

MINUTES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

March 13, 14, 15, 16, 1971

Saturday, March 13, 1971

Convened: 10:05 a.m.

Chairman: Benson

Roll Call:

Regular: Alvin, Barnes, Breitman, Britton, Camejo, Chertov, Coover, DeBerry, Dobbs, Garza, Halstead, A. Hansen, J. Hansen, Himmel, Horowitz, Johnson, Jones, F. Lovell, Novack, Ring, Shaw, Sheppard, Stone, Tussey, Waters, Weinstein, Weissman.

Alternates: Henderson, C. Scheer, Bolduc, Boutelle, D. Jenness, Morrison, S. Lovell, Montauk, Styron, Benson, Leonard, Kirsch, Wulp, Sell, Scott, Vernon, Thomas, Hill, Edwards, Evans, Roberts.

Advisory: Kerry, Reed.

Control Commission: Aubrey, Ferguson, H. Scheer.

1. SPECIAL POINT

Dobbs reported on condition of Comrade Trainor.

2. ORGANIZATION OF PLENUM

Bolduc reported Political Committee recommendations on procedure.

- 1) That in cases of procedural disputes, discussion be limited to two speakers, one for and one against, and that each speaker be limited to two minutes.
- 2) That general discussion be limited to ten minutes per speaker and that no one speak twice until all who wish to do so have spoken.
- 3) That the Presiding Committee consist of the Administrative Committee (Barnes, Bolduc, Britton, Dobbs and Horowitz) plus Sheppard and Stone.
- 4) To designate Christie and Feigenberg Plenum secretaries.
- 5) To invite as observers: Control Commission members; co-thinkers; heads of national departments (press, literature, finances); members of the youth NEC; branch organizers and special guests.

Motion: To adopt the recommendations on procedure.

Carried.

Motion: To approve the following agenda:

1. Organization of Plenum
2. World Movement Reports
3. Israel and the Arab Revolution
4. Political Resolution
5. Women's Liberation Report
6. Chicano Movement Report
7. Antiwar Report
8. Youth Report
9. Organization Report
10. Presidential Slate
11. Convention Call

Carried.

Motion: To adopt the proposed schedule (see attached).

Carried.

Motion: To have roll call recorded visually by Plenum secretaries rather than taken by voice.

Carried.

3. WORLD MOVEMENT REPORTS

Camejo gave informational report on Latin America.

J. Hansen reported for Political Committee.

Recess: 12:50 p.m.

Reconvened: 1:40 p.m.

Discussion: Johnson, Alvin, Edwards.

Motion: To approve the general line of Political Committee report.

Carried.

4. ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION

Horowitz reported.

Discussion: Thomas, Tussey, Edwards, Vernon, Novack, Barnes, Boutelle, Henderson, Leonard.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the resolution and report.

Carried.

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Session Adjourned: 4:18 p.m.

Sunday, March 14, 1971

Convened: 10:05 a.m.

Chairwoman: Scott

5. POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Barnes reported.

Discussion: Kerry, Kirsch, Garza, Novack, Sell, Alvin, Shaw,
Chertov, Tussey, Jenness, Styron.

Recess for lunch: 1:06 p.m.

Reconvened: 1:54 p.m.

Discussion: Halstead, Camejo, DeBerry, Thomas, Weinstein, Montauk,
Leonard, Jones, Hill.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Political resolution
and report.

Carried.

6. WOMEN'S LIBERATION REPORT

Stone reported.

Discussion: Styron, Boutelle, Waters, Sell, Ring, Hill, Halstead,
Vernon, Jones.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Women's Liberation
report.

Carried.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To add report by Maurice on
France to agenda at 4:30 p.m. Monday.

Carried.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To send the following message
to Comrade Trainor:

The March 1971 Plenum of the National Committee of the
Socialist Workers Party sends you its warmest greetings and
wishes for a speedy recovery. This Plenum has registered

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another step forward in organizing the party to take advantage of the expanding opportunities for the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement, and has laid the groundwork for continuing discussion on these opportunities at the coming convention, which we hope you will be able to attend and participate in.

Carried.

Recess for dinner: 6:25 p.m.

Reconvened: 7:33 p.m.

7. CHICANO MOVEMENT REPORT

Britton reported.

Discussion: Johnson, Edwards, Thomas, Camejo, Garza, Stone, Boutelle, Jones.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Chicano Movement report.

Carried.

Session Adjourned: 10:09 p.m.

Monday, March 15, 1971

Convened: 10:03 a.m.

Chairman: Morrison

8. ANTIWAR REPORT

Seigle reported.

Discussion: Roberts, DeBerry, Ring, Henderson, Wulp, Himmel, Halstead, Hill, Edwards, Benson.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Antiwar report.

Carried.

Recess for lunch: 12:38 p.m.

Reconvened: 1:37 p.m.

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9. YOUTH REPORT

Boehm reported.

Discussion: Boutelle, Montauk, Weinstein, Waters, Sell, Chertov,
Weissman, C. Scheer, Stone, Shaw, Tussey, DeBerry.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Youth report.

Carried.

10. REPORT ON FRANCE

Maurice reported.

Discussion: Kirsch, Breitman, Tussey, Thomas, Waters, Johnson,
Evans, Barnes.

Session Adjourned: 5:50 p.m.

Tuesday, March 16, 1971

Convened: 10:04 a.m.

Chairman: Weinstein

11. ORGANIZATION REPORT

Sheppard reported.

Supplementary Report on Finances

White reported.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To give national department
heads and organizers voice in discussion on this point.

Carried.

Discussion: Wulp.

Recess for lunch: 12:09 p.m.

Reconvened: 1:03 p.m.

Discussion: Jones, Halstead, Meyers, Sell, Brundy, Horowitz,
Leonard, Starsky, Boehm, Novack, Hermes, Waters,
Britton, Stone, Chertov.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the general line of the reports.

Carried.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To send the following message to the Houston comrades:

We are fully aware that the Houston comrades have reacted with courage and renewed determination to the recent bomb attack on the party headquarters. However, we also know that building the revolutionary party under such conditions places more than the usual stress and strain upon the comrades. With that in mind, the Plenum of the SWP National Committee sends this message of solidarity and support to our Houston comrades.

Carried.

12. PRESIDENTIAL SLATE

Barnes reported on Political Committee's recommendation that the SWP 1972 presidential ticket be composed of Linda Jenness for President and Andrew Pulley for Vice-President.

Discussion: Boutelle, DeBerry, Weissman, Halstead, Johnson.

Summary.

Motion: To approve the Presidential slate of Jenness and Pulley.

Carried.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To send the following message to Comrade Cannon:

The March 1971 National Committee Plenum sends its warmest greetings, as we examine the many faceted unfolding of the current radicalization and class struggle. It is clear from our deliberations that the party finds itself in the center of several massive struggles, gaining greater influence, authority and recruitment than our rivals in the working class movement. It is also clear that the continuity of leadership and political program contained in the party has played a decisive role in making our growth and influence possible. We move toward our upcoming convention as a campaigning combat party striving to lay the basis for a mass party of revolutionary action.

Carried.

13. CONVENTION CALL

Dobbs reported on Political Committee recommendation.

Motion: To schedule a national party convention for the five day period of Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and

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Thursday, August 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, 1971; to hold the convention in Ohio; to provide a three-month pre-convention discussion period beginning May 1; to refer to the Political Committee the issuance of the Convention Call and the setting of the convention agenda to be incorporated in the Convention Call.

Carried.

Singing of The International.

Plenum Adjourned: 4:46 p.m.

PLENUM SCHEDULE

Saturday, March 13

10:00 A.M. Organization of Plenum
10:15 World Movement Reports (2 hours and 15 minutes)
 A. Peter Camejo (1 hour and 30 minutes)
 B. Joe Hansen (45 minutes)
12:30 P.M. Lunch
1:30 Discussion (2 hours)
3:30 Summary (30 minutes)
4:00 Israel and Arab Revolution (1 hour)
5:00 Discussion (1 hour and 45 minutes)
6:45 Summary (30 minutes)
7:15 ADJOURN

Sunday, March 14

10:00 A.M. Political Report (1 hour and 15 minutes)
11:15 Discussion (2 hours and 30 minutes)
1:00 P.M. Lunch
2:00 Discussion (continued)
2:45 Summary (30 minutes)
3:15 Women's Liberation Report (1 hour)
4:15 Discussion (1 hour and 30 minutes)
5:45 Summary (30 minutes)
6:15 Dinner
7:15 Chicano Movement Report (1 hour)
8:15 Discussion (1 hour and 30 minutes)
9:45 Summary (30 minutes)
10:15 ADJOURN

Monday, March 15

10:00 A.M. Antiwar Report (1 hour)
11:00 Discussion (1 hour and 30 minutes)
12:30 P.M. Lunch
1:30 Summary (30 minutes)
2:00 Youth Report (1 hour)
3:00 Discussion (1 hour)
4:00 Summary (30 minutes)
4:30 ADJOURN

TOURS OF PRINT SHOP AND NEW HEADQUARTERS

Tuesday, March 16

10:00 A.M. Organization Report (1 hour and 15 minutes)
11:15 Financial Report (45 minutes)
12:00 Noon Lunch
1:00 Discussion (2 hours)
3:00 Summary (30 minutes)
3:30 Presidential Slate (30 minutes)
4:00 Discussion (1 hour)
5:00 Summary (15 minutes)
5:15 Convention Call
5:30 ADJOURN

	Branch membership as of 2/1/71	Number recruited since 2/70	Number dropped since 2/70	Number transferred in since 2/70	Number transferred out since 2/70	Number never in another branch	Number graduated from YSA since 2/70	Number 25 or older in party and YSA	Number of party members in YSA	Number in YSA in city	Number in YSA in region	Number of women in branch	Number of women in YSA
ATLANTA	25	12	2	7	8	12	6	1	13	22	100	8	10
AUSTIN	15	6	3	2	4	10	1	1	11	24	30	6	8
BOSTON	73	32	0	9	12	55	2	7	45	94	173	27	33
CHICAGO	49	29	3	13	14	33	5	4	23	77	130	19	26
CLEVELAND	32	8	4	7	13	16	4	1	17	34	74	13	15
DENVER	17	1	3	16	0	9	1	2	12	11	24	6	8
DETROIT	38	9	1	3	10	30	1	23	15	42	72	14	14
HOUSTON	22	14	1	11	5	14	6	3	13	21	70	9	8
LOS ANGELES	66	19	5	15	14	24	5	4	15	36	86	16	10
NEW YORK	180	33	4	46	34	71	20	6	44	130	230	72	45
OAKLAND-BERKELEY	54	13	3	10	8	23	2	5	23	40	92	19	??
PHILADELPHIA	31	9	0	4	6	18	3	??	18	38	??	11	21
PORTLAND	8	3	3	0	0	4	3	2	5	14	17	2	3
SAN DIEGO	13	4	0	5	3	10	1	??	6	14	??	5	4
SAN FRANCISCO	47	14	2	9	13	21	4	6	20	33	57	23	14
SEATTLE	25	14	0	2	9	21	3	3	14	30	??	9	13
TWIN CITIES	48	10	3	3	3	33	1	3	16	40	45	15	15
WASHINGTON, D.C.	27	5	0	13	4	4	3	11	19	48	52	12	19
TOTAL	770	235	37	175	160	408	71	82	320	748	839	286	266

	Number of Third World comrades in branch	Number of Afro-Americans	Number of Puerto Ricans	Number of Chicanos	Number of Asian-Americans	Number of other Third Worlders	Number of people with full-time jobs	Number with part-time jobs	Number in school	Number in trade unions	Frequency of branch meetings	Average attendance at branch meetings	Size of branch executive committee	Number of branch members on YSA exec
ATLANTA	1	1	0	0	0	0	14	1	1	6	weekly	18	7	8
AUSTIN	1	0	0	1	0	0	7	1	7	0	weekly	14	7	4
BOSTON	2	2	0	0	0	0	31	9	20	14	weekly	51	12	28
CHICAGO	2	2	0	0	0	0	23	4	6	15	weekly	38	17	12
CLEVELAND	1	1	0	0	0	0	16	2	6	8	weekly	24	10	9
DENVER	1	0	0	0	0	1	14	0	2	2	weekly	16	6	4
DETROIT	3	3	0	0	0	0	18	1	4	10	weekly	25	8	5
HOUSTON	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	5	5	5	weekly	17	7	9
LOS ANGELES	4	3	1	0	0	0	30	6	3	11	weekly	40	13	??
NEW YORK	16	10	2	0	1	3	38	15	15	16	weekly	65	17	16
OAKLAND-BERKELEY	8	4	0	4	0	0	29	4	13	23	weekly	45	12	10
PHILADELPHIA	2	2	0	0	0	0	19	2	5	4	weekly	25	7	5
PORTLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	3	weekly	6	4	3
SAN DIEGO	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	5	weekly	11	5	4
SAN FRANCISCO	3	2	0	0	1	0	23	5	9	18	weekly	33	11	10
SEATTLE	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	10	6	3	weekly	21	6	??
TWIN CITIES	1	0	0	1	0	0	27	5	6	16	weekly	32	9	10
WASHINGTON, D.C.	3	3	0	0	0	0	9	1	2	4	weekly	14	6	3
TOTAL	49	34	3	6	2	4	325	71	113	163	all weekly	495	158	140

	Is branch organizer in YSA?	Frequency of forums	Average attendance at forums	Is there an anti-war fraction?	Antiwar director?	Black work fraction?	Black work director?	Bookstore committee?	Bookstore director?	Chicano work fraction?	Chicano work director?	Education committee?	Education director?	Forum committee?	Forum director?
ATLANTA	no	week	30	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
AUSTIN	no	---	---	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
BOSTON	no	week	83	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
CHICAGO	no	week	50	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
CLEVELAND	no	week	35	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
DENVER	no	week	25	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
DETROIT	no	week	55	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes
HOUSTON	no	week	25	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no
LOS ANGELES	no	week	40	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no
NEW YORK	no	week	85	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
OAKLAND-BERKELEY	no	week	39	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
PHILADELPHIA	no	week	35	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes
PORTLAND	no	---	---	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no
SAN DIEGO	no	month	??	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
SAN FRANCISCO	no	week	50	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
SEATTLE	no	week	40	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
TWIN CITIES	no	week	48	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no
WASHINGTON, D.C.	no	---	---	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no
TOTAL	0			18	18	11	11	12	14	6	7	14	16	14	12

	Militant articles committee?	Militant articles director?	Militant & ISR sales committee?	Militant & ISR sales director?	Militant & ISR sub committee?	Militant & ISR sub director?	Pathfinder promotion committee?	Pathfinder promotion director?	Regional organizing committee?	Regional organizing director?	Regional travel committee?	Regional travel director?	Women's liberation fraction?	Women's liberation director?	Number of branch members on full-time
ATLANTA	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	2
AUSTIN	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	1
BOSTON	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	12
CHICAGO	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	8
CLEVELAND	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	5
DENVER	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	2
DETROIT	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	8
HOUSTON	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	3
LOS ANGELES	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	9
NEW YORK	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	8
OAKLAND-BERKELEY	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	4
PHILADELPHIA	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	3
PORTLAND	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	0
SAN DIEGO	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	1
SAN FRANCISCO	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	7
SEATTLE	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	2½
TWIN CITIES	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	4
WASHINGTON, D.C.	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	15
TOTAL	6	8	14	17	11	17	3	10	11	13	5	9	18	17	94½

	What are these full-time assignments?	Number full-time for branch	Number full-time for YSA	Number full-time in antiwar	Number full-time in women's liberation	Number full-time in Black or Chicano work
ATLANTA	organizer regional traveler	2	0	0	0	0
AUSTIN	regional organizer	0	0	0	0	0
BOSTON	org, off. mgr., YSA city org., MORAL, reg. trav., sales rep., SMC(2), GBPAC, Female Liberation, N. Bos. YSA org., natl. ass.	2	1	3	2	0
CHICAGO	???????????	1	1	3	1	0
CLEVELAND	organizer, SMC(2), CAPAC, regional organizer	1	1	3	0	0
DENVER	organizer, women's liberation	1	0	0	1	0
DETROIT	antiwar(4), organizer, women's liberation, YSA org., regional organizer	1	2	4	1	0
HOUSTON	organizer, bookstore, YSA organizer	2	1	0	0	0
LOS ANGELES	organizer, YSA organizer, city secy., antiwar(3), regional organizer, natl. assignment	1	2	3	0	0
NEW YORK	organizer, asst. org., city secy., YSA org., YSA asst. org., reg. org., antiwar dir., women's liberation dir.	3	3	1	1	0
OAKLAND-BERKELEY	organizer, city secy., bookstore, Pathfinder rep.	4	0	0	0	0
PHILADELPHIA	organizer, YSA organizer, SMC	1	1	1	0	0
PORTLAND	-----	0	0	0	0	0
SAN DIEGO	antiwar director	3	1	1	0	0
SAN FRANCISCO	organizer, YSA organizer, regional organizer, SMC(3), antiwar	1	2	4	0	0
SEATTLE	½ organizer, YSA organizer, antiwar director	½	1	1	0	0
TWIN CITIES	organizer, YSA organizer, natl. assignment(2)	1	1	0	0	0
WASHINGTON, D.C.	candidate, YSA organizer, antiwar offices(13)	1	1	15	0	0
TOTAL		25½	18	39	6	0

	Which are sustained by the branch?	Does the branch have a bookstore?	Is it a storefront?	How many hours per week is it open?	How many classes are presently going on?	Is there a YSA contact class?	Is there a YSA new members class?	Is there an SWP new members class?	Are there other SWP classes?	Are there any other classes?	Are there regular branch education-als?
ATLANTA	organizer regional trav.	yes	no	50	1	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
AUSTIN	regional org.	no	---	---	1	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes
BOSTON	org., 1/2 YSA org., city org., 1/2 trav.	yes	no	48	10	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
CHICAGO	?????	yes	no	30	2	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
CLEVELAND	organizer 1/2 reg. org.	yes	no	??	6	no	no	no	yes	no	yes
DENVER	organizer	yes	yes	30	1	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
DETROIT	organizer YSA reg org	yes	no	25	2	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes
HOUSTON	organizer	yes	yes	43	1	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
LOS ANGELES	organizer	yes	no	30	2	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
NEW YORK	org., asst.org., secy., a-w, w/l	yes	no	58	4	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
OAKLAND-BERKELEY	all listed	yes	yes	71	4	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
PHILADELPHIA	organizer	yes	no	30	2	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
PORTLAND	none	no	---	---	0	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
SAN DIEGO	none	no	---	---	3	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
SAN FRANCISCO	organizer	yes	no	48	2	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
SEATTLE	1/2 organizer	yes	yes	50	4	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
TWIN CITIES	organizer	yes	no	60	3	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no
WASHINGTON, D.C.	candidate 1/2 YSA org.	yes	no	20	3	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
TOTAL		15	4		51	14	15	2	12	6	12

MILITANT CIRCULATION (as of March 5, 1971)

	<u>March 5, 1971</u>	<u>Feb. 1970</u>	<u>Feb. 1969</u>
Domestic Subs	7000	3880	2972
Expiring Subs	852	1220	2000
Foreign Subs	461	550	517
Domestic Bundles	7185	5460	3453
Foreign Bundles	<u>357</u>	<u>442</u>	<u>430</u>
	15,855	11,552	9,372

The total circulation of the Militant has increased by 37% since the 1970 Plenum. The most outstanding increase is 47% in the subscription base. Bundles to YSA locals and at-largers have increased by 27%, while branch bundles have increased 25% in the last year.

The renewal rate has remained about the same as last year-- 30% renewal for long-term subs and 10% for introductory subs.

BUNDLE CIRCULATION

<u>BRANCHES</u>	<u>PER CAPITA SALES¹</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE BUNDLE SIZES²</u>		
		<u>Mar. 71</u>	<u>Feb. 70</u>	<u>Feb. 69</u>
New York	2.7	725	500	325
Boston	6.0	650	350	150
Chicago	2.4	250	300	300
Detroit	5.0	300	200	100
Cleveland	3.5	200	200	100
Los Angeles	2.2	200	200	175
Oakland-Berkeley	2.7	200	200	250
Philadelphia	3.9	200	200	300
San Francisco	3.6	200	200	200
Twin Cities	2.0	150	150	150
Austin	5.2	150	125	20*
Seattle	3.1	150	125	100
Houston	4.2	150	50*	5*
San Diego	6.6	145	235	25
Atlanta	3.3	100	200	60*
Denver	4.5	100	0*	0*
Portland	3.8	75	20	20
Washington D.C.	1.3	<u>75</u>	<u>65*</u>	<u>10*</u>
		4020	3205	2290

1. Includes SWP and YSA membership, taking overlap into account.

2. Includes YSA locals and bookstores, even if billed separately.

* No SWP branch at that time.

MILITANT FINANCES (as of March 6, 1971)

DEBTS TO MILITANT:*

SWP Branches	7201.95
YSA Locals	3002.41
YSA At-largers	<u>683.89</u>
	\$10,888.89

BREAKDOWN FOR SWP BRANCHES:

<u>AREA</u>	<u>TOTAL OWED</u>	<u>LAST PAYMENT</u>	<u>LAST TIME CURRENT</u>
Atlanta	104.75	3/1	May 70
Austin	256.63	3/1	Sept.69
Boston	116.32	2/18	Jan.71
Chicago	2562.78	2/22	July 69
Cleveland	358 65	2/27	Sept.70
Denver	135.23	2/20	Never
Detroit	189.50	1/22	Nov.70
Houston	189.00	3/4	Sept.70
Los Angeles	132.32	2/6	Nov.70
New York	1506.59	3/1	May 70
Oakland-Berkeley	199.63	2/9	May 70
Philadelphia	-0-	PAID UP	<u>CURRENT</u>
Portland	-0-	PAID UP	<u>CURRENT</u>
San Diego	36.45	1/5	Dec.70
San Francisco	518.50	3/6	May 70
Seattle	497.35	9/4/70	Feb.70
Twin Cities	-0-	PAID UP	<u>CURRENT</u>
Washington D.C.	<u>398.25</u>	3/6	Apr.70
	\$7,201.95		

*Figures do not include recent bills for Feb. bundles.

Along with the three branches that are paid up, four others --Austin, Oakland-Berkeley, San Diego and Washington D.C.--have been paying more than their monthly bills during the last four months in order to decrease their back debts.

The eleven other branches have large back debts which have been growing each month because current bundle bills are not paid in full or at all. Since October this has led to 17.3% of the branch bundle bills not being paid each month. The YSA locals and at-largers have not been paying 41% of their monthly bundle bills.

With the increased single issue cost and at these rates, the monthly deficit would go up to \$1239 per month for both the SWP and the YSA.

YSA MILITANT BUNDLES (as of March 5, 1971)

<u>LOCALS</u>	<u>BUNDLE</u>	<u>AT-LARGE AREAS</u>	<u>BUNDLE</u>
Bloomington, Ind.	100	New Britain, Conn.	65
Logan, Utah	100	Evanston, Ill.	50
Phoenix, Ariz.	100	St. Louis, Mo.	50
Cincinnati, Ohio	95	Gainesville, Fla.	30
E. Lansing, Mich.	75	Oxford, Ohio	30
Long Island, N.Y.	75	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	25
Madison, Wisc.	75	Tucson, Ariz.	25
Providence, R.I.	75	Bowling Green, Ohio	20
Worcester, Mass.	75	Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	20
De Kalb, Ill.	70	New Haven, Conn.	20
Tallahassee, Fla.	70	Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20
Amherst, Mass.	60	Pullman, Wash.	20
Kansas City, Mo.	60	Schnectady, N.Y.	20
Albany, N.Y.	50	University, Ala.	20
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	Utica, N.Y.	15
Binghamton, N.Y.	50	Albuquerque, N.M.	10
Boulder, Colo.	50	Grand Rapids, Mich.	10
Columbus, Ohio	50	Hartford, Conn.	10
Milwaukee, Wisc.	50	Kingston, N.Y.	10
Newark, N.J.	50	Stanford, Calif.	10
Norman, Okla.	50	Corvallis, Ore.	5
Riverside, Calif.	50	Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	5
Tampa, Fla.	50	Ellensburg, Wash.	5
El Paso, Texas	40	Hudson, N.Y.	5
La Crosse, Wisc.	35	Kent, Ohio	5
Paterson, N.J.	30	Monterey, Calif.	5
Sacramento, Calif.	30	New Bedford, Mass.	5
Nashville, Tenn.	25	Pittsburgh, Kans.	5
Oshkosh, Wisc.	25	Stony Brook, N.Y.	5
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	W. Hartford, Conn.	<u>3</u>
Antioch, Ohio	20		523
Pittsfield, Mass.	20		
Colorado Springs, Colo.	15	<u>TOTAL</u>	
Modesto, Calif.	<u>6</u>	<u>DOMESTIC BUNDLES:</u>	<u>Mar. 71</u> <u>Feb. 70</u>
	1806	SWP Branches	4020 3205
		YSA Locals	1801 1390
		YSA At-largers	528 439
		Others	<u>836</u> <u>426</u>
			7,185 5,460

MILITANT SUBSCRIPTIONS BY STATE (March 5, 1971)

Alabama	26	Montana	28
Alaska	3	Nebraska	8
Arizona	64	Nevada	4
Arkansas	3	New Hampshire	30
California	1349	New Jersey	193
North	728	New Mexico	21
South	621	New York	1318
Colorado	177	North Carolina	24
Connecticut	76	North Dakota	4
Washington D.C.	154	Ohio	411
Delaware	6	Oklahoma	29
Florida	114	Oregon	103
Georgia	103	Pennsylvania	325
Hawaii	7	Rhode Island	107
Idaho	5	South Carolina	68
Illinois	533	South Dakota	5
Indiana	99	Tennessee	77
Iowa	23	Texas	248
Kansas	36	Utah	22
Kentucky	13	Vermont	39
Louisiana	33	Virginia	62
Maine	8	Washington	217
Maryland	80	West Virginia	6
Massachusetts	498	Wisconsin	229
Michigan	407	Wyoming	2
Minnesota	352		<hr/>
Mississippi	12		7852
Missouri	91		

During the last year, subs more than doubled in Alabama, Colorado, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. They decreased in North Carolina, Idaho, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Nebraska. There was a substantial increase in all other states, especially where there are party branches and YSA locals.

ISR CIRCULATION AND FINANCES

<u>CIRCULATION:</u>	<u>ISR Feb.71</u>	<u>ISR Feb.70</u>	<u>YS Feb.70</u>
Domestic Subs	1727	911	2730
Expiring Subs	12	---	2077
Foreign Subs	455	287	214
Domestic Bundles	3512	1325	6700
Foreign Bundles	<u>1280</u>	<u>753</u>	<u>233</u>
	6,986	3,276	11,954

ISR FINANCES: (as of March 5, 1971)

<u>AREA</u>	<u>FEB. BUNDLE</u>	<u>PER CAPITA SALES¹</u>	<u>DEBT²</u>	<u>LAST PAYMENT</u>
New York	700	2.3	821.60	2/27
Oakland-Berkeley	175	2.4	233.75	12/15/70
Chicago	150	1.4	278.35	2/22
Detroit	150	2.5	157.50	11/16/70
Philadelphia	150	2.9	-0-	<u>PAID UP</u>
Los Angeles	125	1.4	477.18	2/3
Seattle	125	2.6	175.00	9/23/70
San Francisco	100	1.8	140.00	1/18
Boston	75	.7	105.00	1/6
Cleveland	75	1.3	102.45	3/3
Austin	65	2.2	62.10	1/28
Atlanta	60	2.0	42.00	1/25
Twin Cities	60	.8	21.00	2/3
Denver	50	2.3	21.60	3/4
Houston	50	1.4	52.50	11/16/70
Washington D.C.	50	.9	35.00	1/25
San Diego	40	1.8	5.25	1/6
Portland	15	.75	69.44Credit	<u>PAID UP</u>

DEBTS OWED THE ISR²:

SWP Branches	\$2660.84
YSA Locals and At-largers	<u>1272.64</u>
<u>TOTAL:</u>	\$3,933.48

1. Includes SWP and YSA membership, taking joint membership into account.
2. Only includes debts up to the January bundles (not February or March).

ISR BUNDLES FEBRUARY 1971

YSA LOCALS

Madison, Wisc.	100
Milwaukee, Wisc.	50
Tampa, Fla.	50
Cincinnati, Ohio	40
Binghamton, N.Y.	35
El Paso, Texas	35
Bloomington, Ind.	30
Kansas City, Mo.	30
Columbus, Ohio	25
De Kalb, Ill.	25
E. Lansing, Mich.	25
Logan, Utah	25
Newark, N.J.	25
Phoenix, Ariz.	25
Providence, R.I.	25
Tallahassee, Fla.	25
Albany, N.Y.	20
Ann Arbor, Mich.	20
Sacramento, Calif.	20
Worcester, Mass.	20
Ypsilanti, Mich.	20
Amherst, Mass.	15
Patterson, N.J.	15
Yellow Springs, Ohio	15
Boulder, Colo.	10
Long Island, N.Y.	10
Norman, Okla.	10
Oshkosh, Wisc.	10
Oxford, Ohio	10
Nashville, Tenn.	8
Modesto, Calif.	6
Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	5
Hayward, Calif.	5
La Crosse, Wisc.	5
Colorado Springs, Colo.	<u>3</u>

797

AT-LARGE AREAS

Hartford, Conn.	30
New Haven, Conn.	25
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	25
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	15
Utica, N.Y.	15
Schnectady, N.Y.	10
Stanford, Calif.	10
St. Louis, Mo.	10
Grand Rapids, Mich.	5
Tucson, Ariz.	5
Corvallis, Ore.	4
New Bedford, Conn.	<u>3</u>
	157

TOTAL DOMESTIC ISR BUNDLES:

SWP Branches	2115
YSA Locals	797
YSA At-largers	157
Others	<u>443</u>
	3,512

COMPARISON OF AVERAGE MONTHLY CIRCULATION FIGURES

--These figures are based on published monthly averages from October to September of each year.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MILITANT</u>	<u>DAILY WORLD</u>	<u>GUARDIAN</u>
Oct.67- Sept.68			
BUNDLE*	4704	4094	3542
SUBS*	<u>3456</u>	<u>6610</u>	<u>22462</u>
	8,160	10,704	26,004
Oct.68- Sept.69			
BUNDLE	4455	7764	5712
SUBS	<u>5675</u>	<u>6486</u>	<u>21106</u>
	10,130	14,250	26,818
Oct.69- Sept.70			
BUNDLE	9143	12175	4852
SUBS	<u>8214</u>	<u>8292</u>	<u>20010</u>
	17,357	20,467	24,862
Peak Fall Sub Drive Dec.70			
BUNDLE	7350		
SUBS	<u>19500</u>		
	26,850		
Current Mar.71			
BUNDLE	7542		
SUBS	<u>8313</u>		
	15,855		

FIGURES ON MONTHLY PERIODICALS:

	<u>ISR</u>	<u>POLITICAL AFFAIRS</u>	<u>MONTHLY REVIEW</u>
Oct.69- Sept.70			
BUNDLE	3692	3005	3348
SUBS	<u>2294</u>	<u>1495</u>	<u>5724</u>
	5,986	4,500	9,072
Current Feb.71			
BUNDLE	4792		
SUBS	<u>2194</u>		
	6,986		

*These figures include both domestic and foreign subs and bundles.

REGULARITY OF MINUTES

(period beginning January 1, 1971)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MINUTES

BRANCH MINUTES

<u>Regular</u>	<u>Irregular</u>	<u>Regular</u>	<u>Irregular</u>
Atlanta		Atlanta	
Austin		Austin	
	Boston	Boston	
	Chicago	Chicago	
	Cleveland		Cleveland
	Denver		Denver
Detroit		Detroit	
	Houston		Houston
Los Angeles			Los Angeles
	New York		New York
Oakland-Berkeley		Oakland-Berkeley	
Philadelphia			Philadelphia
	Portland		Portland
	San Diego	San Diego	
	San Francisco	San Francisco	
Seattle		Seattle	
Twin Cities		Twin Cities	
Washington, D. C.		Washington, D. C.	

RESULTS OF NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP SURVEY

Figures are based on survey returns from the branches received by the national office by March 11, 1971, amounting to 80.1% of the total membership.

Age group	Percent of party	AGE		
		Percent of NC members and alternates	Percent of full-timers	Percent of branch exec. members
under 20	6.7	0.0	2.6	2.0
20-25	39.1	7.4	32.8	39.2
26-30	25.9	19.2	32.8	39.2
31-35	9.1	14.4	15.8	6.1
36-40	3.2	4.9	0.9	2.7
41-45	3.0	12.0	2.6	3.4
46-50	3.7	14.4	2.6	4.0
51-55	2.9	9.6	1.8	2.0
56-60	4.0	7.4	3.6	0.7
over 60	2.4	12.0	4.5	0.7

Average age of party as a whole -- 30.3 years

Median age of party as a whole -- 26 years

DURATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Percent of current members who joined within indicated years.

Years	Percent
1936 or before	4.8
1937-1939	2.1
1940-1949	5.1
1950-1959	5.0
1960-1964	13.9
1965-1969	37.4
1970	24.8
1971	6.4

Thus, 82.9 percent of current party members joined during or since 1960.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Amount of formal education completed	Percent of party
7th grade or less	0.6
high school or less	16.8
some college but less than four years	40.1
four years college or more	42.5

SEX

	Percent of party	Percent of NC members and alternates	Percent of full-timers	Percent of branch exec. members
Female	37.9	17.1	42.7	41.0
Male	62.1	82.9	57.3	59.0

PARTY-YSA INFORMATION

Of members currently in the party:
 48.1 percent are in the YSA
 30.6 percent are graduates from the YSA

Of members who joined during or since 1960:
 91.9 percent came through the YSA

NUMBER OF CITIES

Number of cities of residence since joining Trotskyist movement	Percent of party
1	37.1
2	32.7
3	16.4
4	7.9
5 or more	5.9

(Thus 62.9% of the party members have been in 2 or more cities since joining the movement.)

PREVIOUS POLITICAL AFFILIATION

SDS -- 62	SNCC -- 4	Spartacist
CP -- 29	PLP -- 3	League -- 2
SP -- 25	YD's -- 3	LNS -- 2
PFPP -- 9	Workers	IS -- 1
CORE -- 9	League -- 2	OAAU -- 1
BSUs -- 8	BPP -- 2	MPI -- 1

RESULTS OF 1969 NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP SURVEY

(These figures are based of surveys received in March 1969, amounting to 70% of the total membership.

AGE

Age group	Percent of party	Percent of NC members and alternates*	Percent of full-timers**	Percent of branch exec. members
under 20	3	0	0	0
20-25	33	0	19	40
26-30	23	23	52	31
31-35	7	3	6	3
36-40	8	23	2	7
41-50***	10	23	11	11
51-60***	9	17	6	5
over 60	6	10	4	4

* The NC category does not include advisory members.

** The full-time category includes comrades who are on full time assignment for branches or national departments.

*** Note that the 41-50 and 51-60 categories are each ten year spans as opposed to the others which are five year spans.

DURATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Percent of current members who joined within indicated years.

Years	Percent
1936 or before	6
1937-1939	5
1940-1949	9
1950-1959	10
1960-1969	70

SEX

Female	37 percent
Male	63 percent

FORMAL EDUCATION

Amount of formal education completed	Percent
7th grade or less	2
High school or less	25
Some college but less than four years	35
Four years college or more	40

PARTY-YSA INFORMATION

Of members currently in party:

63% were in YSA before they joined party

20% are now graduates of YSA

Of current members who joined party 1960-1969:

87% came through the YSA

PERCENTAGES OF INDIVIDUAL INCOMES PLEDGED TO PARTY

WEEKLY INCOME OF \$50.00 OR LESS

Percent of income pledged to party	Percent of party as a whole
0	1.5
1-5	5.5
6-10	11.6
11-15	5.6
16-20	2.1
21-25	0.4
over 25	0.4
total	27.1
median -- 10%	

WEEKLY INCOME BETWEEN \$50.01 AND \$65.00

Percent of income pledged to party	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.6
1-5	5.5
6-10	11.0
11-15	2.1
16-20	1.4
21-25	0.0
over 25	0.0
total	20.6
median -- 8%	

WEEKLY INCOME BETWEEN \$65.01 AND \$100.00

Percent of income pledged to party	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.6
1-5	6.8
6-10	8.0
11-15	3.1
16-20	0.4
21-25	0.2
over 25	1.0
total	20.1
median -- 6.5%	

WEEKLY INCOME BETWEEN \$100.01 AND \$150.00

Percent of income pledged to party	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.4
1-5	6.2
6-10	5.4
11-15	2.7
16-20	0.8
21-25	0.4
over 25	<u>0.6</u>
total	16.5
median -- 7%	

WEEKLY INCOME OVER \$150.00

Percent of income pledged to party	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.4
1-5	7.2
6-10	5.4
11-15	1.7
16-20	0.4
21-25	0.4
over 25	<u>0.2</u>
total	15.7
median -- 5%	

PARTY AS A WHOLE

Percent of income pledged to party	percent of party as a whole
0	3.5
1-5	31.2
6-10	41.4
11-15	15.2
16-20	5.1
21-25	1.4
over 25	<u>2.2</u>
total	100.0
median -- 7%	

PERCENTAGES OF INDIVIDUAL INCOMES PLEDGED TO PARTY AND YSA

WEEKLY INCOME OF \$50.00 OR LESS

Percent of income pledged to party & YSA	Percent of party as a whole
0	1.1
1-5	3.4
6-10	8.1
11-15	5.9
16-20	5.5
21-25	1.8
over 25	<u>1.3</u>
total	27.1
median -- 11%	

WEEKLY INCOME BETWEEN \$50.01 AND \$65.00

Percent of income pledged to party & YSA	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.0
1-5	3.9
6-10	8.0
11-15	6.8
16-20	1.7
21-25	0.2
over 25	<u>0.0</u>
total	20.6
median -- 9%	

WEEKLY INCOME BETWEEN \$65.01 AND \$100.00

Percent of income pledged to party & YSA	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.0
1-5	4.1
6-10	8.0
11-15	4.3
16-20	1.6
21-25	1.0
over 25	<u>1.1</u>
total	20.1
median -- 9%	

WEEKLY INCOME BETWEEN \$100.01 AND \$150.00

Percent of income pledged to party & YSA	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.4
1-5	4.7
6-10	4.9
11-15	3.5
16-20	1.7
21-25	0.8
over 25	<u>0.5</u>
total	16.5
median -- 8%	

WEEKLY INCOMES OVER \$150.00

Percent of income pledged to party & YSA	Percent of party as a whole
0	0.4
1-5	7.1
6-10	5.2
11-15	1.5
16-20	0.7
21-25	0.6
over 25	<u>0.2</u>
total	15.7
median -- 6%	

PARTY AS A WHOLE

Percent of income pledged to party & YSA	Percent of party as a whole
0	1.8
1-5	23.2
6-10	34.2
11-15	22.0
16-20	11.2
21-25	5.9
over 25	<u>3.3</u>
total	100.0
median -- 9%	

TOP FIFTEEN PATHFINDER TITLES IN 1970

<u>Title</u>	<u>Total # Sold in 1970</u>
1. By Any Means Necessary (2/70)	17,975*
2. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	12,100
3. Problems of Women's Liberation	10,500
4. How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.	8,100
5. Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	8,000
6. Pioneers of Women's Liberation	7,400
7. Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation	7,000
8. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	6,600
9. In Defense of the Women's Movement (4/70)	6,000
10. La Raza! (3/70)	6,000
11. Women and the Cuban Revolution (2/70)	5,300
12. Black Voices From Prison (4/70)	4,900*
13. La Raza Unida Party in Texas (8/70)	4,700
14. Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	4,500
15. GIs Speak Out Against the War (4/70)	4,150*

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

It is clear that our women's liberation and Black struggle literature remain our best-selling categories.

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

--Total dollar sales of Pathfinder items in 1970 increased by 88% over Pathfinder sales in 1969. Non-Pathfinder sales decreased by $\frac{1}{3}$ in 1970 from the 1969 figure. Branches and locals increasingly bought non-Pathfinder items directly from publishers in order to get a higher discount.

--87% of our total Pathfinder and non-Pathfinder sales in 1970 were in Pathfinder titles as compared to 70% in 1969 and 60% in 1968.

YEARLY PRINTING OF NEW TITLES

<u>Category</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
New Books	4	7	13
New Pamphlets	7	22	24
Reprinted Books	4	8	17
Reprinted Pamphlets	13	26	30

SALES BROKEN DOWN INTO CATEGORIES

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

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

PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL MONEY OWED TO PATHFINDER, DEC. 31

<u>Category</u>	<u>% of Total Money Owed December 31, 1970</u>	<u>% of Total Money Owed December 31, 1969</u>
Branches	15.7%	24.4%
Locals and Movement Organizations	7.8%	17.8%
Foreign	24.4%	16.1%
Distributors	22.2%	9.6%
Retail Bookstores	19.9%	18.5%
Libraries	3.1%	1.8%
Library Middlemen	6.3%	6.4%
Individuals	6.6%	5.4%
TOTAL	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PERCENTAGE OF ORDERS UNPAID IN EACH CATEGORY, Dec. 31, 1970

That is, if someone ordered \$100 in books during an entire year and they owed us \$90 at the end of the year, the percentage of the orders that was unpaid would be 90%.

<u>Category</u>	<u>% of Orders Unpaid Dec. 31, 1970</u>	<u>% of Orders Unpaid Dec. 31, 1969</u>
Branches	27.8%	34.1%
Locals and Movement Organizations	45.0%	41.7%
Foreign	78.9%	57.6%
Distributors	68.9%	45.3%
Retail Bookstores	29.9%	22.3%
Libraries	25.5%	13.4%
Library Middlemen	26.3%	34.6%
Individuals	21.5%	46.2%

Even though branches ordered more literature in 1970 than in 1969, the percentage unpaid in 1970 decreased over that unpaid in 1969. That means branches began paying sooner than has been the case in the past. If the different categories paid in 30 days (which would be optimum for us), the percentage unpaid would be between 8 and 12 percent.

BOOKSTORE DEBTS TO PATHFINDER, FEB. 28, 1971

<u>Bookstore</u>	<u>Amount Owed</u>
Atlanta	373.59
Austin	463.37
Berkeley	1498.12
Boston	995.42
Chicago	643.64
Cleveland	360.81
Denver	629.16
Detroit	1068.00
Houston	892.62
Los Angeles	1542.33
Minneapolis	65.32
New York	875.18
Philadelphia	407.40
Portland	118.59
San Diego	289.59
San Francisco	6.75
Seattle	1017.76
Washington, D.C.	350.35

NEW BOOKS AND NEWLY REPRINTED BOOKS PLANNED OR PRINTED IN 1971

January: Mod Donna and Scyklon Z, Myrna Lamb
Problems of Women's Liberation, E. Reed*
Trotsky on Literature and Art*

February: Democracy and Revolution, G. Novack

March: The Jewish Question, A. Leon
The Third International After Lenin, L. Trotsky

Scheduled for the first half of 1971:

Speeches for Socialism, J. Cannon
Struggle Against Fascism in Germany, L. Trotsky

Scheduled for the second half of 1971:

Prospects for American Revolution in 1970s, Oberlin book
Trotsky on Spain
Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1934-35
Lumumba Speaks
A book by Hugo Blanco
A book of Samizdat writings

Reprints:

First Five Years of the Communist International, vol. 1 & 2,
L. Trotsky
Stalin School of Falsification, L. Trotsky
Fascism and Big Business, Guerin
Labor's Giant Step, Preis - a paper edition

*counted in 1970 yearly printing figures.

CLASSROOM ADOPTIONS JANUARY 1970 THROUGH FEBRUARY 1971

<u>Title</u>	<u># of Classroom Adoptions</u>	<u>Total # of Books Adopted</u>
1. Intro. to Marxist Economic Theory	69	3050
2. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	35	1800
3. Socialism and Man	27	975
4. Problems of Women's Liberation	25	1500
5. Permanent Revolution	22	1060
6. Revolution Betrayed	20	490
7. Cuba for Beginners	17	500
8. By Any Means Necessary	17	470
9. Communist Manifesto	14	975
10. Their Morals and Ours	14	410
11. Reform or Revolution	13	335
12. Black Voices From Prison	12	745
13. Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music	12	565
14. Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class	9	610
15. Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	8	250
16. Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It	8	175
17. Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out!	7	635
18. How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination	7	450
19. La Raza Unida Party in Texas	7	365
20. Revolutionary Student Movement	6	550
21. How a Minority Can Change Society	6	405
22. Second Declaration of Havana	6	310
23. La Raza!	6	275
24. Genocide Against the Indians	6	240
25. Intro. to the Logic of Marxism	6	120
26. Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought	5	235
27. Two Speeches by Malcolm X	5	150
28. Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism	5	115
29. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	5	115
30. New Stage in the Advance of Cuban Socialism	5	110
31. Rosa Luxemburg Speaks	5	110
32. Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists...	5	85
33. On Socialist Man	5	85
34. On Vietnam and World Revolution	5	75
35. Should the U.S. Be Partitioned?	5	60
36. Fifty Years of World Revolution	5	35
37. The Black Ghetto	4	375
38. Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis	4	325
39. Marxist Theory of Alienation	4	100
40. My Life	4	70
41. In Defense of Marxism	4	22
42. Marxism and the Negro Struggle	3	235
43. Castro's Tribute to Che	3	210
44. Death Agony of Capitalism	3	160
45. Empiricism and Its Evolution	3	115
46. Black Nationalism and Socialism	3	95

<u>Title</u>	<u># of Classroom Adoptions</u>	<u>Total # of Books Adopted</u>
47. Marxist Theory of the State	3	95
48. Women and the Cuban Revolution	3	65
49. Douglas Bravo Speaks	2	80
50. How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.	2	75
51. Pioneers of Women's Liberation	2	65
52. On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination	2	50
53. Case for a Black Party	2	50
54. Mod Donna and Scyklon Z	2	50
55. Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries	2	50
56. Assassination of Malcolm X	2	45
57. Chinese Revolution	2	30
58. GIs Speak Out Against the War	2	25
59. Truth About Israel and Zionism	1	80
60. Answer to the Naked Ape	1	50
61. Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism	1	50
62. Why Watts Exploded	1	45
63. Last Year of Malcolm X	1	40
64. Marxist Essays in American History	1	40
65. Myths About Malcolm X	1	40
66. Revolt in France	1	40
67. Understanding of History	1	35
68. Whither France?	1	35
69. Land or Death	1	30
70. Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation	1	25
71. Invasion of Czechoslovakia	1	15
72. Zionism and the Arab Revolution	1	12
73. Black Uprisings	1	10
74. Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism	1	10
75. Socialism on Trial	1	10

These classroom sales amount to about 8% of our total sales in 1970. Additional classroom orders were placed by university bookstores directly with wholesalers with whom we do business. We can not know how much these classroom-wholesale orders amount to, but we can approximate that 10% of our yearly sales was in classroom adoptions. Also, more than half of these sales were from the last few months--an indication that we have had more requests for books for classroom use in the last term than in the two previous terms.

PATHFINDER SALES IN 1970

<u>Title</u>	<u># Sold</u>
American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism	235
Anti-War GIs Speak Out	1019
Assassination of Malcolm X	3797
Behind China's Great Cultural Revolution	625
Behind the Moscow Trials	55
Black Ghetto	1548
*Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music (9/70) (paper)	3688
(cloth)	351
*Black Voices From Prison (4/70) (paper)	5004
(cloth)	559
Black Nationalism and Socialism	2292
Black Uprisings	1059
*Black Women's Liberation (12/70)	240
Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis	3778
*By Any Means Necessary (2/70) (paper)	16439
(cloth)	2135
Case for a Black Party	3176
Case of Leon Trotsky (cloth)	169
Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism	903
Catastrophe in Indonesia	521
Che Speaks (cloth)	249
Chinese Revolution: Problems and Perspectives	982
Coming American Revolution	499
*Communist Manifesto (1/70)	2556
*Cuba for Beginners (6/70)	3011
Death Agony of Capitalism	3008
*Douglas Bravo Speaks (7/70)	1322
*DuBois Speaks (11/70)-2vols. (paper)	871
Empiricism and Its Evolution (paper)	655
(cloth)	193
E.V. Debs	318
*Eugene Debs Speaks (paper) (7/70)	1642
(cloth)	241
Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It	3086
Fifty Years of World Revolution (paper)	1550
(cloth)	217
First and Second Declaration of Havana	570
Founding Convention of the IWW	238
*Fraud of Black Capitalism (10/70)	790
Freedom Now	354
From Lenin to Stalin	346
*Genocide Against the Indians (5/70)	3296
GIs and the Fight Against the War	813
*GIs Speak Out Against the War (4/70) (paper)	3742
(cloth)	761
Healy "Reconstructs" the 4th International	367
History of American Trotskyism (cloth)	330
How a Minority Can Change Society	2240
How Can the Jews Survive?	2378
How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination	1375

*signifies titles that were new in 1970

<u>Title</u>	<u># Sold</u>
How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.	8159
In Defense of Marxism (paper)	1046
(cloth)	60
In Defense of Socialism	261
*In Defense of the Women's Movement (4/70)	6025
Introduction to the Logic of Marxism (paper)	1545
(cloth)	168
Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory (spined)	4014
(unspined)	4588
Invasion of Czechoslovakia	553
Israel and the Arabs	1526
I.W.W.	800
Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism	1073
Khrushchev's Downfall and 4th International	99
Labor's Giant Step	294
Land or Death: Hugo Blanco	833
*La Raza! (3/70)	6194
*La Raza Unida Party in Texas (8/70)	4890
Last Year of Malcolm X (paper)	688
(cloth)	393
Letters From Prison	127
*Liberalism, Ultra-leftism, or Mass Action (7/70)	3088
*Life in an Auto Plant (3/70)	1905
Long View of History	571
Malcolm X on Afro-American History (spined)	10120
(unspined)	3446
Malcolm X Speaks (cloth)	118
Malcolm X Talks to Young People	6842
Malcolm X: Two Speeches	3853
Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas	4799
Maoism in the U.S.	1991
*Marxism and Christianity (5/70)	1153
Marxism and the Negro Struggle	1305
*Marxism in Our Time (3/70)	1903
Marxism vs. Ultra-leftism	159
*Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism (7/70)	1730
Marxist Essays in American History	494
*Marxist Theory of Alienation (8/70)	1748
Marxist Theory of the State	2904
Military Writings (paper)	965
(cloth)	172
Moscow vs. Peking	304
Murder in Memphis	1170
*My Life (4/70) (paper)	2195
(cloth)	341
Myths About Malcolm X	3273
New Stage in the Advance of Cuban Socialism	774
On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination	2205
On Engels and Kautsky	622
*On the Jewish Question (7/70)	2497
On the Labor Party in the U.S.	819

*signifies titles that were new in 1970

<u>Title</u>	<u># Sold</u>
On Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class	2487
On Socialist Man	1364
On Suppressed Testament of Lenin	634
On the Trade Unions	813
On Vietnam and World Revolution	3434
Origins of Materialism (paper)	55
(cloth)	48
*Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution (8/70)	1704
Permanent Revolution (paper)	3163
(cloth)	143
Pioneers of Women's Liberation	7471
Political Biography of Walter Reuther	413
*Politics of Women's Liberation (7/70)	4280
Population Explosion	1695
*Problems of the Civil War (6/70)	1052
Problems of Women's Liberation (unspined)	10500
Rebels and Bureaucrats	244
*Reform or Revolution (1/70)	2379
Revolt in France	556
Revolution Betrayed (paper)	2120
(cloth)	129
Revolution Must Be A School of Unfettered Thought	867
Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today	1427
Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation	7009
Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland	991
*Revolutionary Strategy in Imperialist Countries (1/70)	3677
Revolutionary Student Movement	2383
Road to Peace	338
Russian Revolution	429
Second Declaration of Havana	444
Should the U.S. Be Partitioned?	1016
Socialism and Man	4139
Socialism on Trial (paper)	1921
(cloth)	87
Stalin School of Falsification	30
Stalinism and Bolshevism	2050
Stalin's Frame-Up System	470
*Struggle for a Proletarian Party (paper) (6/70)	685
Their Morals and Ours	2410
Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists	754
To the Memory of the Old Man	209
Transitional Program for Black Liberation	2574
Tribute to Che	1127
Trotsky: The Man and His Work	889
*Truth About Israel and Zionism (9/70)	2471
Understanding of History	658
Uneven and Combined Development in History	559
War and Revolution in Vietnam	3116
Welfare State or Socialism?	148
What Policy for Revolutionists?	539
Whither France? (paper)	366
(cloth)	29

*signifies titles that were new in 1970

<u>Title</u>	<u># Sold</u>
Why Watts Exploded	871
Why We Are in Prison	156
*Women and the Cuban Revolution (2/70)	5369
*Women and the Equal Rights Amendment (11/70)	1341
*Women and the Family (12/70)	108
Worker-Student Uprisings in France	119
World-Wide Youth Radicalization	1094
Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939-40	1245
Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1938-39	1051
*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1937-38 (5/70)	1279
*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1935-36 (11/70)	330
Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society	1387
Zionism and the Arab Revolution	3034

*signifies titles that were new in 1970

NOTE: These figures include complimentary copies for professors and other promotional work. Complimentary copies amount to an average of 3% of the total number of copies sold per title.

1971 ELECTION CAMPAIGN INFORMATION

ATLANTA

none until 1972

AUSTIN

election date: April, 1971

major contended posts: mayor
6 city council seats

number of SWP candidates: 4

posts party is running for: mayor
3 city council seats

date campaign beginning: January 18, 1971

candidates: mayor -- Mariana Hernandez
city council -- Laura Maggi
Karin Salzman
Mike Alewitz

ballot requirements: signed affidavit of qualification
loyalty oath

dates of petitioning: none

legal challenges: possible on loyalty oath, age, residency

BOSTON

election date: November 2, 1971

major contended posts: Boston mayor
Cambridge -- 9 city council seats
6 school committee seats

number of SWP candidates: 13

posts party is running for: Boston mayor
Cambridge -- 7 city council seats
5 school committee seats

date campaign beginning: February 12, 1971

candidates: Boston mayor -- Joe Miles
City council -- Bill Scheer, Sarah Ullman, Terry Bell,
Toba Leah Singer, Stu Singer, Jeanne
Lafferty, Mark Friedman
school committee -- Gloria Albee, Marilyn Levin, Lisa
Potash, John McCann, Dick Osborne

ballot requirements: mayor -- 3000 signatures
others -- 50 signatures each

petitioning dates: Boston -- July 6 - 27, 1971
Cambridge -- June - July

legal challenges: none

CHICAGO

election date: February 22, 1971 -- alderwomen
April 6, 1971 -- others

major contended posts: mayor, city treasurer, city clerk, city council

number of SWP candidates: 5

posts party is running for: mayor, city treasurer, city clerk,
alderwoman 43rd and 5th wards

date campaign beginning: January 12, 1971

candidates: mayor -- Linda Sheppard
treasurer -- Willie Petty
clerk -- Mark Ugolini
43rd ward -- Naomi Allen
5th ward -- Cynthia Burke

ballot requirements: 50,000 signatures

petitioning dates: January - February 6, 1971

legal challenges: yes

CLEVELAND

election date: November 4, 1971

major contended posts: mayor, city council

number of SWP candidates: 2

posts party is running for: mayor, city council

date campaign beginning: February 27, 1971

candidates: mayor -- John Hawkins
city council -- Gale Shangold

ballot requirements: 3,000 signatures

petitioning dates: May 1 - May 30, 1971

legal challenges: no

DENVER

election date: May 15, 1971

major contended posts: mayor, 2 city council seats, board of education

number of SWP candidates: 4

posts party is running for: all of above

date campaign beginning: January 15, 1971

candidates: mayor -- Bill Perdue
city council -- Carolyn Jasin, Al Rosenthal
board of education -- Mary Walter

ballot requirements: 500 signatures each

petitioning dates: ???

legal challenges: none

DETROIT

election date: November 2, 1971
major contended posts: Highland Park May and City Council
number of SWP candidates: ?
posts party is running for: at least mayor
date campaign beginning: ?
candidates: not chosen
ballot requirements: 100 signatures
petitioning dates: ???
leagl challenges: no

HOUSTON

election date: 3rd Saturday, November, 1971
major contended posts: mayor, 8 council members, 1 controller
number of SWP candidates: 4
posts party is running for: mayor and three council persons
date campaign beginning: February 9, 1971
candidates: mayor -- Debby Leonard
 council -- Paul McKnight, Mareen Jasin, Jeanette Tracy
ballot requirements: registered voter; 5 years residency, 2 years
 real estate ownership; filing fee \$1,250 mayor
 and \$500.00 for council
petitioning dates: none required
legal challenges: ACLU is filing separate suits on each of the
 three obstacles. They are ready to take it to the
 Supreme Court if necessary. Our candidates are the
 plaintiffs. Suits will be filed 2nd week of Feb.

LOS ANGELES

election date: April 6, 1971
major contended posts: Board of Education, Board of Trustees of
 the Community Colleges
number of SWP candidates: 3

LOS ANGELES (CONT)

posts party is running for: Board of Education and Board of
Trustees of the Community Colleges
date campaign beginning: January 5

candidates: Baxter Smith -- Board of Education
Barbara Peterson and Jim Little -- Board of Trustees

ballot requirements: over 21, live in city at least two years
500 signatures on petition, Filing Fee
(\$180.00 Bd. of Ed. \$50.00 Bd. of Trustees)

petitioning dates: January 11 - 30 (completed)

legal challenges: none

NEW YORK (none until 1972)

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

election date: April 6, 1971 -- Berkeley

major contended posts: mayor, city council, auditor, 3 school
board, 6 Peralta Board of Trustees (junior
colleges)

number of SWP candidates: 6

posts party is running for: mayor, 3 city council, 1 school board,
1 Peralta Board

date campaign beginning: January 17

candidates: mayor -- Tony Camejo, City Council -- Andrea Land,
Anita Bennett, Alan Wald, School Board -- Mary Lou
Montauk, Peralta Board -- Peter Graumann

ballot requirements: candidates must be registered voters
10 signatures of registered voters

petitioning dates: January 21-28.

legal challenges: Possibly, \$1,159 fee for statement in Peralta
Board brochure

PHILADELPHIA

election date: November 9, 1971

major contended posts: mayor, 5 city council, sheriff

number of SWP candidates: 7

posts party is running for: mayor, 5 city council, sheriff

date campaign beginning: February 2, 1971

candidates: mayor -- Jean Savage, sheriff -- Hatti McCutcheon

City Council -- Carol Lisker, Mark Zola, Pam Newman,
Sal Mastriano, Nancy Strebe

ballot requirements: 7,000 signatures minimum, \$25.00 filing fee
per post.

PHILADELPHIA (CONT.)

petitioning dates: March 10 - March 30

legal challenges: none

PORTLAND (none until 1972)

SAN DIEGO

election date: November 1971

major contended posts: mayor, several city council seats

number of SWP candidates: not decided

posts party is running for: considering a candidate for mayor

date campaign beginning: May or June

candidates: not decided

ballot requirements: candidate over 24, voted in last 3 elections,
200 signatures

legal challenges: We will probably have to challenge the re-
quirement that the candidate voted in last 3
local elections.

SAN FRANCISCO

election date: November 7, 1971

major contended posts: mayor, 6 bd. of supervisors, sheriff, D.A.

number of SWP candidates: not decided

posts party is running for: mayor and bd. of supervisors

date campaign beginning: beginning of March

candidates: ???

ballot requirements: 2% filing fee, 5 years residency requirements,
sponsors.

petitioning dates: no petitioning

legal challenges: Challenging 2% filing fee (2% of salary for
office running for) and challenging 5 year
residency requirement.

SEATTLE

election date: November 1971

major contended posts: 5 seats on City Council

number of SWP candidates: 3

posts party is running for: City Council

date campaign beginning: April

candidates: Russell Block, Pam Havens, Rhea Rolfe

ballot requirements: Not a partisan election, we simply have
to file and pay \$150.00 per candidate.

petitioning dates: none

SEATTLE (CONT.)

legal challenges: no immediate plans

TWIN CITIES

election date: primary -- 4/27/71

major contended posts: mayor and 13 aldermen

number of SWP candidates: 2

posts party is running for: mayor and alderman 6th ward

date campaign beginning: February 12, 1971

candidates: mayor -- Susan Vass, alderman -- Greg Guckenburg

ballot requirements: 21 years of age, registered voter, 30
day resident in city and \$20.00 for each
position.

petitioning dates: none

legal challenges: none

WASHINGTON, D. C.

election date: March 23, 1971

major contended posts: non-voting delegate to Congress

number of SWP candidates: 1

posts party is running for: non-voting delegate to Congress

date campaign beginning: November 22, 1970

candidates: James E. Harris

ballot requirements: 5,000 valid signatures accompanied by voter
registration numbers.

petitioning dates: December 30-February 22

legal challenges: none

INFORMATION ON ATTAINING BALLOT STATUS IN 1972

Six questions are answered for each state.

1. Presidential electors. How many? Does the SWP have to file a full slate? Must each candidate be from a particular congressional district?
2. If the SWP nominates candidates that are ineligible to hold office, does the state have a law which might be used to keep such a candidate off the ballot (a "Judy White" law)?
3. How are the SWP presidential electors qualified for the ballot?
4. Has the SWP qualified for the ballot in the past in this state?
5. What state-wide offices are to be elected in 1972 other than presidential electors?
6. Does the SWP or YSA have branches or locals in this state?

ALABAMA

1. 9 presidential electors. Partial slate is permissible.
2. Since the names of presidential & vice-presidential candidates do not appear on the ballot, no concern over Judy White laws.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by holding a single county "mass meeting" on the second Tuesday in May, which can then be adjourned and re-called to order as the state convention. Any number of supporters can attend. "SOCIALIST WORKERS" would appear on the ballot.

We can also qualify with a petition of 300 names, but under this method the words "SOCIALIST WORKERS" would not be permitted.

4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: Public service commissioner.
6. YSA locals: none

ALASKA

1. 3 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirements for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Statement that candidates being nominated must be qualified is printed on petition.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 1,000 names. "SOCIALIST WORKERS" will appear on the ballot.
4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot. In 1960 a petition drive was completed, but the Attorney General of Alaska ruled that such petitions could not be used to nominate candidates for presidential electors. This interpretation seems to have been changed or forgotten, since George Wallace qualified in 1968 with no trouble.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: U.S. Senator, Congressman-at-large
6. YSA locals: none

ARIZONA

1. 6 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.

2. Judy White law? No. Eldridge Cleaver, who was 33 years old, was on the ballot in 1968 as the Peace & Freedom Party candidate for president.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of names equal in number to 2% of the vote for governor in 1970. Based on almanac figures (which may be unofficial) this would be 8,218 signatures. Any voter can sign; there is no distribution requirement.

We can also qualify for the ballot as an INDEPENDENT candidate with a petition of 1% of the 1970 vote for governor, 4,109. However, only voters who did not vote in the primary can sign this petition, and it can only be circulated within a 9 day period. "SOCIALIST WORKERS" could appear on the ballot with this method.

4. SWP appeared on the ballot in 1968, but at that time the election laws only required a number of signatures equal to 2% of the vote for governor in any of five counties. By choosing sparsely settled counties, it was possible to qualify with only 400-500 signatures.

Although the number of signatures required has been increased almost 20 times, there are a few advantages inherent in the new law. It will no longer be necessary to petition in very small towns in particular counties. In 1972 the petitioning might be confined to Phoenix or Tucson, or both, if this were more convenient for the petition-gatherers.

5. State officials to be elected in 1972: Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, State Mining Commissioner, State Tax Commissioner
6. YSA local: PHOENIX

ARKANSAS

1. 6 presidential electors. Complete slate is required. Distribution requirement is implied (see page 32, 1969 Arkansas Election Code).
2. Judy White law? No.
3. The Independent candidate qualifying method is a petition of 15% of the total vote cast for governor in the previous election. This means 95,266 signatures. The code does not say that a new party must submit such a petition. However, George Wallace's American Party did submit such a petition in 1968 and again in 1970. Arkansas election laws on this point will probably be revised during 1971.

4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: Governor, Secretary of State, U.S. Senator, Lt. Gov., Treasurer, Comptroller, Attorney General
6. YSA locals: none

CALIFORNIA

1. 45 presidential electors. Complete slate is required. No distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? YES. In 1968 Cleaver's name was removed from the ballot.
3. To qualify a political party, California law requires either a petition of 10%, or a registration of 1%, of the previous vote for governor. This means either 639,024 signatures or 63,904 registered members. To qualify as an Independent candidate, California requires a petition of 5% of the number of voters who voted at the last general election. This would be approximately 325,000 signatures. Only voters who did not vote in the primary can sign, and all signatures must be gathered within a 24-day period.

The SWP is planning a court challenge of these laws and the attorney has already begun working on the case.

Write-ins will be counted if a slate of electors is filed with the Secretary of State 60 days before the election. This was done in 1964. It was not done in 1968.

4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot, except in 1948, 1950 and 1952 when an SWP congressional candidate qualified for the ballot as an Independent, and except in non-partisan city elections.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: none
6. Branches: LOS ANGELES, OAKLAND-BERKELEY, SAN DIEGO, SAN FRANCISCO; YSA locals also at MODESTO, RIVERSIDE, and SACRAMENTO

COLORADO

1. 7 presidential electors. SWP has always filed complete slate. No distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? No.

3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 300 names. Any registered voter can sign. No distribution requirement.
4. SWP on the ballot: 1948, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1968, 1970
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator
6. Branch: DENVER. YSA local also at COLORADO SPRINGS

CONNECTICUT

1. 9 presidential electors. Secretary of State feels that complete slate is required. No distribution requirement.
2. No Judy White law
3. We can qualify for the ballot with a petition signed by a number of voters equal to $\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the 1968 presidential vote, or 6,282 signatures.
4. SWP appeared on the ballot in 1948. Petitions were filed in 1968 but out of 10,500 signatures submitted, only 3,100 were declared valid. 6,167 were required.
5. State offices up in 1972: none
6. YSA local: none

DELAWARE

1. 3 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 900 names. There must be 50 signatures from each of the 18 state senatorial districts. This distribution requirement is probably vulnerable to court challenge. The law also states that only voters registered Independent may sign, but it has been reported that this requirement was overthrown by a court.
4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Gov., Treasurer, Auditor, Congressman-at-large
6. YSA locals: none

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- 1. 3 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is permissible. Elector candidates must have lived in the District for 3 years prior to the election. No distribution requirement for electors.
- 2. Judy White law? No.
- 3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of signatures equal to 5% of the registered voters as of July 1, 1972. This may be 12,000-15,000 names.
- 4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot. The district did not vote for president until 1964.
- 5. District-wide office up in 1972: Delegate to Congress. (The petition for this office is 5,000 names)
- 6. YSA local and SWP branch: WASHINGTON, D.C.

FLORIDA

- 1. 17 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirements for electors.
- 2. Judy White law? No.
- 3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of names equal in number to 3/4 of 1% of the September 1970 registration. In 1970, 1,730,550 votes were cast for governor. It is unlikely that registration was greater than 2,200,000. If this were the registration, the petition would need 16,500 signatures. Any voter can sign the petition. A letter has been sent requesting the exact number.

There is a distribution requirement, requiring that 1/300 of the required number of signatures be obtained from each of half of Florida's 68 counties. This can be challenged in court. There is also a requirement in the law that the petitioning group pay ten cents per name checked. This could exceed \$2000. This requirement can also be challenged in court.

- 4. The SWP has never appeared on the ballot. There was a write-in campaign in 1970 for governor and U.S. Senator.
- 5. State offices up in 1972: none
- 6. YSA locals: GAINESVILLE, TALLAHASSEE, TAMPA

GEORGIA

1. 12 presidential electors. Full slate is required (the CP was thrown off the Georgia ballot in 1936 solely because it submitted only a partial list of electors). Unknown if there is a distribution requirement for electors, but it is likely.
2. Judy White law? YES. Every candidate must file a statement of qualification, regardless of the method of nomination. The statement is separate from the nominating petition.
3. Georgia requires a petition signed by 5% of the registered voters eligible to vote when the office was last up for election. This means approximately 85,000-90,000 signatures. The constitutionality of this law is being reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court. A decision is expected before May 1, 1971.
4. The SWP has never appeared on the ballot. Write-in campaigns for U.S. Senator in 1968, and Governor & Congress in 1970, have been conducted, as well as a campaign for city office in Atlanta in 1969.
5. State-wide offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, several dozen state judges (elected by the entire state, yet with jurisdiction over particular districts only).
6. Branch: ATLANTA

HAWAII

1. 4 presidential electors. Presumably, full slate is required. No distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? No. However, Cleaver was ruled off the ballot in 1968 due to age.
3. The SWP can qualify for the ballot if it meets the definition of Political Party: "An association of voters united for the purpose of promoting a common political end...which maintains a general organization throughout the state, including a regularly constituted central committee and county committees". For election purposes, Hawaii has four counties. 4 state officers and 4 county officers from each county would be needed to meet the definition.
4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot. The Peace & Freedom Party appeared in 1968.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: none
6. YSA locals: none

IDAHO

1. 4 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. A statement that an Independent candidate is qualified must be included on the nominating petition.
3. There is no method by which a new party can qualify for the Idaho presidential ballot, since the Independent petition method does not apply to presidential electors. The State Supreme Court put Wallace on the ballot anyway, ruling that 1500 voters can associate themselves together as a political party and make nominations. The American Party also qualified for the Idaho ballot in 1970. The Legislature is re-writing the election law during 1971.
4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator
6. YSA locals: none

ILLINOIS

1. 26 presidential electors. Full slate is required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Each candidate named on the petition must include a statement that he is qualified for the office. Presidential elector candidates are excluded from this requirement, but presidential & vice-presidential candidates, who are named on the petition, are not exempted.
2. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 25,000 names. There is a distribution requirement (no more than 13,000 names can come from a single county) and a requirement that signers must not have voted in the primary. Both requirements were challenged by the SWP in 1970. The case is still pending in federal district court.
4. SWP appeared on the ballot in 1970 for the first time. Not on in 1968 because at that time a much harsher distribution requirement was in effect.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Attorney General, Treasurer, 3 regents of the State University. A party must make a nomination for each state-wide office. The SLP's presidential electors and state candidates were thrown off the Illinois ballot in 1964 because the SLP didn't nominate 108 candidates for the state assembly as well. The state assembly was elected state-wide that year.

6. Branch: CHICAGO. YSA also at DEKALB

INDIANA

1. 13 presidential electors. Full slate seems to be needed. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Petition must include statement that each candidate is qualified. Names of presidential and vice-presidential candidates appear on the petition.
3. We can qualify by submitting a petition signed by voters equal in number to $\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the vote for Secretary of State in 1970. Since the vote for U.S. Senator in 1970 was 1,737,696, and the vote for Secretary of State was probably almost exactly the same, a number of signatures very close to 8,689 will be required.
4. SWP appeared on the ballot in 1968 for the first time.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney General, Clerk of the Supreme Court, and several state judges.
6. YSA local: BLOOMINGTON

IOWA

1. 8 presidential electors. Full slate is required. There is a distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? No. Eldridge Cleaver was on the Iowa ballot in 1968.
3. We can qualify by submitting a petition of 1,000 names. No distribution requirement. Any registered voter can sign.
4. SWP was on the ballot in 1948, 1960, 1964, 1968.
5. State offices to be filled in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney General, Railroad Commissioner, Agriculture Commissioner.
6. YSA locals: none

KANSAS

1. 7 presidential electors. Full slate is required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.

3. Formerly it was possible to qualify Independent candidates for presidential elector, but the 1967 legislature made this illegal.

The SWP could qualify as a political party in Kansas by submitting a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 3% of the 1970 vote for governor of 740,770. This would be 22,224 names. Although this is severe, there is a notable advantage to this method: once the petition had been completed and qualified, the SWP would remain a fully qualified party (although nominating by convention, not primary) forever, or until the law is changed. No method for disqualifying a party exists in Kansas. The Prohibition Party in 1938 and has been on the Kansas ballot since, without need for further petitioning.

4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, State Printer, Superintendent of Public Instruction
6. YSA locals: none

KENTUCKY

1. 7 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is acceptable. SWP filed full slate in 1968. No distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? YES. Petition must state that candidate is qualified.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 1,000 names. Any voter can sign. No distribution requirement.
4. SWP first appeared on the ballot in 1968.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor.
6. YSA locals: none

LOUISIANA

1. 10 presidential electors. Full slate is required. There is a distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by submitting a petition of 1,000 names. Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.

4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor
(A separate petition would be required for U.S. Senator.
Unlike the petition for presidential electors, only
Independent voters could sign the U.S. Senate petition)
6. YSA locals: none

MAINE

1. 4 presidential electors. Full slate seems to be required.
No distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of
signatures equal in number to 1% of the 1970 vote for
governor, or 3,254 names.
4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State offices up in 1972: none
6. YSA locals: none

MARYLAND

1. 10 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate
is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. A petition is required bearing the names of 3% of the
registered voters, based on the number registered on
January 1, 1972. This would mean approximately 50,000
names. This requirement was passed in 1967; formerly,
only 5,000 names were required. The names of signers
must be published in several newspapers at party
expense. This provision has been upheld in the courts
as not in violation of the principle of the secret ballot.
Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.
4. SWP has never appeared on the Maryland ballot.
5. State offices up in 1972: none
6. YSA locals: none

MASSACHUSETTS

1. 14 presidential electors. Unknown whether partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. Massachusetts requires a petition bearing the names of voters equal in number to 3% of the vote cast for governor in 1970, 1,842,456. This would be 55,274 names. Any voter can sign. There is a distribution requirement: no more than 1/3 of the signatures can come from any one county.

The SWP filed suit against the Massachusetts law in 1970, citing the high number of signatures required, the distribution requirement, and the fact that the SLP and the Prohibition Party are treated so well that equal protection is denied. The court dismissed the suit for lack of time before the election.

4. The SWP has never been on the ballot in Massachusetts, except for local non-partisan elections.
5. State officials up in 1972: U.S. Senator
6. SWP Branch: BOSTON YSA locals in NORTH BOSTON, SOUTH BOSTON, CAMBRIDGE, AMHERST, PITTSFIELD, WORCESTER

MICHIGAN

1. 21 presidential electors. SWP has always filed a complete slate. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No. Eldridge Cleaver was on the ballot in 1968.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition signed by voters equal in number to 1% of the winner's vote for Secretary of State in 1970, probably about 1,500,000 votes. This would mean 15,000 signatures.

Michigan had a distribution requirement until 1970, when a SWP court challenge eliminated it.

4. SWP has been on the Michigan ballot in 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1970. The 1956 petition was rejected on technical grounds.
5. State offices up in 1972: U.S. Senator, several educational offices
6. Branch: DETROIT. YSA locals also in ANN ARBOR, EAST LANSING, YPSILANTI

MINNESOTA

1. 10 presidential electors. Partial slate is probably still permissible. Previously the SWP only filed one candidate for elector because separate petitions were required for each elector candidate. Recently the law was changed to allow a single petition for a whole slate of electors. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No. Eldridge Cleaver appeared on the 1968 ballot, as did Michael Zagarell, 23-year-old Communist Party vice-presidential candidate.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 2,000 signatures. Anyone who would be eligible to vote upon registering can sign. There is no distribution requirement.
4. SWP has appeared state-wide on the ballot in 1940, 1946, 1948, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1966, 1968 and 1970, and on the ballot in part of the state as well in 1950 and 1962.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator
6. Branch: TWIN CITIES

MISSISSIPPI

1. 7 presidential electors. Partial slate is permissible.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 500 signatures (1967 edition of election law, part I, General Elections, "The Official Ballot: What to appear on face of Ballot", first paragraph). Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.

Mississippi changed its law in 1966 to require 10,000 signatures, but a federal court invalidated the new law because it had not been cleared by the federal government, as required by the 1965 Federal Voter Rights Act.

5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor.
6. YSA locals: none

MISSOURI

1. 12 presidential electors. Unknown if full slate is required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. All petitions must include a statement that the candidate named therein is qualified.
3. Missouri requires a number of signatures equal to 1% of the vote cast for governor in 1968 to qualify in 1972. This would be 17,950 signatures.

Furthermore, there is a distribution requirement. The petitions must bear signatures of 1% of the 1968 gubernatorial vote from each congressional district, or 2% in each of five congressional districts.
4. SWP has never appeared on the ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Treasurer, Auditor
6. YSA local: KANSAS CITY

MONTANA

1. 4 presidential electors. Full slate is required. No distribution requirements for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. A new election law, passed in 1969, requires a petition of 5% of the vote cast for governor in 1968. This would require 13,450 signatures. Before 1969, nothing was required other than that a state convention of any attendance be held.
4. SWP was on the ballot in 1960, 1964, 1968
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, Railway Commissioner
6. YSA locals: none

NEBRASKA

1. 5 presidential electors. The Governor of Nebraska officially appoints the presidential electors, and it is not necessary that a political party name candidates for presidential elector unless its candidate for president polls the most votes.
2. Judy White law? No.

3. Nebraska law requires a nominating convention to be attended by 750 voters.

Although there is a provision for the nomination of Independent candidates with a petition of 1,000 names, it cannot be used for presidential electors. This limitation was contested in the courts by Henry Wallace in 1948, and upheld.

4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor
6. YSA locals: none

NEVADA

1. 3 presidential electors. Full slate is required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. Nevada requires a petition signed by voters equal in number to 5% of the vote for congress in 1970. This would be about 6,600 signatures.
4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: congressman-at-large
6. YSA locals: none

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1. 4 presidential electors. The SWP filed a full slate in 1968. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition signed by 1,000 voters. Any voter can sign and there is no distribution requirement.
4. SWP was on the ballot for the first time in 1968.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor
6. YSA locals: none

NEW JERSEY

1. 17 presidential electors. The SWP has always filed a full slate. No distribution requirements for electors.

2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify by submitting a petition of 800 names. Any voter can sign and there is no distribution requirement.
4. SWP was on the ballot state-wide in 1940, 1942, 1946, 1948, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1965, 1968, and in part of the state as well in 1938, 1939, 1941, 1947, 1950, 1951, 1962 and 1966.
5. State-wide contest in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor
6. YSA locals: NEWARK, PATERSON

NEW MEXICO

1. 4 presidential electors. The SWP filed a full slate in 1968. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. The 1969 legislature added a petition requirement of 5% to the original qualifying method of holding a convention, with any attendance. However, the State Supreme Court ruled the new 5% requirement unconstitutional, after the People's Constitutional Party (a Chicano Party) filed suit. The court ruled that any party with at least 100 registered members could make nominations, without having to submit petitions. This ruling only applied for the 1970 election, and the legislature is currently rewriting the law. Two proposals are being considered: a petition of 3%; and a rival proposal to require 100 registered members and no petition.
4. SWP was on the ballot in New Mexico in 1968 for the first time.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor-Lt. Governor (elected as a team), Secretary of State, Land Commissioner, Attorney General, Treasurer, Auditor, Supt. of Public Instruction
6. YSA locals: none

NEW YORK

1. 41 presidential electors. Partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. "A person shall not be nominated for a public office who (1) is not a citizen of the state of New York; (2) is ineligible to be elected; (3) who, if elected, will not meet the qualifications thereof." This law was used to keep Eldridge Cleaver from the 1968 ballot. The state courts at the lower level ruled that this law did not effect presidential & vice-presidential candidates.

But the Court of Appeals overruled them. After the court decision, the Secretary of State of New York announced he would request the Legislature to specify that the Judy White law does, indeed, apply to presidential & vice-presidential candidates. However, this action was not taken.

3. We can qualify by submitting a petition of 12,000 names. Any voter can sign. There is no longer any distribution requirement since the SWP & SLP challenged it in court.
4. SWP was on the ballot state-wide in 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970. SWP petitions for state-wide office were invalidated on technicalities in 1946 and 1956.
5. State-wide contest in 1972: probably a Justice of the Appeals Court
6. Branch: NEW YORK. YSA locals also in ALBANY, BINGHAMTON, LONG ISLAND

NORTH CAROLINA

1. 13 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. Petitions bearing the names of 10,000 voters must be submitted. Any voter can sign and there is no distribution requirement. The party must pay 5¢ for each name submitted; this could cost over \$700.
4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, Member Board of Education, Supreme Court Justice
6. YSA locals: none

NORTH DAKOTA

1. 3 presidential electors. Full slate is required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify by submitting a petition of 300 names. Any voter can sign and there is no distribution requirement.
4. SWP was on the ballot in 1960, 1964, and 1968.
5. State-wide contests: Congressman-at-large, Governor-Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney General, Corporation Commissioner, Supt. of Public Instruction

6. YSA locals: none

OHIO

1. 25 presidential electors. Full slate is required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Party candidates must state they are qualified when they file for the primary; and Independent candidates must so state on their petition.
3. In 1969 the Ohio legislature eased the requirements so that 7% of the last vote was needed on a party petition, and 4% on an Independent petition. Both of these requirements were found still too harsh by a 3-judge federal court in 1970, and the legislature will now probably change the requirement for both types of petition to 1%.
4. SWP has never been on the state ballot.
5. State-wide contest in 1972: Auditor
6. BRANCH: CLEVELAND. YSA locals also in CINCINNATI, COLUMBUS, OXFORD, YELLOW SPRINGS

OKLAHOMA

1. 7 presidential electors. Full slate is probably required. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. All candidates in Oklahoma must have entered a primary in order to be placed on the general election ballot, or must have filed as Independents. In both cases, they must file a statement of qualification.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition of 5,000 names. After the petitions have been accepted and approved, candidates for elector must change their registration to "SOCIALIST WORKERS" and file in the SWP primary. This procedure conflicts with the deadline for changing one's registration, but the State Supreme Court of Oklahoma permitted the deadline to be set aside for George Wallace in 1968. There are no plans to revise the election law, according to the Secretary of the State Elections Board.
4. The SWP has never appeared on the Oklahoma ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator
6. YSA local: NORMAN

OREGON

1. 6 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. Oregon law requires either a nominating convention attended by 1,000 voters, or a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 5% of the last congressional election. This means approximately 32,000 signatures. An Independent nominating petition requires signatures equal in number to 3% of the last presidential vote, or 24,589 signatures.
4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Treasurer
6. Branch: PORTLAND

PENNSYLVANIA

1. 27 presidential electors. Partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the Pennsylvania ballot by submitting a petition signed by voters equal in number to 1% of the vote received by the winning candidate for State Supreme Court Justice in November 1971. This will be 10,000-12,000 signatures, probably. The signatures must be obtained in a particular period of 3 weeks. Any voter can sign; no distribution requirement.
4. SWP was on the ballot state-wide in 1948, 1950, 1952, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1970, and on the ballot in part of the state in 1954.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: Auditor, Treasurer, perhaps Judge of the Supreme Court or of the Superior Court
6. Branch: PHILADELPHIA

RHODE ISLAND

1. 4 presidential electors. SWP filed complete slate in 1968. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by submitting a petition signed by 500 voters. Any voter can sign, but if he signs he is not permitted to vote in a primary for the following 26 months. There is no distribution requirement.

4. SWP was on the ballot in 1968 and 1970.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Attorney General
6. YSA local: PROVIDENCE

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. 8 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. A petition signed by 10,000 voters must be submitted to qualify. Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.
4. The SWP has never appeared on the South Carolina ballot.
5. State-wide contest in 1972: U.S. Senator
6. YSA local: none

SOUTH DAKOTA

1. 4 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. Unknown if there is distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. South Dakota law requires a petition signed by voters equal in number to 2% of the last gubernatorial vote. This means 4,748 signatures. By this method, the name "SOCIALIST WORKERS" would not appear on the ballot. Instead, "INDEPENDENT" would be printed.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Auditor, Treasurer, Supt. of Public Instruction, Clerk of the Supreme Court
6. YSA local: none

TENNESSEE

1. 10 presidential electors. In practice, full slate is required. There is a distribution requirement for electors (Chap. 4, sec. 2-401).
2. Judy White law? No.

3. We can qualify for the ballot as Independents if we submit a petition signed by 25 voters. Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement. The 1972 legislature is scheduled to completely revise Tennessee election laws.
4. The SWP has never been on the ballot. In 1968 we filed a petition on behalf of one candidate for elector, but the petition was rejected without cause.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Public Service Commissioner
6. YSA locals: MURFREESBORO, NASHVILLE

TEXAS

1. 26 presidential electors. Full slate is probably required. There is no distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. Texas law requires a state convention attended by at least one delegate from each of twenty counties. In addition, a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 1% of the previous vote for governor must be filed. This means 22,253 signatures. There is no distribution requirement. However, a signer must not have voted in that year's primary. Furthermore, only twenty days are provided in which to obtain these signatures. This petition requirement did not exist before 1967.
4. The SWP has never been on the ballot. There was a write-in campaign in 1970.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Treasurer, Comptroller, Attorney General, member of the Railroad Commission, State Land Commissioner
6. Branches: AUSTIN, HOUSTON. YSA locals also in EL PASO and DALLAS-FORT WORTH

UTAH

1. 4 presidential electors. SWP filed a complete slate in 1968. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Candidate must declare candidacy and state he is qualified, in order to be chosen at primary convention (which the SWP must hold). In 1968, the Peace & Freedom Party appeared on the ballot with a blank spot for president, but with a vice-presidential candidate printed on the ballot. We do not know if this was because Eldridge Cleaver was underage or not.

3. We can qualify for the ballot by submitting a petition signed by 500 voters, qualifying the party; then by holding a convention of any attendance; and then apparently submitting a second petition of 500 names to qualify the candidates chosen at the convention. Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.
4. The SWP was on the ballot in 1948, 1960, and 1968.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney General, Supt. of Public Instruction
6. YSA local: LOGAN

VERMONT

1. 3 presidential candidates. SWP filed full slate in 1968. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot if we submit a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 1% of the 1970 gubernatorial vote. This requires 1,503 signatures. Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.
4. The SWP was on the ballot for the first time in 1968.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Attorney General, Congressman-at-large
6. YSA local: none

VIRGINIA

1. 12 presidential electors. A complete slate is required. There is a distribution requirement but it is not enforced.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 1/2% of the state registration on January 1, 1972. This is likely to be 6,000-7,500 signatures. This is a new law, passed in 1969. Previously only 1,000 signatures were required. Any voter can sign. There is no distribution requirement.

There is also a requirement that the SWP have a state chairman and state executive committee no later than March 1, 1972.

4. The SWP has never appeared on the Virginia ballot.

5. State-wide contest in 1972: U.S. Senator, governor
6. YSA local: none

WASHINGTON

1. 9 presidential electors. The SWP has always filed a complete slate. There is no distribution requirement.
2. Judy White law? YES. Candidates nominated by convention must file a statement of qualification. However, this apparently doesn't apply to presidential & vice-presidential candidates. Cleaver and Zagarell were on the Washington ballot in 1968, and both were under age 35.
3. We can qualify for the ballot by holding a nominating convention with an attendance of either (1) 100 voters who do not vote in the primary, or (2) 70 voters who do not vote in the primary, provided there are ten voters from each of the 7 congressional districts.
4. The SWP was on the ballot in 1946, 1948, 1952, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1970, and on the ballot in part of the state in 1950.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney General, State Land Commissioner, Supt. of Public Instruction.
6. Branch: SEATTLE

WEST VIRGINIA

1. 6 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. There is no distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Petition must state that candidates named thereon are qualified.
3. The law requires a petition signed by a number of voters equal to one percent of the vote for the office which the petition pertains to. This means 7,543 signatures. There is no distribution requirement, but voters who sign must not have voted at the primary. Petition-gatherers must reside in the district in which they gather signatures. There is a penalty of one year in jail and \$1000 fine for any signature-gatherer who misrepresents the purpose of the petition to a voter. This penalty was applied against a member of the Communist Party in 1940, Oscar Wheeler, and he was imprisoned.
4. The SWP has never been on the ballot.

5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, Superintendent of Public Education, Clerk of the Supreme Court, Justice of the Supreme Court.
6. YSA local: none

WISCONSIN

1. 11 presidential electors. Complete slate is required. There is a distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? YES. Independent candidates must file, with the petition, a declaration of qualification.
3. The SWP can qualify for the ballot by filing a petition signed by 3,000 voters. Anyone who is registered to vote may sign, and there is no distribution requirement.
4. The SWP was on the ballot state-wide in 1948, 1950, 1952, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1968, 1970, and on the ballot in part of the state in 1954 and 1966.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: none
6. YSA locals: LACROSSE, MADISON, MILWAUKEE, OSHKOSH

WYOMING

1. 3 presidential electors. Unknown if partial slate is permissible. No distribution requirement for electors.
2. Judy White law? No.
3. The law requires a petition signed by a number of voters equal to 5% of the last vote for Congressman. This requires approximately 5,850 signatures. Any voter can sign and there is no distribution requirement.
4. SWP has never been on the ballot.
5. State-wide contests in 1972: U.S. Senator, Congressman-at-large
6. YSA local: none

KEY ISSUES ON WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE TO CHALLENGE ELECTION LAW

1. **FILING FEES.** Some states and cities require large "taxes" from candidates who have otherwise qualified for the ballot. Suits against exorbitant filing fees usually (1) plead that the filing fees impose an unconstitutionally high burden on the right to run for office; (2) plead that the candidates filing suit are too poor to pay the fee. The outstanding successes for this type of suit have been before 3-judge federal courts, Jeness vs. Little (1969) and Georgia SWP vs. Fortson (1970). These decisions knocked over filing fees of \$5000 to run for Mayor of Atlanta, \$1200 to run for Alderman in Atlanta, \$2500 to run for Governor of Georgia, and \$1500 to run for congressman from Georgia, for all candidates who are willing to state that they cannot afford to pay them. The SWP filed a similar suit in 1970 in Washington, and the Peace & Freedom Party filed one in 1970 in California. Both of these suits are still unresolved.
2. **LOYALTY OATHS.** Some states and local governments require candidates to sign "loyalty" oaths before their names will be placed on the ballot. Lisker vs. Kelly, initiated by the SWP against Pennsylvania, reached the U. S. Supreme Court, but that court upheld the state on March 1, 1971, 6-3. In Illinois, a case initiated by the SWP before a 3-judge federal court is still pending.
3. **DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS FOR QUALIFYING PETITIONS.** Most states require petitions in order to qualify a new or small party for the ballot. Some states require these petitions be signed by voters from all parts of the state. Under the "One Man, One Vote" decisions of the Supreme Court in the 1960's, these laws may be unconstitutional. Favorable decisions have been won in Illinois (Moore vs. Ogilvie, 1969, and SWP vs. Ogilvie, 1970), Michigan (SWP vs. Hare, 1970), New York (SWP vs. Rockefeller, 1970) and Ohio (Williams vs. Rhodes, 1968). Similar requirements still exist in Delaware, Florida, Missouri and Massachusetts.
4. **LARGE NUMBER OF SIGNATURES FOR QUALIFYING PETITIONS.** Some states require so many signatures on qualifying petitions that rarely can any third party or ticket succeed in getting on the ballot. The only successful suits of this type have been in Ohio and New Mexico. Ohio originally required 15% of the voters to sign a third party petition, and 7% to sign an Independent candidate's petition. In Williams vs. Rhodes, the U. S. Supreme Court in 1968 invalidated this law and allowed George Wallace to be on the Ohio ballot. The following year, the Ohio legislature passed a 7% requirement

for parties, and a 4% requirement for Independents, as substitutes for the old laws which were no longer valid. These new laws were also invalidated (SLP vs. Rhodes, Sweetenham vs. Rhodes) in 1970 by a 3-judge federal court, on the same grounds. The legislature will probably now pass a 1% requirement. In New Mexico, a petition of 5% was invalidated by the State Supreme Court, 1970. The SWP case against Georgia's 5% requirement was heard March 1, 1971, in the U. S. Supreme Court, and a decision is expected before May 1, 1971. Suits against California's 10% petition (Fagg vs. Sullivan, filed May 5, 1970) and Massachusetts' 3% petition (SWP vs. Davoren, filed July 31, 1970), were dismissed because the 3-judge federal courts in each case felt there was too little time remaining before the November election.

It should be noted that it is possible to file a single suit against several different points in the law. Williams vs. Rhodes dealt with distribution requirements, write-in privileges and the large number of signatures required on a petition. Georgia SWP vs. Fortson dealt with filing fees and the number of signatures required.

It should also be noted that it is important to file these suits early. 1970 suits in California and Massachusetts were rejected by the courts solely on the grounds that they were filed too late.

QUALIFYING FOR THE BALLOT DEADLINES

- ALABAMA: File declarations of candidacy on March 1.
Hold convention on May 2 (if nominated by petition, file on May 2)
File anytime between May 3 and September 7.
- ALASKA: File petition before May 1.
- ARIZONA: File petition for new party between July 12 and August 12.
Or file petition for independent September 22 (there is no limit to when petition for new party can begin, but signatures for independent petition cannot be gathered until September 13).
Candidates in SWP primary must file concurrently.
- ARKANSAS: File petition by June 20.
- CALIFORNIA: For independent petition: circulate starting August 28.
Finish by September 21.
For new party: Petition or registration changes must be done by January 5.
For write-ins: file before September 7.
- COLORADO: Start circulating no sooner than September 12. File by September 22.
- CONNECTICUT: Start petitioning toward end of 1971. File by September 5.
- DELAWARE: File declaration to form a new party by July 15.
File petition by September 1.
- DISTRICT: File by August 15.
- FLORIDA: File by August 15.
- GEORGIA: File by September 22. All signatures must be obtained within a 6-month period. Also file declaration of candidacy by September 22.
- HAWAII: No specified date for holding party convention. File by October 15.
- IDAHO: Petitioning for independent can start August 9. File for independent by September 22.
- ILLINOIS: File by August 21.
- INDIANA: File by September 1.
- IOWA: File between August 14 and September 3.
- KANSAS: File as new party April 20.
- KENTUCKY: Start petitioning no earlier than January 1.
File by April 5.

LOUISIANA: File by September 19.

MAINE: Begin petitioning no earlier than January 1.
File by August 15.

MARYLAND: File by August 2.

MASSACHUSETTS: File by July 25.

MICHIGAN: File party petition by May 7. Petitions must be gathered within a 6-month period.
Hold convention anytime after May 7 and before September 2.
Forward names of nominees within 24 hours after convention has adjourned.

MINNESOTA: Start petitioning no earlier than July 4.
File by September 5.

MISSISSIPPI: File by September 28.

MISSOURI: File between August 14 and August 21.

MONTANA: File by August 9.

NEBRASKA: Hold convention sometime before August 29.

NEVADA: File between June 12 and July 14.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: File by September 28.

NEW JERSEY: File by April 26. No method exists for changing the names of the candidates who are named on the petition, after the signatures have been gathered.

NEW MEXICO: The procedures in New Mexico are being totally revised.

NEW YORK: Signatures must be gathered in a 6-week period. File between October 3 and October 10.

NORTH CAROLINA: File petition for qualifying party by July 6.
Certify candidates by August 1.

NORTH DAKOTA: File by September 28.

OHIO: File February 2 (90 days before primary. Primary is first Tuesday after the first Monday in May).

OKLAHOMA: Present election law does not give date by which petition must be filed. Party must certify candidates for elector between May 9 and August 8.

OREGON: File between July 29 and August 28.

PENNSYLVANIA: Begin petitioning no earlier than February 16.
File before March 8.

RHODE IS.: File by August 15. Secretary of State will not provide petition blanks until July 15.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Petition to qualify new party may be filed "at any time." Convention nominees must be certified by September 8.

SOUTH DAKOTA: File by August 9.

TENNESSEE: File by September 28.

TEXAS: Petition gathering may begin no earlier than May 6.
File by May 26.

UTAH: Three actions must be taken in sequence, and all three must be complete before September 12. The three actions are a petition of 500 names, a state convention, and another petition of 500 names.

VERMONT: File between September 8 and September 21.

VIRGINIA: Party must have state chairman and state executive committee by MARCH 8.
File by September 8.

WASHINGTON: Hold convention on September 12.

WEST VIRGINIA: File by April 8.

WISCONSIN: File by September 19.
Petition-gathering may begin no earlier than August 1.

WYOMING: File between August 9 and September 28.

FILING DATES IN CALENDAR ORDER

1. January 5 California
2. February 2 Ohio
3. March 8 Pennsylvania
4. April 5 Kentucky
5. April 8 West Virginia
6. April 20 Kansas
7. April 26 New Jersey
8. May 1 Alaska
9. May 2 1 Alabama
10. May 7 Michigan
11. May 26 Texas
12. June 20 Arkansas
13. July 6 North Carolina
14. July 14 Nevada
15. July 25 Massachusetts
16. August 2 Maryland
17. August 9 Montana, South Dakota
18. August 12 Arizona
19. August 15 District Columbia, Florida, Maine, Rhode Island
20. August 21 Illinois, Missouri
21. August 28 Oregon
22. August 29 Nebraska
23. September 1 Delaware, Indiana
24. September 3 Iowa
25. September 5 Connecticut, Minnesota
26. September 8 Virginia
27. September 12 Utah, Washington
28. September 19 Louisiana, Wisconsin
29. September 21 Vermont
30. September 22 Colorado, Georgia, Idaho
31. September 28 Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Tennessee, Wyoming
32. October 10 New York
33. October 15 Hawaii