

# PARTY BUILDER

## SWP Organizational Discussion Bulletin

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## THE PROGRESS OF PATHFINDER SALES

by Michael Smith, Lower Manhattan Branch,  
New York Local

This article will review what comrades in the branches and locals have done in the last year since the literature workshop at Oberlin in 1971 to promote Pathfinder sales. Second, it will project our plans for helping sell Pathfinder publications in the fall.

### *A Growing Sales Force*

Last year we projected the establishment of a national team of Pathfinder sales representatives assigned by their branches and locals. In this way it was thought we could take advantage of a large sales force strategically located in major cities and near big campuses, that is, in places where there exists a potential readership for Pathfinder titles. It goes without saying that Pathfinder (still relatively small, even among left publishers) cannot afford to hire a professional sales force as other publishers do. But in our movement we have people conscious of the political importance to us of placing Pathfinder titles in classrooms, libraries and bookstores, and who, on a volunteer basis, can do the work of a sales force.

What have been the results? There are now salespeople assigned in every city except two where there is a branch. Increments to the sales force were made in 10 cities—Atlanta, Austin, Detroit, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, Upper West Side, Seattle, Philadelphia and Portland. With few exceptions these comrades did work on a more-or-less regular basis, opening new accounts, and keeping stores stocked with Pathfinder titles, keeping them in front of the public.

A welcome addition to the sales effort were sixteen YSA-ers on campuses not located in a branch city. Many of them did excellent work, showing titles to professors and getting material into the library and bookstore(s).

A centerspread article in *The Militant* featured an interview with a Pathfinder editor and an average of one article per month appeared in the *Young Socialist Organizer*. A bulletin on how to do sales work is being prepared and will be available in the fall. Pathfinder has provided materials to help us facilitate this work. Professional sales kits have been made up and distributed to the reps. Sales sheets giving tips on how to motivate new books are written up and regularly sent to reps. A *Sales Representative Newsletter* is sent out to coordinate and inform the salespeople. In short, everything possible is being done to aid the efforts of the reps in the field.

### *Two Problems*

There are two constant problems in keeping up the sales force. The first is that the rep work is not an integral part of branch activity as, say, *Militant* sales. Regular reports to the branch and the circulating of the *Sales Representative Newsletter* can partly alleviate this. Reps should not be left off on their own; it can be demoralizing, and moreover, reps have found they can get practical as well as moral support when they work closer to the branch and YSA.

The second problem is the turnover in the rep force. A rep has accumulated a certain skill, contacts with book

buyers, and experience. Losing such a person as a result of a transfer or reassignment can be damaging because of the break in continuity and the time lost in securing another rep. This problem is not totally solvable; nevertheless comrades should give serious consideration to both the selection and replacement of reps.

### *Classroom Adoption of Pathfinder Titles: The Spring Catalog Distribution Effort*

In addition to helping Pathfinder retail sales in the last year, YSA and SWP comrades and sympathizers distributed over 7,000 of the new catalog to social science professors in a major effort to get them to use Pathfinder titles in their courses. This has an important potential for Pathfinder sales. There are 80,000 social science professors in the country. Last year 700 classroom adoptions occurred. This year at the end of the distribution campaign 783 professors from 109 campuses examined 2843 titles. How many will be used in classrooms? We should know in the next two semesters.

### *Our Fall Plans*

There are 2 important activities we can do in the fall to aid Pathfinder sales. First, the fall is a prime book-buying time for bookstores. They take publishers' new titles and reorder backlist titles. Pathfinder has some exciting new books scheduled to come out. We will want to push these twice: first in early September and then again in November before the Christmas buying season. *Every branch, and every non-branch YSA that is able, should have a rep prepared to take on this retail push—right after the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.*

Second, we will continue the distribution of catalogs to professors. Branch cities including Detroit, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and Denver which didn't complete the distribution last fall will be asked to do so. Other areas, both branch and non-branch YSAs, will be asked to distribute to places that have gone untouched.

Last spring the six YSJP teams doing regional work distributed the catalog to social science professors on the campuses they visited. Already orders for classroom adoptions have developed from this work. For example, a teacher at Tougaloo College in Mississippi ordered twenty copies of *Democracy and Revolution* by George Novack, probably as a result of getting a catalog from the Black YSJP team. This fall we plan to continue this regional work as projected by the YSA plenum. We have the potential of reaching many more campuses than we did last spring through this activity.

### *Support*

Last, I want to restate the point about giving support to the Pathfinder rep. Without the attention of the branch or YSA, and particularly the attention of the leadership of the branch or YSA, it is only the exceptional comrade that is going to do effective selling. If you examine the "product" Pathfinder puts out, the physical product, the books, you'll find them without peers in the publishing

field both in their craftsmanship and design. And that is not to mention their content.

But without the active leadership of our cadre too many of these titles will sit in the storehouse and remain unavailable to the thousands of potential radicals who are looking for ideas. That has been our cumulative experi-

ence. The reps need backing and support, plenty of it, and with that the potential revolutionaries and sympathizers of the future will be brought into contact with the only literature that points out the lessons of the past and a clear road for the future.

July 20, 1972

## FORUMS: A YEAR ROUND INTERVENTION INTO THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

by John Votava, Oakland-Berkeley Branch

Across the country I do not think there is a completely consistent approach to forums during the summer. Many branches continue the forum series on some basis, some more regularly than others. Sometimes the series is discontinued entirely.

The forum is an external activity. It is *more* analagous to campaign work, and even antiwar and women's liberation work, than it is to any kind of internal activity or educational series like the summer school.

With the exception of our campaigns, the forum is our best method of direct intervention into political life in the community and the establishment of our party as a factor in the political life of the city.

For example, I remember a forum in Atlanta when that branch was recently established where speakers from the *Great Speckled Bird*, RYM II, and an underground CPer who was working inside SCLC debated us on perspectives for the antiwar movement. At that time those were the major forces involved in the antiwar movement and in other political movements in the city. There was a very large turnout of members and sympathizers of the groups participating in the forum and from the political community in general. The fact that all these people came established our branch more solidly and made it more respected.

The debates in New York with people from the *Guardian* are a more recent example of the same thing.

Our forums have also played a significant role in shaping the general consciousness and understanding of political movements. Most notably, we can say that our forums around the Palestinian question have had an important effect, not only upon the radical community, but

upon society in general.

In the past recent period our forums have also given us a way of making significant new contacts. For example, this spring Jose Revueltas spoke at an Oakland-Berkeley forum.

Our forums with all the "Youth For" groups supporting capitalist candidates have had an impact on the thinking of the politicized student youth.

Finally, the forums can and have played a significant role in making specific interventions into certain milieus. Most recently Denver had a forum where a representative from the Communist Party debated us on Nixon's trip to Moscow.

If every branch were to draw up a list of breakthroughs they have achieved through use of the forum all these points would become even clearer. And if you look at the whole year's list you can see the impact we have made through the forums quite well.

Like every other area of our work, more opportunities are presenting themselves than our resources permit us to take advantage. This summer alone our forums could have, and did, play important roles in the discussions in WONAAC, the CP's attempt to betray the Vietnamese revolution, the Labor for Peace conference, and the meaning of the Democratic Party national convention.

Unless the forum series was planned as a regular consistent event, however, it would have been difficult to take full advantage of all the opportunities presented this summer. There were too many openings for emergency forums to suffice.

There is an additional technical argument for regularly maintaining forums through the summer. If any regular

contacts and arrangements have been established with the press or radio to advertise the forums, they may be lost over a summer break. We are trying to establish the forum as *the* place for radical discussion in the political community. Who will remember the *forum* after three months? Imagine if *The Militant* stopped publishing for three months.

Finally, overloaded summer schedules and smaller campus attendance during the summer do not seem to be decisive arguments for not having a regular summer forum series. All the points made above are more weighty. Every branch should work more toward the approach of a year-round forum series.

July 18, 1972

*LOCAL SWP CAMPAIGN MEDIA WORK*  
by Cathy Perkus, Lower Manhattan Branch,  
New York Local

Thoughtful attention to media work is indispensable in running a good local SWP campaign.

Through the media we can project our program, candidates and party far beyond the limited numbers of people who hear the candidates speak in person or who read our literature.

Candidates who are in the news a lot are taken seriously. Therefore an important part of planning every campaign event and every appearance by the candidate is asking, "How, when and where can this be said or done most imaginatively to maximize media attention?"

The purpose of this article is to make some suggestions for an approach to the media that can help get coverage for our local campaigns. (For some views on how to write news releases and call news conferences, comrades may want to refer to the Party Builder Vol. VI, No. 4, July 1970.)

*Local Politics*

Part of running a good local campaign is applying our program specifically to local politics and intervening in the day-to-day issues, events and debates that make up the political life of the congressional district, city or state in which we are campaigning. Our local SWP nominees are running both as representatives of the national ticket and as local contenders providing a socialist alternative relevant to the problems and concerns of the people in their district.

This is also the key to attracting media coverage.

A good local campaign means our candidates being where the action is—which is where the media already is anyway and where public attention is focused.

The "action" might be at city council hearings, school board meetings, the state assembly, or local conferences

and demonstrations.

The media should always be notified in advance by a release and phone call when and why our candidates will appear at one of these places and that he or she will be available for interviews.

The media should be informed in advance of everything the candidate does: marching and speaking in a local demonstration or picket line, speaking at high school assemblies, touring the region, speaking at a forum. When a candidate attends a national or regional demonstration or conference, we should not only inform the media but also line up interviews for when he or she returns.

A regular calendar of candidates' activities and speaking engagements, sent out weekly, might be a good way to keep the media up-to-date. And separate announcements can be sent for major campaign activities.

When important news unfolds, such as a strike, a frame-up of activists, the exposure of a corporation polluting the environment, or a judge caught taking bribes, the response of our candidates should be communicated to the media. (Sometimes the SWP campaign itself will uncover and expose a scandal and will receive credit and publicity for it. The Boston campaign got possession of a city official's memorandum requiring city employees to staff phones for the Democratic Party fund-raising TV marathon, and released it to reporters along with a statement condemning it.)

The campaign staff and candidates must attune themselves to local events. Reading the local papers first thing in the morning and listening to the radio news periodically through the day are absolutely necessary. Our candidate's comment is not news 24 hours after the fact. What is news is to call the radio stations, papers and wire services with the statement as soon as possible. A written version should

be hand delivered later, but a call right away is most important.

There's no reason for each statement to contain our entire program. A short, specific, to-the-point comment is much more appropriate and newsworthy and portrays our candidate as seriously running for the office.

#### *"Equal Time" and Other Media Opportunities*

In addition to newsworthy activities, there are other ways of getting coverage. Many TV and radio stations, under the "Fairness Doctrine," invite guest editorials. By systematically following their editorials, and promptly requesting an opportunity to respond, we can often get our opinions aired. Candidates should also write letters to the editor of local newspapers to express their opinions and propose solutions to problems.

Our campaign should take full advantage of the equal-time laws. By November we can get access to hundreds of hours of equal-time appearances if we do this work carefully. Read the April 1, 1972 memo on equal time from the national campaign office (reproduced at the end of this article) and then watch and listen for our opponents to appear.

After a period of holding news conferences and calling news rooms and city desks, each local campaign committee will begin recognizing a group of reporters regularly assigned to our campaign. (If you can't figure out who yours are, call the newspaper city desk or radio/TV news editor and ask.) Then begin sending releases and material directly to these people, as well as to their news room or city desk. Invite them, with complimentary tickets, to banquets and other functions. Call them periodically to see that they're keeping up with the campaign and to see if they have any questions.

Whenever a new local or national piece of literature comes out be sure to send copies to all the papers, TVs, radios, wire services, individual reporters, and community, underground, movement and campus papers. It will cost some money — but it's worth it.

(By the way, every local campaign committee's media list should also include the national campaign office, and *The Militant*, the *Guardian*, the *Daily World* and the *Village Voice* news desks.)

The community papers and the movement, underground, campus and high school press should be sent kits containing local and national campaign material and half-tone pictures of the local candidates. Include cover letters, appropriate for each media, informing them that the candidates are available for interviews and telling them when

the national candidates will be in town. Then follow up with phone calls. Especially if our campaign has recently received mass media attention, these weeklies will be eager to meet our candidates.

The regional YSJP teams can also drop off media kits at newspapers and radio stations along their tour and explain what they're doing to the news editors.

#### *News Conferences*

News conferences should be called when there's news to announce. When a national candidate or campaign spokesperson comes into town, hold a news conference with the local candidates there too. Holding the news conference in interesting locations—on the State House steps, in front of a corporation headquarters whose scandalous conduct we're protesting, in a campus campaign office, at the airport or bus station when the candidate returns from an out-of-town conference or demonstration — can enhance the media's interest.

Our candidates should always ask to be included when other candidates have been invited to appear at news conferences held by groups such as NPAC, SMC, WONAAC, etc.

#### *What Is News?*

There is a difference between news and other aspects of our campaign and our candidates that might attract reporters' interest. Knowing the difference can help us be taken seriously and be considered professional by the media.

"News" is specific actions taken by the candidate, or relevant comments and immediate responses to important events. "News" is appropriate in statements called to the media, in news releases, and for news conferences.

In addition to "news," reporters might be interested in covering interesting features about our campaign and our candidates. The first "interesting" thing, of course, is that we are socialists, and therefore are different from all of our opponents. For example, our candidate may be the first socialist ever to run in that district. Or our candidate may be the only woman in a field of male opponents. Or our candidate may be very young, or previously a well-known antiwar or feminist leader and organizer. These "differences" between us and our opponents can be the subject of feature articles. They do not go in news releases, but are appropriate for individual discussions with interested reporters, in interviews after news conferences, or in the media packets that go out to community, campus and underground papers.

July 21, 1972

## APPENDIX

The following material on the equal time laws was prepared by the national campaign committee to aid local campaigns in getting equal time. It is being reprinted here for the information of all comrades involved in this work.

April 1, 1972

### TO ALL CAMPAIGN DIRECTORS:

Dear Comrades,

The broadcast media is a vehicle for reaching millions of people with the socialist campaign. Because of the breadth and scope of the 1972 campaign, and the news value of its activities, thousands of dollars worth of air time will be available to us. It is important that a serious and professional approach be taken to this area of publicity, in order to maximize the radio and TV time obtained for the local and national SWP candidates.

Most of the broadcast time obtained so far has been the result of news releases, news conferences, and arranging appearances for candidates on talk shows and interview programs. This will remain the key way to obtain media coverage throughout the campaign.

In addition, substantial radio and TV time can be obtained on the basis of the equal time provision of the 1934 Federal Communications Act.

In order to obtain the maximum amount of media time, campaign committees should pay close attention to local TV and radio broadcasts, and record every appearance of opponent candidates, national and local. Equal time report forms, like the attached sample, can be extremely helpful in this regard. These report forms can be reproduced locally, and distributed to all comrades and YSJPers, with instructions on how to fill them out. In this way, an efficient monitoring set-up can be easily established.

Requests for equal time should be submitted by local campaign committees within one week of the initial appearance of an opponent candidate. Applications should be submitted by telegram or registered mail, so that we have a record of receipt. One copy should be sent to the local station; one copy to Ben F. Waple, Secretary, Federal Communications Commission, 1919 'M' Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20554; one copy to the national campaign office; and one copy should be kept for local file. Sample requests are attached for your information.

Every campaign committee should write to the FCC requesting the August 15, 1970 Federal Register (available free of charge) which codifies rules and regulations concerning political broadcasts, and contains other useful information.

The following points should be kept in mind with regard to equal time requests:

- (1) It is not necessary to be on the ballot to qualify for equal time. Any write-in candidate who makes "a substantial showing that he is a bona fide candidate" is eligible.
- (2) Various types of programs, such as news broadcasts, are exempt. (See attached rules and regulations.)
- (3) According to the FCC rules, only "legally qualified" candidates are eligible for equal time. Candidates who do not meet the age requirement may be refused time. However, applications should be made anyway since many stations will not challenge the candidate's status.
- (4) Until candidates are actually nominated by their party we cannot use their appearances as the basis for equal time requests. Thus, candidates in primaries do not concern us. However, appearances by candidates of the Communist Party, People's Party, Socialist Labor Party, etc., are a basis for equal time appearances.
- (5) Any appearances by presidential or vice-presidential candidates should be reported immediately to the national campaign office.
- (6) An amendment to the Federal Communications Act has been proposed which would remove candidates for president and vice-president only from the equal time provisions. This amendment has been approved by the Senate, and is now awaiting action in the House. Press reports indicate that Nixon is likely to veto the amendment, however.

Comradely,

*Steve Beren*

Steve Beren  
Campaign Staff

**SAMPLE EQUAL TIME REQUEST FOR LOCAL CANDIDATES**

August 16, 1970

Producer, Searchlight  
WNBC-TV  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, New York 10020

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

I request that equal time as provided by Section 315a of the Federal Communications Act of 1934, as amended, be accorded Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator. This request is made in conjunction with the appearance of Democratic senatorial candidate Richard L. Ottinger on Searchlight on WNBC-TV on Sunday, August 16, 1970.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter. I await your early reply.

Sincerely,

David Keepnews  
Campaign Committee

cc Ben F. Waple,  
Federal Communications Commission

\* \* \*

(ANY APPEARANCE BY PRESIDENTIAL OR VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES SHOULD BE REPORTED IMMEDIATELY TO THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OFFICE.)

SAMPLE EQUAL TIME REPORT FORM

Keep several of these forms near your radio or TV. Fill out the form and hand it in to the campaign committee's public relations director if any opponent candidate appears on radio or TV. Do this promptly. Any request for equal time must be made within a week of the initial broadcast.

STATION CALL LETTERS..... RADIO/AM....RADIO/FM.....TV.....

NAME OF PROGRAM.....

FORMAT OF PROGRAM.....

DATE..... TIME.....

LENGTH OF BROADCAST.....

CANDIDATE(S) APPEARING ON PROGRAM AND OFFICE FOR WHICH HE/SHE (THEY) IS (ARE) RUNNING:

.....  
.....  
.....

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Note: The following types of news programs are exempt from the equal-time requirement:

- (1) bona fide newscast (like Walter Cronkite)
- (2) bona fide news interviews (like Meet the Press)
- (3) bona fide news documentary (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary.)
- (4) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental to political conventions).

IF YOU ARE NOT SURE IF A CANDIDATE'S APPEARANCE IS EXEMPT FILL OUT THE FORM ANYWAY.

Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, provides as follows:

SEC. 315. (a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting stations: Provided, That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate. Appearance by a legally qualified candidate on any-

(1) Bona fide newscast,

(2) Bona fide news interview,

(3) Bona fide news documentary (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary), or

(4) On-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto) shall not be deemed to be use of a broadcasting station within the meaning of this subsection. Nothing in the foregoing sentence shall be construed as relieving broadcasters, in connection with the presentation of newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries, and on-the-spot coverage of news events, from the obligation imposed upon them under this Act to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance.

(b) The charges made for the use of any broadcasting station for any of the purposes set forth in this section shall not exceed the charges made for comparable use of such station for other purposes.

(c) The Commission shall proscribe appropriate rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this section.

The Commission's rules and regulations with respect to political broadcasts coming within Section 315 of the Communications Act read as follows:

Broadcasts by candidates for public office -- (a) Definitions:  
A "legally qualified candidate" means any person who has publicly announced that he is a candidate for a nomination of a political party or for nomination or election in a primary, special, or general election, municipal, county, State or national, and who meets the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold the office for which he is a candidate, so that he may be voted for by the electorate directly or by means of delegates or electors, and who:

(1) Has qualified for a place on the ballot or

(2) Is eligible under the applicable law to be voted for by sticker, by writing in his name on the ballot, or other method, and (i) has been duly nominated by a political party which is commonly known and regarded as such, or (ii) makes a substantial showing that he is a bona fide candidate for nomination or office, as the case may be.

(b) General requirements. No station licensee is required to permit the use of its facilities by any legally qualified candidate for public office, but if any licensee shall permit any such candidate to use its facilities, it shall afford equal opportunities to all such other candidates for that office to use such facilities: Provided, That

such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast by any such candidate.

(c) Rates and practices. (1) The rates, if any, charged all such candidates for the same office shall be uniform and shall not be rebated by any means direct or indirect. A candidate shall, in each case, be charged no more than the rate the station would charge if the candidate were a commercial advertiser whose advertising was directed to promoting its business within the same area as that encompassed by the particular office for which such person is a candidate. All discount privileges otherwise offered by a station to commercial advertisers shall be available on equal terms to all candidates for public office.

(2) In making time available to candidates for public office no licensee shall make any discrimination between candidates in charges, practices, regulations, facilities, or services for or in connection with the service rendered pursuant to this part, or make or give any preference to any candidate for public office or subject any such candidate to any prejudice or disadvantage; nor shall any licensee make any contract or other agreement which shall have the effect of permitting any legally qualified candidate for any public office to broadcast to the exclusion of other legally qualified candidates for the same public office.

(d) Records; inspection. Every licensee shall keep and permit public inspection of a complete record of all requests for broadcast time made by or on behalf of candidates for public office, together with an appropriate notation showing the disposition made by the licensee of such requests, and the charges made, if any, if request is granted. Such records shall be retained for a period of 2 years.

(e) Time of request. A request for equal opportunities must be submitted to the licensee within 1 week of the day on which the first prior use, giving rise to the right of equal opportunities, occurred: Provided, however, That where the person was not a candidate at the time of such prior use, he shall submit his request within 1 week of the first subsequent use after he has become a legally qualified candidate for the office in question.

(f) Burden of proof. A candidate requesting such equal opportunities of the licensee, or complaining of non-compliance to the Commission shall have the burden of proving that he and his opponent are legally qualified candidates for the same public office.

(Copies of the March 21, 1972 Federal Register can be obtained by writing to Ben F. Waple, Secretary, Federal Communications Commission, 1919 'M' Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20544.)

Correction: part (e) of the Rules and Regulations should read "... Provided, however, That where the person was not a candidate at the time of such first prior use, he shall submit his request within 1 week of the first subsequent use after he has become a legally qualified candidate for the office in question."

## GRANMA BOOKSTORE

by Sue Smith, Oakland-Berkeley Branch

To correctly assess the experience and successes of Granma in the context of aiding other branch bookstores' development, both the differences and similarities must be analyzed. The analysis divides into three aspects: the history of the store, its accomplishments and opportunities, and Granma's promotion techniques as a model for other bookstores.

### *History*

When the Oakland-Berkeley branch opened Granma Bookstore in April 1968, over four years ago, it was considered a unique political experiment. In the years since then, that experiment has become an established success. The store was similar to the literature departments of other branches around the country in that the main purpose was to effectively disseminate and popularize our literature, but there were distinct differences also.

First, the store was set up to be completely self-sustaining financially. At no time has Granma required funding from the branch. Its growth has come out of its own resources and continues this way.

Second, the scale on which the store operates is much larger than other literature departments. Previous to opening Granma, the branch's monthly sales were \$300-400. By 1969, average monthly sales in the store were \$3000; by 1970 they had risen to an average of \$4800, and by 1971 to \$5000, which continues into 1972. We grossed in sales in 1969 \$35,000; in 1970 \$50,000; and in 1971 \$63,000. These represent yearly growth rates of 40%, 40% and 25% respectively. The number of titles increased from around 400 to over 3000. In 1971 alone we purchased between \$5000 and \$10,000 worth of Pathfinder titles.

In 1970 the store's growth had proceeded so rapidly, it became necessary to add a second full-time person to the staff, primarily doing promotion work. This was in addition to two other people working part-time and over 125 hours of comrades' volunteer labor per week for counter sitting.

A third difference is that Granma carries as complete a line of Marxist works as possible, and occupies a monopoly position with respect to Marxist classics in the East Bay. We also attempt to relate to the various liberation movements, as they grow and develop a body of literature. This includes women's liberation, Black, Chicano and Asian liberation, the gay liberation and Northern Ireland liberation movements. The labor movement also features prominently. This literature not only includes books from publishers, but also a large selection of pamphlets put out by women's groups, underground presses, etc. We have also moved selectively into the left-wing literature of the various disciplines such as economics, philosophy, and political science. Since in Berkeley there is a large number of Persians and Chicanos, we carry a number of titles in Spanish and Persian and some in Arabic.

Located on the main street leading to UC Berkeley, only five blocks away from the campus, the store is a center for those who have questions about socialism and who want to read and discuss Marxism; there is a YSA

sign-up list near the front counter. The store is used to advertise YSA and SWP activities. For example, on our front window, a poster notifies customers of each week's forum. We promote our election campaigns through various window and table displays, and we have propaganda on the front counter for interested people. During antiwar actions the store can function as a distribution center for leaflets and information. During *ISR* and *Militant* subscription drives, the store makes special displays and subscription offers to aid the drive. Between 40 and 50 *Militants* are sold over the counter each week and around 60 *ISRs* each month. Currently one of our main display racks carries an attractive display of back issues of the *ISR*, urging people to subscribe and buy for half price these back issues.

### *Accomplishments and Opportunities*

Since Granma was well-known by 1970, 1971 was a year of political enrichment. We honed our mobile literature wagon technique to a fine art. Hardly a conference or demonstration occurred but what the Trotskyists were there, spectacularly visible with the latest of topical literature, along with our Marxist specialities, in a massive, grand display. Our banner "Revolutionary Literature, Granma Books, Socialist Workers Party" could be seen all the way across the enormous polo field on November 6 in the antiwar demonstration. Recently, total "outside" sales from all sources have averaged \$960 per month, or approximately 1/5 of total bookstore sales. Examples of these activities were the NOW conference in Los Angeles in September 1971 which netted \$760, a second NOW conference in Sacramento in May of this year which brought in \$400; a Women in Psychology Conference in October where in one day, off one table, we took in \$350, amid a very friendly and receptive atmosphere. Other successes were November 6 (antiwar) and 20 (WONAAC) which saw sales of \$200 and \$400 respectively.

The smaller activities were no less important politically, however. For example, we had an opportunity to set up a table at the Arab Students Association meeting in November which netted \$28.00, and at the Iranian Students Conference in June, where \$200 was sold. Previously the Arab Students had been cool toward our movement and as a result of this display, they became familiar with Granma and our attitude toward them, and so became much friendlier. The Iranian Students Conference was also a major step forward for us. We brought Chicano literature to a big celebration on the 100th anniversary of the Mexican Revolution in November where we made a good impression, \$40.00, and sold much Spanish-language literature. In February we were able to attend the Prisoners' Union Conference at Cal and sold nearly \$100. For a period of time, we followed the Women's Political Caucus meetings from place to place, setting up a display of women's literature. The general attitude toward our table was that we were performing a real service to the women's movement.

Even more importantly, when we set up tables at con-

ferences and meetings, many people from outlying areas find out about Granma and the Trotskyist movement for the first time. We make political contacts through discussion and advice on what literature is applicable for the individual or group. For example we were able to supply a women's liberation group from UC Davis (about 70 miles from Berkeley) with feminist literature as a result of our attendance at the WPC meetings. The branches should be very conscious of the openings that can be made by the availability of our literature in order to do further political work with these individuals and groups in the region and locally.

As a result of our attendance and display of feminist literature at the NOW convention in Sacramento in May, the San Francisco chapter of NOW *invited* Granma to set up a similar display at their open house in July. The Fresno chapter also ordered a large quantity of literature from Granma for some of their meetings to be held during the summer. These contacts with NOW and other groups can greatly facilitate our working with them on issues such as the abortion law repeal campaign.

Another category of great forward leaps has been librarial and group promotions. We now have a steady clientele of libraries, who deal regularly or semi-regularly with us, without further promotion on our part. Many groups, such as the Ethiopian Students Union, Chicano studies departments, etc., view Granma as a central literature depot for short notice, on consignment if desired, literature for their classes and other activities. Most spectacular, however, is that we are now supplying on a regular basis five women's centers in the region and beyond: Stanford, San Jose, Davis, Sacramento, and University of New Mexico. They receive a 20-percent discount, return privileges, and a stipulation that they must pay within 30 days or return the literature. So far, we have not had a single default on payments from these centers.

We have made it possible for the feminist employees of various libraries to borrow a selection of our literature for special displays in their libraries. We are able to get free advertising in return: the library posted our flyers showing where the literature came from.

Over the past few months, the various fractions have become much more conscious than before of the potential of carrying our literature with them to meetings and conferences. Especially noteworthy are the Black and Chicano fractions which have set up tables regularly. Some results: in April, a San Jose Chicano conference sold around \$200; a similar result was obtained during African Liberation Day in May. The various campus fractions have been making serious attempts to set up a literature table during the noon hours on their respective campuses. While less monetarily significant, these campus tables are of fundamental political importance: they act as the focal point for people interested in the YSA on campus.

These promotional successes, from campus tables, consignments, libraries, classes, demonstrations and conferences, stem primarily from a steady stream of repeat business, after a long period of promotional hustling. It is still necessary for all comrades to be conscious of noting opportunities where we can set up tables and to report these tips to the bookstore committee: but the point to be made is that once the long initial period of cultivation has been done, the promotions acquire a feedback of their own. Aside from being a goldmine for sup-

plementing over-the-counter sales (1/5 of total sales in Granma are "outside" sales), these promotions are strategic in putting the movement forward politically.

#### *Granma's Promotion Techniques As a Model for Other Branch Stores*

While some of the successes we have encountered are a specific function of the unique position this store occupies, most are quite adaptable to the medium-sized branch store (\$400/month average sales) and many can be used even in small, struggling locals with proper caution.

Although most stores don't have the capacity to carry extensive specialty items relating specifically to the various liberation movements, etc., almost every medium-sized store can acquire a small selective stock, usually one copy each of carefully selected popular titles. Then, when the opportunity arises to set up tables at conferences which have a particular theme, the display can *emphasize* the appropriate titles and be supplemented by our general Pathfinder literature. Also remember, Pathfinder itself is putting out a growing number of titles relating to specific topics, and carries a limited but fine selection of non-Pathfinder titles. This makes it easier to relate to the promotional opportunities. For the very small store, the Pathfinder source should be used almost entirely, and the display should emphasize the appropriate titles (e.g., for a Chicano conference, Pathfinder's growing selection of excellent Chicano pamphlets).

In setting up the display, it is important to *appear* as if the store is a massive operation which sets up these displays routinely. The whole operation must be carried off in a professional manner. For example, if you have enough titles to occupy two big tables instead of only one, insist on that second table. Even if you know you are not going to sell a lot of literature, pack up a number of boxes anyway, so the display is overwhelmingly visible. It makes a tremendous political impact. If you are short on literature supplies, you might have to pack up every stick of literature in the store to make the display. But it's worth it, because the sheer audacity of an extensive display is what gives the impression of competence and importance. Buttons, bumper stickers and other novelty (fund-raising) items should be included on the table to attract the less political people, particularly important at demonstrations, where the "masses" are reached. Flyers should be printed up which give relevant details of location, etc, as well the type of literature carried, and the fact that you are willing to supply literature to groups, conferences, etc., as a normal activity. This gives you an immediate advantage over other stores, since they don't have the volunteer staff to mobilize. It is surprising how pleased and grateful many people are when they find that your store will help them with their literature problems. It is also impressive to paint several banners for use with the tables. For example, Granma has a large banner for women's conferences: "Feminist Literature, Granma Books, Socialist Workers Party." Tables should be equipped with all the non-literature supplies which guarantee a smoothly running operation: change, tape, tacks, hammer, paper bags, etc.

To facilitate the bookstore committee's job, the entire branch must be on the alert to report any potential opportunities for promotions to the bookstore committee, just as the comrades report *Militant* sales opportunities

to that committee. They must also be willing to place the proper importance on seeing to it that displays get where they are going on time and staffed with the appropriate crew. It is very impressive when Granma has its table already set up at a conference, *on time*, when others are wandering about enmeshed in confusion.

If the literature promotions in the branch or local are in a state of stagnation, and the problem is one of educating comrades to the importance of our literature promotion, there are several guidelines to be followed. First, assign several people to a working bookstore committee where a division of labor can be set up: ordering of titles, promotional opportunities, bookkeeping, etc. If it is possible, allow the bookstore to have "a room of one's own," rather than to be a diffuse scattering of titles about the walls of the main hall. There are several advantages to the single-purpose room. First, it *looks* like a bookstore, and any non-comrade customers will be much more at ease in what appears to be a real bookstore. This also is more convincing to the comrades that the branch is serious about creating a real bookstore. Second, the door can be locked when the store isn't open (when there are no comrades taking a shift at sitting behind the counter). This reduces literature "disappearance."

The bookstore committee should require that the store be open regular hours even if that's only a few hours a day, and during activities in the hall. This means that a schedule of counter duty shifts (2-3 hours duration) must be drawn up and comrades be assigned just like any other assignment in the branch. It is extremely important to adhere to these hours. People come to depend on the store being open during these hours, and interpret irregular hours to an unprofessional attitude; they will simply go elsewhere for their literature. The adherence to regular hours also educates the comrades that there is a real bookstore in operation, worthy of their patronage.

To get the store off to an initial boost, after moving into its own room and increasing the stock level, range and quality, it may be desirable to have a modest sale, e.g., 10 percent off all items, etc., in conjunction with a "grand opening." If this technique is chosen, the duration of the discount should be short, perhaps one day or a weekend.

If, after getting the store off to a good start with respect to the branch and local, the next problem is that of getting the store known, several inexpensive methods exist here also. Assuming that the committee is taking advantage of opportunities for attending conferences, etc., and setting up campus tables, a well-done *printed* (not mimeoed) flyer (preferably on colored paper) should be used on these tables and at these conferences to hand to interested people. These flyers are not for mass distribution as they are expensive per sheet. Then, to supplement the flyers, a mimeoed leaflet should be run off for posting on the various campuses, slipped under professors' office doors, put on chairs at conferences, distributed at demonstrations, and elsewhere. The flyer plus leaflet method of advertising is preferable for a small struggling store, since the cost per-person-reached is much lower. Great caution should be exercised in entering paid advertisements in various newspapers and magazines. Generally they are expensive and you have to repeat the run to make any impression at all. There are exceptions to this of course, so the promotions person should investigate the possi-

bilities for paid advertising in a systematic manner.

Other techniques which are virtually cost-free are soliciting professors and libraries. Make a list of the radical professors in your area, and call them well in advance of the school session's opening. Tell them about your store and ask them for their list of books—that you are interested in making these books available to their students if they will send their students to your store. Granma even went so far as to set up a card table outside of a friendly professor's classroom to sell a particular title at one time. There is a catch to the professor technique, however. The class may be expected to have a lot of people enrolled in it, but the store can't possibly order enough to supply all these students. At the most, the store should 5-20 copies, because all you're really able to do is *supplement* the textbook stores.

The other method is to contact libraries. Send out a mailing to the purchasing departments of libraries, inviting them to come to your store. Offer a discount and help in selecting books and pamphlets. Many times the purchasing department will have a young radical person who will be interested especially in the pamphlets your store carries. Pamphlets are in general not carried by other stores and the libraries have no access to them from their suppliers. The biggest area of interest for the libraries is women's liberation. Quite frequently, these libraries haven't a single title on this subject, and would love to take advantage of your selection.

A new phenomenon to which the bookstore can relate is the proliferation of women's centers, both locally and in the region. If your store is of medium size, it is big enough to have a modest selection of women's titles and pamphlets. This subject has such an enormous demand for literature that fully 1/5 of Granma's total inventory is composed of this material. Your promotions agent should research the women's centers locally and in the regions, contact them, offering literature on consignment (with the proper safeguards for credit as necessary). If a NOW chapter exists, also contact them and suggest a table at their meetings, etc. The response will quite frequently be delight and gratitude.

Some guidelines as to stock levels and costs are in order while the store is in the process of expansion. First, it is ill-advised to consider putting someone on part- or full-time pay for your bookstore until sales have reached around \$2000 per month. So for practical purposes we are talking about a bookstore committee of volunteer labor. This committee should make a complete inventory assessment and set up a system that will accurately tell which areas (Chicano, women's) are selling best and which should be cut back. Then, most branch stores have some "dead" stock. Make a complete assessment of this "dead" stock and do one of two things with it: if it is overstock from Pathfinder, write up a list and return it according to the instructions recently sent out by the Pathfinder business office. That will both reduce your overdue bill and raise your morale. If it is not in returnable condition, have a big "sale" to the comrades at prices they can't resist (that's low!) and get rid of it. In the final analysis, whatever is left should be given to the next rummage sale so it no longer takes up valuable room on your shelves.

After you have eliminated the "dead" stock, the optimal inventory stock level valued at retail prices should be *no greater than* three times the value of sales each month

(e.g., if you are selling \$300 per month, your inventory at retail prices should be no greater than \$900). If you value your inventory at wholesale (what you paid for your stock), then the value of inventory should be no greater than double your sales level per month (e.g., if you are selling \$300, your wholesale inventory level should be no greater than \$600). The larger the bookstore becomes, the lower this ratio should be. For example, Granma sells approximately \$5000 per month, and its wholesale (cost) inventory level is no greater than \$8000, which is not even double the sales level. It is more like 1 1/2 / 1, inventory sales. Even a store as well established as Granma carries no dead stock on an

on-going basis.

While expanding your "live" stock, it is fatally easy to get behind on your bills. Avoid this at all costs. If necessary, just stop ordering books until you are caught up. Make all orders to publishers and others on the conservative side until the market is proven.

If these guidelines and promotional techniques are followed (where applicable), most branches will find that the opportunities for promoting *The Militant* and *ISR*, subscription drives, our campaign, and doing further political contact work, as well as getting out our ideas through Pathfinder Press titles, are complemented and facilitated by an efficient literature operation.

July 19, 1972

## MILITANT FORUM

by Joe McKeown, Seattle Branch

### *Reason for forums series*

Forums provide an excellent recruitment tool. They are an activity that help to bring contacts closer to us and to clarify our positions on different issues. We also get the chance to introduce the YSA and the Socialist Workers campaign to people who are interested in radical ideas.

Forums are a way of publicly getting the position of the party out on political issues of the day.

Forums provide a weekly education for comrades. All comrades have something to learn from the forum, especially when we have outside speakers.

Forums also give us a vehicle by which we can improve relations with important groups we are working with. By inviting a speaker from the group it helps to show our support for them. Often they are impressed just with our ability to organize a public meeting from which they can make their work known and they are further introduced to and hopefully drawn closer to our ideas.

Forums also provide the branch with a fairly reliable source of income. It is a small income but helps in the functioning of the branch.

In Seattle we have a combination storefront, hall and offices, just 7 blocks from the university and in the "University district." This makes it a good location for our forums.

People coming to the forums therefore have the opportunity to become acquainted with our literature.

### *Selection of Topics*

Forums are best when topical: around an event of the day (demonstration, uprising, etc.) or point of debate in the movement (Chile, etc.).

Another very important consideration is topics and speakers that will interest comrades; this way you will not only have a good attendance of comrades, but if comrades are interested in a forum they are more likely to help build it and invite their contacts and other interested people. Of course, we can't always do this and in those cases we rely on comrades' consciousness of the political importance of building forums.

When possible, debates and panels are the most preferable forums, we have found. They present more than one point of view, which helps to interest people in the forums. Comrades especially like to hear our ideas debated with other groups or individuals.

### *How Our Forums Have Fared*

We keep records for all forums, which include the attendance, income, expenses and other necessary information. That way future forum directors can get an idea of how forums are going and what forums went well in the past, etc.

In our opinion, forums have been instrumental in recruiting to our ranks and drawing some outside groups closer.

Date	Average Forum Figures January 1971 to July 1972			
	Total Average Attendance	Number of Comrades	Weekly Income at door no figures	Weekly Net Income no figures
Jan-May 1971	35	19		
June-Dec 1971	36*	21	\$28.85	\$17.89
Jan-July 1972	28	17	\$22.61	\$17.84

\* Sean Kenny forum threw the average off for the fall, it was so large.

#### *Building of Forums*

*Leaflet*—We put out the leaflet for each forum one week ahead of time. This gives us a whole week to build each forum and a chance to build the next forum at the present one. This way we can get leaflets to campus comrades over the weekend, so we start building the forum at the beginning of the week, on campus.

*Posting*—We use the general forum leaflet for all our posting. We try to run off some leaflets on colored paper for posting; that way they stand out from other things posted on bulletin boards. Posting is the major form of advertisement for our forums. We see that every college and high school where we have comrades are posted. We also post all the stores possible on University Way (about 30 stores post our leaflet), which is the street that our bookstore is on and a main shopping area for students at the University of Washington.

*Leafleting*—We leaflet all political meetings on and off campus that we have comrades available for. Each person that comes into the bookstore is given a leaflet on the forum and we stuff *The Militants* with forum leaflets, as people who read our press are more likely to come

to our forums.

*Contacts*—The YSA has a contact list, and comrades are assigned to each contact. The contacts are called each week about coming activities, and the forum is always pushed.

*Public Service Announcement*—We have a list of media that we send public service announcements to weekly. They are sent in two weeks before the forum, so that they reach the deadline for all. The media list includes a few radio stations and calendar of events in the local bourgeois, underground, and campus papers, also the calendar in *The Militant*.

*Mailing List*—We pass around a forum mailing list at each forum, and add these names each week to our mailing list. We usually send out a mailing every three weeks with a leaflet advertising the next three forums. We generally send a person three mailings. If they have not come to a forum during this period of time, in the next mailing we include a letter asking if they wish to stay on our mailing list and if they do to send in the enclosed coupon. This way our list does not get a lot of uninterested names that will cost us a fortune to send mailings to.

We generally try to line up forums at least a month in advance; this way we have plenty of time to think up forums and find speakers. But when major local events happen we try to schedule forums on them the nearest Friday possible.

We have a forum committee that meets about once a month to discuss topics, speakers and line up a series of forums. To get topics we pass out a forum poll at the SWP and YSA meetings, and the forum committee follows the calendar in *The Militant*, forum leaflets that are sent to us from other branches, *The Militant* and the bourgeois press.

We also have a special instruction sheet for all our chairpersons to aid them each Friday.

Also a sheet is passed around at the forums to find out how people found out about the forum.

July 20, 1972

## THE SALES OF THE PRESS THROUGH COMMERCIAL OUTLETS

by Paul T. Doganges, Upper West Side Branch,  
New York Local

Before setting forth the main points of this article, a few preliminary remarks are in order to provide perspective.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the revolutionary socialist press. *The Militant*, *IP*, and *ISR* collectively, are among the most powerful tools, not only for presenting the program, ideas, and analyses of revolutionary socialism to new people, but also as organizers and recruiters for our party. Nevertheless, I think there is a general recognition among comrades that a disparity exists, and has for a long time, between the effort and skill involved in the production of these periodicals and the effectiveness in getting them into the hands of new readers. The distribution of the press is not merely a last step in a complicated process, but on its success or failure depends the vindication or negation of all preceding steps.

Let us consider briefly the ways in which our press is brought to a wider public and the relative importance of these methods in the context of how well they are or could be doing the job, given our current strength and a large reservoir of receptivity to radical politics.

Subscription drives and hawking to selected audiences have been our main sales methods for many years. The reasons for this are obvious and logical. Each subscription guarantees exposure of the reader to a number of *Militants*, *IPs*, or *ISRs* on a continuous basis, providing a means by which the reader can absorb a more comprehensive view of our politics. Hawking to selected audiences is simply a means by which any organization of limited size seeks to maximize its effectiveness by going to that part of the public most likely to be receptive to its ideas.

There are two other methods of distribution available to us which have not been as widely used as the first two. These are regular street sales at specific times and locations and commercial sales from newsstands, bookstores and the like.

It is worth comparing these four methods in terms of political advantage accruing to the party, party resources necessary to implement them, and de facto sales results.

First with respect to political advantage: Selling subscriptions and selective hawking have some advantage over fixed street sales and newsstand sales because of the possibility of selection. While this remains true today, I think the difference is greatly exaggerated in the minds of many comrades, at least for the period of general radicalization we are now experiencing. If one wishes to count only those people who at one time or another have participated actively in the antiwar movement over the last decade as potentially receptive to our press, then it is clear that we have hundreds of thousands of potential readers in the general public on a nationwide basis. This certainly narrows the difference in political advantage between selective and non-selective selling, particularly in large cities.

Second, regarding party resources required: Three of the methods; selling subscriptions, selective hawking, and fixed-time-and-place general street sales; all by their very nature require a sustained semimobilization of large numbers of comrades if sales are to be really successful. Spectacular successes in individual sales or short bursts of heavy selling stimulated by national or local drives look less impressive when averaged in with the many weeks in each year when such herculean efforts cannot be expended. The fourth method, commercial distribution via newsstands and bookstores is the only one that does not absolutely require mobilizations and mass participation to be successful on a sustained basis.

Our experience in New York has shown that with only two comrades servicing 25 to 35 newsstand locations for three to four hours each week with *The Militant*, *IP*, and *ISR*, it has been possible over a period of nearly four years to sell an average of 400 *Militants* and 80 *IPs* per month. More recently, without any additions to the sales force of two, we have been averaging 120 *ISRs* per month. These figures represent 30 percent to 50 percent of the total *Militants* sold by hand by the combined total of all other comrades spread over three branches in New York City and an even higher percentage of *IPs* and *ISRs*.

Before going on to more detailed description of what is involved in setting up and maintaining commercial sales, I'd like to anticipate and immediately clear up any misunderstandings that might arise in the minds of comrades based on the comparison of methods and results I have made so far. The purpose of the comparisons is not to downgrade the importance of our traditional selling methods or mass participation in sales, but merely to point out as sharply as possible what has been done and, much more importantly, what can be done in the immediate future with commercial sales not only in New York but in any city where we have a branch, even a small one. In proportion to results achieved and obvious untapped potential, probably no area of sales work has been more neglected than commercial sales. A major reason for this neglect, in addition to the general underestimation of its importance, has been the assumption that the only effective road to expansion was through full branch participation. Given the normal work load of the average branch in half a dozen areas plus the continual need to shift priorities in response to world and local events, it is understandably difficult to find time and resources for yet another branch mobilization which requires a sustained effort to be meaningful. I believe, however, that both maintenance and expansion of commercial sales is actually better served by a small team for reasons I will presently go into.

I'd now like to describe in concrete detail how any branch with as few as ten comrades can set up a system of commercial sales without seriously cutting across other activities.

### 1) Opening of New Newsstands, Bookstores, Etc.:

This requires one or two people, preferably with a car, going to likely newsstands and bookstores with a supply of *Militants*, *IPs*, and *ISRs* and asking the proprietors whether they would like to sell these publications on a consignment basis. This means they pay nothing for any issues not sold. Explain that we collect only 60 percent of the sales price for copies sold and emphasize that these are not fly-by-night publications but have been around for many years. In addition guarantee regularity of service. Usually little more than this low key, neutral business-like approach is necessary. Avoid extended political discussions and characterize the literature as representing a major current of left-wing opinion if pressed as to what this stuff is and what it's all about. If a proprietor shows evidence of outright political hostility, better to pass them by, since even if persuaded to take our literature they are not likely to display it well or sell it.

In general leave a minimum of 10 *Militants*, 5 *IPs* and 10 *ISRs*. The correct number based on actual sales can always be adjusted later. To leave less initially implies to the proprietor that you don't really have much confidence in the literature selling. In cases where proprietors are merely hesitant or suspicious, point out that a wide range of literature enhances their business. This is a particularly appropriate argument for bookstores, which incidentally are more likely candidates for the *IP* and *ISR* than *The Militant*. Always stick as close to the business angle as possible. Along the lines of appealing to avarice, for example, you might point out that the sales of a mere 20 *Militants* a week for a year nets them \$100 profit with no effort or risk on their part. Naturally these suggestions are to be taken as general guidelines only and should be modified and even contradicted when more unique situations arise.

Once a stand or bookstore has been opened, it is sometimes worthwhile, if practical, to direct comrades or sympathizers to these locations for the first two or three weeks to buy their *Militants*, *IPs*, or *ISRs*. This initial flurry of sales can sometimes result in the unquestioned, automatic acceptance of our press for years at that store regardless of subsequent fluctuations in sales. In general, however, this device is not necessary.

### 2) Servicing of Newsstands and Bookstores:

Let's say that as a result of the initial effort on the part of one or two comrades, five to ten stands have been opened. This may represent as little as a Saturday morning's work, particularly in new territory. Now comes the routine but important job of servicing these stands on an absolutely regular basis. This should be

taken with the same seriousness that goes into the production of the press in the first place. Set up a particular time each week when this is done, probably Saturday morning being most convenient. Keep careful records of the locations, bundle size, and number of issues sold each week. These records and the money collected should be the responsibility of one comrade. We have found from experience that dividing these tasks as well as the route itself tends to create confusion and haphazard servicing. In addition to keeping things straight from week to week, good records enable one to accurately adjust bundle sizes to average sales at each location. The means that the number of issues uselessly placed because they are superfluous can be cut to the bone. The servicing of ten stands with one comrade driving and the other delivering and picking up unsold old issues should take less than an hour.

### 3) Expansion:

At this stage three additional comrades should be added to the original nucleus of two to operate permanently as a five-member team. With this arrangement there will be a pool of three people whose initial job will be to open as many new locations as possible while the other two continue servicing. When about 50 locations have been opened, this part of the job can be regarded as temporarily finished, and all five members of the team can then simply alternate in servicing. The servicing of 50 stands will probably take about 6 hours, but this will involve only one day per month per team member if the driving and servicing is done by one person each week. Records and collection of money should still be in the hands of one person for reasons already stated.

The above scheme of five comrades has not yet been tried in New York, but there is every reason to believe that if our nucleus of two is so expanded our sales could be quickly tripled. If these suggestions are given a try in other branches around the country, it is not at all impossible to look forward to increasing our commercial sales to a point where they exceed sales by all other methods combined. I'm of course talking about average weekly sales. This statement will not sound so extravagant when it is remembered that the resubscription rate on our big 30,000 sub drive was less than 10 percent even with a national campaign aimed at getting resubscriptions. The simple truth is that having our literature on commercial newsstands and in bookstores provides 40 hours per week exposure to potentially interested people. No sales drive by any other method can put in that number of hours on a year-in-year-out basis.

July 24, 1972









