions are important. The party's growth must be a balanced growth. If any one of these areas should suffer, it can affect other areas and limit our ability to take maximum advantage of the political opportunities before us.

That is the context in which we should consider party and YSA education.

Education for us is not some abstract ideal or moral goal. It is in order to maximize our gains that it is necessary that we have an educated cadre -- where each of us understands the party's program to the best of our ability. This is necessary to be able to best apply the program in the living mass movement and also to be best able to participate internally in the formulation of our political line.

For that reason we don't have any concept of specialization, where some comrades are expected to take education seriously, while others need not concern themselves about it much. Education is not just for a few. We don't do that in the area of Militant sales or finances or our other activities.

And education is not just for the new members. We want rounded comrades. We want a balanced development of our cadre and of the party generally.

Now it seems to me that the key thing that we should keep in mind in working out our educational program, is that it has to be organized no differently than our other areas of work. We are experiencing a tremendous expansion. We have to change some of the old ways of doing things to conform to the new demands. We will have to do that in our educational work as well. We cannot afford negligence, and we cannot afford routine. We have to expand our educational work and work out new ways of coping with our expanded needs in this area.

The party has decided to expand the National Education Department. We have not yet had an opportunity to really set it up to the degree that it will be. But there are some ideas already projected that I will go into a little later. One of the things we hope will come out of this workshop-panel is some ideas that we can put into practice.

Let me now outline briefly some of the problems which we will have to grapple with in the field of education. The other panelists will take up these points in more detail. We don't necessarily offer solutions, but want to have an exchange of experiences on how to deal with these problems. I will list five areas to think about. Some of the other panelists will take up some of these points.

1) Regional Expansion: There are many new YSA locals with no members whatsoever who have had prior experience in the YSA and our educational norms.

2) Big locals with massive and rapid recruitment, e.g., Chicago, New York, Boston: This will tend to be more and more the norm.

3) Continued education of "old" members, i.e., those who have been members for two years or more.

4) The inter-relationship between the YSA and SWP educational programs.

There is now a large layer -- larger than at any time in the immediate past -- of young party activists whose work does not center in the YSA.

5) The question of education in relation to the increased recruitment of Third World comrades.

Another aspect of the educational problem to consider is the different forms we use for education. There are basically four.

1) Educationals. These are usually held in conjunction with business meetings, before or after. They usually deal more intensively than in a normal report with some aspect of our current political work or some current political event. And sometimes in the YSA they afford an opportunity for newer comrades to get a chance to learn by giving a class on some basic Marxist classic.

2) Ongoing classes. These are usually held on a different day than the business meeting. They afford an opportunity for intensive study of our basic ideas. Usually they are run as a series of, say, four or five classes where we can study some basic work in depth. I tend to think that this is an area of education that needs strengthening.

3) Summer schools. This is our biggest strength on the educational front, where we have the most intensive education. Our summer schools are a real achievement. In a sense, they are something like an embryonic network of revolutionary socialist universities. We emphasize cadre education in the summer schools, not primarily contact education. Of course we invite close contacts to attend, but this is an additional bonus, not the primary purpose of the summer schools.

I think that it is fair to say that because of the summer school tradition, that during the summer months we are as a rule most conscious of education and make sure that education is treated as an important aspect of our political work. Now, I think we are going to have to treat education in the fall, winter, and spring in much the same way.

The summer schools developed in the early 1960's. There was not as much political work in the summertime, and while we also ran classes in the non-summer months, we made the summer schools the central focus of our activity for the summer. But this is changing somewhat. The summer is a very busy time for political activity in all areas of our work. For example, most of our petitioning to get on the ballot takes place during the summer, and in most years we are now running election campaigns. So the uniqueness of the summer

is no longer a prominent feature. If we can do good educational work in the summer, then we can do it at other times too.

Keep in mind that the pace of our recruitment is accelerating. We can not have comrades recruited in September, October and November wait ten months before participating in some intensive education.

4) Individual self-education. This is an area which we sometimes neglect to put on the list. This is very important, from the brand new, to the oldest members. This form of education will in general be carried out as a function of the general standards consciously put forward by the branch leaderships.

\* \* \*

Now, as to the topics taken up in our educational programs. I think that we generally do well in that we tend not to make esoteric topics the central focus for our educational programs. Marxism is not some sort of ivory tower philosophy. It is rooted in the real political problems of the day. We can learn almost everything we need to know in the process of probing to the root of all the major current political problems we have to face. I think we can take as a guide for the general norms of educational topics the type of topics we have had at this conference. Within that basic framework, of course, there is room to study this or that additional area of specific interest.

Finally, on some of the ideas we have for expansion of the National Education Department.

First, on the national tape service. You have probably noticed that there are more tapes available, and this conference, undoubtedly will produce many more. We have been having reviews of these new tapes in the YS Organizer.

Tapes are especially useful for education in new, outlying YSA locals where there are no experienced educators. This is a means of bringing the most knowledgeable and experienced party educators right into the newest YSA local.

There is an additional category of tapes that comrades should be aware of. There are many tapes that are very good, but for one reason or another they are not really suitable for use in classes. They may be technically poor and difficult to listen to; or the form in which the educational was given may not be suitable for group listening, etc. They may be dated in their material. But many of these tapes are well worthwhile to listen to, either for a comrade's individual education, or for use by a teacher in the preparation of a class.

We will put out more tapes and more reviews so that you will know what is available.

The Education for Socialists bulletins are another of our functions. We hope for expansion in this area. There are many topics which are absolutely necessary for our cadre education but where the basic reading matter is not suitable for Pathfinder publication. This is the case, usually with reprints of old magazine articles or old internal bulletins.

We have just put out a new edition of the "Organizational Principles of the Party" -- a resolution passed by the 1965 SWP convention which is a basic document of ours in this area. We may put out more material on this subject.

We have in the works a bulletin on socialist electoral policy, which will include an early Comintern resolution on this subject, our basic document on the labor party campaign, and a discussion of the Wallace campaign of 1948 -- a case of a third ticket capitalist campaign. We are also planning a general guide to Cannon's works.

Other possible ideas include a bulletin on the development of our position on the national liberation struggles. Also one on the women's liberation struggle, where there is a lot of new educational material on tape as a result of the extensive educational programs of the branches.

We also plan to put out more study guides. For this last summer school we put out two: a study guide to the women's liberation struggle and a study guide to the national liberation struggles. I urge all educational directors to make use of these study guides. They have not been thrown together hastily. They incorporate the experience of many classes held over many years.

Rod Holt, New York: (This was previously printed in the Party Builder, Vol. VI, No. 5 [August 1970], under the title, "Technology in the Service of the Revolution.")

The capitalist class possesses an enormous and technically admirable propaganda machine and the electronics industry has provided it with some of its most potent weapons: radio, TV, records and pre-recorded tapes (not to mention the intervention of electronics into the printing trades). Our party has developed a respected expertise in our press work. By training speakers, conducting election campaigns, and providing excellent spokesmen and spokeswomen for our views, we have been increasingly able to utilize radio and TV time.

This is fine and we can go much further. But I have been astonished by the almost universal ignorance of the electronic techniques of communication. From simple public address systems, communications during demonstrations, to ordinary tape recording we lack professionalism or anything close to it.

The list of examples is endless: P.A. systems at outdoor demonstrations inadequate and unreliable, communications from one end of a march to the other absent, the bull horns poor or missing altogether, no one available to fix or replace failed equipment, antique tape recorders, horrible recording techniques, valuable tapes lost or accidentally destroyed, and important speeches simply not recorded at all.

As we are becoming the largest and most influential radical movement in the country, we are the ones who must become responsible for insuring that the audience gets the message, that they can hear and understand at public meetings both indoors and out. When meetings or demonstrations meet disrupters, we must be sure that the leadership can be quickly informed, and they in turn can effectively broadcast instructions to large groups. Really effective communications here can stave off panic, give the marshals more confidence and quite likely minimize arrests and bloodshed. The police themselves are very well equipped both with walkie-talkies and a centralized communication network. They can very easily broadcast conflicting orders in different areas and deliberately sow the type of confusion to enable them to move in and finish off the job of disruption. Our movement will be obliged to meet these needs. We need to understand the technical problems, buy, beg, or borrow the equipment, and then deploy it with the same respected professional thoroughness with which we handle marshals.

Left liberals, social democrats and ultralefts all despair of countering the sophisticated capitalist propaganda machine. We certainly do not. In contrast, we can utilize that machine and its methods. Any educator is aware of the value of audio and visual aids to teaching. Propaganda work is in part teaching work, and good techniques will greatly enhance our ability to propagate (i.e., to multiply ourselves in numbers and in kind).

As a teaching aid, the National Tape Service offers tape recordings of outstanding value. Lest there be any misunderstanding here, tapes can rarely replace printed material and live speakers. They are a supplement. Tapes can be reproduced and mailed out where skilled teachers cannot. Often, material can be sent to the field on tape well in advance of the printed equivalent. In

some cases, the personality and style of the speaker justify a tape even if the material has been printed. Comrades have barely started to use tapes by skilled speakers to help themselves in their own preparation. The style, illustrations, and oratorical skills can be examined and absorbed via tape. Having the correct line is necessary but not sufficient if organized and delivered like corn meal mush.

Our professional staff must be extended in every part of the country to include the electronic technologies. We've learned how to become photographers. And becoming an audio technician is no more difficult. Today, a good tape recorder costs half of what it did five years ago. Tomorrow, video cameras and recorders will be in our price range -- even in color! In each area, we have to set aside some time for an interested comrade to learn the business. There are countless books and magazines addressed to the layman with full information on these topics. Media people themselves will offer advice. What we need is the determination to do this part of our job well.

As we raise our technical skill level, we will also find new applications. Every college and university has a radio station for their dormitories and some broadcast to the general public. Skillfully prepared material can be played to an enormous audience. Documentaries can be prepared for any broadcast station. Commentary, eye-witness accounts, debates, etc., can all be "aired" if well done. This "canned" material of educational value is an easy thing for a station to play. If we do half the work, the station will do the other half. Wouldn't a documentary of the Kent or Augusta events with interviews, sound effects, and our commentary be a real seller? How about a campus-wide broadcast of our position on ultraleftism? A little professionalism together with optimism could go a long way.

\* \* \*

From the very extensive Chicago Tape Library, the National Tape Service was organized in April of 1969 for the purpose of supplying educational materials to branches, locals, at-large areas, and to individual comrades and sympathizers. The tapes selected for distribution are intended to fill specific needs, particularly for isolated locals and at-large areas. There are 17 complete series now available with several more on the way. Tapes from the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference will further enlarge the list.

To our surprise, few tapes have been sold to at-large areas, new YSA locals or sympathizers. Most have gone to well-established branches where, it appears, experienced teachers recognize their value. The Young Socialist Organizer

has begun to print reviews of tapes and it is hoped that this will overcome the evident inertia. For regional trailblazing, one comrade was sent out complete with a tape recorder and a set of tapes. The report was favorable and further use of tapes as an aid in regional work is expected.

There are several problems affecting tape distribution and use. First, the announcements and catalogues mailed from the national office did not circulate widely. Many comrades just don't know what is available. Secondly, a local should have a custodian of the tapes and a suitable tape recorder available at the office, hall or meeting place. Tapes can then be conveniently played by anyone with a little spare time or by those doing chores such as mailings, etc. The custodian can make sure that the tape is rewound properly and boxed. Finally, once a branch or local has a tape recorder and begins to use it, some system should be used to avoid mixing up tapes, boxes, etc. We advocate the use of adhesive labels on both box and reel, and a locked closet or cabinet for tapes and equipment. Too many awful things have happened whenever things have gotten sloppy.

This document cannot be a "how to do it" manual, but I'll make some comments.

Since the introduction of 4-track stereo systems in the early 1960s, almost all quality tape recorders are 4-track, either stereo or monaural. The most common exception is the small five-inch reel type. These are usually toys and are not recommended. Today, the overwhelming majority of machines costing over \$75.00 are 4-track. For this reason, all tapes from the National Tape Service are suitable for replay on any 4-track machine. Our standard tape speed is 3 3/4 IPS. We are stocking 4-track tapes but not 2-track. Thus delivery of 2-track orders will usually be delayed. All tapes purchased for use on a 2-track machine will play on a 4-track machine, but not vice versa.

Many recorders now function well at the slower tape speed of 1 7/8 IPS. This speed allows two hours of recording time per track with a standard 1,200 foot reel. With four tracks, you can record eight one-hour educationals or branch discussions. Then, if properly labeled, the tape can be "archived" for future use. We currently record conferences and conventions at this slow speed.

Use good tape. Sony PR-150 (1,800 feet at about \$3.00) is good. Allied Electronics No. 260, No. 15-8743 (1,800 feet at about \$1.50) is fair. Really cheap tape will cause all kinds of grief.

Use a good recorder. Toys and



antiques are not worth anything. We recommend the Sony 355 deck or the Sony 105. These machines have proven themselves to be reliable.

Use a good microphone. The Sony 105 comes with a pretty fair microphone. Read up on this if you can and make use of "lavalier" types if possible. Allied Electronics sells the E-V No. 647A for \$52.00, the Shure No. 545L for \$42.00, and the cheapest is the Lafayette No. 99T4592 at \$8.00.

Do not mount or rest the microphone upon the speaker's table, lectern or anything else liable to be struck, bumped or tripped over. Microphone cables and power cords should be secured carefully.

A note about using other people's equipment. Schools, churches, etc., have considerable money in their equipment and it is usual for them to assign a technician for set-up and supervision. We should make a special point to treat this person with respect and tact. The person we assign to help should do just that, help, not be the wise guy with all the answers. Friendliness, once established, is invaluable when troubles pop up -- as they always do.

A final note to our speakers: when a tape is being made, the discussion period can be valuable if and only if the speaker repeats the essence of the question before answering. Questions from the floor are otherwise lost and the answer "hangs."

Chris Hildebrand, Boston: There are two articles in the YS Organizer, the most recent one in the July 10 issue, which contain a lot of stuff which I won't go into here, because comrades can read it.

Gus outlined very well the problems that we face. One thing that came across was that comrades in our movement are now at all different levels and we have to be very clear what comrades we are trying to educate when we're planning each educational series. If you think about the educational series in those terms, you'll probably realize that you don't have nearly enough educational programs going on. You're probably trying to accomplish too many things with one or two programs.

For instance, very briefly on contact classes. Contact classes should be just that -- all of the locals should try to have contact classes, regularize them and have them advertised widely so that new people know they're going on and will come to them. Have them on as many campuses as possible. But remember, they're contact classes. They're not to educate our new members. They cannot sub-

stitute for another kind of education.

During the past six months in the Boston area we recruited 40 to 45 new comrades, which presented us with a lot of problems. The most successful thing we did this year with education was setting up a series of new members orientation classes. The basic idea behind it is that it's a very short series. It's a series of five classes that is continually rotating and continually going on, so that every new comrade that comes in is able to go into this series and go through it very rapidly. The idea behind this series is that many of the comrades who are coming in know quite a bit about Marxism, have been around the radical movement for quite a while. They've read some of the basic pamphlets, but they aren't that familiar with the YSA. That's what these classes are designed to deal with.

The classes are informal and the comrades have responded very well to them. They did all the readings and came into the discussion with lots of questions, lots of discussion, and lots of ideas. It gave them a feeling very rapidly of being part of the YSA. It gave them a feel for exactly what the YSA is, why we are involved in the fields of activities that we are, and so forth. I would urge all of the locals to try experimenting with something like this.

The other area that we did some experimenting with was the summer school. We took one month out of the summer school and tried a new experiment with study classes. The large lecture format classes that have 50 to 100 comrades attending one series of classes once a week was just not enough for the various levels of the comrades. What we did was select different basic works of our movement, such as History of American Trotskyism, the first volume of Capital, The Revolution Betrayed, Left Wing Communism..., Origin of the Family..., and let the comrades sign up for whatever ones they wanted to study. Then these classes met once or twice a week, and each comrade was responsible for preparing a discussion -- not a lecture -- for each one. And through this, each comrade participated in the reading and participated in the discussion. They were small groups of five to ten comrades. It taught the comrades to think for themselves and to interpret what they were reading and to figure out ways of presenting the ideas, whereas in the large lecture format many of the comrades didn't even bother doing the reading because they felt they could go to the lecture and listen or hear the tape. In these study groups we had maximum participation of all the comrades and they were so successful that all the comrades

want to continue this type of classes into the fall.

A basic thing to keep in mind would be to have a series on the basic pamphlets such as the Communist Manifesto and State and Revolution, and the study groups would be the series that comrades who just finished this series would go into. Having to think about what they're reading and prepare discussions on them also teaches the comrades how to better educate themselves.

Cliff Connors, Atlanta: I'm going to discuss some of the problems and successes in educational work that we've had in Atlanta. Atlanta's experiences are valuable in that they arise from the needs of a newly established branch -- about a year old. New branches of the SWP are going to be developing very rapidly from now on.

One consequence of our newness is that we don't have the benefit of party veterans who fought the struggles of the 30's, the 40's, and the 50's. Our oldest member is 31 years old. Every single comrade has joined the movement within the last ten years. With that fact in mind, I'll describe some of the successful experiences we've been able to carry out in education in Atlanta.

The summer schools in Atlanta both this year and last year were planned very carefully to meet the needs of both the party branch and the YSA local. If that statement seems abstract, I'll try to make it more concrete. The success of this year's summer school can already be measured in two ways. First, the attendance remained high over the whole summer. Second, none of our most inexperienced comrades had trouble grappling with the ideas they've encountered here at Oberlin. They came very well prepared. The summer school succeeded in meeting the educational needs of our comrades.

One of the main problems for our summer school was selecting content. Some people said that the emphasis of the classes should be topical -- that we had to concentrate on things like the postal workers' strike or the May events -- while others said we should concentrate on theoretical problems or study the Marxist classics. We tried to combine the theoretical and classical approaches in selecting the content for our summer school series. For one example, the problems of revolutionary organization are very immediate in a new, growing, developing branch. This is a topical subject, but the theory of democratic centralism isn't a subject which can be dealt with in a single class, especially when it has to be related to the experiences of new comrades. So we had a ten-class series on the organization of the revolutionary party instead of a series on

Stalinism. If we were faced with Stalinist opponents in Atlanta, then we might have made a different choice.

We also held a series on the history of American working class militancy, which was extremely important because, as I mentioned before, not a single comrade in Atlanta has experienced or lived through a period of working class militancy. There's not a single comrade who can relate, from first-hand experience, what it's like when members of the working class start to radicalize. So this series was designed to inspire the comrades with what the American working class had done in the past and is capable of doing in the future; in other words, that a proletarian revolution isn't just a pipe-dream. That's the kind of thinking that went into our selection of content.

Another strong point of our summer school was that we didn't approach the idea of discussion groups haphazardly. After a class of 45 to 50 comrades, we would divide up into three groups of about 15 each and each group was led by a comrade who was prepared to draw out the main political lessons of the class. It took a conscious discussion leader to prevent these discussions from developing into discussion of trivia or from wandering around aimlessly. Just as you have to go into an antiwar meeting prepared as a floor leader, it's the same with a discussion leader in an educational series. The discussion leader has to plan in advance what direction she or he wants the discussion to take to make sure the main political lessons are brought out in the discussion.

To turn away from our summer school, there is also a need to educate on more immediate and topical problems. So, as many other branches and locals do, we keep our regular business meetings, both in the branch and the local, down to an hour, and then take another hour for an educational period. In planning these out, we try to keep the educationals planned out at least four weeks ahead, but the schedule has to be flexible to allow for substitutions if an immediate need arises. One time we tried to plan a three-class series but it took about eight or nine weeks to complete it because we had an Australian comrade who came into town and gave a report, and then a Belgian comrade, and new things coming up all the time. So I would recommend one-shot subjects for branch educationals. If you need a series to adequately cover a subject, you should seriously consider holding it on another night of the week, separate from and in addition to the regular branch educationals.

Another problem with weekly educationals is that occasionally a comrade

assigned to make a presentation won't be prepared in time. This happened to us a few times, so now what we're doing is consciously having back-up educationals. They can't always be as topical as the ones that are regularly scheduled. They have to be on something that can fit in any time of the year. A taped lecture can be used as a back-up class. It should be made clear that this is not a normal substitution, and it's still just as important for a comrade assigned to prepare an educational to meet the deadline. Also, it's the duty of the educational committee to keep up with how the comrades are coming along with their presentations, or else you may have the experience of comrades taking time off from their work, or getting fired from their jobs because they want to get ready for an educational.

We have utilized other forms of educationals in Atlanta -- contact classes, new members classes -- for both the YSA and the party, and a series which was similar to summer school classes but was held at different times of the year. But I wouldn't want to hold our experiences in these other areas up to other areas to emulate. I'll mention some of the problems that we've run into, and maybe they'll be taken up in the discussion period.

First on new members classes for the YSA, there's a problem in motivating new comrades to attend these sessions. Our experience is that some new members tend to attend these classes, and these comrades tend to become more and more involved in the movement. And then there are certain comrades who tend not to attend them, and they tend to develop in a direction away from the movement. There's a causal relation there to some degree, but if we can get those new YSAers to come who tend to resist coming to new members classes, then there's a better chance that they'll develop in the direction of political consciousness. One thing we've done in this regard -- of course one thing is the political motivation in the YSA meetings -- but then we've also made it very clear by giving branch members the assignments of giving these educationals that we consider them highly important. We place a high priority on them. But that hasn't worked completely, and I'd like to hear how branches in other areas have dealt with that problem. Another problem is the irregularity of new members classes. If you have two or three members joining every week over a long period of time, it's very difficult to reach all of them the same way.

The last problem that I'm going to mention is that of an ongoing series of classes for the fall, winter and spring. Of course, the big problem is time. With the mass movements booming on the cam-

puses, it's hard enough to find time for the local and branch meetings, and the local and branch executive committee meetings, forums, fraction meetings and everything else. And adding an educational series is a real difficulty, but it's going to have to be done. We haven't consistently done this in the past in Atlanta, but we're going to this fall and from then on, because we've found that the weekly branch educationals just aren't sufficient to fulfill all the needs of a fast growing branch.

Norman Oliver, New York: What I want to deal with is the special problem of educating Third World comrades. The basic problem in educating Third World comrades is that comrades think there is a special problem in educating Third World comrades. What we have to understand is that Third World comrades are like all other comrades, and their education, like the education of other comrades, has a two-fold aspect. That is, in terms of classes, seminars, self-education, reading and also their participation in activity in different areas of work. The reading isn't enough. It has to be tied in to the activity of Third World comrades.

First of all, on just the purely educational aspect, one of the most important things in the education of our Third World comrades is the knowledge and understanding of the history of all the different oppressed national minorities -- Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans -- so that comrades in their intervention into the national struggles and in general in talking to people in the radical movement, can use examples from the Chicano liberation struggle, examples from Chicano history, examples from Puerto Rican history, examples from all of these different histories, the same way we can use examples from Black history to explain our points and make our position clear to those outside our movement.

Another aspect of that is giving Third World comrades a firm grasp of our method and our theory, our analysis and our program; that is, not making their education one sided. One example I'll take from my experience in Detroit where we have a Third World fraction. We had an educational on the pamphlet Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today, covering such subjects as our electoral policy, the multi-national character of the vanguard party, ultra-leftism versus Marxism -- all the different subjects that YSAers as a whole have to be familiar with in order to become well rounded Bolsheviks.

Thirdly, Third World comrades, like all other comrades, have to be encouraged to read and to study on their own. To do things like set up informal

seminars -- like a number of comrades getting together deciding they want to study American history in relation to the Black struggle or the Chicano struggle or things like that, getting a tape or some comrade who has knowledge on the subject.

The second aspect that I outlined is Third World comrades participating in other areas of work -- heading up and leading other areas of work. Third World comrades shouldn't be relegated to Third World work for the whole of their political life. We would never think of doing that to any other comrade. That is, we never assign somebody to antiwar work until they drop dead. Because we understand the importance of giving comrades experience in all the different areas of work in order to make well rounded Bolsheviks out of them, in order to produce the kind of cadre we need in order to build the kind of party that is going to lead the revolution in this country. Since we're interested in making well rounded Bolsheviks and not just specialists in any one area, this requires not only education on all aspects of our program, but also experience in all the areas of our work. We want to move in the direction of having Third World comrades being forum directors, sub drive directors, fund drive directors, financial directors, organizers, campaign directors, antiwar directors, heading up all the varying areas of work. Of course, this can't be carried out in any mechanical sense -- the comrades should not go back to their different areas and immediately assign all their Third World comrades to different areas of work, but we should think about this problem and take steps where possible.

The only places I can think of where this is being done are in Detroit and Riverside, California. In Riverside there's a relatively new local of about 14 comrades, a majority of whom are Third World, and because of the sheer necessity of carrying out work a number of Third World comrades aren't assigned to purely Third World work. They have to do things like head up antiwar work, or the sub drive,

or something like that. In Detroit, the last two heads of the SMC were Black comrades. The campaign director in Detroit is a Black comrade.

With the whole perspective of expansion of both the party and the YSA we have to think in terms of having a branch in Harlem and East Harlem, or a branch in East Los Angeles and a branch in South Los Angeles. In situations like that, you don't want a person who's just a Third World specialist being branch organizer or the organizer of the YSA local there. You want people who understand our politics, our total program, and who understand organizationally how to carry out in an effective manner our different areas of work.

Another important aspect of the education of comrades is their mobility. Not only do we not assign comrades to one area of work for their entire political life, we do not keep them in one city forever either. We have to move in the direction of our Third World comrades being as mobile as the rest of our comrades so that the experiences of different areas can be transferred to other areas so that these individual comrades can develop themselves, learn the experiences in different areas so that we can produce the kind of cadre that we need to make the revolution.

Gus Horowitz, Summary: We raised a lot of problems and we didn't come to an awful lot of solutions. We'll have to over the next period. Let me just repeat two things that were said at the beginning.

One is the urgent necessity to integrate education in a balanced way with all other aspects of the growth of the party and the YSA. Second is the need to do that through very systematic and conscious planning. It's the responsibility of the branches and the branch leaderships to do that. The same type of conscious planning that is used for the summer schools should be used for education in general.

## BRANCH BOOKSHOPS AND PATHFINDER PROMOTION

George Breitman, New York: If Rip Van Winkle had fallen asleep in 1950 instead of whenever he did fall asleep, and woke up twenty years later, and if he had been a comrade, and had been presented with a report about Pathfinder, I think the conclusion that he would have reached was that we have a genuine radicalization. Pathfinder is now doing better than a publishing house associated with our movement has ever done in our entire history. However, we're not content to compare what we're doing now with what we did twenty years ago. That's not the proper scale to measure things by, and we've developed new scales several times during the last five years.

Pathfinder is now competing in certain respects with the other radical publishers: that is, with International Publishers and with Monthly Review Press -- the other two well-known radical publishers in this country. They're still well ahead of us, but we've now begun to reach some of the areas that they have monopolized up until now.

We have improved our work during the last few years, and we have also begun to learn things that we didn't know before about publishing, about editing, about promoting our literature. We still have a great deal more to learn. The discussion today will be part of that process of exchanging information and raising questions that we'll turn our attention to and try to solve.

I want to call your attention to what we did during the first half of this year. That's in the report that you have. It tells what the new books and pamphlets for the first six months of the year were, and gives the same information for those books and pamphlets that we reprinted for the first half of the year. Then there are summary comparisons with the first half of 1969 and the second half of 1969. You'll see that in most respects we continued to go forward considerably. Since this report, which ends at June 30, we've added five new pamphlets and we've reprinted five or six new pamphlets. So the pace continues.

I want to say something about what we intend to do in the way of publishing during the next period, and to comment about some of the changes that we have made. A year ago at this time we hadn't put out our first pamphlet on women's liberation. Now we have put out six, which is a considerable advance. And we have another four or five in the works that may be out before the end of this year. So that's an example of how when we bring our attention to something, when we see a political opportunity, we can take advantage of it.

Another area that I hope somebody has noticed is that we're beginning to have younger writers. Younger comrades are beginning to write pamphlets for the first time in a long time. We're sure that that's a healthy trend and one that's going to continue.

Now, about Trotsky's works. We said at the beginning of last year that we were going to begin printing his writings from his last exile and that we would do it at the rate of two volumes a year. So far, we have been doing it at that rate. The fourth volume will be out early this fall, a year and a half after we started.

Trotsky's books and pamphlets are now selling better than when he was alive. A book like The Revolution Betrayed sold more copies during the last year than it did during the first five years after it was written. We continue to add new Trotsky titles, both books and pamphlets. One of the next ones that will be added is Trotsky on Women and the Family. We hope to be able to do, in connection with the Chicano field, what we did with the women's liberation field during the last year. We got one pamphlet out earlier this year and we have one in process and hope to have it out by the time of the Chicano Moratorium at the end of this month for use in connection with meetings that will be taking place then. But that's just the beginning. We hope that a year from now we'll be able to report five or six pamphlets and maybe a small book on the subject.

Similarly, we've been adding to our list of pamphlets on the Jewish question and Israel and the Arabs. We've added quite a few to our labor titles. Among the specific things that we expect to do in the coming period, is a book by Frank Kofsky on Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music, the book Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art, and the two volume collection W.E.B. DuBois Speaks, edited by Foner. We expect to have them all out before the end of the year. We'll also have the fourth of the Writings of Trotsky, 1935-36, and we hope we'll be ready by New Year's with the collection of Trotsky's writings during the struggle against fascism in Germany, which will be a rather large book. We may also be able, before New Year's Day, to issue the new book of speeches by Comrade Cannon on socialism.

Not listed in your Pathfinder catalogue, is another book by Comrade Novack -- Democracy and Revolution, which is completed and in the process of being copy-edited. You may have heard that we have a small book by Hugo Blanco which

we will publish as soon as it's translated. We're also preparing now a book of documents from the underground opposition in the Soviet Union. The main part of this book, which will be published for the first time in English, consists of a long 200 page memoir of an old Bolshevik who went through the whole experience. This was never published in the Soviet Union and just recently began to be circulated in type-script. Those are the books that we're working on now.

We also have completed arrangements with Myrna Lamb to publish our first book on women's liberation, a collection of her plays -- six one-act plays and the Mod Donna.

#### BOOKSTORE PANEL

Priscilla Ring, New York: I want to talk about the financial potential of the bookstores for branch finances and local finances. The financial reports that you have are for the New York bookstore for the two year period starting October 1968. I'm just going to mention a few of the highlights.

We had a debt in 1968 of \$2,000 and the branch figured the bookstore was losing an average of \$70.00 a month. The Executive Committee took up this matter and decided we had to have a comrade spend more time in the bookstore, and so they assigned me to work part time in the bookstore. By May of 1969, eight months after we started this new system, we'd paid off our back debt. By May 1970 we were able to have a surplus that we turned over to the local which helped very much during the May events and the participation of the local in the May events. The reason that we were able to have a surplus is that we organized the work in the bookstore, and the increased radicalization gave us more opportunities for table sales at women's liberation meetings, campaign meetings, and by campus travelers. The sales on campuses haven't been developed in New York because our campus fractions are still small but we tried contingents going out from the campaign office to the various campuses and hope that will help with the sales on the campuses in the fall. The greatest increases in our sales have come from literature tables outside the bookstore itself.

We've doubled our inventory in this period so that the increased income hasn't meant that we've cut down on the amount that we've been spending in the bookstore. The income to the bookstore has increased from \$321.00 average weekly to \$510.00 average weekly.

The key concept of what we've been doing in the bookstore comes to the idea that while the content of our bookstores is qualitatively different from that of

commercial bookstores, the form, that is the way that we run our bookstore, can be a financial asset to the branches and the locals, to the degree that we use the techniques of a well-organized commercial bookstore. That means that we've had to initiate several procedures that we hadn't been using before. I already mentioned that we assigned a comrade to work -- it became full time -- in the bookstore. We started keeping separate and accurate bookstore financial records and along with this, it's necessary to have a separate bank account. We asked one comrade to do the bookkeeping just for the bookstore and this comrade has been telling us what's been going on in the bookstore financially.

Another important factor is that we've made regular payment on all our bills. Our credit is good wherever we've opened an account. This has enabled us to establish credit with our commercial accounts. I want to stress the importance of paying our bills to Pathfinder because this will help Pathfinder print these pamphlets that George Breitman has been telling us about and the pamphlets that we need so much for our political work. Pathfinder's ability to carry out its printing schedule is seriously affected by the \$20,000 that is currently outstanding from the locals and branches. If you remember the other night it was mentioned that Pathfinder had a total debt owed to it of \$50,000. Well, \$20,000 of it is from our own locals and branches.

Another thing that is important in running the bookstore is to post and keep regular bookstore hours with comrades assigned on a regular basis to the bookstore. These comrades will know the stock and know the procedures of the bookstore. In New York we have twelve part time assigned comrades. Some of them only come in two hours a week, but they are regular assignments.

Bookstore-running for the party is doing what a small bookstore manager would do. Keep records of the books that you have in stock so that you'll know when to re-order. Keep your stock well up and attractively displayed. We have a problem that commercial bookstores don't have. We have consignments going out to the campuses or special sales. We need to keep a record of what goes out and the payments that are made on these consignments. We need to take inventory for the net value of our stock so that we know what we have to work with and how much money is tied up in our stock, at least every three months. And I say net value -- some comrades may prefer to take a title inventory, that's much more work and it doesn't give your bookkeeper the information that she or he will need in terms of what capital is tied up in stock.

Something that I went into in the Party Builder and I'll go into in additional detail in the workshop we're going to have this afternoon, and that is purchase of stock at 40 per cent discount or better if possible. Then one note -- don't sell books on credit because it's just too difficult to keep records of this and get the payments back. It's very time consuming. What it means in essence is that you're subsidizing individuals rather than the party branch or local. We use the method of lay-away for comrades who want a book that they don't have money for. The net results of our efforts to regularize the functioning of our bookstore has been that the bookstore is no longer part of our branch's problems but is helping with the solving of those problems and helping building the New York local.

Bitsey Meyers, Berkeley: I want to give the Gramma report in three parts. I want to give you a brief history, I want to give you an idea of the scale at which the store operates, and then some precautions on trying the same thing in your own area.

Gramma opened just about two and a half years ago. We decided to open when we got the chance to get a tremendous location, only three blocks from campus, at only \$150.00 a month. We had two purposes. The main purpose in opening the bookstore was to popularize and to disseminate our ideas. Gramma bookstore is different from regular branch bookstores in several ways. One way is the completely separate finances and the location of the bookstore. The Berkeley headquarters is now about two or three miles away from the bookstore and the finances are completely separate. They have been from the opening of the bookstore and they still are. The second big difference is the scale on which Gramma operates. Just to give you an idea of the scale: previous to the opening of the separate bookstore, the Berkeley literature department was bringing in \$300.00 to \$400.00 a month. Now we're bringing in about ten times that amount. We're bringing in about \$4,000 a month in the bookstore. We have a retail inventory of around \$11,000 which does not include several hundred dollars in posters and buttons. We have approximately 2,000 titles in the store and our daily sales have been around \$130.00 a day, sometimes going up to around \$200.00, but usually around \$130.00. And our weekly sales are usually about \$950.00.

Since the opening of the store we have purchased approximately \$10,000 wholesale from Pathfinder. That's pretty good considering that the only books that we order from Pathfinder are Pathfinder publications, everything else we get either from other publishers or distributors. In 1969, the retail sales of

Pathfinder material in the bookstore was nearly \$6,000. During the first six months of 1970, they've been \$4,000 and the way that we've been expanding in the bookstore, it's pretty safe to say that we should go near or over the \$10,000 mark this year in retail sales of Pathfinder.

Gramma has the most complete selection of Marxist classics in the country, and certainly in the East Bay. In the East Bay, in Berkeley and Oakland, we're known as the socialist bookstore, which correctly implies that we have no competition and nothing to worry about. Along with the classics, we have special interest sections, we have two complete sections on women's liberation and Native Americans. We carry thirteen or fourteen titles in Persian. We have a whole bookcase of Spanish language literature that comes from Cuba and Mexico. Then we have quite a number of both national and international periodicals.

A very important feature of the bookstore is its non-sectarian nature. There's literature from the whole spectrum of the left: from ecology groups to the SLP, just everybody. And even so, Pathfinder literature is experiencing such growth that it's more than able to hold its own in sales, especially with the new publications that are coming out and the fantastic covers. All you have to do is put a stack down, they're so attractive that people start picking them right up and looking at them and buying them right off. The fact that we sold over \$16,000 worth of Pathfinder literature testifies to the fact that our ideas and our literature are holding their own.

Because of the non-sectarian nature of the bookstore, we're able to attract all kinds of people who, under any other circumstances, we just wouldn't get a chance at. They don't feel that by walking through the doors they have to agree with us right away. They feel that they can come in, have a chance to find out what all the tendencies have to say, and they're able to make their own choice. Of course, with our help -- we turn them in the right direction toward the right books. And because of the previous fact, we've been able to attract a lot of professors and a lot of teachers who give us book lists and then turn their students onto the store. The nature of the bookstore has really paid off that way.

All these accomplishments I've been talking about have been carried out in the financial context of less than half the amount that is recommended by the Small Business Administration -- that they consider necessary to even open the doors of a bookstore. The fact is

that Granma testifies to the viability of the bookstore and the tremendous interest that's being generated by the new radicalization. Solvency means that if we had to go out of business and sold all of our stock and our fixtures and everything, that we would come out even, that we wouldn't owe any money.

There have been certain financial handicaps. One has been the inadequate capital with which we started. Another is a formally high pay-back rate of loans. When we first opened the store, for a while, we were paying back over \$400.00 a month in loans. To open the store we had to get loans from different comrades since the bank wasn't really too willing to give us a loan. Another problem is the necessity of frequent loans to pay bills like the Pathfinder bill.

On personnel, the bookstore has two full time staffers who are paid \$50.00 a week plus their health insurance. One of these is also the Pathfinder rep, who spends half his time going to distributors. Plus we have two part time comrades whose central assignment is the bookstore. Even with these four comrades working in the bookstore, we require 25 to 30 comrades a week to work in the bookstore.

The bookstore is open 70 hours a week -- it's open seven days a week. A few words of caution. One of the main things is you have to have a location. We have a fantastic walk-by traffic. If we didn't have this, the bookstore wouldn't be able to operate on the scale that it does. We have at least 300 people a day who come into the bookstore. Another thing is that you have to have at least \$2,000 to \$4,000 just to open the front doors to the bookstore. You need at least one full time staff person plus 25 to 30 comrades who volunteer. The store must have regular hours. The books must be kept accurate to the penny. You really can't fool around with a business that's on the scale of Granma. You can't be sloppy at all. If you do, you're asking for a lot of trouble.

It's extremely important that the branch bookstores pay taxes. The main reason is the legal reason. We don't want them to shut down a bookstore because of failure to pay taxes.

Andy Rose, New York: While most of the discussion today has been about branch bookstores, many of the comments the comrades have made, like about the inventories, precision in keeping the books, things like that, are also important for the smaller YSA locals where there's no branch of the SWP -- where there's no branch bookstore, and where most of the literature sales are from literature tables set up on campus. What I want to do is deal briefly with some

of the specific problems of these YSA locals and their relations with Pathfinder.

As students return to campus this fall, one of the first contacts they're going to have with the revolutionary movement will probably be stopping by a YSA literature table. They will immediately get a feel for the professionalism and seriousness of the YSA because of the attractive literature display -- the type, variety, and professional appearance of our books and pamphlets. We're going to be there with exactly the type of literature these students are looking for, and with more of it and of better quality than they can find anywhere else. There are two points I want to make about literature tables before I go on and talk about how small locals can best organize their literature sales and how they should relate to Pathfinder. These are on appearance and regularity.

We want the YSA literature tables to stand out, to be as eye-catching as possible. This means first of all selecting a good location. Depending upon the habits of the students of a particular campus, the best location might be in front of the library, or inside the student union, or near the cafeteria, or maybe someplace else. The important thing is to be conscious of picking a location where a lot of students will be passing by but not where the traffic is so great that people will feel they can't stop and browse around the table. If at all possible we want to set up the table where it's possible to decorate the area behind it with YSA posters. We should maximize the use of our posters both in order to sell more of them and so that anyone walking by can see that this is a radical literature table. Of course, posters advertising The Militant and the ISR should be prominently displayed. You may have seen the posters that a few locals have. They were professionally done by a sign maker in New York and they usually say something like "Revolutionary Literature," or "Malcolm X, Che, Trotsky," something like that. These can be ordered from the YSA national office and the cost is around \$15.00.

During the first week of school, we want to have literature tables up as much of the time as possible -- every day if the local has the personnel to do it. As we get on into the semester it's not going to be possible or necessary to have tables up that often. The local should figure just how often it can have the table up -- whether it's once or twice a week or whatever -- and then be sure the table is up regularly on those days selected without fail. Students will know just when and where they can find the literature table and a regular clientele will be built up. This kind of dependability is important to build



up and maintain.

I want to mention three things that are indispensable for a literature table. First of all, a sign-up sheet for people who want to know more about the YSA. This should be as neat and as professional looking as possible. It is not just a page ripped out of somebody's notebook, but if possible a mimeographed sheet showing exactly where you want their name, their address, whether they just want more information or want to join. Second, a mimeographed calendar of radical events for the coming week or two weeks listing things like SMC meetings, like women's liberation meetings, YSA forums, contact classes, and so on. And finally, leaflets about any upcoming actions -- preferably enough leaflets so that if somebody comes up and is interested in doing something, you can give him or her some leaflets to pass out.

What makes it possible for us to have these literature tables that can become immediate poles of attraction and centers of activity for the radicalizing students, is the existence of Pathfinder Press. In view of the financial situation of Pathfinder right now, we want to pay special attention this fall to reversing the trend of locals building up large debts to Pathfinder. What I want to do is offer some concrete guidelines for how this can be done. First of all, you should seriously consider the post of literature sales director and assign a responsible comrade to this position. Our literature sales on the campus are a crucial part of our whole propaganda offensive, and to maximize the effectiveness of these sales it's necessary to have this position in the local and to have a leader of the local assigned to be clearly responsible for overseeing this work.

Second, make up the order to Pathfinder very carefully with an eye toward getting the greatest assortment of literature for the least possible money. There are a couple of traps to avoid. One is to order a lot of a small pamphlet just because it's cheap. Just because a pamphlet only costs ten or fifteen cents doesn't mean that you have to order ten or twelve copies. Especially if it's something you're not familiar with and you might end up selling only two or three copies of it the whole semester. The way Pathfinder's discount works, it's not necessary to order large numbers of any one pamphlet to get the full 40 per cent discount. You can order just one or two, and you should unless you know it's something that's going to sell very rapidly.

These are some very general guidelines for ordering literature, and I realize it's a very difficult problem,

especially for a new local. They receive notice in the mail that they've been chartered as a YSA local and they get a Pathfinder catalogue, and they're supposed to sit down and go through the catalogue and make up a literature table.

In order to help remedy this, the YSA national office is going to try to put together a description of a good campus literature table with specific titles and the number of each to order. We hope to publish this in the YS Organizer very soon and then include it in our next edition of the Organizing the YSA pamphlet.

The third key to successful campus literature sales is to keep the finances from the sales totally separate from the local's finances. On the one hand, the members of the local should not have to subsidize the literature tables. This operation should be run to be able to pay for itself. On the other hand, the local should not depend on the literature sales to finance itself, to make the national fund drive quota, or anything else. Any money taken in from literature sales should go straight back to Pathfinder to pay for literature ordered previously and to expand the local's stock. I think one of the major reasons that new locals find themselves owing large amounts to Pathfinder and not knowing what happened to the literature or being able to find the money to pay for it, is that this literature is ordered and sold and the money is then thrown in with the dues and sustainers and other income, and spent for leaflets, or for the fund drive, or for something else. If you're not totally confident of your bookkeeping abilities, it may even be necessary to set up a separate bank account for literature sales. Regardless how the details are arranged, the important idea is to keep the money for literature completely separate from the local's finances, not letting the literature sales support the local, and not letting the literature sales be a financial drain of the local.

The fourth point, which has also been made in reference to branch bookstores, is to keep very accurate books and inventories. In order to run the literature sales effectively and efficiently, it's necessary to know the total owed to Pathfinder, what the income from sales has been each, what titles are selling, just what the current inventory is, and so on.

On the actual relations with Pathfinder, locals can order literature on credit from Pathfinder, and this is absolutely essential for new locals to be able to get together a good assortment of literature, but this is a privilege that should not be abused. The YSA national office, in discussions with

Pathfinder, believes that the absolute maximum that a local should owe to Pathfinder is \$75.00 to \$100.00. Once a local has ordered \$75.00 worth of literature, if it has ordered carefully, it has a very impressive stock, and it should, with careful management, be able to continue to expand its stock as well as make regular payments to Pathfinder solely from its sales income. As soon as the stock is in and the literature tables are being set up regularly, the money from each day's sales should be put in the literature sales bank account, and then every week or two send in as large a check as possible to Pathfinder. Just don't order any more literature until the debt has been reduced. If possible, send in payment in advance with new literature orders, but in any case, if the local owes Pathfinder \$100.00, don't order another \$20.00 worth of literature until the debt has been reduced to at least \$80.00.

This fall, the possibility of getting our socialist propaganda in the form of literature sales out to hundreds of thousands of students, like our opportunities in virtually every sphere of activity, is going to be greater than ever before. If every local organizes its sales in a professional way, we'll be able to get our literature into the hands of these students and help out the financial situation of Pathfinder Press so that Pathfinder continues to expand to meet our expanding needs.

Barbara Matson, New York: I just want to talk a little bit about the relationship between how the branch bookstores operate on the local level and how that affects how Pathfinder is able to operate nationally. Of course, you know that over the last few years Pathfinder has undergone a rapid expansion trying to keep pace with the deepening radicalization. If you just think a minute about the changes that have taken place in your own local activities since 1965 when the antiwar movement first began, I think you can see this.

Our sales to branches this year are more than five times as much as they were back in 1965. In this year already, two branches -- Boston and New York -- have sold as much as all the branches put together in 1965. You can see that in terms of our printing schedule, we have to hustle just to keep up with the orders that are coming in from the branches. But branches aren't the only ones that we're selling literature to. Our total sales are eight times higher than they were in 1965. That means that just to keep up, we have to print much more than we did five years ago. And, in addition to reprinting more and more of the titles that we had in 1965 and since that period, we're putting out a lot of new ones.

In 1965, we put out a total of eight

new titles in the whole year, and in the last six months we've put out twenty new titles. If we continue at this rate, we put out five times as many new titles as we did in 1965. But this has to be carried out in the context of a capitalist society. That is, like everything else, it takes a lot of money. This expansion has brought in greater demands for money than ever before in our history. We started printing larger press runs of each individual title. That's partly due to the business that we've been doing with big distributors in the book business. For example, we sold out of our first 5,000 copies of By Any Means Necessary in just two months. That means that we have to put large amounts of money into a book right from the beginning to print 5,000 to 10,000 copies where we used to print just 2,000 to 3,000.

In addition to that big initial expense, our expansion has created another problem. We've gotten so big that we're doing business with people that are many, many times our size, the big capitalists in the book business. It's like when a little kid starts to play in a little league baseball team. He's big enough to play on a team, but he's still the smallest one on the team and he has to work a lot harder to keep up with the rest of them.

The first thing, is that a commercial printer won't give us any credit. We have to pay for a book as soon as we get it or he won't start printing our next one. Then we sell it to somebody who's maybe five or ten times as big as we are, a big distributor. And he's big enough to kind of push us around, too. There's no way to force a distributor to pay in a hurry. We can't threaten to stop sending him any more books, or even to take back the books that we've given to him because it's not going to hurt his business any. If Random House made the same kind of threat, you can be sure that Random House would see some kind of action. But we just aren't in a position to be able to do that. So we're caught in a squeeze between the printer who demands his money right away and the customer who won't pay until he's ready to do it. It's as if one of the branch bookstores bought \$5,000 worth of literature from Pathfinder and had to pay us right on the spot when they picked up the books, and then sold all that \$5,000 worth of literature to somebody who wouldn't pay you for three or four months. So what you're left with is \$5,000 paid out and an empty bookstore.

The question is, where are you going to get the money to buy some more stock, which is the same problem that we have at Pathfinder. As we see it, there are really only two ways out of this problem. The first is to raise money in the form of investment or long

term loans. The second is to establish a steady reliable base of customers other than distributors. One of the most important sources of this income is the branch bookstores.

At the end of June, branches and locals owed Pathfinder almost \$20,000. With that money we could pay for seven different books, for a total of 38,000 copies. Or we could put out fifty new pamphlets of sixteen pages each. Almost a quarter of a million new pamphlets is represented by what the branches and locals owe us. This isn't just some kind of gymnastic exercise of what we could do "if," or some wishful thinking. The fact is, that of the seven books that I mentioned, two of them -- Eugene V. Debs Speaks and Rosa Luxembourg Speaks -- are new titles that have just been done. The other five of those seven books are Permanent Revolution, The Revolution Betrayed, Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, Socialism on Trial, and Black Voices from Prison. They'll all be out of print in exactly one month unless they are reprinted immediately. Of these five, four are basic educational texts of our movement. They're also books that are used in college and university classrooms around the country. Although we've ordered these books in time to reach us before our stock runs out, we do not have the money on hand to pay for them. We can't continue to print books without knowing in advance where we're going to get the money.

Unless we solve this problem, we're going to have to postpone publication of new books and some of the titles that we have now will start to go out of print. That's not a very pleasant prospect. Comrades can probably remember the problems that we had with summer schools a couple of years ago when both The Revolution Betrayed and Third International After Lenin weren't available. Thus a serious financial responsibility falls on the branch bookstores for the next period.

Any financial difficulties on a local level will be reflected in what we'll be able to do nationally. The smoother a local bookstore functions, the more we'll be able to control our national expansion. It's going to take an awful lot of thought and careful management in each area to first of all come to grips with the big debts that are now owed to Pathfinder, and then to plan out your future expansion in a way that it doesn't come into conflict with our national expansion.

A branch bookstore should be able to pay a substantial part of its February bills by the end of March, and do the same thing every month. When you order one month, you should be able to pay something significant at the end of the

next. If that seems to restrict your expansion on a local level, the branch may decide to loan the bookstore enough money to speed the process up a little bit. But that's a qualitatively different kind of decision than when the bookstore orders what it thinks it needs, without thinking about when or how it's going to pay for it. This latter action represents an unconscious decision by the local bookstore that Pathfinder should subsidize that local's activity. We're not saying that we're not willing in all cases and in all circumstances to lend a helping hand, but this should be a conscious political decision made with knowledge of both local and national conditions. The branch Executive Committee should take responsibility for this area of work in the bookstore just as they do in every other area. They should watch it just as closely, should hear regular reports, and should be fully aware of the problems or the progress of the bookstore.

When the branch owes Pathfinder a large debt, it's not something that the individual bookstore manager owes Pathfinder, that the bookstore owed Pathfinder, it's a branch problem and the branch Executive Committee should take a part in finding a solution to it.

A couple of branches have had local fund drives and fund raising projects for the expansion of the bookstore or to work off their debts. Others have gotten to a point where the bookstore can not only pay all its bills on time, but even has some money left over to pay part of the rent on the headquarters or to contribute to some other area of branch activity. For example, when we sent out our appeal for funds, Berkeley was able to send in \$1,000 and New York was able not only to pay all of the bills that it owed us, but was able to pay quite a bit of money ahead to help us out.

So, we think it's possible and absolutely necessary for all the branch bookstores to expand smoothly, efficiently, and profitably, and we hope that the discussion can help make a contribution to that.

#### PATHFINDER PROMOTION PANEL

Jim Kendrick, Berkeley: I'm going to be covering retail and wholesale promotion sales. Since May of this year, most of what we have experienced in California has been newly learned. There's no mystery that should be associated with the selling of Pathfinder books. Our books are selling to college bookstores, movement bookstores, Black bookstores, commercial bookstores of the very straight variety, national chain stores like Brentano's and Doubledays, Macy's department store -- its not inconceivable that we could sell books to Sears-Roe-

buck -- anywhere that radicals are (and as time goes on, that's going to be more and more places) we can sell Pathfinder books.

We're also selling to wholesale distributors. I'll start out by listing some examples in the west. We've opened up accounts with distributors in Boulder, Colorado (he covers the western eleven states), San Diego, Los Angeles, Portland, San Francisco, Berkeley, Boston, Detroit and New York. It's obviously something that's pretty widespread across the United States, and I suspect that between now and December there are going to be a number of new wholesalers, given the large number of Pathfinder representatives that we have been talking to here.

It's kind of funny when you go out and kind of bumble along, you don't know very much and you're not very professional. I had been going around during May, which was a pretty wild time anyway, going to colleges. After I had visited about ten and found out that the professors were extremely interested in our books, and the bookstores were buying at about \$90.00 a throw, I went to a place called Stockton, California, to the University of the Pacific, which is a Methodist college, and the first thing I always did was to go on the campus and ask "Where's the Black studies department?" Well, they said, nobody here was doing anything. I went into the bookstore and none of the professors were using any exciting textbooks. Then I took a look at the book buyer and he looked like a very unreceptive-type person. I decided to try him anyway. So in my worst presentation, I said to him, "I show my books to people as a matter of form. I know these books may not be of any use to you and your bookstore, but as a matter of form I'm going to show them to you." So he pulls the books out of the case. "Five each on all of them," he said. Then he referred me to this minister on the campus who turns out to be the Marxist in residence and is the center of all the activity. None of the regular professors were doing anything, it's all concentrated in the religion department. Then I began to score, and found reason to return to the campus again. It wasn't the conservatism of the 1950's.

Virtually the same thing happened to me at Stanford. The book buyer there -- a very sophisticated, educated book buyer -- didn't want me to tell him anything about the books. He knew us, he knew Trotsky, he knew about everything, he didn't want to discuss it. He just sat down and wrote out the purchase order, a very large order for about \$190.00. It was large for what I was getting at the time. There was no need to talk to him about it. As a professional, he knew all about it.

There's no promotional genius required to sell Pathfinder books because people want to read Pathfinder books, and they need to read Pathfinder books. That's just about the way it runs. Any comrade who is in an area where there are human beings that read books, can sell Pathfinder books, even in the south. The comrades in the south are beginning to sell Pathfinder books.

Just to give you an idea of the impression other people have about us. One day I was in Granma bookstore and in walked a young fellow from Ramparts Press. They've published about eleven books, they're a division of Ramparts magazine. They distribute their books through Simon and Shuster or some other big publisher. They're bringing out a new book called The Trial of Huey Newton and they don't want to wait for Simon and Shuster to take three months to get the book distributed. So they want to do it on their own. This guy was going around trying to find out how to do it. He was referred to me to find out how to do this through a wholesaler in Berkeley. The impression that I got was that this wholesaler looks at Pathfinder Press as a rising star. That we're growing up, we're new, we're energetic, we're dynamic, everything is happening for us. When Ramparts Press starts coming around to our sales representative to know how to do it, that says a lot about Pathfinder Press, and the type of future that's in store for us.

Bob Gahtan, Boston: The results that we've had in Boston may be difficult for you to duplicate because of how much interest there is in new books in Boston. I don't think that you will be able to duplicate our successes, with the exception, of course, of someone like Jim Kendrick, who two days ago found that he had a free fifteen minutes, and he just walked over to the Oberlin campus bookstore and sold \$150.00 worth of books.

What I do want to discuss is how to convince campus professors to order Pathfinder books for their classes. Since very late last spring, we've sort of mobilized the branch and we visited something like 300 professors and the orders are already coming into New York and we feel that minimally we'll get \$5,000, optimistically, \$10,000, and this is just the first time. All you need are some free samples that Pathfinder sends to you and an attaché case. So, there's a great deal to say in favor of the campus work. In addition, the credit of campus bookstores tends to be much better than that of wholesalers.

I think it's very useful for us to have a concept of professionalism. Three months from now you should be in a position that you could say to yourself, "If

I wanted to get a job with Doubleday, would they hire me? Or would any book publisher?" This is the type of thing that, in terms of your work, you want to develop in the area. As a matter of fact, if you're asked to organize a banquet tomorrow, think, "How would a professional caterer do it?" With this kind of view, it enables, it forces you, to immediately become as professional about whatever assignment, whatever task that you're doing.

Of course, a professional approach in terms of Pathfinder work is very important. Some of the rules I'm going to lay down, very rigidly in a way, as you get more experience you'll tend to adjust them.

One is this: Remember that there is no connection between Pathfinder Press and the Socialist Workers Party. Pathfinder Press is an independent corporation. It's true that Pathfinder Press advertises in The Militant -- this is due to very favorable ad rates in The Militant and the fact that many people who read The Militant are also interested in Trotskyist writings, and Pathfinder is a major publisher of Trotskyist books. But the impression that you want to give is of a growing publishing company that specializes in books of interest to all sectors of the radicalization. The fact that we've become incorporated is a sign of our growth and our development and in a very funny way, Americans always want to get in on a good thing early. And you do want to project that this is what Pathfinder is. It is essentially a shooting star.

Another thing is to avoid political discussion when selling to your professors. It takes a high degree of discipline to be confronted with the combination of ignorance and arrogance of some of the Stalinist professors that exist. It means that you hang onto yourself, then you go out and you have a shower. Political discussions cut across business professional relations.

I'd like to take you to a projected scenario of what you will do when you get back to your areas. You immediately contact Marvin Seigal at Pathfinder in New York, who is anxiously waiting by the phone, and say "Hi. I'm the Pathfinder rep," and immediately materials will be sent to you. While these materials are going out to you, you should do the following thing. Get a three-ring loose-leaf notebook, and in that notebook, set it up so that when you visit the college professors, on each page you have one professor with his room number, and other little details -- whatever he's ordered, whatever he hasn't ordered, what he's interested in, if he's sympathetic, etc. The reason this is very important is that

if you have to leave the assignment you can pass it onto another comrade and he or she can gear into the work and can know immediately who to visit and who not to visit. Another reason is that when you revisit the professor three or four months later, all of these details will come back to you.

Next thing you ought to do is set up a check list for yourself so that when you go out in the morning with your little attaché case, you don't have to think, "Did I forget a pencil? Did I forget the order forms? Did I forget my free samples?" You put the whole thing together, and then, bang, you hit the administration building -- that's the first place you go on the campus. You immediately get a map, get a directory, and then, depending on the geography of the campus, go first to the Black studies department, then visit the political science department, then the history department, then sociology, then English. Generally, hit them in that way.

Remember, that when you come onto a campus, you are the representative of a very important publisher. The importance of Pathfinder will become clear as I continue. The general rule in terms of dressing is always to err on the side of being over dressed. You can always take your tie off. Then, for example, you go to a particular department office, explain who you are, and the people there will be very friendly and tell you to see professor so-and-so, particularly when you mention free samples. Most major publishing houses do not have a network of campus reps. The few that they do will solicit manuscripts and those big, hard-bound textbook orders. In a way, we have absolutely no competition when we do this and this is one of our edges. You've mentioned the free samples to the department secretary and he or she may be very obliging and very courteous and very helpful. If not, simply ignore them, and start to knock on doors, which in a college works out very well. When you come to a professor, you may already know what area of work the professor is interested in. Get the books into their hands as quickly as possible, but don't be too rigid. Don't assume that because somebody's in a Black studies department that they are only going to be interested in the Black books. Very frequently they're interested in Trotsky. Or if you're in the sociology department that they'll only be interested in Black Voices from Prison. Be flexible.

Professors generally do like books. In terms of samples, give them maybe three or four samples of the books they're interested in. Refuse payment if they offer it. Because that's what done in the book trade. A lot of them are sympathetic, they know Pathfinder and they

want to help us out. The best way they can help us out is to take the energy to take it on to other professors and to encourage them to help us out because we're small but we're growing.

If the professor is interested and wants examination copies, do check off what these are and send them off to New York. Don't rely on the professor to actually put a six-cent stamp on it and send it in. To give you a rough feel, probably you should visit around fifteen professors a day. In the beginning maybe less. You might find a sympathetic professor at the beginning; ask him or her for some other contacts. Who else might be interested? So the first few visits, don't think too much about getting orders, think about getting yourself acclimated with the job, so that later on you'll develop the talent so that quickly you'll discover who's indifferent, who's really interested, who to spend time with, who not to spend time with.

In terms of the order, the professor will make the order, fill it out on a special invoice and then send it to the campus bookstore and the campus bookstore will send it into New York. That's generally the way it works. Very frequently, in terms of getting into the university library, the way to do this is to find a friendly professor who is interested in a book that is maybe too expensive for classroom use, so encourage the professor to order it for the library. That way, the cloth books get ordered.

I don't know if you're aware of this, but cloth is pretty important financially. One cloth is equivalent to six paperbacks.

In the beginning you may want to go in pairs so each one can watch the other, then you have lunch together, do the criticism, compare your techniques and then you can start operating on the campus by yourselves. Also have perspective. Somebody who's been selling for a long time when it's raining, and you're getting a traffic ticket, and your first appointment hasn't shown up, and your second appointment turns out to be very insulting, and your third appointment who was going to give you a very large order, gives you a very small order, and so on -- someone who has a perspective (and you, of course, have it because this is the nature of our work) keeps on patiently plugging and pushing.

Let me end on a positive note of what you've got going for you. Don't approach any situation saying, "Well, gee, we're Pathfinder Press and we're a new publishing house." There are concrete facts. (1) Pathfinder Press is one of the few publishers in the entire United States which has prompt shipping.

As soon as an order hits New York, it goes out that day or the next day. In addition to this, Pathfinder is always packaging things accurately. In other words, when you order three books of a certain title from Pathfinder, that's what you get. When you order three books from Simon and Shuster or Doubleday, you get five books of a different title. (2) Pathfinder gives accurate invoicing. If you've ordered four books for \$3.00 each, a month later, you get an invoice saying you ordered four books at \$3.00 each, not ten books at \$5.00 each, or one book at \$2.50. (3) The attractiveness of our line. When these pamphlets come out of our attaché cases, it's come out everywhere that they are extremely attractive. (4) Keep in mind that professors are totally bewildered. For example, one of our comrades in Boston doing work in women's liberation and giving classes in women's liberation, has been getting phone calls from professors from all around the Greater Boston area who want to know what her book list is because they're going to give classes in women's liberation. The bulk of these professors very frequently don't really know quite what to order. And because we've read the books, we can really help them out with their course outline. Those professors who really know what they want and where their weaknesses are, obviously, take what's needed.

Another thing that we have going for us is that other publishers will simply not have the type of network that we are setting up. You're welcomed by professors, they're not visited daily by salesmen. The fact that you represent a publisher gives you quite a bit of respect.

Many of you will have different styles in doing this, it's a personal thing. There are aggressive things that work very well. There were professors in actual conference, I'd stick my head in and say, "How would you like a nice five-minute break? Think happy thoughts, because I've got a lot of free samples here." They laughed and they'd sit down, and I'd pass the examination copies. Because they're all making up radical book lists -- professors have to keep in touch with what's relevant. Others of you may choose a different approach.

Barbara Matson, New York: I just want to give a brief summary of the results of the work that Pathfinder representatives have done nationally. In the first half of this year, the sales to distributors and retailers by Pathfinder representatives amounted to at least 20 per cent of our total sales. That's a pretty big chunk of the expansion. I assume that these sales would not have taken place if someone had not actually gone out to them and approached them with our

material. In the area of classroom adoptions, we don't really have a complete picture because most of the intense work in this area was done last spring and the results won't be available until the end of September. In the past, most of the college orders have come in in August and September. The early results as of the end of July are as follows: sales to colleges and universities for classroom use in the second quarter were almost double those for the first quarter, so already the results of the work from the spring are beginning to show up. In the first quarter Pathfinder sold thirty-three different books and pamphlets for a total of 2,500 copies to professors, or campuses. In the second quarter, fifty-one titles for a total of 5,000 copies.

We first became aware of the real potential for classroom use of our books about a year and a half ago when the YSA began its expansion. We noticed that a few months after a new YSA started on a campus, Pathfinder would often get an order for one or more books for use as a text on that campus. This was also true with regional work. You could almost see what area of the country our regional traveler was going through because Pathfinder would get orders from campuses where he or she'd stop and had set up a literature table. That is, when professors came into contact with our literature, they saw its potential before we even started to ask them, or talk to them about it. When you stop to think about it, it really makes a lot of sense. How can any history professor in 1970 teach Russian history without mentioning Trotsky? And particularly when the Trotskyist movement in this country is growing so rapidly and is so influential in the struggles that are taking place. The benefits to the YSA and the SWP from these adoptions are just beginning to become apparent, apart from the financial gains to Pathfinder. Trotskyist literature

is distributed to thousands of students. What could be better? I think that's the most important meaning of the figures that I mentioned earlier. In the last three months, 5,000 students came into contact with our ideas because some professors decided to use our books in their classes -- 5,000 students. It's probably a little less than that because of duplications -- ordering two books for the same class -- but it gives you some idea of the kind of potential. In addition, the adoptions give our movement a certain amount of legitimacy. It's our ideas that are being presented for serious discussion right along with those of the ruling class.

In the future, we should have a lot of success building tours around this fact. For example, Evelyn Reed's pamphlet, Problems of Women's Liberation, is becoming very popular as a classroom text and it should be very easy for us to go to the universities that are on the list as having ordered for use in classes and suggest that the author would be willing to speak to the class. We could probably even get an honorarium for her for doing so. Although the prospects for the future are very good in this area, we're going to have to continue to do it in the way we've functioned so far. Pathfinder can't afford to put a lot of full time salesmen in the field or pay a lot of professional people to do this work. We have to depend on comrades to supply the person-power and to find someone to do this work. We've found that not only branches, but also YSA locals and at-largers, have been successful. You don't have to have a great big apparatus to carry out this work. The YSAers in Kansas City got an order for 200 or 300 copies of Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory from a professor on their campus. In Madison, a professor ordered 400 copies of The Permanent Revolution and 400 each of three other titles.