PARTY BUILDER

Published by the Central Office of the SL/US

Forward to the Weekly Workers Vanguard

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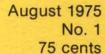


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INTRODUCTION

The SL Central Office introduces the first number of the PARTY BUILDER of the SL/US. This internal bulletin, following in the tradition of earlier Trotskyist organization bulletins of the same name, is intended to present organizational ideas, proposals, reports, directives and information of interest and use to our movement. The PARTY BUILDER is open to SL members for contribution with the understanding that it is not intended as a discussion bulletin. Any document submitted which is of a primarily political or programmatic nature will be referred to the Internal Discussion Bulletin.

Central Office, SL/US 4 August 1975

by Jan Norden for the WV Editorial Board

The Central Committee Plenum this month will consider a proposal by the Political Bureau that the frequency of Workers Vanguard become weekly beginning with the issue dated 12 September 1975. This transformation of the central organ of the Spartacist League/ U.S. -- and the principal vehicle for the public dissemination of the views of the international Spartacist tendency--will represent a qualitative change in our press, unlike the switch to a bi-weekly which was a linear extension of the monthly WV. We have considered this step for some time: it was tentatively discussed in the winter of 1973, the National Conference in 1974 decided to accumulate the necessary technical equipment, and we purchased and began using the expensive photocomposition unit this spring. Nevertheless, the implementation of a decision to "go weekly" will be a wrenching experience. The purpose of this brief memorandum is to indicate some of the changes which will be required in the functioning of both the locals and the Central Office.

Why a Weekly Workers Vanguard?

There are essentially two reasons for seeking to establish a weekly press of the SL. First, weekly publication corresponds to the general pace of political developments (other than in periods of intense agitation, such as a pre-revolutionary situation or revolutionary crisis), and is thus required for a propaganda group which seeks to draw the lessons of those events and to lead at least some struggles and exemplary campaigns. The fact that the Maoists (who quantitatively exceed the SL in size) have not sought to develop weekly party organs is an expression of their workerism (since a plethora of monthly local rags is sufficient to handle the essentially apolitical "shop-talk" reporting in which they revel) and of a desire to bury themselves in the general radical milieu (for which the "non-party" Guardian is more appropriate). A weekly frequency is normal for the main publication of a Leninist propaganda group, and our failure to achieve this before now is a weakness reflecting the relative lack of experience and depth of our leading cadres compared with our predecessors. The Militant in the U.S. was stabilized as a weekly in 1931 and La Verite in France began weekly appearance in 1929, i.e., at times when the American and French Trotskyists had considerably smaller forces than we do at present.

Secondly, we recognized in the "Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League of the U.S." (<u>Internal Discussion Bulletin</u>, No.22, August 1974) that:

"A weekly frequency would transform <u>WV</u> from an organ which mainly projects and immediately draws the lessons of the work of the SL but is not itself a rallying weapon, into an organ which initiates and leads the activity of our supporters. With a weekly press we would remain a propaganda group, but with the capacity for limited and exemplary agitation over selected campaigns and major political events."

The capacity for agitational intervention in mass struggles which a weekly provides is vital for the development of our movement. This is true in a general sense but also particularly in the current context. The SL experienced a rapid growth in membership during 1971-73 as we attracted elements from the New Left and Maoist organizations and milieu who came to understand the political bankruptcy of those movements. In the last two years there was a levelling off and then slower upward trend in the number of SL/SYL members. While we have not experienced a faction fight, split or general hemorrhaging (such as have several of our immediate competitors on the left), and thus our relative weight in the workers movement has increased, we cannot tread water for long. Either the SL will prove able to intersect an upsurge in the class struggle, providing exemplary leadership in at least some struggles, or sooner or later it will go down. A weekly WV is vital to providing this agitational capacity and leadership in struggle.

Sales/Subs

A detailed presentation of sales data is covered in another memorandum in this bulletin. Here we must note that sales and subscriptions represent one of the two main areas of weakness in preparing for a weekly press (the other being editorial). Our present subscription base for WV of 950 is actually slightly lower than at the same time in 1974, reflecting the almost complete failure of the organization to obtain subs since the end of the The Political Bureau is recommending a four-week drive last fall. subscription drive again this fall (beginning on September 19), but with per-comrade quotas approximately two-thirds of last year's. A second, smaller sub drive will be held early next year, in coordination with the Young Spartacus drive. (Our application for secondclass postage rates will take some weeks for the government bureaucracy to process and during that time we will continue to pay the far more expensive first class rates. As this is also the period in which our subscription base usually doubles or triples with the influx of \$1 introductory subs, we can save a good deal of money by shifting part of the increase to a second drive later. This will also enable us to concentrate on sales in the fall and to give more stability to our sub base. Also, it is essential that following the drives some mechanism be established, such as a required monthly organization-wide mobilization, to continue to obtain and expand the number of subs on a regular basis.)

It should be easier to obtain a large number of full-year subscriptions this year, as the PB is recommending the <u>maintenance</u> of the \$5 rate (now for 48 issues a year instead of 24). With the special handling of weekly publications our subscribers will continue to get the same rapid delivery as in the past. Existing subswill be extended for a proportionate time period.

There has been a noticeable, but limited, increase in sales over last year, reflecting mainly the victory of organization over anarchy. This has by no means eliminated routinism, nor are all the locals performing at even the minimum acceptable level. But where there are stable and competent sales directors, we have shown that it is possible to increase and stabilize <u>WV</u> sales substantially.

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Overall, our North American sales have averaged 1,806 through the last 7 issues, compared with 1,415 average for the late spring/early summer of 1974; put another way, we are now averaging as much as we did during last year's sales drive, which as most comrades will recall was a very strenuous effort.

In sales there will be no easy shift to the weekly. A qualitatively greater, massive effort must be made by all the locals. For a considerable period the membership will have to operate at a level similar to past sub drives, with the difference that there can be no post-drive let-down as there has been in the past, but rather a stabilization at a higher level. This is necessary simply to come close to the present level of sales per issue (since there are only half as many days available in which to sell it). For virtually all categories, the minimum frequency of sales will be weekly (or else that sector of the working class or petty-bourgeois radical public will be unaware of our analysis and intervention during that period). On the other end, some locations which had been frequented twice or more frequently may have to be cut back. Capable personnel must be selected as sales directors, continued in that position for sufficient periods to maintain continuity and the development of a functioning apparatus, and backed up by frequent consultation with and support from organizers and local execs. While organization is the key to success, routinism will be a main enemy.

Editorial

Workers Vanquard does not have a Trotsky writing for it. Nevertheless, we are proud of its consistently high quality journalism.

WV is not only "literate" and "witty," as one opponent organization has written (see the Canadian RMG's "Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect," reprinted in Hate the Spartacist League
Bulletin No.1), but provides serious Marxist analysis and, increasingly, agitational and interventionist articles with political direction for concrete struggles. We have many deficiencies, some imposed by space limitations of the bi-weekly while others are more intractable. Our task is to overcome these difficulties, improving the level of powerful Marxist journalism to make WV a more and more effective weapon as the organ of a fighting propaganda group nationally and internationally.

In the last two years, one of the main bottlenecks in the biweekly WV has been a shortage of capable and trained rewrite editors.
This has occasionally threatened to make the issue late to the
printers (something we will do virtually anything to avoid), meant
excessive wear and tear on the staff and led to a certain excessive
uniformity of style. We hope to overcome this by bringing in two
new writers mainly for the purpose of rewriting. (Another main
source of rewrite capacity is the comp crew, several of whose
members now regularly edit articles for WV.) While the grueling
pace of newspaper production (the firmest regular deadline in the
organization) is unavoidable, a stable weekly cannot be produced in
crisis conditions or depending upon the ability of a single individual to function efficiently under high pressure.

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The scope of articles in a weekly <u>Workers Vanguard</u> will increase greatly as the available space doubles. Since one of the aims of the weekly is to aid the intervention of the SL, we will far more often publish articles aimed at particular events in <u>advance</u> and not simply <u>comment</u> after the fact. (This will, incidentally, cut down on—though by no means eliminate—the number of leaflets produced for marches, ORO forums, etc.) The increased interventionist capacity of the press will also mean a large jump in the amount of <u>local news</u>. If, as a rough approximation, the amount of copy originating in the center will increase by 50 percent for the weekly, the amount generated by the locals will likely expand by 300-500 percent (reflecting a previous weak spot in the bi-weekly <u>WV</u>). Cleveland can appear in the pages of <u>Workers Vanguard</u>!

Another major area of increased coverage will be theoretical articles, round-up analyses and special topics articles. Until now we have been faced with a minimum cost of roughly \$500 to go beyond a 12-page issue. Given the level of SL activity in the last year, as well as the activities of friends and caucuses in the labor movement which are politically supported by the SL, this has tended to limit the number of non-topical articles (e.g., the article on "Marx vs. Keynes" and the series on "Organizing the Unorganized in the Great Depression"). Among the subjects on which articles have already been assigned are: the Rosenberg case, gun control laws, Cuba, Quebec, the workers government slogan, grand juries, Iran/Kurds, Lawyers Guild, class struggle in the West Indies, Chile two years after, Dominican MPD, Yugoslavia, workers control, BWC split and others. Comrades are urged to phone or write in suggested articles of this nature, especially when accompanied by an offer to write the piece in question. An additional advantage of this material is that by accumulating a backlog of "canned copy", crises because of late copy can be avoided by dropping in another already edited article.

In addition to the above, whole new areas will be opened up to WV which we have not in the past covered. Thus we plan to do book reviews on a regular basis, although not as New York Times-style reviews but rather as political essays on the topics concerned. (For example, reviewing a recent book by Roy Medvedev offers us the opportunity to comment on recent trends among "Soviet dissidents," and commenting on a book on the life of Eugen Leviné allows us to write about the controversy over the Bavarian Soviet Republic and the general problem of what to do when the tactical situation is hopeless yet you must fight.) We will also cover regularly Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League forums and debates with other tendencies, something we have only rarely done in the past. These, of course, will be worthless unless the reporter picks out the interesting quotes, new angles, sharp exchanges with opponents, etc. But done well, they can add considerably to the variety of presentation of our political views, permitting frequent opportunities for contributions of those comrades who suffer from perennial writer's cramp (a surprising number in our not-so-literate tendency).

Finally, another major area for expansion is <u>letters to the editor</u>. This is one of the best-read, liveliest and most political parts of the paper, although unfortunately it has tended to be

Contrary to prevailing impressions, it is not necessary to be an enemy of the Spartacist League or a member of the Political Bureau to get a letter published in <u>WV</u>. Additional insights or points on articles in the past, interesting sidelights which would look peculiar as articles, some kinds of criticisms of the press are perfectly suitable for the letters column. (Naturally, if you want to dump the editor or think that South Vietnam is not a deformed workers state, send the letter to the PB instead!) Also, non-member supporters and contacts should be encouraged to send in letters when they express reactions to certain articles. (Members should be careful in signing letters, as the <u>WV</u> staff is not always conversant with various potential security problems.)

Not only must <u>much more</u> copy be generated outside of the center, but it must also be <u>much</u> better. Although it will certainly take time to develop trained writers in key locals, we must aim at having many local articles written and edited in the field, to the point where only a few minor cosmetic changes are effected by the WV editorial staff. With cdes. Foster and Seymour in the Midwest and West this task will be facilitated. Equally important will be the generation of local copy locally, as the center is often unaware of opportunities in Detroit or San Francisco. A West Coast editorial group has been set up in anticipation of the weekly and a similar group based in Chicago should be contemplated for the purposes of generating and editing copy. Additionally, certain of the larger locals (New York, Bay Area, Chicago at least) will have to have at least one person whose main party activity will be as editorial board representative and correspondent. This will be a far heavier assignment than in the past, involving much writing, assigning articles, assigning photographers, maintaining a clipping file locally, keeping in touch with the WV ed board and other tasks. This person will in fact be primarily subject to the control of the WV ed board, but must have close coordination with the local exec (perhaps sitting in on some meetings if not a member of it) and be able to get assignments issued quickly. As a rough index, a weekly WV would almost certainly have one article per issue minimum from the Bay Area and New York, and probably the same from Chicago/ Detroit/Cleveland.

One primary requirement for the paper will be even greater speed. This means phoning in suggested articles to the editor immediately, frequent use of the express mail service (but only with notification to the center that something is on the way). This also means turning in neat copy in which there are no (not a "few") scribbles in the margin or between the lines, and conforming to WV style. (Often an article must be retyped in the center because it is so messy that it cannot be edited by pencil, or because it is totally disjointed.) One of our main preoccupations together with stabilizing the editing/production of the weekly will be to reduce the time lag between generation of the copy and when it reaches the reader. For this, we will undertake awkward arrangements (such as taking down articles over the phone, which is also expensive) if necessary. But we will do so only if considerable effort is put into the writing and deadlines are met. We are also prepared to be quite ruthless with late copy--even interrupting

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series in the middle, failing to comment on an important event, etc.--by refusing to handle late copy. All deadlines will be met, except by prior arrangement with the editor! Otherwise there will be no weekly but simply a continuing crisis.

<u>Miscellaneous</u>

A separate memorandum covers photos for <u>WV</u>. We will no longer accept any kind of Instamatic film, except in absolute emergencies or highly unusual circumstances. All locals must purchase a 35-mm camera, of which there are several relatively cheap simple-to-use models. This also means that care must be taken with photographic equipment, that it is a political priority to develop a competent photographer, and to make sure that photographers are assigned to important events (including ORO demonstrations, our forums and other occasions which are routinely ignored today). Send in good photos from the bourgeois press, without chopping off the edges, drawing marks on the picture or other cute/sloppy practices of the past. <u>WV</u> has probably the best photos of any left newspaper in the U.S. and we hope to improve on this.

There will be a new procedure on clippings. From now on do not send in fat envelopes of every conceivable minuscule trade-union struggle article. Only articles which are interesting for some specific reason, which are of international importance but may not be available in New York (such as articles by Washington Post or Los Angeles Times foreign correspondents), or which are related to an existing or potential article. Do not send in an article about how Chicago plumbers won a \$10/hr. contract; do send in articles by investigative reporters on police spying on radicals. There must be no more than a week's delay between when the articles appear locally and when mailed, they must be sent first class, and in small amounts (one to five articles at a time is quite acceptable, as is a month's silence if nothing is happening). On the other hand, what this means is that the basic files of clippings on local labor/political situations will be maintained locally. Locals must keep a copy of all clippings sent in, and they must be neatly taped down and cut out so that they can be used by someone else. Our central clipping files are quite good--far better than most news services'--and a responsible comrade from each local should at some time in the near future examine the central files to see what we save and what we ignore.

When a new writer shows promise, the <u>WV</u> ed board should be notified so that this person can be given assignments and possibly brought to the center for a period for training. Main writers in the field will be provided with a copy of the <u>WV</u> style book as soon as it is brought up to date, but in the meantime writers should look at the paper to see what our conventions are on dating, quotes, etc.

Be looking for new ideas. For example, an enterprising local might consider <u>reporting</u>, an old standby of the bourgeois press that can bring surprising results. You will find that labor leaders are frequently willing to talk to <u>WV</u> reporters (and often know what we are politically, in a vague way), especially when approached

with confidence, smoothness and a battery-operated cassette recorder (another piece of equipment which all locals must obtain and have easily available to the ed board rep). Also, workers are often willing to give you a piece of their mind on the strike, demonstration, rally they are attending, or about the sellout just perpetrated by their misleaders. You don't have to be the <u>Bulletin</u> or <u>Challenge</u> to do this kind of reporting; just don't make up the quotes! In one recent case a <u>WV</u> reporter took a survey of seamen at the NYC NMU hall on the rotten contract just shoved down their throats; it led to evidence of widespread opposition, quotable quotes and close to 100 sales during one week, as other workers gathered around to see what was up.

On style try not to sound like a boring report of the 72nd straight sellout, vary the language from what is standard for <u>WV</u> (without fuzzying the political point), and be short and concise. Except in special review articles, the main point must be made succinctly somewhere in the first three paragraphs. On the other hand, while we try to achieve a well-written paper (as opposed to the poor imitations of the New York <u>Daily News</u> affected by various workerist garbage rags), writers must be careful not to become florid or pretentiously stylized.

Production

Two main points should be kept in mind concerning productions our deadlines are absolutely rigid and our capacity has increased considerably. The automation and flexibility of the \$30,000 worth of computerized type-setting equipment purchased earlier this year allows us to cut labor time on <u>WV</u> by 30-40 percent. With the augmented production staff, work in comp should take on more of the character of a regular part-time job--not unlike one in a commercial cold-type shop--making skill and efficiency, as opposed to endurance, the watchwords. The experienced core of the production staff will of necessity codify its division of labor, subdividing the comp department into sub-departments, including photography, research files, and pamphlets/indexing/bulletins.

As explained in the 1973 "WV Ed Board Memorandum," production remains totally contingent on factors beyond the technical--systematization and professionalization of all aspects of work of the organization related to the paper, from sales/circulation to gathering materials to writing and editorial. Even now, the production capacity provided by our increasing approximation of "German" production methods as opposed to "Russian" methods (a small number of highly efficient comrades as opposed to large numbers with primitive/inefficient techniques) outstrips our ability to make use of it. As the SL makes political and organizational headway, the road to the establishment of a diversified internal and external publishing operation--the source of the essential propaganda materials of the proletarian revolution--lies open.

N.B. The 1973 "Workers Vanquard Editorial Board Memorandum" has been unavailable for some time and is appended to this report. Although some elements are superseded by more recent items in this bulletin, comrades working in any way with the SL press should familiarize themselves with it.

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WORKERS VANGUARD EDITORIAL BOARD MENORANDUM

Dear Comrades.

The transformation of WV into a bi-weekly requires that all aspects of its production be immediately systematized and professionalized. In the past locals have made excellent contributions—articles, reports, photos, suggestions—to WV, even with minimal communication from the editorial center. The requirements of the bi-weekly make it crucial that what was satisfactorily accomplished in the past somewhat haphazardly be achieved in the future systematically and without fail. Locals need even greater "press consciousness"—that is, to think in terms of the propaganda value to WV of all types of events/activities as they participate in them or have knowledge of them, working with the editor(s) to insure that copy for the paper is generated and in by the deadline. Intelligent initiative is solicited. Toward this end the Editorial Board seeks a recommendation from each local for an Ed Board Representative to be appointed by the Ed Board.

Ed Board Representative

The function of this Rep will be to organize press-related tasks in his local and coordinate with the Ed Board. The functions are those of an organizer, not primarily a writer, such as the regional editors. For the most part, the Ed Board will still communicate directly with key writers in the locals. The tasks of the Ed Board Rep are listed below generally in their present order of importance.

1. Photographs. All significant local events should produce some photographs that can be used in WV. This includes public meetings, major interventions, and any other events of general interest that articles may be written about—i.e., strikes, demonstrations and personalities involved, including our members.

Picture-taking must be formally organized; it doesn't just happen. Neither do photographs automatically get developed and sent in on time to be of use, which facts can be demonstrated by a review of past issues of WV. These tasks should be done conscientiously, as improvement of our photo coverage is of immediate importance.

Photos must be of sufficiently good quality to be reproducible. This means too that signs and banners should be clearly and legible printed to begin with. Remember that red on black and black on red don't photograph well. Forget about color film! The negatives should always be sent in with any original photos, together with contact proofs instead of prints if there are a large number of shots, since this is less expensive. Prints will then be made here.

Even those photos of our own activities that make it into WV are often of poor quality, not only technically, but content-wise. The staff is often forced to choose the lesser evil among photos submitted, the main problem being group photos-meetings, demonstrations, picket lines, etc. Photographers must pose people if necessary, though it shouldn't be, in order to get shots of these groupings that appear to involve a definite and largest-possible number of people, as opposed to dispersed individuals wandering around. The CCSF picket line photos are a case in point--with individuals much too dispersed to appear a genuine picket-line formation.

Clarity of the slogans on signs is another of the criteria used in selecting

photos to be run in the paper. Finally, photographers should keep in mind that photos lose their effectiveness when shot from too great a distance, even though more of the subject may thereby be included.

(Speed is important with photos, since we must select and blow up the final pictures after they arrive in the center. Therefore, if the deadline for the next issue is close, simply send in the undeveloped rolls of film with a note about what event they relate to. In general take lots of shots—this gives the Ed Board more choice. Where there is a danger of exposing TU comrades or others in similar sensitive situations, circle their faces with crayon on the contact sheets and we can avoid using those shots.)

2. Short Articles, Reports, Ads-It is essential to the vitality of the paper that there be an abundance of short "articles from the field." These are generally the articles that most directly reflect our work in various arenas of struggle. They allow us to present and elaborate our politics clearly, in an interesting and relevant manner.

Conference reports, for example, serve this function very successfully when well-written, with convincing argument for our politics and exposure of our opponents—making the political issues concerned alive and real—as opposed to the patterned account of what happened, the atrocities committed by our opponents and how the SL was the only organization present with correct politics.

A not insignificant advantage to these articles is that they lend the paper variety in content, literary style and layout. Furthermore, for the sake of necessary flexibility, given the <u>absolutely rigid</u> final production deadline required for bi-weekly publication, we need a variety of options to fit all contingencies—filler, short articles, ads, photos, photo stories, boxed single points of interest. The Ed Board Rep should see that every article submitted includes photo material, either original or gathered from other publications, or both.

Increasing use should be made of WV to advertise local activities—forums, classes, etc., not only because it is good publicity, but because such ads project an important aspect of the political life of the SL. Technical production of the paper is being streamlined, along with editorial production. It is important that the local Ed Board Rep ensure that copy for ads is sent or phoned in immediately upon scheduling an event, in order that ads can be made up ahead of time. Do not wait for solicitation of ad copy from the center! It is better to send in an ad with information missing, such as the room number of a talk, to be filled in later, than to hold off communicating the ad until the last minute.

3. <u>Utilization of Resources</u>. Though the bulk of the writing for WV must by necessity be done in the center, the Ed Board needs to utilize qualified writers in the locals as well for the general analytical and polemical articles which are the backbone of WV. We seek to expand our pool of qualified writers. The problem of editorial understaffing grows as our "transformation" increases the work to be done. Time-consuming research and writing done <u>competently</u> by comrades outside the center means that much more editorial attention and time available in the center for other articles.

Use should be made of any "specialists" (not necessarily experts) among us-comrades with a specialized knowledge of a particular subject (often quite narrow and specific) acquired through experience or study, who follow the subject in publications. Even if they don't write up material in article form they can write up reports and compile information and materials from which articles can be written.

4. Following Local Papers. The Ed Board Rep or a comrade delegated this responsibility should follow the local bourgeois and radical press with a critical eye for issues and information that could be used in WV. Often newspapers in different cities emphasize different aspects of the news. The New York <u>Times</u> does not contain all the news, lacking labor coverage for example.

Local newspapers frequently contain photos that could be used in WV; we urgently need to expand sources for our photo file. Any clippings and photos that you send in should be identified as to date and source on the margin of the item itself. Clippings should be accompanied by a note explaining how you thought they might be used.

Writing Copy

There are several miscellaneous points and perpetually ignored truisms that must be emphasized about copy for WV. Most important:

1. Writing to Deadline. Late copy fouls up the works more often and more seriously than any other single problem. Lateness involves more than the question of whether or not a particular article goes into the paper or is wasted. A late article at worst throws the entire issue hopelessly behind schedule and at best creates tremendous extra work for editors and production staff at the last minute. Lateness affects the amount of care that can be devoted to editing other articles received; the quality and suitability of the headlines; the layout and pasteup of the pages; it can force us to unnecessarily cut the length of other articles that were received on time; it will prevent other articles and sections of articles which would greatly improve the quality of the issue from being written by the editors; typesetting will be delayed, then pasteup, then proofreading will be cursory, increasing the danger of errors and deviations slipping through and attendant unpleasantries—reprinting the paper or corrections or retractions in the next issue.

Though deadlines will sometimes vary they will generally fall about two weeks before the issue goes to press. Deadlines will be assigned with each article. All deadlines are firm and cannot be modified "informally"; no excuses about the mail being slow. When an article is assigned this means an absolute commitment to produce it. There are no acceptable explanations or excuses for not turning it in.

Occasionally, however, legitimate problems can arise about deadlines. Immediately when it appears possible that a deadline cannot be met, writers must inform the managing editor. If an adjustment can be made, this enables the Ed Board to make it and still maintain the flow of production. If not, it enables us to consciously decide what to sacrifice in order to get a crucial article on time.

- 2. Writing to Assigned Length. This is important for a similar reason—to prevent last—minute surprises that force us to reshuffle the rest of the issue, or to spend time editing unnecessarily. Issues of WV are planned at least a month ahead of publication, including the assignment of space for each article.
- 3. Clean Copy Only. Typewritten on 8 1/2x11 sheets (no odd sizes), double-spaced, one side only, one-inch margins left and right, top and bottom. Use twenty-pound bond; avoid "erasable" paper, which smears; never use thin paper except for your carbon. Double-space long quotations intended to be set in reduced type as well. This is necessary to aid in estimating the length of an article, as are the standardized margins.

Number pages consecutively throughout the manuscript, after it is in final form, in right-hand corner. If you have numbered while typing and have later been forced to insert 15a, 15b, or to number a page 15-16 to show a page deleted, renumber con-

securively on both original and carbon before submitting article. To avoid confusion in editing it is helpful to abbreviate the subject of your article above the page number, e.g., NMU or Auto.

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Corrections and insertions, if brief, can be typed or written legibly, in ink, above the line. Never use the margins or write below the line. Make no unnecessary marks (e.g., avoid using proofreading symbols). If corrections are lengthy, type them as inserts on separate, full-sized pages, clearly marking them ("Insert A, page--", numbering each to follow the page to which it belongs, and indicating exactly in the manuscript itself, with an arrow and a circled note in the margin, where it is to go. Better still, retype and submit a clean copy, even if some of the pages are short.

- 4. <u>Keep Copies</u>. Writers should keep copies of their articles until they appear in the paper or become obsolete, for checking back on content, changes, etc., by the Ed Board. This practice is crucial in the event that we should ever lose an original article.
- 5. Style. It is beyond the scope of this letter to discuss literary and journalistic style, though comrades should be encouraged to bone up on the subject. Recommended are: Strumb & White's Elements of Style, and George Orwell's "Politics of the English Language."

There are a few points that do warrant mentioning at this time. For one, write specifically, as opposed to using vague formulations and references. Identify the people and organizations, etc., that you are talking about. As you write check your assumptions about what the reader already knows and to what extent you are articulating your thoughts with clarity and precision. In general, write simply. Sentence structure should be relatively uncomplicated, and both sentences and paragraphs should be kept short. Paragraphs should be limited to one basic point or sub-theme.

Term papers are not the best form for WV articles. To be journalistic in style does not mean to water down the politics or in any way to "lower the level" of WV. In journalistic writing the lead paragraphs are key--should establish the slant and tone of the article, give the main political thrust, put forward interesting and often new information, inspire interest on the part of the reader.

The political points of an article are better woven into it—the focus of its development—as opposed to neatly tacked on at the end. The same holds true for our criticisms of ORO's: it isn't very imaginative to list them and their deviations on a particular question at the end of an article.

Often it's good to think of how an article should be headlined and to write around that focus. Include a headline with all articles regardless. Though it may not be used, it often saves the editors work.

Articles should be written with a view to the requirements of editing. Almost all articles require some alteration, both for improvement and to fit the designated space. Cutting is the most common alteration. Writers should keep in mind what details or sections of an article could be cut, and when possible try to arrange and mark paragraphs to make it simple.

Hore on WV style, circulation and other matters will be forthcoming. We suggest that all such correspondence be kept in a centralized file or manual for reference. Please send recommendation for Ed Board Rep as soon as possible.

SALES OF WEEKLY WORKERS VANGUARD

by Brosius

The institution of a weekly Workers Vanguard will necessitate substantial changes in the organization and establishment of priorities of SL branches. We must achieve a substantially higher level of sales per week to be viable. If there were no increase over the present rate of sales (ca. 1800 per issue), we would sell, as a weekly, only 900 WVs per issue, or almost 200 fewer than we did at the lowest point in the last year. Moreover, it would be courting disaster to assume that there will be a relatively painless transition from a bi-weekly to a weekly, as there was when we went from monthly to bi-weekly. In the latter case we effectively doubled our sales (i.e., achieved the same number per issue as before with twice the frequency) in a matter of a month. The entire organization had better realize that this will be a wrenching process.

The key to the success of the circulation of the weekly on the local level is ORGANIZATION. Above all, this means developing an administrative division of labor for collective consultation on priorities and organization as well as careful evaluation of sales results. Local sales directors must work intimately with organizers and fraction heads to assure that sales work is central to local activity and is integrated into all aspects of work. Accurate and creative use of statistics can help sales directors and organizers judge sales performance in their own local comparatively from period to period and local to local. Persistent and diligent work on the part of individual comrades will not pay off unless it is accompanied by careful preparation by the administrators. The Chicago local's completely inadequate sales performance, for example, is attributable to its lack of party apparatus and thus insufficient energy and attention devoted to sales over this entire period. As one of our major locals, it will be key in the improvement of national sales.

For the first six months of the weekly local political work will have to revolve around paper sales. In effect, this period will feel like a six-month sub/sales-drive which will not relent or dwindle afterwards but will only succeed in bringing us up to the necessary level of sales. In some cases this will mean larger sales teams as a substitute for an intervention. A good deal of contacting and political discussion will have to take place during sales. In some cases, when it is difficult or impossible to contact while selling, sales teams should be smaller in order to increase the number of sales possible.

As always, numerically productive but politically unimportant sales such as movie sales must be balanced with politically necessary but numerically small sales such as those at some factory locations. Both must occur. Constant experimentation can result in surprising successes. For example: nationally we must have sold several hundred papers at the Vietnam movie "Hearts and Minds." The Bay Area, which maintains a consistently high volume of sales, has had spectacular success (frequently 75 to 100 copies per issue) at

17.

a downtown intersection in Richmond where a number of banks are located. Similarly, Chicago has relatively good sales at a check-cashing service in an industrial area. It may take some effort to find these places, but the more gold mines like this we find, the less dependent we will be upon seasonal and political fluctuations.

2.

Sales Fluctuations

Nonetheless, variations in sales from issue to issue due to season and level of political struggle will occur. See chart and graph on following pages for sales figures. Last spring before the sales drive our average sales per issue were around 1400. Thus we have managed to increase our average by four to five hundred. But the sharp fluctuations shown in the graph will mean disaster for the weekly. The sharp dip after school closed this year is an example of a failure of foresight and preparation. Routinism is our enemy. Boston alone, under a new sales director, has managed to increase sales almost twofold during the period.

A sharp dip in sales will be much more destructive with a weekly than a bi-weekly. For one thing-we must recognize that if a
sale is not done one week it means concretely that sections of
our readership--industrial, ORO and contacts or periphery--will
simply not see that issue of <u>WV</u>. There is no second chance. The
rhythm of the local must take on the rhythm of the weekly. Furthermore--these enormous ups and downs will be demoralizing for the
entire organization. An over-worked but victorious SL membership
is a vastly preferable alternative.

We must learn how to compensate for and take advantage of these fluctuations. For example—in the winter, when sales go down, campus sales, ORO sales and sales at our own events must compensate for the falling off in street sales. During the Thanksgiving and Christmas school vacations the comrades must try sales at shopping centers, museums, libraries and movies. Routinism has been a contributor to our dismal performance during "lull" periods. Similarly, all special demonstrations or political gatherings of any kind must be hit hard with good, aggressive sales teams. Experience has shown that a persistent, look—them—in—the—eye approach is what sells papers. The larger locals must particularly aim at consistency since they are responsible for a large proportion of sales (though this proportion has been going down recently.)

The following chart shows the local distribution of our sales for three significant sales categories—Campus, Industrial and Street. The sales of six locals are examined since these locals account for between 67 and 87 percent of national sales. Statistics are shown for four different issues. Issue No. 53, dated 13 September 1974, was the issue of highest sales this year. It was current at the time of the sub drive and the opening of school. Issue No. 57, dated 22 November 1974, was the issue of lowest sales this year as it was current during Thanksgiving holidays. Issue No. 65 was dated 28 March 1975 and sales were slightly above average. Issue No. 70 was dated 6 June 1975 and, having come out right after many schools closed, had sales slightly below average.

	<u>Ca</u>	ıqmı	<u>ıs</u>		II	ndust	ri	al Street		To	tal					
<u>wv</u> #	53	57	65	70	53	5 7	65	70	53	57	65	70	53	57	65	70
Area											·					
E.A.	102	11	11	4	29	33	82	87	28	5	47	90	344	143	341	400
Bos.	94	3	0	10	0	0	0	0	35	21	68	190	230	77	180	233
Chi.	243	33	20	4	40	86	37	63	0	0	19	68	307	117	122	161
Cleve.	16	3	17	0	81	42	82	45	5	52	22	5	197	113	164	58
Det.	2	17	50	45	131	145	53	51	0	14	0	0	468	226	197	157
N.Y.	239	14	31	9	40	63	18	44	40	17	9	61	658	200	323	337
% of total sales of above cate- gory for 6 locals	31	9	9	5	14	42	20	21	4	12	12	30				
				** *** *** * *	·						les	of				
								6 -	Loca	als			2204	876	1327	1346
									als		or a	all	2516	1080	1973	1745
								nat	cior cour		to:		87%	81%	67%	77%

Misc. OCs Detroit Buffalo Toronto New York Vancouver Philade lphia Boston Bay Area Area Los Angeles Hous ton Cleveland Chicago **TOTALS** WV# 50 Date 7/2 Remark Sales Drive જ ATTICA 9/13 9/27 Sub Drive ಒ 10/11 10/25 မ 11/8 낊 11/22 Thank. **\$** 12/6 1/3 1/17 1/31 2/14 2/28 3/14 3/28 4/11 ၽွ DC RAL. 4/25 NAACP 310 5/9 5/23 % % 6/20 7/4

WORKERS VANGUARD STREET SALES BY ISSUE AND AREA July 1974-July 1975

AMERICA MORTH ≩Ι STREET 1014

Campus Sales

Sales patterns by percentage sold in each category have tended to be surprisingly consistent nationally although the absolute figures fluctuate widely by season and local. Naturally, the issue (No. 53) which came out in September had very high sales on the campuses (31 percent) and No. 70 dated in June showed a drop to 5 percent. But during the school year, sales on campuses seem to remain around 9 percent of the total. Bay Area, Boston and Chicago, which all have large, active SYL locals, should be able to sell many more WVs on campus without hindering sales of YSp. Stand-up sales of YSp and WV should be a regular task of campus fractions along with lit tables about three times a week. Often WV can be sold to an individual who first buys a copy of YSp. Lines at the cafeteria, campus book store or movies may be good places to try.

Industrial Sales

All locals must do <u>some</u> industrial sales. It is clear from the chart that industrial sales account for the single greatest percentage of sales of any category. Industrial sales always account for at least 300 papers an issue and often closer to 400. They tend to fluctuate less (in absolute numbers), e.g., we sell about the same number during a sub drive. These sales are crucial for developing a minimum readership pool and extending our political influence. Boston and Los Angeles have been particularly deficient in industrial sales.

Industrial sales take a lot of effort to regularize. They vary widely in results; sometimes a previously productive sale will dry up for m apparent reason. Some sales, of course, must always be done, but in other cases a sale may be discontinued and another, more productive one, substituted. Down with many, small unproductive, unimportant industrial sales!

Street Sales

With the weekly, street sales will need to increase. Obviously they will tend to go up during the warmer weather. While an area like Detroit may have more trouble doing street sales, they should do some. Parks and museums on weekends and any decent movie that mistakenly comes to Detroit, will probably be frequented by whatever small radical petty-bourgeois layer exists in the city. Cleveland, New York and Chicago should have a higher proportion of street sales. We should probably aim at 15 to 20 percent of sales as street sales.

Regional Work

Regional work, carried out in large part by the SYL, has accounted, not only for a growth in membership and the establishment of youth O.C.s, but also for boosting sales. New York City's sales at Princeton University invariably results in 50 to 100 papers sold with minimum effort. Therefore, although we are not yet in a posi-

tion to do systematic contacting, run a class or establish an OC there, we are becoming known on campus and have a regular reservoir of WV buyers there. In order to extend our influence in this way we must seek to establish a division of labor for regional work. In the larger locals this will mean that one comrade must be in charge of organizing regional trips in consultation with the sales director and organizer on a regular basis—once a week. Trade unionists who work at night can often be used for these trips before work. Two or three comrades should constitute the core of the regional team to be supplemented by other comrades on a week-to-week basis. All locals must begin to do some regional sales work regularly. These trips need not be far. In fact, it is more efficient to begin by trying campuses that are only an hour or less from the city.

Workers Vanguard Sales Summary

For period of:	<u>₩V</u> #50 <u>₩V</u> #60	(2 July (17 Jan.	74)- 75)		(31 Jan. (4 July	
Area	Average sales per issue	Average cdes. avail- able	Average sales per cde. available	Average sales per issue	Average cdes. avail-able	Average sales per cde. available
Bay Area	351	20	11	379	20	10
Boston	192	16	12	202	17	14
Chicago	171	21	8	147	24	6
Cleveland	159	12	13	129	14.5	8
Detroit	314	12	26	179	8.5	21
Houston	42	4	10	66	6.5	10
Los Angeles	109	20	5	149	22	6
New York	307	26	11	306	26	11
Phila.	82	9	9	60	12	5
Toronto	111	9	12	95	9	10
Total	Average for WV #50-60 1,827	149	12	Average for WV #61-72	159	11

The above chart shows the average sales per issue by local for two periods: July 1974 to January 1975, and January 1975 to July 1975. From this figure, and the average number of "comrades available" for sales, an approximate figure for the average number of papers sold per comrade available for the two periods can be computed.

It should be noted that, while the average sales and average sales-per-comrade per issue decreased from the first to the second half of the year, the first half included the high sales during the sub drive. Therefore it appears that we can now average slightly lower, but not much lower, during a period of regular sales than we were able to do during a period which incorporated a sub drive. In some locals, however, such as Chicago, Philadelphia and Cleveland, the sharp drop from the first period to the second period is disturbing. Locals should aim at a consistent level of 10 papers per comrade available per issue of the weekly, though this will certainly take a while to attain in most locals.

Computing the "Comrade Available" Figure

Since the figures for "comrades available", generally concocted by the sales director, is not as uniformly determined as it might be, the comparisons on the chart may be somewhat skewed. I have modified some of the figures to make them conform better to the other locals. The value of such a figure for comparative purposes is obvious.

The "comrade available" figure should be re-computed for every issue on the basis of the actual number of sales people for a given issue. One "comrade available" unit should consist for example of 2-3 sales per week, one sale plus one regional or 4 to 5 short sales. TU comrades or others who can handle only 1-2 sales per week may count for only 1/2 "comrade available".

Book Stores

New York and Detroit both sell between 50 and 75 papers per issue at bookstores. Someone in each local must be assigned to develop bookstand locations. This takes a good deal of persistence and patience and above all conscientious regularity but it can pay off by boosting sales, virtually guaranteeing a certain number of papers each issue. Someone must first approach the proprietor of the bookstand, introduce the publication and often leave an issue or two. If the stand decides to carry it they usually determine the percentage they will retain. We will accept virtually any terms. We have found that once the paper is established at a bookstore, sales there tend to be very consistent. Once the paper is being carried the new issue must be brought in and the money collected with perfect regularity since these petty-bourgeois cockroaches tend to be obsessed by such things and will simply refuse to stock your paper if it becomes too much trouble.

SUBSCRIPTION BASE DATA SEPTEMBER 1974 - JULY 1975

Issue #	Date	Sub Base	New Sub	s Rec'd. \$1	Cut-Offs	Re-subs from Cut-Offs
52	9/13	1032			34	70%
53*	9/27	1025	25	17	270	10%
54*	10/11	918	61	119	112	10%
5 5*	10/25	1402	156	458	63	22%
56*	11/8	2135	169	414	18	16%
57	11/22	2199	22	87	24	50%
58	12/6	2160	24	30	26	15%
59	1/3	2179	17	21	499	3%
60	1/17	1699	21	16	377	3%
61	1/31	1338	27	10	257	4%
62	2/14	1122	13	17	68	4%
63	2/28	1090	27	13	29	20%
64	3/14	1063	0	0	16	6%
65	3/28	1090	15	4	22	22%
66	4/11	1078	12	4	16	7%
67	4/25	1136	17	17	31	22%
68	5/9	1103	10	11	13	7%
69	5/23	1038	6	1	60	33%
70	6/6	1042	11	6	17	29%
71	6/20	1022	14	7	23	17%
72	7/4	1033	20	7	40	5%
73	7/15	993	14	1	32	-
74	7/30	950	-	-	10	***

^{*} Sub drive

25.

Subscriptions

The sub base chart on page 24 demonstrates that we have not been successful in expanding our sub base over the last year. As always, we will have a sub drive in the early fall. This sub drive will probably have to be supplemented by periodic mini-sub drives to enable locals to fill their sub quotas. Even a one-night mobilization of the local once a month for sub selling would be a big improvement on the present situation. Most locals simply don't pay any attention to obtaining subs in between sub drives to the extent that often even contacts or sympathizers who attend forums regularly don't have subs (while Tim Wohlforth just mailed in a five dollar sub). Our sub base represents more than just a certain number--it is composed, in large part, of a group of loyal supporters of the Spartacist League who often contribute money when they renew their subscription, contribute to the PDC and follow our press consistently. Our job is to expand this base.

August 1975

by Kelley

I. Information

The role of a Literature Director is a political one. As we go from a bi-weekly to a weekly paper, the responsibilities of this post will increase proportionally because not only will sales of WV increase, but sales of all other materials will increase. This, of course, means more contacts, more forums, more classes, more sales. Since this is a relatively new post instituted with the increase in the size of the SL, many comrades are not familiar with the duties of the Literature Director. The first criterion for this post should be aggressiveness—the comrade must be aggressive enough to find out what is going on in his local before it happens and in plenty of time to get the necessary literature. This includes interventions, demos, sales, forums, classes, sub drives, contacts who speak foreign languages.

The second criterion should be organizational competence--the comrade must keep all literature instantly available and in orderly condition. This point includes knowing how long it takes to get literature from the center, knowing how much is in stock, knowing how much will be needed.

Specifically, a Literature Director's job is to work closely with the local sales director and organizer to be fully aware of and on top of any activity the local is engaged in. The job does not just consist of being sure the local has four copies of some bulletin on the shelf, but consists of anticipating any emergency intervention, sales, etc., and being ready for it.

II. Rules and Regulations

- l. All SL literature orders must be made directly through Kelley by the Literature Director. This is very important because a) I need to know how fast you need the order, b) I will be able to tell you whether or not the order is in print (there have been many cases where an article in WV has been needed but is out of print and therefore the local has had to xerox it), and c) it avoids duplication of orders, therefore facilitating impeccable order.
- 2. All SYL literature orders must be made through Mindy. The SYL is a separate organization with its own circulation department, finances, P.O. Box, and national office. All orders for materials published by the SYL must go through the Youth National Office.
 - 3. Notify the Center of any change in Literature Director.
- 4. All shipments from the SL have an invoice either on the outside of one of the boxes or inside on top. The Literature Director is responsible for checking the contents against the invoice to be sure everything is there.
 - 5. The Literature Director is responsible for informing local

members of new materials by posting notices and announcing it at local meetings.

6. Report change of name (consignee) for airport delivery immediately. This last point could prove to be very important. With the weekly, the airport deliveries will increase twofold. A majority of the locals tend not to think it important to have a current consignee's name on the box. With a weekly paper we cannot afford to have any delays in the locals receiving their papers and therefore it becomes extremely important that the name appearing on airport deliveries be current and accurate. There will possibly come a time when L.A. (this could apply to any of our locals) will not be able to pick up its papers because Billy is somewhere in Georgia with his ID. Airport addresses, just like P.O. Boxes and phone numbers, must be current and reported.

3 August 1975

(Revised from circulars dated 3 April 1974 and 5 May 1975)

AND OTHER ORG PUBLICATIONS

by C. Price, for WV Ed Board/Staff

The transformation to a weekly press requires stricter adherence to editorial guidelines than has been observed in the past. Sloppiness anywhere in the procedures is no longer merely crippling; it can be nearly fatal. Photographs for WV and other org publications must be technically excellent, politically useful, fully captioned and annotated and quickly processed. Ultimately it is the organizers who are responsible for seeing that these guidelines are followed, although the photographers and Ed Board Reps should be coordinating and carrying out the work.

1. Every local <u>must</u> have at least one competent photographer. This person is not a <u>luxury</u> or an afterthought but a political necessity. We cannot have a weekly without qualified photographers (and writers) in each local (and also OCs and MALs, insofar as possible).

The local photographer should be assigned to take pictures only-not also to sell, leaflet, carry a picket sign, etc. Taking pictures is a political priority and only if the event is truly not pictureworthy should the photographer take on additional assignments.

2. Every local must have a 35 mm camera. If there is no one with a suitable 35 mm camera, the local will have to buy one.

The local can obtain a modest, adequate, automatic camera and flash for about \$125.00. Suggested models and typical NYC discount (and mail-order) prices are:

Canonet	QL 17 III	semi-automatic	\$120	with	flash
Minolta	HiMatic E	fully auto	\$123	with	flash
Minolta	HiMatic 7S	semi-auto	\$ 90		
Olympus	35 RC	semi-auto	\$ 93		

Semi-automatic means the user selects the shutter speed and the camera sets the lens opening. Fully automatic means the camera sets the entire exposure; user only needs to focus. The flash, available with all models (sometimes in a package deal), will automatically adjust to give correct exposure. For details or questions contact C. Price in NYC.

On The Job

3. All significant local events should generate some photographs that can be used in SL/SYL publications. This includes photos of local industrial plants (preferably at shift change) to provide a backlog of WV's own photos. Not only is the quality generally superior to newspaper shotos, but the impact of using our own photos is greater.

Securing relevant photo material is part of every article assignment. All articles submitted from local areas must be accompanied by some photographic material, whether our own or from other publications.

4. The first shot or two should establish the situation. Make this shot your best one--sometimes you only get one chance. After that go for the extra shots to add detail, "color," different viewpoints, close-ups, etc.

2.

Give a feel for the crowd or situation--show the size of the whole event, major contingents, leaders, speakers, politically significant signs. Use both close-ups and crowd shots. Do not shoot only our people.

5.Banners and signs in a picket line or march should always be held up and generally facing the intended audience. Persons marching together should appear to be a cohesive unit. Photographers must pose people if necessary.

Generally choose angles which show the largest possible number of people and a large number of clear signs. Shoot slightly from the side of an oncoming line so that several signs can be seen and don't hide each other. Make sure the entire sign is visible for the major signs—don't cut off the tops of the signs. See WV No. 32, pages 4 and 10, for examples of a large number of signs framed in one shot.

Signs should always be very dark lettering on white poster board. Do not use red on black, blue on red, or any such combination which photographs as all grey or black. YAWF-type banners on green or orange cloth are horrible. Lettering must be very bold or else the lettering will not show up. Simple block letters are best.

If necessary, ask our comrades to face their signs towards the photographer as they pass by. If both sides of signs are used, turn the signs the other way.

- 6. Try as much as possible to keep the light behind you so the light will then fall on the face of the subject and not directly into your camera lens. When shooting towards the sun try keeping the direct sun out of the lens by using a copy of WV as a shade over the camera.
- 7. Being a photojournalist requires chutzpah, hustle and good judgement. While keeping in mind personal and organizational security and safety, expend some energy and move around to find the unusually good viewpoints. If the mood of the event is appropriate (especially public rallies, marches, etc.) don't hesitate to move closer for close-up shots. Act as if you have the right to take pictures but respect the person or situation which clearly indicates you do not.

Study the photos in all our publications (and ORO press, bourgeois newspapers, <u>Time</u>, <u>Newsweek</u>, etc.). Figure out what makes them good or bad. If the <u>lighting</u> is good, how was it done? Does the photographer have an imaginative or unusual viewpoint or comcomposition?

The Technical Details

- 8. Always use black and white film. Always use 35 mm. Always use Tri-X. Conversely, never use color film or Instamatics. Such film is thrown away as useless. Buy film in advance and be prepared. Try finding a photo dealer who will discount 10 or 20 rolls bought at one time. Keep them in the refrigerator and take out when needed. Film will keep years this way.
- 9. Send in partial rolls. Do not wait, trying to fill out the roll. Learn to judge whether a 20 or 36 exposure roll is appropriate for the occasion, but when in doubt take lots of pictures. A major event can easily be worth 4 or 5 rolls from 2 photographers.
- 10. Send in exposed film <u>immediately</u>. Use Express Mail if necessary. Save the plastic can the film comes in for mailing. If not available, pack film cassette in protective wrapping. This especially applies to bulk loaded cassettes which must be taped shut.

The following note was actually received:

"June 17, 1975

Dear Wes:

Here are a few photos of an antideportation demo that the CCIST Vancouver participated in last winter."

The SL publishes periodicals whose period is substantially less than six months. We want that film hours later, not months later.

11. Always send in the original film, not prints, so the editors can choose the most suitable shots and layout.

So that the editors will know what the film is all about, the photographer must make a written record of the shots taken. Each situation must be identified by date, place, photographer, sponsors and participants, and specific description of what is going on. We have many photos in our files which are nearly useless because of lack of such identification.

Clearly identify anyone who should not appear in the paper-trade-union supporters, ORO contacts, etc. These are not always known to the editorial staff and must be clearly identified. Send a note of warning--until these systems become operational, serious security violations are a very real danger.

The note reproduced in paragraph 10 above is glaringly insufficient.

12. Tri-X film is normally rated at ASA 400. This is the setting used on the light meter for most situations. At dusk, outside at night, inside meeting halls, etc., where there is not enough light at ASA 400 settings and where flash cannot be used for some

31.

- reason, Tri-X film may also be rated at 800 or 1,200. Always indicate on the film can if this has been done so it can be processed accordingly. The entire roll must be shot at the same ASA setting.
- 13. Get an electronic flash. If you are not sure what to get, contact C. Price in NYC. If you have a flash, always have spare batteries with you and keep the rechargeable models charged up periodically.

Pictures to note from WV (examples of topics above):

- No. 71, p. 4 and No. 70, p. 3: We need stock photos of prominent people. Even if the demo isn't noteworthy, the pictures may be useful later.
- No. 69, p. 12 bottom: High and off to side viewpoint shows large number of signs, but sun behind marchers makes difficult lighting.
- No. 68, p. 1 bottom: Be where the action is, preferably with a wide angle lens. Note how small type on some signs is illegible. Pages 6 and 7: A variety of shots, culled from 4 rolls by 2 photographers. Each one is a different aspect of a large event. Page 10, top: Making the best of a set of blurry, uninspired photos.
- No. 67, p. 11 top: "Spartacist" must be written boldly or else the political impact is lessened because it can't be read.
- No. 64, p. 12: We should have our own set of stock photos of politically relevant industries so we wouldn't have to rely on abortions such as this one.
- No. 63, p. 5: Black on red banners may look good at the time but looks terrible in the paper.

August 1975

Personnel Summary of the Common Movement of North America

The following percentages apply to the several hundred members of our common movement.

	June 1974	July 1975
Composition		
SL members (includes duals and CCIST)	80%	80%
SYL (includes duals)	50%	46%
Non-party Youth	19%	19%
Industrialized	27%	20%
Student	148	17%
Male membership	62%	63%
Geographical		
East Coast (total)	43%	37%
Central Office Only	13%	12%
South	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	3%
Midwest	278	23%
West Coast	20%	23%
Canada	38	10%
Industrialization (percent of	total industrialized	i)
T-1	5%	7%
т-2	78	15%
т-5	18	48
BI	19%	15%
BR-2	1%	48
II	35%	19%
LI	22%	25%
PE-1 and PE-2		6%
Membership Growth	,	
Membership increase (net) Ju	ne 1973 to June 1974	17%
	aly 1974 to July 1975.	
Increase SL membership (inclu	des duals)	5%
Increase SYL membership (incl	udes duals)	12%
Quit rate (based on median me	embership)	9.5%
Join rate (based on median me	embership)	28%

by Samuels, for the PDC

Given the present embryonic nature of the PDC, the relation-ship between the PDC and the locals and local work has been of necessity ad hoc and episodic. There exists already what might be called "PDC Consciousness": that defense work should be conducted through or in conjunction with the PDC and that various legal problems that come up in the course of local work should be dealt with in consultation with the PDC.

As the PDC takes on increasing reality, the relationship between the PDC in the center and the locals and the division of labor within the locals will have to be given clearer definition. In particular, it is now necessary for each local to recommend a PDC representative and for larger locals to assign over at least one or two other comrades to do at least occasional PDC work.

The PDC is both the defense and legal arm of the SL. ingly, campaigns like Chile defense or defense of Jha will be conducted through the name of and, where possible, organized by the PDC. Needless to say, PDC-initiated campaigns can only be planned in closest coordination with the SL local execs and other departments of the party. In other campaigns, like defense of SYL at San Francisco State this past semester, the actual defense work will be conducted through and in the name of the PDC in conjunction with the SYL and other supporters. Where we intervene or support other defense organizations and efforts (e.g., Attica Defense), both the SL and PDC will send representatives where possible. the PDC increasingly to behave like a party section in presenting an independent organizational face in the framework of complete solidarity with the SL. In an intervention where both the PDC and SL are represented, obviously they both represent the same political viewpoint but the PDC presents a different emphasis. The PDC emphasizes the particular political questions raised by the defense and lays out the criteria for a principled united front workingclass defense. The SL on the other hand makes the usual: the same stupid sectarian-opportunist Third Period Stalinist antics displayed here tonight by our opponents that opened the road to Hitler's bloody triumph in 1933, etc., etc." That is, the SL intervention is more aggressive and polemical. The PDC must never permit itself to upstage the party, e.g., where the SL is excluded, the PDC walks out.

The party's legal problems are also PDC work. The PDC's legal staff is composed of rather inexperienced, just-out-of-law school lawyers and they and the jailhouse-lawyer types who will make good PDC reps are no substitute for high-quality professional legal advice on many questions. Part of building the PDC is acquiring a pool of lawyers who can be called on when needed. But outside lawyers are no substitute for developing our own legal staff and developing at least some legal expertise in our members who see legal problems from our political framework.

34.

The PDC representative should be seen as the overseer of defense campaigns, a public spokesman for our defense policy and the legal officer of the local (equivalent, for example, to a judge advocate in the army). The PDC rep should be a trustworthy, responsible and mature full member of the SL, someone you would trust with handling your money or your personal legal affairs. As a public spokesman the PDC rep should be able to project the image of a red fiduciary.

The PDC is organizationally independent of the SL at the same time it acts in accordance with SL's political viewpoint. Therefore, prominent well-known public spokesmen for the SL can also be public spokesmen for the PDC as the PDC's open advocacy of its solidarity with the SL protects it from red-baiting. Since the PDC is organizationally independent, prominent trade union class-struggle militants can also be spokesmen for the PDC or undertake PDC work, as can, for example, law students. In locals which do heavy work in the labor movement, a class-struggle unionist who carries out at least some PDC work would be a necessary asset. The same would hold for a Black, Chicano or in certain periods, a G.I. The important thing is that PDC work be carried out by a selected few comrades who come to be associated with the PDC in left, labor and liberal circles, and not assigned indiscriminately.

Given the highly responsible nature of the work of the PDC rep, care should be exercized in selection. If there is no obvious candidate, then it is better for the organizer or another exec member to function as interim rep, rather than nominating someone who is not fully qualified. In any case, any recommendation should be forwarded to CO for approval.

4 August 1975

LOCAL WORK AND LEGAL QUESTIONS

by Partisan Defense Committee

Legal Preparation for Local Work

1. Obtaining Legal Counsel

Each local must have contact with at least one local attorney on whom it can rely in times of crisis and for general legal consultation. A reliable lawyer may be found by an exploration of the legal milieu in each area by the local PDC rep. Most cities have a circle of rad/lib lawyers some of whom will be sympathetic to leftists or at least recognize their defense as an important democratic issue.

The most widely know organization in this milieu is the National Lawyers Guild which exists in all the cities where we have locals. The Guild itself does not offer defense service for leftists but will give referrals and can be a general source of information. Another good source of information and, sometimes, free legal representation is the ACLU, particularly if a First Amendment issue is involved.

Locals should seek, via the PDC rep, to develop a long-term relationship with this legal defense milieu. The kind of relationship we are seeking will not be developed overnight, but will necessarily involve an extended period of mutual testing. To date, the deliberate exploration of this milieu has been lacking and, for the most part, has occurred only out of necessity. The organization of the PDC will now make this a conscious part of our work.

Since we seek to develop the PDC as a national organization, it goes without saying that full reports should be sent to the PDC in the center. In particular the relations of the PDC/SL to the National Lawyers Guild must be coordinated nationally.

2. Education

Each local should seek to educate members regarding local laws, avoiding arrest and handling an unanticipated arrest. A variety of pamphlets with helpful information can be found at local ACLU offices.

It cannot be overstressed that, even if one knows the local law, being within one's rights is not necessarily an insurance against arrest. Arrests are frequently used as a means of harassment and may also result from police ignorance. Pamphlets and lawyers can only give theoretical advice on when one may or may not be arrested. We can determine more concretely and precisely, however, what the chances of winning are, should an arrest occur.

Since it will be only in specific, important instances that we will employ the tactic of a law-testing arrest, and an anticipated arrest can be planned for quite carefully, it is the unanticipated arrest, and how to avoid it, that will be discussed here.

Avoiding Arrest

1. Cars

- (a) License and registration should be in order, e.g., when people move, cars may have to be reregistered and drivers relicensed. Most states have a 30-day grace period. When cars are borrowed, the registration should accompany the car.
- (b) Cars should be kept in reasonably good repair. Case law indicates that disrepair often provides a pretext for harassment, car searches, etc. Besides, poorly maintained vehicles are dangerous.
- (c) Comrades must avoid keeping things in cars that they would not want examined by other people.
- (d) Traffic violations should not be left unanswered since this allows the police to take out an arrest warrant. Nonpayment of parking tickets in some states does not result in arrest but can result in additional penalties, seizure of real property or cars, garnishing of wages, and will prevent reregistration of cars. In some states nonpayment may result in arrest.
- (e) Comrades must insure their cars—at least for liability. Other insurance is also advisable. Payments on debts for accident costs are not deductible from party sustainers.

2. Identification

All comrades should have at least two forms of <u>valid</u> identification, preferably a driver's license and a voter's registration card or the equivalent.

3. Self-Protection

There are times when we will be physically attacked by right wingers and OROs. Where the attack is by right wingers we will seek to call on the police as our first line of defense although we recognize that we cannot rely upon their aid. We must recognize therefore that sometimes we will of necessity have to exercise our lawful right to self-defense. To this end we must have precise knowledge of the law and how it is applied. For example, are picket signs made of wood illegal? Are they defined as a "weapon"? How are "weapons" defined? How is "intent to do bodily harm" defined and applied? The answers to these questions are important because, when we are attacked, the role of the police will inevitably be to arrest everyone involved.

We respect the citizen's right to bear arms including qualified and responsible individuals from our own membership, but we are not "gun nuts" or substitutionists for self-defense by the mass of the working people; nor do we wish to play into the hands of malicious prosecutors or red-hating, trigger-happy cops.

In Case of Arrest

1. Comrades should be instructed not to resist arrest and to avoid doing anything that might be erroneously interpreted as resisting

arrest. This includes remarks to, or gestures at, cops.

2. Booking

Arrestees are required to give their names, addresses and birthdays. Nothing else is required. Without making a big deal about it, do not answer any questions or offer any statement about the incident. Exercise the right to remain silent while insisting on it as little as possible. The information which you are required to give the police should be accurate. Inaccurate information can only jeopardize the chances for a low bail or release on one's own recognizance. Allow yourself to be fingerprinted and photographed. Although the incident should not be discussed, a polite request as to the charge against you is in order. Not all charges that result in arrest require that you be fingerprinted and photographed but this is a matter of state law. If you know that the charge of which you are accused is not a printable offense, it is appropriate to refuse prints and photographs. If you do not know, you will have little choice in the matter.

- In most large cities booking will be followed by an interview with an agency other than the police department or the DA's office to determine whether you are a "good bail risk." The questions will relate to family, employment and length of time in the community, all of which the interviewer will attempt to verify, ultimately making an evaluation for the court as to whether you are likely to return if released on your own recognizance or on a low cash bail. All information given to the interviewer must be accurate. The courts usually give most weight to family relationships but, since many comrades do not have family members available as references, friends will be the next best thing. It may be unwise to give much information about employment since this may result in telephone calls revealing the arrest. Thus one might say that he would prefer that his employer not be called for verification. This is another time when proper identification will be essential. If a number of comrades are arrested together, it would be best for not all to give the exact same community contacts; community prominence of the names is of no particular importance at this stage. Ideally, the names should be family or friends who can verify your address, employment and period of residence in the community.
- 4. This interview will usually be followed by a few hours' wait during which fingerprints are put through a nationally centralized computer. This is another reason why comrades should not carelessly leave any loose, legal ends hanging around the country. You may or may not be entitled to a telephone call yourself during this period—in general cops will notify a named person that you have been arrested even if you are not yet entitled to a phone call. All comrades should have the number of a lawyer whom they can call, but it will almost always be wiser to call a comrade, specifically the PDC rep, who will get a lawyer for you.
- 5. The next step in the criminal process is arraignment. In this proceeding you will be informed of the charges against you, either released or bail set, and the case will be adjourned to another day

in court. If no lawyer has been obtained by the time of arraignment, the court in most cities will provide a lawyer. Do not be afraid to be represented by a public defender at this stage. There is little harm that can be done. For petty offenses this is the first stage of the plea-bargaining process and often some offer will be made by the DA. If you are unsure about what to do at this point you can always wait for a lawyer to arrive. If it is clear that you are going to be released, there is no reason to insist on your own lawyer at this stage. Locals should be aware that it is very important for an arraignment judge to see that the arrestee has people in the audience who are interested in what is happening to him or her. If bail is going to be set, the presence of friends in the courtroom will aid in the setting of a lower figure. It is important to get as much cash together as possible before the arraignment since the comrade can then be bailed out immediately without having to spend any time in a city jail. The PDC rep must know how to use a bail bondsman and where to find one. He must have knowledge of who has property which can be used for bail purposes.

6. Search Warrants

There is little one can do when confronted with a search warrant except to inspect it and read it carefully. Remember what you read. It should be signed by a judge or magistrate; it should list specifically the place—house or apartment—to be searched; and it should list specifically the things to be seized. Even if it is faulty, there will be little you can do about it, but, if faulty, any evidence gathered can be suppressed in a criminal proceeding. Never consent to a search of your car or house where you have not been shown a warrant. This does not mean that your car or house will not be searched anyway, but you must make it clear that any search without a warrant is being done under verbal protest and thus without your consent. There may be times when such verbal protest is unwise, but it should be done if at all possible.

7. Border Searches

These searches may be conducted as a matter of right by the authorities. The only advice is to be aware of regulations regarding prescription drugs, literature for re-sale or distribution, financial requirements and personal documentation.

Police and FBI Questioning

We should expect that an increasing number of SL/SYL members

and contacts will be approached by the FBI or the police for the purpose of harassment and political intimidation. All comrades must be knowledgeable about how to handle this situation. Particular emphasis should be given to preparing younger and/or newer comrades for this eventuality since they are likely to be the first targets of FBI approaches in the hope that they will be more easily scared away or coerced into divulging information. These approaches by the FBI/police may take many forms—from a stop on the street, to a visit at home or work or a telephone call. Comrades should not be surprised if the agent approaches them with information of a personal nature about them. This is done to startle the individual and take him off guard.

1. When We Need Not Talk

In most instances the FBI/police will cease harassment when it is clear to them that their visits will neither stop comrades' activities nor result in information. Thus the way we must respond to an FBI/police inquiry for political purposes is to make it clear that we have nothing to say and do not want to talk or be questioned. Remember there is no legal duty to talk to the FBI or police when questioned in this manner. No one can be made to talk to police (except for name and address) at any time. The same applies to an FBI agent. They have no legal means of compelling you to give them information.

FBI employees do not always identify themselves as such, especially over the phone. Do not give any information about another person over the phone unless you know exactly to whom you are speaking. If in doubt, ask for the phone number of the inquirer.

It is precisely because of the fact that no one may be compelled to talk to them that police and agents tend to rely on techniques that startle and intimidate in an effort to get information as well as to harass. The only response is simply to tell the agent that you

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have nothing to say to him. You may tell him to contact your regular lawyer. This is just another way of getting the agent to leave you alone since agents do not often contact lawyers. There is nothing to be gained by engaging in a game of wits with the police or FBI. Therefore, political debate, intellectual sparring, etc. are not in order for dealing with these situations. Rather a single, firm, non-panicked "I don't have anything to say to you" is the appropriate response.

Comrades should also be aware that parents or other relatives are a favored target of FBI questioning. This is both another form of intimidation as well as a potential source of information. Comrades should use considered judgment about what information parents have about their activities. There may well be parents who should be know-nothing parents. All parents should know that if they are ever questioned: (1) they do not have to say anything and (2) they do not give out information about your whereabouts, activities, work, etc.

Another type of police investigation concerns questioning about contacts, e.g., where someone lives, what they do, etc. Presumably this questioning is motivated not by our political profile but because someone else (the contact) is sought and we are seen as friends of or sources of information about this person. In this type of situation it is important that there is no panic. Again, remember there is no legal requirement to talk to the agent and that a hysterical or nervous response itself raises suspicions. We never respond in a hostile fashion to police in these situations. Rather we want to carry out our general policy of not giving information to police which may be used in an attack on the working-class movement. Therefore, again, the operative policy in this situation is simply to indicate that we have nothing to say about the subject of the investigation. We do not even want to indicate whether or not we know or have ever heard of the individual involved. In a firm way, ask the agent to leave immediately.

2. When We Should Talk

Both of these situations must be distinguished from the instances when inquiry by the police is unrelated to politics. An example of this is the investigation of an accident, where we seek to be polite and helpful. In dealing with our immediate "neighborhood" we want to establish ourselves as the responsible, cooperative citizens we are. This prevents unnecessary harassment from police and right wingers. There are times when it is necessary to solicit aid from the police, or other law enforcement agencies: when you have been robbed, attacked by right wingers or even threatened with such an attack.

3. Agents in the Organization

It is inevitable that at some time in the future, if not already, police agents or informers will be members of the organization. There is a distinction between the two which is operative in a legal proceeding. Agents are sent in by the FBI and are on the government payroll—they are cops. Informers are generally voluntary—either people who join and decide on their own to do their "govern—

ment duty" or people who become members and subsequently are approached by the FBI or police to act as informants.

There are two things that can be done to minimize the damage that an agent/informer may do. First, as a precautionary measure, it is important to investigate the background of new comrades and contacts including their political history, personal data such as work, family relationships, schooling and any other information which is verifiable. A check of this sort on people who come around us is a primary source of protection for the organization. (This is important not only in the agent situation, where discrepancies in stories and unexplained monies can possibly detect or deter agents, but is also helpful in uncovering information in the background of comrades which the leadership should know, e.g., police records.)

Secondly, our ability to minimize damage done by agents is enhanced by maintaining a high level of political functioning and organizational competence by all comrades. In this way, at least all our agents will have done sustained work for us during their tenure in the organization. One of the most unfortunate sidelights to the infiltration of the Communist Party by the FBI was the fact that those agents did virtually nothing for the CP--they rarely even went to meetings.

SL/SYL Security Guidelines

The SL/SYL has some relatively simple security guidelines and mechanisms which are designed to protect the membership from all types of harassment and thus enhance its ability to do effective political work. Unfortunately, there appears to be considerable confusion about the security guidelines. This confusion often results in their misuse which in turn renders them useless. The confusion seems to be twofold: imprecise knowledge of the content of the guidelines and misunderstanding or lack of knowledge as to the function they serve. It is incumbent upon the PDC rep to understand these guidelines thoroughly and to see to it that new members are systematically informed of their content and purpose. It may also be necessary for the PDC rep to bridge some gaps in the knowledge of not-so-new comrades. This is the only way we will eliminate misuse of our security measures and thus insure their maximum effectiveness. The two paragraphs below, written by Gordon during the course of the Ellens-Turner fight, provide a good general statement of our policy on security:

"The Spartacist League has a policy of security, not clandestinity. This means we take measures to protect the livelihood of individuals (e.g., we often use party names for documents and the public press) while fighting to maintain the legality of the organization. We know that we cannot prevent the authorities from knowing pretty well who our comrades are if they want to take the trouble to open our mail, tap our phones, plant agents, etc. But we seek to prevent them from getting any documentary proof that will be sufficient legally to prove an individual's membership in the SL, in the event of something like another witchhunt period. (A real fascist take-

over, freeing the bourgeoisie to seize "reds" and imprison them without going through any of the mechanisms of bourgeois democracy, and even worse, is something that we cannot now protect our members against; we can only work by political means to prevent it from happening.)... Where we draw the line on security measures is when they accomplish nothing except confusing our own people.

"...It has been pointed out before that for an organization of our size to 'go underground' is essentially a form of liquidationism—one of our problems is that we are not visible enough! We have a hard enough time making ourselves known on the left and propagandizing our line; that's why we like newspaper publicity. We do not have anywhere near enough forces to successfully do all the things we want to do and intervene in all the arenas where we could have an effect. To 'go underground' is just to make everything ten times harder. Further, there are numerous examples of what's wrong with security paranoia and how it is actually an objective danger."

--Liz Gordon, "Once Again on VO,"

<u>Spartacist League Internal Bulletin</u>,
whole no. 7, December 1968

1. The Phone

Comrade Robertson made a presentation to the New York local on the use of the telephone. His instructions should be general knowledge throughout the organization. We are a legal organization which does not engage in terror tactics and criminal acts. Our business is perfectly correct to conduct over the phone and limitations are done in an effort to avoid harassment. In fact, we would be fundamentally handicapped, if not paralyzed, if we could no longer use the phone.

It also should be recognized that (or at least we should operate as if) all our telephone calls are monitored. This is unquestionably true not only at local offices and party houses but probably at individual houses as well. Given this fact, we do not want to attract any unusual attention to the content of our conversation. All subject matter should be treated as normal and routine. Avoid talking as if you were engaged in secret, clandestine, illegal activities—you are not! Do not say "This is security," or "I can't talk about it over the telephone," or "What story should I use?"—all of these draw special, unwarranted attention and are overt statements telling monitors that this is an area to pick up on.

Similarly, it does not make any sense to discuss something in code over the phone in one conversation and then to use the very same phone to deal with that matter not in code (e.g., "Comrade X has this problem," and then Comrade X is called under his real name. Or calls made about Mid-Atlantic II and then calling Mid-Atlantic II.) By the same token, the use of party names in TU and other security situations over the phone renders them useless as a protection. In the course of normal conversation (general discussion) on

the phone, party names need not and should not be used. Administrative names (i.e., fraction minutes, other records) are never to be used orally or otherwise linked with the physical person in question (see discussion on names below).

2. Names

Party or literary names and minutes or administrative names are used organizationally, each with a separate and specific function.

- (a) Party or literary names for public spokesmen. The functional use of party or literary names for these people is security against harassment from right wingers. Use of real (birth) names subjects comrades to an increased possibility of harassment—house trashing, phone calls, etc. Party names for these people are not fundamentally a protection against state harassment since the state will learn comrades' identities through surveillance, phone taps and agents. What party names do prevent is written corroboration of testimony of agents and wiretaps. The value of this is primarily in legal actions against comrades and the organization. Use of party names in all written documents including minutes and internals makes proof of membership turn on government exposure of undercover agents and wiretaps. Thus we force the government to expose an agent or reveal a phone tap in order to harass or frame us up.
- (b) Tuers and PDCers. Tuers and PDCers appear in pubic using their legal birth names. They are not public SL spokesmen. When minutes or administrative names are used they are for the purpose of record keeping only and need be known only to the record keeper.

The reason for the use of birth names in PDC work is that the money-raising, defense orientation of this organization necessitates that it be conducted in an impeccably above-board manner. PDC reps will be known publicly as PDC spokesmen and thus they must use their legal names.

General Information or Common-Sense Guidelines

The SL is a legal organization. We relentlessly defend and seek to extend our legality. Our organizational rules state: "Members shall not in their...conduct...be either a serious or chronic detriment to the SL." This applies to the area of legality. As communists we have a very high profile. We do not "get away with" what it appears other citizens get away with. This includes crimes like shoplifting, income-tax cheating, petty fraud, bad check writing, not paying for bills or parking tickets. SLers commit no crimes, including petty crimes. We have no obligation to defend comrades for personal acts resulting in arrest, e.g., pot busts or shoplifting arrests. Further, as a general principle, we must err on the side of conservatism when it comes to the day-to-day bending of the active law.

Under the law many comrades are eligible for benefits which either provide or supplement one's subsistence such as welfare, food stamps, veterans' benefits, unemployment compensation, disability, civil suits, income-tax deduction, educational benefits, low-cost

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loans, job-training or even bankruptcy. Comrades are encouraged to take advantage of these benefits. Often questions arise as to eligibility, application procedures, etc., and comrades are encouraged to seek legal and other consultation. Only those who must know the details of these arrangements should know. It is most advisable that discussions about these and also medical matters take place in person or by letter.

10.

Miscellaneous Information

1. Travel

Comrades should have a notarized statement giving power of attorney to another comrade so that any business that comes up during their absence can be taken care of easily.

Comrades who often travel out of town are advised to have a major credit card, issued in their names, on their person in case of difficulties.

2. Children

Comrades who have children should have a will providing for guardianship of their children in case of death or incapacity. When children are left in the care of another person for any period of time that person should have a notarized statement authorizing him or her to care for the child.

3. Unmarried

It is important to realize that single comrades, if incapacitated, may revert to the legal custody or anti-party or plainstupid relatives.

4. Student Loans

Comrades who are unable to pay on student loans and who are being harassed or threatened with legal suits can attempt to ease the situation by writing a letter explaining their tight financial situation and promising regular, though small, monthly payments. If you send small monthly payments you will not be harassed. If a comrade is totally unable to pay and is without employment or possessions he can pursue the alternative of filing for bankruptcy.

6 August 1975