

CARTON 142

THE GUARDIAN

CORRESPONDENCE FROM JACK SMITH,  
GUARDIAN SHAKE-UP

1969

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From JACK May 6, 1969

bob

the attached tries to explain in detail what happened in last month's staff shakeup. sorry i'm so late, but there has been an incredible amount

~~amount~~ of work to do to hold things together. not only that but

we gotta change for the better quickly--so there have been meetings dealing with improving the quality of the cooperative as well as meetings dealing with improving the quality of the newspaper.

we just agreed on a new schedule for the editorial side--with monday and tuesday off and the workday for the rest of the week beginning at 8 a.m. the hope is to rationalize the ~~workload~~ work with a structure which builds in a 47 hour week, instead of the rather chaotic 55 plus hour week most of us have been handling.

i dont have the letter you sent about working part time, but the cc met and agreed to go along with anything you propose. so do it. as far as the coast is concerned--i've not at all dropped the idea of a west coast guardian. i realize that's not too high on your order of priorities now, but keep it in mind. ideally, i'd like to come out to the coast someday and help start one. (how's that for openers?).

I've got so damn much to say that it ~~just can't be said adequately~~ just can't be said adequately in a letter.

would it be possible for us to get together sometime ~~soon~~ soon, to discuss the paper -- which still, and more than ever, has the potential it ever had -- the west coast operation, west coast paper, simultaneous publication, western circulation etc., as well as a lot of things pertaining to new york, guardian plans, etc.

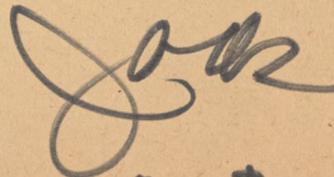


ever the optimist, i really think we've got 100,000 circulation in our future if we just found the right combination. oh, we'll probably not get together, but i must admit to a passing interest in getting out west sometime and perhaps you have an interest in visiting east. let's see. by the way, you're not interested in the general manager's job are you? since we dropped titles, it's not ~~really that job~~ called that, but the job function exists, of course. and the function should be a hell of a lot more creative than it has been, but that depends on the person.

i've just decided to attach another document, a pitch to a group called cambridge iron and steel (just a bunch of movement people who were given \$100,000 to give away and we're trying to get part of it), instead of going into any lengthy bullshit about what we've got in the works. the pitch is basically correct, though optative. read it and return please. **ALSO RETURN**

**OTHER MEMOS (NO COPIES) -- EXCEPT FOR "STAFF SHAKEN" MEMO -- PLS...**  
hell, there just ~~isn't~~ ain't adequate time for anything anymore.

gotta sign off but let's keep in touch



PS- What's happening with The Berkeley  
PARK TAKEOVER? J.

May 6, 1969

To: **Bob**

From: Jack Smith

Re: Guardian staff shakeup

Several months ago, when we recognized the need to reorganize the Guardian's business operations, Bill Rose -- then foreign editor -- was chosen by the staff as acting general manager until a permanent replacement was found. Bill was not anxious to take this job, but he placed the needs of the paper ahead of his personal desires. A permanent general manager was sought, but as month succeeded month it became apparent that this was a difficult position to fill, requiring a combination of skills -- administrative, organizational, leadership, business, journalistic and political -- not available in abundance in the radical movement.

Ultimately, Bill had to act "as if" he had the permanent responsibility to reorganize the business side of the paper, because each delay was a setback for the Guardian. After three months it was decided Bill would remain in his "acting" capacity indefinitely, and the coordinating committee agreed to build a new "team" in the business department with Bill in charge. A permanent general manager was still sought, a search encouraged by Bill's desire to return to the foreign desk, but the order of the day was to reorganize immediately.

I was chosen to seek out John Duffett -- an occasional writer for the paper and a trained executive -- as a possible manager of the advertising-promotion-circulation departments, the specific areas where the permanent financial stability of the paper is to be found. John agreed to act as a consultant to the paper for a month -- his final status depending on the resolution of a health problem and his own analysis of the Guardian's finances and plans for reorganization.

At the end of a month John agreed to stay on until the job was done but in no event -- according to my interpretation -- more than six to 12 months.

Elizabeth Fink, a new worker finally given the title "assistant general manager," functioned as business manager. Leonard Liggio, an old friend of the paper and a personal friend of John's, was hired under the formal title of business manager. He worked part time, generally in the area of attempting to raise money. Peter Henig, who was hired last year in the editorial department, joined Bill, John, Elizabeth and Leonard in April to work on circulation. This

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This was the business management "team" which left the Guardian April 16 after John was fired by the staff by vote of 16-5 -- a decision based on the belief that John's business methods, though many of the goals may have been laudable, were leading inevitably to the destruction of the concept of workers' control of the Guardian. I shared this belief.

It is necessary here to separate theoretical goals from practice; and to separate both from results.

The expressed goal of the business management "team" was more efficient production, cost-effectiveness, development of independent revenue and generally bringing the Guardian's business side up to date with the editorial side of the paper, which had been reorganized nearly two years earlier and was reorganized again on a more efficient basis a year ago.

Although some workers were not convinced the proposed changes would be effective, the staff overwhelmingly endorsed the new goals and certain specific projects. I myself less than three months ago publicly expressed confidence in the new business "team."

The factors leading to John's dismissal had little to do with these goals -- many of which we are now attempting to fulfill, despite being crippled by the walkout of four key workers -- but with the methods used to implement some of the goals. The staff considered these methods to be destructively authoritarian and bourgeois. Decisions were thoroughly top-down. Workers who did not fall into line were harrassed. The elbow, instead of persuasion, appeared to be the method of implementation. And when the elbow didn't work, vicious rumors and charges were spread, including accusations of sabotage, theft and (I shall not repeat them) far worse. These charges, none of which was ever proved or even really defended, were circulated surreptitiously, mostly by John. The workers involved were never confronted.

I do not believe these methods would ever have been tolerated by the staff, even if they actually produced results. The fact it, however -- and perhaps it was too short a time to fairly judge -- the results were slim. No promotion work was being done. Advertising gains were the result of moving a worker from editorial to the advertising department for two months, where she set up a new system. Circulation work was utterly neglected. In the last weeks of John's job at the Guardian a preliminary circulation plan was devised after some bitterness between John and myself. John's orientation had been that no effective circulation drive could begin until adequate funding was acquired at some future date. My argument was that we must move on circulation immediately with the resources available, improvising where necessary. We disagreed also over the merit of newsstand distribution, with me arguing that this was of critical import. The preliminary circulation plan hardly dealt with newsstands, nor did it discuss the strategy of building circulation. Elizabeth reorganized the Guardian's book-

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keeping system. Financially, despite a great deal of activity in the area of fundraising, the paper was as badly off this spring as last fall, when the former business management was replaced. Money had been saved by reducing personnel and by holding down on spending, but these were not growth factors. The major accomplishment was removing our subscription department to a fulfillment house. Whether or not this has been a net gain remains to be seen.

Throughout this period staff doubts about the new business "team" began to percolate, particularly after business department workers began to approach editorial department workers with their grievances. There was also a deep sentiment that John was running the show entirely, even though it was Bill and not John whom the staff had entrusted business department authority. The business "team," if I am not mistaken, began to see itself as an embattled circle of knights fending off a recalcitrant or indifferent staff. This led to a clannishness which only irritated the situation. Workers began to talk about the "clique" in charge of the business department.

John was singled out by the business department workers and other staffers as the source of trouble due to his authoritarianism and rumor-mongering. Only a tiny minority of workers opposed John because of some of his business goals. I was approached by two workers and asked to intervene. Early in April, a group composed of Carl Davidson, Randy Furst, Marta Kusic, Margie Stamberg, Leslie Sinsley, Susan Suthem and myself met to discuss the situation. I was delegated to speak to Leonard. I did, raising the points mentioned earlier. Leonard agreed that some of John's methods would have to be changed. He also stated that he totally identified with the goals and that if action were taken against John he (Leonard) would have no option but to resign. Leonard felt that John could be encouraged to engage in serious self-criticism at a staff meeting scheduled on April 16 and that this, coupled with a reversal of certain practices, could take care of the situation. I met with Bill several days later, repeating my conversation with Leonard, attempting to impress upon him the depth of staff sentiment on the question. Bill, too, understood that John should engage in self-criticism but said that he (Bill) also completely identified with the goals and would likewise leave were John dismissed. I told Bill that the staff retained confidence in him as a worker and revolutionary and that he and Leonard were not being held responsible for John's behavior.

If anything could have saved John's job at the Guardian it would have been complete and sincere self-criticism, absolute withdrawal of his wilder charges against Guardian workers and disclosure of a plan of future action which would have eliminated the bad practices. I say this even though a clear majority of the staff

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was convinced John had to be fired before the meeting. Had he elected to completely reverse himself in these matters, I think he would not have been fired.

On the day of the staff meeting, Bill, John, Elizabeth, Leonard and Peter virtually asked to be fired. (Indeed, one of their number proposed this formally and they all voted to fire themselves. They were not joined by more than two of the rest of the staff, so only John was actually fired.)

At the meeting, John admitted to confusion but was incapable of engaging in serious self criticism. Several of his charges against staff workers were repeated (for the first time publicly) -- again without any proof. Elizabeth chose to repeat the charge that one staff worker was a "thief," but could not under questioning produce an iota of evidence. The Guardian's women's caucus was castigated. The charge of "power play" was made by the business "team." The upshot was the inability of the five workers involved to take the rest of the staff seriously. After the vote was taken to fire John, I publicly asked Bill and Leonard specifically to remain with the paper, but they -- along with Elizabeth, Peter and Bob Dudnick, who had been on the editorial staff four months and had contemplated leaving for other reasons -- resigned without notice. This was done the day after Bill told me "the Guardian won't last two weeks if we all walk out."

The Guardian has lasted two weeks and will last a great deal longer. But it's very difficult. Not only did the "team" walk out on the spot -- creating a fantastic vacuum and a temporary halt to business operations -- but our financial condition is as bad if not worse than before this group took over. In addition we have to begin circulation and promotion work from scratch. We may also very well lose a \$20,000 grant we sought from a movement group because Bill and Leonard were the contact people for the money and it's doubtful their walkout inspires confidence in the Guardian.

The staff has been operating under emergency discipline since the walkout, with workers being shifted from one job to the next depending on what needs to be done. Pearl Nowygród, our typesetter, is taking care of promotion; Leslie Sinsley, who worked in the mail room, is moved into advertising; Elizabeth Bell shifted from the art department to circulation (but a personal problem has forced her to take an immediate leave of absence); Marta and Irving Beinin have been moved to the business department temporarily until a permanent structure is settled on.

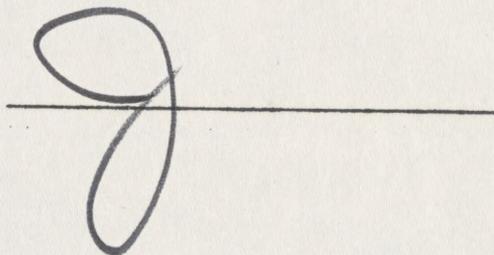
Combined with these moves has been a general understanding by the staff that the nature of the Guardian cooperative must be changed for the better. Several meetings have already been held in efforts to eliminate bad practices unrelated to the John Duffett episode. The cooperative was in bad health, and it was beginning to affect the paper. Right now -- in the midst of attempting to create order out of chaos -- we are also devoting attention to the problem of contradictions within the cooperative; the development of a solid politics and revolutionary criticism and self-criticism

(i.e., power-drunk "CRAZIES")

← R.F. NOW MANNING FOR CIRCULATION DURATION...

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and the reinvigoration of the paper itself. It is understood that the newspaper (the superstructure) is as good or bad as the foundation (the cooperative); that the most extensive and creative plans for improving the editorial product or the business department cannot succeed in an atmosphere of distrust, individualism and political confusion. The problems are great but I believe we are making progress in building a radical cooperative, and thus a better radical newspaper.

A handwritten signature, possibly 'J', is written over a horizontal line.

to all hands  
from jack may 7

RLA  
#41

the editorial department agreed at a meeting today to reorganize the 4th floor ~~work~~ workweek.

all writers, editors are off monday and tuesday. art department and typesetters are making own schedules. in all probability some of them, too, shall be off these days.

the work day for the editorial department will begin at 8 a.m. <sup>in the morning,</sup> brief meetings will be held ~~at 9 a.m.~~ the workday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday will end at 5 p.m.; on Saturday and Sunday at 6 p.m. (with the exception of a 2 p.m. to midnight --or conclusion--worker, varying every week). The hope is that work hours for the 4th floor can be reduced to a regular 47 hours a week, leaving people time for political and social involvements.

THE STAFF MEETING, of all staff, will be changed to Wednesday, about 3 p.m.

The new schedule for 4th floor goes into effect Monday, May 12.

jack

## FINANCIAL REPORT ON THE GUARDIAN

This report is a compilation of two months of work by a business staff which is committed to redefining The Guardian on a financial level so that it will be consistent with the paper's new editorial policies. When we took control of the business department on February 7, 1969, we immediately set about to investigate every aspect of the financial operation in order to understand why the paper was so heavily in debt and consequently in danger of closing. What we found was gross inefficiency, resulting in a system which lost money on every level and, more important, which subverted the radical policies of the paper. The Guardian was operating on a system which may have been viable in 1948 but was hopelessly outmoded in 1969. Realizing this, we have instituted a program geared for efficiently systematizing the intra-organizational business operations, increasing the circulation drastically through promotion and a re-definition of our readership, and establishing programs which will be valuable politically as well as self-sustaining financially. However, our program is hopelessly encumbered by a \$35,000 debt which destroys any system of long range planning since we do not have the capital necessary to implement programs which eventually will be productive. More immediate, the debt constantly maintains the crisis situation of the paper and undermines the morale of the staff. Unless we can alleviate this debt, our fight will be an impossible one, resulting either in an inability to implement our procedures or, more probably, eventual bankruptcy.

This report is an attempt to define the past financial situation of the paper and to illustrate the steps we have taken and would like to take, given the capital, to place the Guardian in a position where it would be self-supporting and consequently able to grow as an important political tool against a repressive society. The Guardian is the most important newspaper of the New Left and its demise would be an unconscionable loss to an already stricken Movement. This statement effectively portrays our financial situation and programs, the basic facts and reasons concerning our loss of old left support and finally our belief in the necessity for the Guardian's continued existence in America today.

Our first action upon taking control of the business department was an attempt to understand the exact state of the Guardian's

financial situation. We found that this task was almost impossible since the books were kept in an unbelievably haphazard fashion. The general ledger indicating income and expenditures was not kept in the office but was in the possession of an uncertified accountant who posted them using unsubstantiated figures as sources. This meant that a complete analysis of income and expenditures was never known by the business manager and that when a report was made, it was two months late and consequently useless; this resulted in a complete lack of budgetal planning. Moreover, money was so short that it was appropriated immediately with no thought to its best possible use. Bills were paid infrequently, resulting in an almost daily crisis over some large unpaid bill. We found that, for the most part, bills had not been paid for six months. This meant that there were no available supplies, since we owed seven different printers over \$6000. The machines and services essential to the creation of the paper, such as UPI, IBM (for typesetting), Varitypers, telegrams and cables, were about to be shut off unless payment was made; envelopes necessary for renewals and consequently to generating a large source of our income were unattainable. Bills, exclusive of correspondents' and photographers' fees (which had not been paid for over a year) totalled \$25,000, coupled with a bank deficit of \$10,000, brought our total deficit to \$35,000.

Finally, the bank balance was never recorded; therefore important checks were returned for insufficient funds. A typical example of this involved issuing a bad check to our printer who is in bankruptcy and consequently controlled by the Federal Bankruptcy Court. This bad check almost brought about our end; it was averted by our immediately covering it. With this example of gross inefficiency as a warning, we then resolved to investigate every area of the paper whose function was to create income, believing that these areas would be the key to resolving our financial difficulties.

Our first area of study was the fulfillment department which maintains the mailing list and bills subscriptions. After a few weeks of learning the system, we found that it was so out of date that the cost of processing a subscription exceeded the price of the sub. This was due, for the most part, to the excessive complexity of the system. Four cross-reference files which required constant attention were unnecessarily utilized in order that subs be kept up to date. In addition, there were ten different subscription categories which had to be maintained. The amount of detail work necessary- for maintenance of this system resulted in people getting the paper for years after they had stopped paying. An example of this is a quote from a letter found in the cancellation file. "I wonder if your paper is any more accurate than your records. I have never contributed to the Guardian and my subscription ran out in December---3 or 4 years ago." Not only was the system unadministratable, but the fulfillment machines were 40 years old, were in need of constant repairs, and made so much noise that it was almost impossible to work on the business floor. Moreover, one staff member spent hours each

week remaking address plates which were destroyed by the machine during the running of the mailing list.

In a very short time, we realized that the fulfillment department would have to be changed. Five people plus volunteers were needed to service a system which should have only used two at the most. The expense of this department was unheard of; salaries alone totalled \$20,000 a year--one-fourth of the total salary outlay. It cost us approximately \$20 to service every \$10 sub, and we realized that one of our first jobs would be to re-organize fulfillment.

Our next area of study was the department geared at Movement and campus promotion--the bundle and sub-agent program. Once again, our findings were horrifying. We found that bundles were sent to anyone who asked for them, with absolutely no analysis of the cost involved. Bundle agents were carried on our books indefinitely; there were people who had not paid for over a year and were still receiving as many as 50 papers a week. There was absolutely no administration of the purpose of the program--which was to circulate the paper on campuses throughout the country so that people would be familiar with the Guardian and consequently want to subscribe. What we were doing was actually the opposite: we were providing free newspapers to potential subscribers. This, however, was the lesser of two evils since it was reported to us that on many campuses, bundles were left on the shelf without ever being opened. We were spending 5¢ a paper so that it could gather dust in some office. Consequently, it came as no surprise to us when we found out that we had lost \$12,000 on the program in 1968 alone.

The sub-agent program was smaller and consequently the loss was less, but the effect was the same. People were commissioned to sell subs; for this, they got half the profit and a free sub as an added incentive. Once again, there was no screening of applicants so that agents were kept who were inefficient when someone else could have been found on that campus who would have been committed. We found a sub-agent at Berkeley who had sold five subs on a politically-active campus of 30,000. The result of these programs was that there was no promotion of the Guardian on college campuses; in fact we were driving people away at a cost to us of \$17,000 a year.

From campus promotion, we went to the pamphlet program, another potential source of income on campuses. The findings there were similar. We had published pamphlets without getting sufficient estimates from a variety of printers and with no analysis of the quantity that could be sold. Moreover, when we did sell pamphlets, we virtually refused to collect money for them. SDS purchased 600 pamphlets during the summer; a purchase which necessitated the running of a second printing. A few months later, they called the office and said that they had gotten some money and consequently would be willing to pay us if they received a bill. A bill was never sent and the money was not collected. Finally, articles in the paper which were potential profitable pamphlets and more important, were very valuable politically were not published due to carelessness and lack of planning.

The other publishing disaster was the establishment of Guardian Books to publish Vietnam Will Win! by Wilfred Burchett. This book was supposed to be the first of a politically and financially important publishing house, set up as a subsidiary of the Guardian. This time, gross inefficiencies resulted not only in the quick demise of Guardian Books but also in a substantial loss on the book itself, even though Burchett's books had consistently made money for International Publishers, his former house. Once again, carelessness brought about incredible

inefficiencies. The book was typeset wrong, resulting in an added expense of \$600, and the paste-ups were not adequately proof-read so that any printing of a second edition would necessitate an inordinate amount of work due to the large number of corrections. Finally, the money that did come in from the book was spent unwisely so that when the printing bill became due, it brought about another financial crisis which still exists at this moment since only one-third of the \$4500 has been paid.

Last but not least in our study was the typesetting equipment which the Guardian had leased from IBM at the cost of \$900 a month. When the contract was made, IBM told the Guardian that in order to make the leasing viable, the machines should be run 20 hours a day. They estimated that we should make at least \$50,000 a year. As of February, there had been no solicitation of business; the only accounts we had were the ones which solicited us and the payment was minimal. Salaries cost us \$544 a month for typesetters, bringing the total cost for equipment, supplies, and salaries to \$1600 a month of which \$200 approximately was returned to us through outside business. Once again, we were throwing money away.

Finally, we turned to the only area of the paper which we believed would be income-producing--contributions--and found that, once again, the system devised to administer it was counter-productive. Because the business department thought that the Guardian could be supported by contributions as it was in the past, there was no attempt to make the Guardian self-sufficient. A study of our annual appeal illustrated to us that this belief was false. Due to the alienation of the old left by our new editorial policies which will be discussed later on, the appeal netted about 1/5 of what it had in past years. This was due to the complete absence of large contributions which had been our mainstay in the past. Not only were there no large contributions, but a pledge system was instituted which cost \$50 for every \$60 we took in. Under the pledge system, we gave away so many money-making articles, such as the Burchett book, pamphlets, free trial subs, that we destroyed a constraint source of income. The Guardian was still getting contributions but they were wholly inadequate to its needs---needs based on inefficiency and gross carelessness.

After a month of close study, we understood completely our reasons for being in an incredible hole. Not only were we \$35,000 in debt, but intolerable financial conditions existed. We were unable to pay adequate salaries (take-home pay for most of the staff is \$54.89) and on too frequent occasions we were unable to pay salaries at all. Solicitation of editorial talent was hindered by the inability to pay anything to correspondents. But the most telling fact was that most of the money were right back into the business department, which was twice as large as the editorial. It seemed as if the editorial staff was running the paper to support the business department. Every area of the financial system was self-defeating and it was painfully obvious to us that the paper was doomed unless drastic changes were effected immediately.

Our first action, which was instituted from the moment we took control, was to set up a book-keeping system which would give us an accurate account of our finances. The general ledger was brought back into the house and kept up-to-date so that we were kept aware of the relationship between our income and spending. We then attempted to liquidate a portion of our bank debt and have in fact cut it by more than half. We then tried to eliminate some of our unpaid bills, and have paid about \$5000 of it. Through budgetal planning, we set up priorities of things to be paid. First, we paid, for the most part in full, those debts which threatened to impede the actual production of the paper. This amounted to about \$8000. Nothing was done hastily, and this can

be shown through a comparison with the last month of the old regime, January, when we incurred a deficit of \$10,000, and February and March when we have come out ahead by about \$3000, all of it going into the bank to cut the deficit. The picture is still bleak as our income is barely enough to support us and is certainly incapable of liquidating a debt as sizeable as ours. For this reason, we have concentrated on systematizing areas which would be immediately income-producing.

Through a telephone solicitation campaign which entailed calling every subscriber in the New York City area, we raised about \$3800. We wrote scores of letters and made countless phone calls to people whom might possibly give us money. For the most part, this was unsuccessful due to our alienation of the old left, but we did raise about \$4000. In past years, the amount of solicitation we did would probably have produced close to \$100,000. With the realization that soliciting contributions was not going to save us, we turned to areas within the paper which could be made income-producing or, in some cases, could be stopped from being counter-productive.

Because we had a staff member who was experienced in advertising solicitations and who was willing to work unbelievably hard, we turned to advertising as our first venture in making a self-defeating area income-producing. On the simplest level, we went over the old advertising records and found that as far as we could tell since they were hideously inaccurate, about \$9000 was owed to us in back advertising over a period of two years. A great deal of the money was uncollectable due to the lack of cohesive records, but a system was devised in order to get as much of that money as we could. A general ledger was set up and a procedure of billing established with complete and accurate records. Most of the money is still outstanding, but the book-keeping has been systematized so that all bills sent out from the time we took control of the business department will be collected. The advertising manager keeps a careful watch over the books and refuses ads from those people who do not pay their bills. In this way, a substantial source of income will be maintained.

The establishment of a general ledger in advertising was the easiest part. The next step was to create a program which would increase advertising in the paper by 100%. A program of advertising solicitation was created. Direct contact with advertising agencies, book publishers, movement groups, and certain local stores was started. Teams of people went around soliciting, carrying with them promotional material explaining the significance of the Guardian. Scores of personal letters were written, and these were accompanied by the promotional brochures. In this way, the advertising department set up permanent contacts with people who would be interested in advertising in the Guardian. They set as their top priority book publishers with the idea of drawing up long-range contracts which would constantly produce money. This has been very successful; advertising has increased in 2 months from \$200 a month to \$2000 a month, thus proving to us that careful planning and hard work bring results.

The climax of the advertising campaign is a book supplement to be published late this week. Aside from being an immediate source of income, to date about \$3000, it will be a valuable supplement editorially. It will establish long-range contacts with the publishing industry. Finally, the advertising department has refused to lower its standards and screens every ad before it goes into the paper, proving that it is not necessary to sell one's soul in order to raise money.

After advertising, we then set about to institute our first long-range project. The fulfillment department had to be completely changed but the complexities of the system precluded its transformation overnight. The first step was to get rid of the out-of-date machines and one major area of inefficiency. The running of the mailing list was switched to an outside fulfillment house and one file was consequently eliminated, thus cutting down some of the hideously-detailed work. Some of the machines were then sold, making work much more bearable on the business floor.

The switching to a mailing house is only an intermediate step since our object is to completely computerize the subscription department. To this purpose, we have called in a computer expert who is also a movement person, and he is in the process of creating a new system which would be less expensive, more efficient, and necessitate only one staff member. Also, it will allow us to categorize our mailing list so that it could be broken down into different groups available in a second. With our present system, we can do nothing but mail the paper; the only filing is alphabetical or zip code, both of which are useless for any kind of specific mailing. Finally, the new system is being drawn up with the help of Computer MDS, thus involving movement groups in the actual running of the newspaper. With this new system, we hope to rid ourselves of one of the largest problems at the Guardian and make the fulfillment department into what it could be----our major source of income.

Our next long-range program is in circulation and promotion. By studying the information we have at hand, we have come to realize that we are not reaching the people we want to. Too many of our readers really dislike our policies and only read the paper for tradition's sake. There are thousands of students and young movement people throughout the country who are potential readers yet have not been reached, due to our counter-productive campus promotion and the complete lack of capital to start a successful promotion campaign. We feel that given the money necessary to implement it, we would be able to double circulation in a year and eventually attain a readership of over 100,000.

Our first step in promotion was to kill programs that were losing us both subs and money. We immediately dropped the majority of the bundle and sub agents. From now on, a system of accounting will be maintained and an agent will be evaluated regularly to judge his effectiveness.

A friend is about to give us a truck and this will constitute the major part of our circulation program. We intend to send a team out on the truck who will go from campus to campus and city to city nationally, promoting the Guardian through a variety of means: speeches, guerilla theatre, and a team of reporters. It is also a wonderful organizing method---travelling revolutionaries.

Finally our newstand contracts are being looked into with an eventual change in mind. Early on in our tenure, we switched our newstand dealer in NYC and doubled our newstand circulation. We are also beginning to establish movement contacts to distribute the paper nationally. Our national distributor is completely worthless---papers arrive on the West Coast three weeks late. We hope to be able to distribute the paper ourselves and have started this by organizing two contacts in Washington---movement people who are in the distribution business. We are looking out other cities in hopes of finding people like this.

Eventually we hope to have a network of movement distributors in every large city or college town. Unfortunately, we have no money to spend on circulation and are hindered by this in every program we set up. With \$10,000, we are sure that we could achieve and even exceed our goal of doubling circulation in a year.

After having run the business department for two months and noting the effectiveness of our programs, we feel that the paper would be more than self-sufficient if it were unencumbered by a deficit. With fulfillment completely computerized, an immense expense would be dropped. That money could be used to increase circulation. Planning could make every area of the paper either self-sustaining or income producing, as advertising has become.

Planning is now going on to make the pamphlets and typesetting profitable ventures. We are organizing a series of pamphlets which will be created by the various members of the editorial staff and administered efficiently by the business department. Research has proven to us that these will be in great demand by the movement and contacts are being established with the Radical Education Project and SDS. Typesetting also is being revised. We are soliciting business as we did in advertising, and hope to have, in the near future, the machines going 20 hours a day. We have hired new typesetters in order to handle the increase in business. The projected goal for typesetting is \$50,000, which would pay for expenses and make a profit of \$30,000.

We have also redefined our reliance on contributions. We will concentrate on maintaining a constant level of small contributions by starting an appeal system which runs four times annually. This will end the need of constantly maintaining the pledge file and we will be able to re-structure one person's job. But above all we have realized that contributions must be something extra to a self-supporting newspaper.

Studying our results over two months, we firmly believe that we will be able to support ourselves with possibly extra money to expand, given the alleviation of our debt, a little capital to invest in promotion, and time to implement our programs. We have figured out that we need about \$4000 a week to operate--or \$210,000 a year. Using our minimal figures, we figure our income to be as follows:

Subscriptions	\$150,000
Advertising	20,000
Typesetting	50,000
Pamphlets	10,000
Contributions	30,000
	<u>260,000</u>

And if our circulation doubles, that figure will increase by \$100,000. Our expenditures as they are now, do not reach this figure.

Telephones	8,000
Rent and Electricity	3,000
Printing	83,000
Salaries	80,000
Supplies-Equipment	25,000
Misc.	30,000
	<u>229,000</u>

The extra money will return to the paper in order to implement the various plans which have been drawn up by the staff. Some money would be appropriated by the business department in order to increase circulation and raise salaries of all staffers to the subsistence level. But the majority of the capital is slated for the creation of bureaus throughout the

country and subsequent establishment of regional editions of the Guardian so that we can truly become a national publication.

However, these plans are illusions unless we can find enough capital to destroy our debt. For with the debt, every cent that comes into the paper goes to pay back bills. Without capital, it will be impossible to turn-over our readership and we will die, egged on by a subscription list which for the most part feels nothing for us but fear and contempt. To understand this, one must understand the leftist movement in the 30's and 40's which led to the founding of the National Guardian.

The National Guardian was founded by a small but significant segment of the leadership of the American Labor Party. The ALP was originally a party controlled by labor unions, among them the NMU and the ILGWU. However, in the early forties, an internal fight ensued and the Communist Party took control of the ALP, resulting in the withdrawal of the unions. So the basis of the readership of the National Guardian were CP members or sympathizers who had been involved in organizing the CIO. The Communist Party advocated a program which was diametrically opposed to every concept of the new left. Another important factor rests on the fact that our major financial support came from the East Coast which means that they were Jewish and consequently Zionist.

Three editorial positions taken by the Guardian since 1967 have completely alienated this readership. As Jews and members of the CP, they were ordered to infiltrate the various Jewish social organizations, such as the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, and even the United Jewish Appeal. This brought about a great identification with the traditions of their religion. Also, they lived through Naziism and watched 6,000,000 of their own people slaughtered without being able to do anything concrete to save them. When the state of Israel was established, they were indoctrinated with the fact that the Arabs were synonymous with Hitler, and this view still prevails. When the Guardian supported the Arab side in the 1967 war, their blindness made them believe that the paper had suddenly become anti-Semitic. This was the first seed of hatred.

The next conflict was the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. As CP members, they were trained to believe that the SU was perfect. In castigating the invasion, we hit upon the firmest belief of the CP member. "I have seen the future, and it works." They believe that the Czechs are counter-revolutionary, and that we have become anti-Soviet, knocking the heaven on earth.

Finally, as old union organizers, they were told that every strike is a good strike and to cross a picket line is to sell out. When we came out against the UFT, we destroyed the last of their basic tenets. This, coupled with Shanker's statement on anti-Semitism, has made them believe that the new left has turned fascist.

Also, the vocal nature of the new left enhances the fear that they developed during the McCarthy years. Every tactic practiced by the CP has been refuted by the new left---the lack of authoritarianism, the lack of a central statement, the refusal to become members of the establishment, the vocal alienation---all this is contrary to their idea of radical. To them we are the spokesmen of the enemy---the fascists, the anti-Semites---they feel only fear and hatred towards us now. Our solicitations for money to the old left have been completely futile; we can no longer count on their support.

William Rose--General Manager  
Len Liggio---Business Manager  
Liz Fink--Asst. Gen. Manager  
John Duffett  
Peter Henig