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June 1964

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EVERY BRANCH SHOULD HAVE A CAMPAIGN

by George Breitman

A large number of the branches are in states where restrictive election laws will prevent us from being on the ballot this year. But it would be a serious mistake for them to act as if they can do nothing but distribute some literature and hold a meeting or two.

Not being on the ballot is a handicap -- a handicap that is mainly psychological. It need not and should not prevent such branches from having an active election campaign, and from getting started on it at once.

In most states a write-in campaign is legal -- that is, write-in votes are supposed to be counted. In some states it is not legal, that is, write-ins invalidate the ballot and the ballot is not counted. We should conduct write-in campaigns in both places.

Whether or not a write-in campaign is effective depends largely on how we approach it. If we think that getting a large vote is the most important aim, then obviously a write-in campaign is less effective than one where we are on the ballot, and this feeling can undermine a write-in campaign, reducing our efforts to a perfunctory minimum.

But the size of our vote is not our main concern this year. Our success will be measured by the number of people we inform about the existence and platform of our party, the number of new readers we get for our press, the number of new contacts and members we get for the party. A write-in campaign, seriously and energetically conducted, can be successful in all these respects.

This estimate was confirmed by an experience we had in Michigan a few years ago. Our petitions were challenged by the Democrats and we were thrown off the ballot. But we decided to go ahead and run the campaign in precisely the same way as if we were on the ballot.

We put out a record amount of campaign literature -- more than in any year up to then. Our presidential ticket and candidate for governor appeared at union and other meetings as frequently as before, and received the same kind of attention. We went out with our sound car, issued press releases, ran meetings, spoke over radio and TV, participated in symposiums, made and visited contacts -- just as in previous campaigns, and just as much, except for reduced radio and TV time for our candidate for governor. Our contacts responded just as they had to previous campaigns.

Although it was a write-in campaign, we did not stress that factor in our literature or speeches, except when asked. It was not until the last two or three weeks that we put out a leaflet with directions on how to cast a write-in vote, which was sent to our mailing list.

Of course they did not count our vote. But that was not too different either -- they rarely count them or count them fully.

We felt that the campaign had been as successful (except for radio and TV time for our local candidates) as if we had been on the ballot. But none of this would have been accomplished if we had been confused about the main aim of a campaign; if we had forgotten that for a party like ours in times like these the main aim of electoral work is to reach people with our propaganda when they are ~~not~~ interested in politics generally.

Those branches that haven't already done so should turn their attention to this task immediately, and go at it just as if they were on the ballot: Select a campaign committee or manager, designate a campaign headquarters, nominate one or more local candidates if possible (as write-ins if you can't put them on the ballot), prepare and circulate literature, issue press releases, ask for time to appear at election symposiums, request TV and radio time, approach contacts for financial help, hold election rallies, etc.

The only exceptions should be those branches that are too busy with other, more important party work.

Otherwise we will lose and waste a large part of the opportunities that a presidential campaign presents.

And we should not wait until September or October. We should do it now, before many people have made up their minds on how to vote, and before the clamor of the capitalist party campaigns tends to drown us out.

May, 1964

ON THE PRODUCTION OF LEAFLETS

by Jim Krahn Twin Cities

The importance of adequate leaflets is undoubtedly recognized by all. However, some hints on production of party notices might be useful to those who find this work difficult, and help correct occasional oversights.

At times we have received samples of branch leaflets that were less than adequate; omitting pertinent information, and showing careless attention to detail. The instance of these deficiencies is infrequent, but lessons can be drawn from them.

Most important for a good leaflet is the inclusion of all necessary information; topic, background, auspices, city, state, time, donation, date and (labor donated) are essential. This must be done as clearly and concisely as possible.

Meeting notices and leaflets for distribution on a particular subject should be prepared like a poster. That is; the printing, drawings, etc., must be easy to read at a glance; and they must be just as easily understood. This is one of the differences between leaflets and pamphlets.

At times the situation will demand a notice that goes into more detail or is more complex. At such times, or when sending a notice of more than one meeting, it might be well to use legal-size paper rather than the standard 8½ x 11, or print more than one leaflet.

The function of a standard leaflet is obviously limited. So, while we can't say everything, sufficient attention to detail will fulfill the task.

Laura Gray's cartoons are splendid examples of the type of illustration required for our notices. Each one is an extremely clear, concise (and of course artful) presentation of our position. We should make use of her contributions as often as possible. Many branches now have a file of Gray cartoons. Those that do not would be well advised to start one immediately. Then too, some branches are continually turning out notice work that should serve as an example to others. For this reason we should exchange samples of leaflets and keep a perpetual file of them in the workroom.

Care must be given the production of all leaflets. It is better to produce a simple notice neatly and clearly than one which is complex and not done well. Therefore sufficient equipment, properly maintained operation of equipment, and storage

facilities is also necessary. A good typewriter and mimeograph machine are essential, while a collection of various stylis and lettering guide materials is very helpful. Also helpful is a glass-topped, lighted box on which to do hand-stencil work. The box is most useful in reproducing cartoons or other illustrations directly on the stencil.

Though it may not be extensive, the mimeograph material must be kept orderly and in good working condition. Aside from obviously prolonging life of these machines and eliminating waste of valuable materials, an orderly work area will allow the work to be done much faster, easier, more competently, and with less wear and tear on the comrades.

Comrades will find that by shopping around for mimeo supplies, good bargains can be found. Then, too, at certain times we can "borrow" from one source or another. Branches may also find it possible to "try out" equipment from suppliers on a trial basis during election campaigns, etc.

It would be well that the leaflet work does not continually fall on the shoulders of only a few comrades. Perhaps a rotating forum committee could be formed for this purpose. Specialization with increased proficiency is fine, but it is also valuable to have many comrades experienced in this area to ease the work load on all.

Among the more frequent omissions that have been noted are: donation (free for unemployed and special student rates), and complete information on place, auspices, date and time. First of all there has to be clear understanding on the pertinent information the leaflet will carry. Then there has to be sufficient time and forces allotted to do the job involved. Proof-reading, incidentally, can better be done by others than authors of the leaflets.

Experience will, of course, be our best teacher in leaflet production. And the widest possible cooperation and participation of the branch will facilitate it. With these facts in mind, and with adequate attention to detail and sufficient planning, we can surely maintain and improve our abilities in this area of our practical work.

EVALUATION AND REMARKS ON NEW YORK'S
MILITANT LABOR FORUMS
Jan. - May 1964

by Priscilla Ring
New York

Since Jan. 1, 1964, the New York Forum has held 22 public meetings. SWP speakers spoke at 12 and guests at 18. There were more speakers than forums as we had three symposiums. Of the guests 12 were Negroes and 5 were authors. The latter is mentioned merely to indicate that authors are particularly responsive to invitations to speak especially when they have recently had a book published.

Attendance figures indicate that two factors which account for our larger forums are how well known the speaker is and how controversial or topical the subject is. It should also be noted that neither the Easter holiday or Memorial Day week-end seriously cut into our forum attendance. Murray Forbes spoke on Easter Friday, and the "Hate-Gang" symposium, with Junius Griffin scheduled to speak, was on the latter holiday.

As a source of income (from \$30 - \$40 weekly average) the forum is a valuable economic as well as political asset. Some less tangible benefits are the build-up in the number of regular forum attenders and the increased number of Negroes among them. From these we have made contacts for subs, for our literature, for the petition work, for classes and for recruits.

As a direct result of the forums, we've been put on the mailing list of several of the local CORE chapters and other Civil Rights organizations that ask for our participation on their picket lines. At our last symposium four such organizations, not represented on the panel, had representatives present who asked to have announcements made.

Another result of the forums has been expressions of appreciation for our press, our presidential candidate and the availability of the Militant Labor Forum platform to such guest speakers as Mark Lane, Rev. Cleage and Malcolm X.

How do we decide what people to invite as guests to the MLF? Generally, a list of people to contact is drawn up at a monthly meeting of the Forum Committee. These names, or a topic for which to find a speaker, are culled from The Militant, the National Guardian's ads and articles, the authors of articles in the Nation, New Republic, Monthly Review, Liberation and other

left magazines, persons written up as participating in local Civil Rights demonstrations, and the authors of current or topical books.

For the symposiums we've had on the Freedom Now struggle and on Peace, we've contacted the various organizations in the field. In these cases, it's a good idea to get an acceptance from a person or organization that is well known and respected first; then the rest will be more apt to accept. For example, last year when we had a peace symposium, we contacted Dave Dellinger first. With his acceptance, we were able to get the cooperation of the national office of Women's Strike for Peace and the acceptance of a maverick Republican NAmE. Similarly, we set up a symposium with Malcolm X in which both national CORE and NAACP were scheduled to have representatives. The events following Kennedy's death resulted in the cancellation of this forum.

Often a contact or comrade will suggest a topic or speaker. At least 7 of this year's forums were originally thought of outside the committee. Because an on-the-ball Detroit comrade notified us that Rev. Cleage would be coming to New York, we were able to ask him to speak for us.

The subject matter of the 1964 forums can be categorized as follows: 10 on the Negro struggle; 5 on Cuba or the Colonial Revolution; 3 on Civil Liberties and 4 miscellaneous. This reflects the general emphasis in our press and the amount of activity in these fields.

Since one purpose of having guest speakers is to build up the forum attendance for our own speakers, it is a good idea to alternate forums by our comrades with ones by guest speakers. The symposium is another means of gaining larger audiences for our own speakers.

How do we approach a guest speaker? Generally it's best to write a letter of invitation. Things we consider important in such a letter are: Be brief; list previous speakers that indicate the nature of our forums; offer specific dates that are well enough ahead so that the speaker is likely to be available. The next step, when possible, is a follow-up call the day the letter is received, or the following day. When a speaker has accepted over the phone, it's a good idea to then send him a confirming letter including date, time, place, title, and requesting a few sentences of autobiographical material for the use of the chairman in introducing him and for a possible press release. The main function of the latter is to get some confirming communication from the speaker. It also leaves you an opening to call or write again the week of the forum to remind him of the date. Incidentally, make a carbon of all your letters,

and have them with you when you phone. This can eliminate many misunderstandings.

Why do speakers accept our invitations? For some, no other forum is available. This was the case at the time we invited Mark Lane. It was also a factor in Malcolm X's acceptance. We are the only interested non-Negro group off the campuses to invite him. Our forums are very often reported in the left press and, occasionally, in the daily press, TV and radio. The list of speakers who have already been our guests impresses those we are inviting to speak, and by using a phrase such as "recent guest speakers at Militant Labor Forums have been..." you can include some of the speakers who have appeared in other parts of the country.

There always comes a time when a scheduled speaker has to leave town or is sick. We cover this contingency by having a pinch-hitter on tap for each two-month period with the understanding that he will give his talk at the end of that period if not called on earlier.

In conclusion, don't go by a fellow comrade's estimate of whether someone you'd like to invite will accept. Write the person. Let him speak for himself. You have really nothing to lose and you'll get some good surprises, as well as some "friendly" regrets, some of which you can follow up on another season. Three persons whom we were assured would never speak at a Militant Labor Forum, but did are John O. Killens, Frank Donner, and Mark Lane.

We have also found that an "analysis" report of each forum is very helpful in keeping accurate records. A sample of the mimeographed form we use is included in the appendix to this article along with a sample letter of invitation to speak and an itemized list of our forums from January through May, 1964.

June 5, 1964

Sample Letter

May 19, 1964

Eve Merriam
548 Riverside Drive
New York City

Dear Miss Merriam:

We are currently scheduling our September-October forums and would like to know whether it would be feasible for you to speak on some aspect of the U.S. economy and its effect on women.

The Militant Labor Forum attempts to have speakers with various specialties and divergent points of view. Some of our recent guest speakers have been Truman Nelson, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Mark Lane, Minister Malcolm X, John O. Killens, Dr. Fritz Pappenheim, Frank Donner, and Harvey O'Connor.

As of this writing we have open Fridays September 15th and 19th; and October 9th and 30th. I would appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Priscilla Ring, Chairman
Forum Committee

* * *

Sample

NEW YORK MILITANT LABOR FORUM ANALYSIS

Speaker _____ Date _____

Subject _____ Attendance _____

Weather _____

Income:

Door: \$ _____

Refreshments (Net): _____

Total: \$ _____

Expenditures:

Mailing: \$ _____

Ads _____

Leaflet Distribution: _____

Speaker's fee: _____

Miscellaneous _____

Total: \$ _____

Net Income: \$ _____

Remarks:

Signed: _____

Data on Militant Labor Forums in New York Jan. - May 1964

<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Barry Sheppard	Algeria	49	\$11 lit. sold.
Clifton DeBerry	Black Revol.	46	4 Negroes
Peter Camejo	Venezuela	48	
Mark Lane	Oswald Case	900	\$50 lit. sales \$12 Mil. & ISR sales Written up in Times, Journal Amer. & Phil. Bul.
Harvey O'Connor	State Dept.	87	\$25.0 O'Connor's books sold \$10. other lit.
Harry Ring	Cuba	58	\$12. lit. sales
Robert Vernon	Negro Struggle	53	7 Negroes
Watts, DeBerry, Reed, Reagon	Negro Vote in '64	76	9 Negroes
Fritz Pappenheim	Alienation	95	
Conrad Lynn	FNP	80	
Ed Shaw	Cuba	54	
Frank Donner	Political Sur- veillance	67	
Murray Forbes	Marx and Freud	75	Easter Weekend
Lawrence Stewart	Negro Struggle	39	4 Negroes
Malcolm X	Black Revol.	550	1/3 Negro 2 min. on TV Written up in Nat'l Guard. 9 subs; 126 single Militant
Ralph Levitt	Bloominton Case	45	
Joel A. Rogers	Negro History	61	11 Negroes. large sale of Roger's books.

<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Vernel Olson	Cuba	139	
Jones, Shabazz, Vernon	Civil Disob.	120	12 Negroes. Written up in N.Y. Post, & N.Y. Times.
Rev. Albert Cleage	FMP	113	12 Negroes
Annette Rubinstein	Arthur Miller	52	
DeBerry, Hand, Reed, Malcolm X.	"Hate-Gangs"	230	30 Negroes. Young Audience. 12 Mil. subs. written up in Village Voice. (Memorial Day Weekend)

* * *

CAMPAIGNING IN A SMALL MINING TOWN

by Everett Luoma
Minnesota

In the fall of 1963, the Minnesota section of the Socialist Workers Party decided to enter a candidate for Mayor in the small town of Hibbing. Since I was honored to be the candidate, I submit this resume of the experience.

Hibbing, with a population of 17,700, is the largest city in the economically depressed Iron Range Area of Northern Minnesota. It is in an area with a history of radical working class development. Years ago the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World flourished. The Socialist Workers Party last fall made its first efforts to enter the area.

In the 1920's, a section of the Communist Party, the Finnish Federation, was very strong in the Iron Range. In one particular township, Earl Browder, at one time as Presidential candidate of the Communist Party, received every vote but three.

The IWW and the Communist Party published daily newspapers in Finnish. Both of these newspapers have survived. The IWW paper, Industrialisti, is now published three times a week in Duluth and has a circulation of 3,700. The pro-CP paper, Tyomies Eteenpain, also publishes three times a week from Superior, Wisconsin. Tyomies Eteenpain refers to itself as an independent newspaper.

Minnesota also once had a Farmer Labor Party. Stressing the fact that capitalism had failed to create economic security for the workers and promoting a "cooperative commonwealth," it elected two governors and several Congressmen and Senators in the 1920's and '30's. The wartime atmosphere of the forties caused a decline in the party which finally merged with the Democratic Party at the urging of the Stalinists and the Humphreyites in 1946. The Democratic Party of Minnesota is still known as the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party.

This is the historical background of the Hibbing area. It must, however, be understood that the readers of both newspapers mentioned above are mostly elderly people. The younger generations have been affected by the conformity of World War II and the McCarthy era though probably not to the same extent as the younger generations of other areas. Generally speaking, the area had not heard any Socialist ideas for thirty years.

Northern Minnesota has been an area of severe economic depression for several years now. High-grade iron ore has been depleted by two world wars, there is no place to invest profits that mining companies have made in the area, there is pressure to mine as much ore in Venezuela as possible while the companies still own the ore in that country, and economic blackmail on the part of the mine owners is being used to force the passage of the so-called Taconite Amendment.

The Taconite Amendment is a proposed amendment to the Constitution of Minnesota that guarantees to the taconite (low-grade iron ore) industry certain tax advantages. The steel industry has succeeded in destroying all formal opposition to the Taconite Amendment. Although supported by both major parties and the union bureaucrats, it cannot, however, get support from the United Steelworkers local in Hibbing. This indicates a tremendous mass distrust of the steel industries. Though living in poverty, the miners still dare to express their resentment.

The Oliver Iron Mining Co., a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, runs the town and openly displays its power, believing that by threats of economic reprisals it can maintain political control of the Iron Range area. Its power is very real.

Our first action after deciding to enter the campaign was to obtain a contact list. For this we got a subscription to Industrialisti and collected the names of contributors from Hibbing. We collected some fifty names and I visited a large percentage of these people after moving to Hibbing. All these old-timers were very friendly and many remembered my father when he worked in the mines in the 20's.

During conversations with our contacts, one point was mentioned repeatedly. Taxes on all home owners in Hibbing had been doubled in 1962. I met with considerable difficulty finding the story behind this tax increase. It took several trips between the office of the township assessor and the mayor to clarify the contradictions in the stories given.

In essence, what happened was that the Oliver Iron Mining Co. had hired, at a cost of \$75,000, the American Appraisal Co., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to make new assessment of the village of Hibbing. At first this assessment had no legal standing, but when many workers barred the assessors from their homes, a ruling came down that this would be the legal assessment for the town.

I asked Mayor Taveggia: "What legal basis was there for the mining company to assess the town?"

"I do not know," he replied.

"Does it not seem like a contradiction to you that a mining company would spend its own money to assess a village?" I asked.

"No, there is no contradiction," he replied, "the company had much to gain from the assessment."

"Why?" I asked.

The Mayor replied, "The valuations of property not owned by the mining company were raised to such an extent that the company actually saved money because of this assessment."

In the meantime I found a tavern that soon became my favorite spot. I had several pleasant conversations with workers who hung out there. I also met a chemist who invited me for dinner one evening, and we discussed Marxist theory at length. The keen interest in my campaign was illustrated by this invitation.

I continued my visits with Industrialisti readers. Once the police went into a home I had just left and demanded to know why I had been there. The couple apparently did not reveal that I had plans to run for mayor, but they did mention that I was visiting a long list of older Finnish residents.

The next place I visited happened to be the home of a leading Industrialisti supporter. The police came and knocked on the door and asked if I was there. I went outside and they asked me where I was from, how long I had lived in Hibbing, and why I was in town; in that order. I replied that I lived in Hibbing, had lived there four weeks, and it was none of their business why I was there. They told me that residents of the town were complaining about my visits and I might be picked up and charged with breach of the peace.

Because I refused to explain my business, they took me to the police station where I was questioned again. They had the notion I was peddling something without a license. I denied this and they could not think of what I might be peddling.

Finally the lieutenant asked me, "Do you plan to continue these visits if we let you go?"

"I do not see why I shouldn't," I replied.

Thinking that nothing could be gained by holding me, the lieutenant let me go.

Thinking back, I can see that I was probably bolder than I should have been. I wish to emphasize that under similar circumstances in the future, I would be more careful not to antagonize the police. Now, more than at the time, I recognize how alone I was and what an inconvenience it would have been for my friends

if I had been arrested. Hibbing is 200 miles from Minneapolis. Despite this distance, I attempted to maintain close contact with the party in the Twin Cities.

When we decided to announce that I was planning to file for mayor, the Duluth News-Tribune of Saturday, Sept. 14, picked up my press release with a bold headline on the second page. The Tribune press release said, "As a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Luoma said, 'the conditions on the Range make it imperative that the ordinary worker take matters into his own hands and fight independently of the act-alike Democratic-Republican parties for jobs on the Range.' Luoma said he opposes the Taconite amendment or any other proposal that later may be devised for giving tax concessions to mining interests. He added that he favors 'independent political action on the part of labor through a nation-wide Labor party.'" Via the Duluth News Tribune, this message went into almost every home in Northern Minnesota.

The Hibbing Daily Tribune and the Mesabi Daily News then felt compelled to announce my intention to file. In addition, during the course of my campaign, the Cooperative Builder printed a long letter by me describing the differences between the philosophies of the Communist Party and the SWP, and our criticisms of capitalism. The Duluth News Tribune also printed a letter explaining why workers should have their own party.

One night, as I was leaving my favorite bar, I was accosted by a well-dressed gentleman who introduced himself and told me that my philosophies were not wanted in Hibbing. He ordered me to leave town or he would "send some good Finns to see me." For legal reasons I do not wish to reveal his name but the Hibbing Directory listed him as the law partner of a Democratic state representative. After this incident, I didn't wander around Hibbing alone. The enthusiasm of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Branch is displayed by the fact that I never had difficulty finding someone to go to Hibbing with me.

The first day to file was Tuesday, Oct. 9, 1963. We prepared a filing statement with a biography that received excellent coverage in the Duluth News Tribune and the Hibbing Daily Tribune. The entire Range area again heard of the Socialist Workers Party.

We prepared a platform and seven comrades went to Hibbing to help distribute 2,000 copies door-to-door. They were all very enthused by the reception.

The Militant devoted the back page of the Oct. 23 issue to the Hibbing campaign and nine comrades and friends distributed 2,000 of these in the town. In all some 5,000 pieces of literature were distributed to this town of 17,700. The program of

the party went all over the Range and we even received an inquiry from the College of St. Scholastica in Duluth about the principles of the party. We also received an inquiry from San Pedro, California, as to the results of the election.

Four candidates filed for mayor of Hibbing. Under normal circumstances there would have been no press releases and no platforms by either the challengers or the incumbent. This year, however, was different. The Twin Cities Branch hit the town with such force that the two challengers felt pressed to prepare programs. The incumbent himself inserted a large ad in the local paper defending his administration.

The primary election was to be on Nov. 19. This election is a "non-partisan" election with the two top candidates competing in a run-off on Dec. 3.

On Nov. 14 there were two meetings for the candidates, one sponsored by the Social Science Club of the Hibbing High School, and another by the League of Women Voters. Both meetings were well attended. At the latter meeting I had to contend with three other mayoralty candidates and four council candidates but very quickly the attention of the audience was on the SWP program. I accused my opponents of believing that the miners on the Range did not have the basic right to work to support their families and they refused to answer the charge. I proposed that all of the work on the Range be divided among the able workers and all be given a living wage and challenged my opponents to criticize my proposal. They refused to comment. In fact, my opponents refused even to admit the existence of the Oliver Iron Mining Co.

The friendliness of the audience made my job very easy. If the reaction of this audience were the criterion for predicting the outcome of the election, one could only assume that I would have received 60% of the vote. Yet I received just 159 votes or 3.1% of the total of 5,132.

However, considering the tremendous change in voting habits I was asking for, this was an excellent vote. My guess is that if a candidate with a revolutionary program receives 159 votes, there are at least 900 others who wanted to vote for him but could not get themselves to do it. In addition to the vote, some excellent contacts were made and we received several unsolicited subscriptions to the Militant.

* * *

NEW YORK LOCAL ELECTION MILITANT SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

by L. Marcus
New York

By Sunday night, May 31, the New York local had sold over 400 new Militant subscriptions, against a campaign quota of 600. That quota will be substantially overfulfilled by June 15.

The object of this campaign is not merely to build a larger readership for The Militant. This is a political campaign to strengthen and deepen the freedom struggle in the Negro community. We use The Militant as a tool for this political organization job. Every new reader of The Militant is another potential supporter of the struggle armed with important news and analysis he would generally get from no other source. Out of every five to ten readers of The Militant, there is probably at least one present or future activist in the struggle, a possible activist or supporter of the socialist struggle for human freedom.

This campaign is also a probing action. Together with our other work and contact in the freedom struggle, it will help our local to develop a more sensitive insight into the political situation.

The local has already laid plans to follow up neighborhood subscription sales with meet-the-candidate gatherings in the near future. Subscribers and their friends will be invited to meet Clifton DeBerry, to ask questions and to voice their own views.

The rate of sub sales per family contacted is, however, generally lower here than during the previous campaign. That campaign occurred in the aftermath of the March on Washington. The present campaign occurs in the aftermath of the second School Boycott here and the World's Fair Stall-In; the excitement of the predicted "Long Hot Summer" has not yet begun. There are indications that the rate of new subscribers among older couples with families is less than six months ago; the number of white sympathizers with the freedom struggle appears to be lower than six months ago. The bulk of the new subscriptions sold is apparently to young militants. Therefore, at this time, we conclude that the loss in quantity is more than made up for by a gain in political seriousness of the new readers. Our further work in this campaign, our follow-up political work, will provide us with a much better picture of the situation here.

The key to the success of this campaign is found in the pledges made at the start by individual members of the local. The pledge of most of the active "subbers" is a promise to

to participate in at least six sales campaigns. Over 180 such pledges have been given, not including other commitments by individuals unable to participate in the regular Sunday campaigns. It was the efforts of the pledged campaign supporters to work off their pledge quickly, and a sales rate average of from three to five subs per person per campaign which has enabled the local to break the back of its quota so quickly.

This coming week there will be a mobilization of the local aimed at gaining at least 140 subscriptions, bringing the local to within 50 subs of the campaign total, with four weeks remaining in the campaign.

* * * * *

Provisions Concerning Material to be
Published in the Party Campaigner

1. The Party Campaigner is intended to provide a vehicle for the exchange of experiences in various fields of party work; the object being to give all branches the benefit of methods of work devised by one or another sections of the party that have been found to achieve satisfactory results, or of proposals designed to make more effective the campaigns in which the party is engaged.
2. The Party Campaigner is not a political discussion bulletin but is specifically intended as a medium to aid in implementing the decisions of the party convention.
3. Material submitted for publication in the Party Campaigner shall be selected, edited, accepted or rejected by the Secretariat of the Political Committee which shall act as the editorial board of the publication.
4. Publication of the Party Campaigner shall be at irregular intervals depending on the material received, the availability of technical personnel to publish the material, etc.

The Secretariat.

NEWSSTAND SALES OF THE MILITANT IN HARLEM

by Jack Marsh
New York

In the June 1, 1964 issue of The Militant, comrade Karolyn Kerry wrote: "The Militant is becoming well known and is well received in Harlem where our New York supporters sold 134 new subs and 300 single copies this past week end. In addition, the paper is now carried by several dozen newsstands in the area..." It is with regard to the establishment of these newsstands that this contribution to the Party Campaigner is offered.

In accord with the 1963 SWP convention resolutions and in response to the growing dynamism of black nationalism and increasing militancy of the Negro struggle throughout the country, the NY branch executive committee decided this spring to launch a drive to put The Militant on newsstands in Harlem.

Such a project in the Harlem ghetto had been under consideration for some time, and the availability of comrades willing to take this serious assignment, combined with the other considerations to make the task feasible at this time.

With some reservations and doubts about the reception we would get from black nationalists in Harlem, we went ahead. We found that black nationalist sentiments proved to be no real barrier. Other branches may feel they have the same obstacle to overcome. However, after some effort, we find it is now possible to sell and push The Militant in these areas with no difficulty.

It was decided to concentrate on newsstands in a limited but busy area, for more rapid and efficient servicing. The first Saturday morning out, we concentrated on a 15-block area on 3 main avenues. During the same week the area of our concentration was enlarged to a 35-block area (110 Street to 145 Street on Lenox, 7th and 8th Avenues, all main thoroughfares in Harlem.)

We had clearly established before we set out that this would be a serious and sustained political assignment for those comrades taking the responsibility. We took a very commercial and business-like attitude toward weekly distribution and collection at the stands. By this I do not mean gouging for profits, or acting cool and impersonal toward the persons we deal with weekly. I mean we were serious about collecting for the papers every week and committed to getting the papers to the newsstands every week at the same time and on the same day; a tight, serious, dependable schedule. The dealers could depend on us to be there each week and know the salesman was going to collect for those

Militants sold and pick up those not sold. We planned to show that we were aggressive, that our paper means a lot to us, that we are dependable and serious.

The first week we had approximately 50 newsstands set up for weekly sales, ranging in type from outdoor stands to newspaper racks and counters inside candy stores and small neighborhood groceries. After the first week approximately one-third of the dealers decided not to go through the trouble of displaying and selling the paper. (Comrades who try a similar project in other parts of the country, should probably expect the same reaction, a drop off from the initial number of dealers who declare they will try the paper.) We just picked up the papers from those stands and continued distributions and collections at the other stands. At this writing we are in our seventh week of regularly servicing the Harlem newsstands in this 35-block area and there are 35 which regularly sell The Militant.

The first week, the stands sold 55-60 Militants. That was the April 13th issue with the headline "US Aids Brazilian Birchers to Power." Since the first week our newsstand sales in Harlem have fluctuated, but the first week's sale was the lowest. The newsstands that had decided to not handle The Militant were mainly the small candy shops and snack bars we had lined up the first week. The majority of the outdoor newsstands on these 3 main avenues have The Militant for sale.

During the third week of our campaign we put up signs in order to advertise our paper. The signs (Red on White, 10 x 14 inch light cardboard) read: "Militant On Sale Here" across the top and bottom, with "News About : Black Nationalism, Colonial Revolution, Civil Rights" in the central area. These signs definitely helped us in sales. And third-week sales were good with 105 issues sold. That was the issue with the complete text of the speech by Malcolm X on "Black Revolution: Part of the World Wide Struggle," given at the Militant Labor Forum April 8th. During the fourth week, sales declined to 77, where they remained during the fifth week. Sixth week sales rose to 107. That issue carried the headline: "New York Cops Cook Up Story About 'Hate Gangs' in Harlem."

Some general conclusions after a short seven week experience are: Comrades will find that they can readily get newsstand dealers to try out the paper the first week. We approached them by saying, "We are attempting to make The Militant available for persons living in Harlem. It does not cost you anything, for each paper you sell, you get five cents and we get five cents. If you don't sell any, you don't pay anything, we just pick up the papers and give the number you want for the next week. If you will try it out for a week, we will see you next week at the same time and go on from there." After the first week and the

significant drop off, we continued to pick up one or two new stands and drop one or two each week. The ones that dropped were invariably the small candy store-lunch counter type. After 6 consecutive weeks, we have a hard core of newsstands that sell regularly.

There are now 75 to 100 persons who get The Militant every week from a newsstand. This is significant since such purchases generally represent serious interest in the paper. The personal relationships that the three comrades assigned to the project have established have also been helpful for sales. By this I mean that some newsstand dealers at first showed a tendency not to openly display The Militant but changed their attitude for the better after we established friendly relations with them and proved we were serious and reliable.

A few of the larger stands actively push our paper. For example, the Black Nationalist Book Store started out with 25 issues per week, and sold about 12 issues the first couple of weeks, but the book store sold 46 last week and 40 the week before and has now taken 10 copies of the ISR on trial.

The Militant sales continue to fluctuate from week to week in Harlem newsstands, but the definite fact exists that regular readers have been established and personal communications between newsstand operators and Militant salesmen are much better and we continue to learn from one another. Some weeks the operators will talk freely about the papers they sold, about stories in the paper or the headline article, or black nationalism in general and relate comments about The Militant made by their customers.

The key to a project like this is to make definite assignments to a couple of comrades with a perspective of carrying out the project consistently and regularly. The results can provide a very significant contribution in propaganda and educational work during our campaign.

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Midwest Summer School

by J. DeGroot
Chicago

The Chicago local has found the Midwest summer schools, held each summer for the past two years in Chicago and this year also being held in Minneapolis and Detroit, the best way to educate youth we are now attracting. The first school was held in the summer of 1962 with 12 participants. The sessions were held twice a week and each of those in the school took turns giving a presentation which was followed by general group discussion. As a result of the summer work, seven joined the party by the end of the summer or shortly thereafter and the comrades who went on campus in the fall were better prepared to recruit and deal with opponents.

A reevaluation indicated that too much had been attempted. The result was that some topics were covered only in a general way and some had to be bypassed. With this in mind, the second school, in 1963, with 35-40 youth from the Midwest, cut down on the amount of reading and the number of topics. Parts of basic works were assigned and particular emphasis was placed on "Struggle for a Proletarian Party" and "In Defense of Marxism". Rather than attempting open discussion in the large group, we first had a short lecture and then divided into three seminar sessions for discussion. This enabled the whole group to benefit from a well prepared lecture and at the same time provided an opportunity for more informal discussion.

In Chicago we have found the schools invaluable both as a means of solidifying the newer comrades and recruiting. However, the school is not aimed at contacts coming around for the first time; it is aimed at youth who already see the need for socialism, but need a theoretical background and an understanding of a revolutionary party. Thus a contact educational program separate from the school is usually carried on at the same time. Of course if individual contacts indicated an interest and willingness to do the reading, they were encouraged to attend the school sessions.

We have discovered some things that other branches might benefit from and find helpful:

1. Participation of experienced comrades: The first summer some older comrades in the local gave lectures. The following year younger comrades took the major responsibility for the school. The knowledge and experience of the older comrades was invaluable and full use should be made of it.

2. Out-of-town speakers: The second summer Evelyn Reed began the sessions with a series on anthropology. William Warde gave a series on American history and Tom Kerry presented four lectures on the labor movement. This gave us a chance to learn from older comrades who had had extensive experience in the labor movement or had studied a certain field. These lectures were the high-light of the summer.

3. A reasonable amount of required reading: The first summer, reading assignments were quite heavy, with the result that many things did not get read. The second summer and this summer we cut it down to an amount that can be handled by people who have full time jobs in addition to other activity in the movement. A supplementary reading list has been drawn up for those who can spend a major share of their time studying, and they are encouraged to go more deeply into the various topics.

4. A general format: We have used the system of having a short lecture (about 45 minutes), questions from the floor, a short break; then we divide into smaller groups for discussion with assigned seminar leaders who are responsible for the discussion. Each lecturer prepares questions beforehand and these are discussed in the seminar. We have also tried to have the questions ready a few days in advance so the comrades could think about them as they read the material. The lectures themselves do not summarize the reading assignment, but supplement it.

5. Making theory as concrete as possible: When studying the theory of the permanent revolution we had one lecture on the theory, and then one lecture on the theory as applied to Cuba. This makes it much more alive and concrete.

6. Taping the lectures: This enabled comrades who had missed a session to keep up with the classes and also allows for the use of the tapes at some later date.

7. Charging a minimal amount: The 50¢ charge for each session or \$13 for the entire summer enables us to pay traveling expenses of the out-of-town speakers. The money should not, however, keep people from participating. Arrangements can be made with those who want to attend, but can't afford the full amount.

8. Drawing in individuals from throughout the area: About 2 months before the school begins we send a letter explaining the school to all locals and individual contacts that are not close to a party branch. We follow this up with a syllabus of what the school will cover and encourage them to attend if at all possible, giving them all the help we can in finding jobs and housing in the Chicago area. Individual members or contacts learn a great deal from being a part of a larger active local and from getting to know other comrades in the movement.

9. Arranging housing: Part of the success of the summer schools has been due to the fact that comrades could live together for a short period of time and could informally discuss subjects that came up at the school sessions. Many people, particularly in a university area, want to sublet for the summer, and apartments which can accomodate 5 or 6 comrades are not difficult to find. The second summer, when there were many coming in from out-of-town, two comrades from the Chicago local were assigned to find such apartments, in advance.

10. Making the school the central activity for the summer: We have made a conscious effort to cut down on some of our other activity in order to give those participating the time and opportunity to really study and absorb the material.

11. Beginning early: Several months before the summer school starts comrades should begin planning the topics to be covered and the various reading texts to be used. People in other areas should be contacted about the school before they begin to make other plans for the summer. In doing this it is possible to build enthusiasm in the local, and also attract as many people as possible from other areas.

June 24, 1964

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