

## INTRODUCTION TO "REPORT ON THE USE OF PROPAGANDA AT THE WORKPLACE"

June, 1977 .

Vladimir Illyich enquired into the minutest details affecting the workers' conditions and tried to piece them together to form a picture of the lives of the workers as a whole and thus find the points that would enable him to approach the workers with his revolutionary propaganda.

- Krupskaya, quoted in Vladimir I. Lenin - A Political Biography prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, International Publishers, 1943, pg. 27.

This introduction, written three years after the original report, is to explain the context in which the paper was written and some of the assumptions in the "Report" which are not fully explained in it.

The first thing is that the report was first given as a speech and then reduced to writing in order to be a part of a two-line struggle in our local Marxist-Leninist organization. A committee in the organization had done some investigation into the strength of people's contacts at their workplaces and the kind of propaganda that had been used with them. The results showed that members were using very little propaganda in developing and deepening those relationships. Instead of drawing out the political essence of this fact, and providing leadership to correct the error, the committee failed to grasp what it had discovered and instead directed its work to work among the masses in general. This error lent support to a developing opportunist trend in the organization, which we came to later understand as economism. In this case it meant focusing only on agitation among the workers, ignoring propaganda, which was by far our greatest weakness at the time.

Thus, the talk, and six months later, the written "Report" were done in order to rectify an error within our organization - the error of liberalism, of being among the masses and failing to conduct revolutionary propaganda. It was an attempt by one member of the organization to summarize his experience with propaganda at the workplace in order to rectify a group weakness. This is the context in which the "Report" was written.

The second point to clarify is that I do not assume that revolution can be made just with propaganda. Marxism and life teach us that the masses must become convinced of revolution through their own practical experience. This is not clearly stated in the "Report". However, in the paper it can be seen that the use of propaganda is linked with the concrete work of building a rank-and-file caucus and with the task of combating the enemy in people's minds. In order to create the organization we needed, I had to engage in ideological struggle to develop the subjective factors. So while revolution cannot be made by just propaganda (or agitation), in this period of party building, it is clearly one of our central tasks. When this paper was written the victory over economism had not yet been won in our organization and so the report still contains an embryonic understanding of advanced workers and party building.

In addition to the context and the clarifications I would like to point out a few areas in the report where I have deepened my understanding and would like to go more deeply to a more general audience.

1) I would develop the distinction between propaganda and agitation. Developing this distinction would strengthen several of my arguments and clarify the rising tendency in the movement with which I identify.

2) I would put more emphasis on the ideological principle of "the shallower to the deeper". Since writing the paper I have more fully understood the shallower to the deeper as one of the fundamental principles of dialectical and historical materialism.

In "On Practice" Mao says that "man's knowledge...develops step by step from a lower to a higher level, that is, from the shallower to the deeper, from the one-sided to the many-sided." Lenin also said that how knowledge emerges from ignorance is one of the three fundamental aspects of the Marxist theory of knowledge: "In the theory of knowledge, as in every other branch of science, we must think dialectically, that is, we must not regard our knowledge as ready-made and unalterable, but must determine how knowledge emerges from ignorance, how incomplete, inexact knowledge becomes more complete and more exact." (Political Biography of Lenin, pg. 108) A local organization which has succumbed to dogmatism has been trying to defeat this fundamental Marxist principle by substituting "from the fundamental to the particular". In fact this is an attempt to liquidate Marxist ideological line and in no way addresses the fact that the shallower to the deeper does concern itself with the fundamental and the particular. Working with people according to their present level and going from the shallower to the deeper does not mean a compromise or veision of Marxism.

3) I would put more stress on the content of the propaganda that I used and that should be used. In the report my main purpose was building a caucus and fighting the enemies in people's minds. I was attempting to recruit advanced workers to a communist viewpoint and to recruit them to a caucus but I was not yet attempting to recruit directly into a communist organization. Because this paper is a summary of my own practice and the level it was at, the paper underestimates how much more propaganda could be done especially with a developed class analysis of the US and along the lines of a party program. Clearly we can make much better headway by putting more emphasis on class analysis than I did. In his "Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats", CW, V. 2, Lenin emphasized the importance of class analysis in propaganda work: "The socialist activities of Russian Social-Democrats consist in spreading by propaganda the teachings of scientific socialism, in spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the present social and economic system, its basis and its development, an understanding of the various classes in Russian society, of their interrelations, of the struggle between these classes, of the role of the working class in this struggle, of its attitude towards the declining and the developing classes, towards the past and future of capitalism, an understanding of the historical tasks of international Social-Democracy and of the Russian working-class". Clearly when you are recruiting someone to communism you must help them develop a clear understanding of each class and each stratum and the strong and weak points of each. I would also attempt to identify the principal enemies in the minds of the different strata of the working class and develop propaganda which would deal with contradictions such as in racism, male chauvinism and so on.

4) I would deepen the understanding that the personal is political. Our organization has not yet developed an agreed upon position for what we mean by saying the personal is political. In an attempt to clarify it I have come across a very similar term used in China called the "one key for one lock method". (See John Wilson Lewis, "Major Doctrines of Communist China", Norton and Co., 1964, pgs. 190-191.) The Chinese author of the article "Persuasive Education" states that "one must, when conducting ideological education, analyze concretely the specific person, thing, problem, and thought concerned, and discern the substance and the facts of the problem; that is, find out whether the problem involves a contradiction between the people and the enemy or one within the ranks of the people, whether it is a political or an ideological problem, whether it is due to failure to take the proletarian stand firmly or due to one-sidedness in understanding, whether it is a historical problem or a present problem, whether it is a moral problem or a problem of one's habitual way of living, whether it involves any principle or is merely an accident, and so on". The author states that the holding of individual talks is the most important method of the one key for one lock method because "it provides the greatest facility for the consideration of the concrete conditions of the individual". In conjunction with my propaganda I held a great many individual talks with the aim of finding out the concrete conditions of the individual. The opening quote to this introduction is meant to imply that this is the way Lenin conducted his propaganda also.

5) Discipline and Security must be emphasized even more. In his article, "The Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries by Means of Overcoming the Social-Democratic Traditions" (Communist International, 1932, pg. 258), Piatnitsky stresses that "In Czarist Russia the rule and regime in the factories were lenient compared with those in the factories of the big capitalist countries." I was eventually fired and through my own errors failed to win back the job. This arbitration process convinced me that my security had been too weak and in particular I had underestimated the necessity to create a strong sense of discipline and security in the advanced whom I was propagandizing. Because someone was obviously advanced I left it up to their common sense and a short discussion to deal with the problem. This was not enough. We must develop our organizational line better so as to explain how the enemy is organized and how we must be developing class-conscious discipline to defeat him.

6) The analysis of the conditions of propaganda in the small shop is weak. I relate the two workplaces too strongly and incompletely on the question of the literacy level and fail to relate them according to the national question or my own level of experience. I don't mean to imply that you cannot carry on a lot of propaganda in a smaller shop. The lesson I should have drawn out better is that different forms of propaganda and agitation must be brought to bear on the different strata and races in the class.

In summation, these six areas would have to be deepened to bring my understanding up to date. The report should be seen as I have said, as an attempt to correct errors within our organization.

Educate, Discipline and Organize the Proletariat  
1st draft 2/9/76  
2nd draft 6/8/77  
DW

P.S. Something about myself and proletarianization. I am a former movement intellectual and activist. When I went into the working class I was afraid that I might not be able to put my talents to use. I am not yet a true communist, a true tribune of the people, but I believe I've made progress at uniting theory with practice by learning how to use propaganda along with my practical work in the class struggle. I attempt to lay out the laws of bringing Marxism to the working class that I have been using and trying to use. The use of propaganda has helped me persuade several intermediate and advanced workers to Marxism and hopefully to becoming communists. The approach I argue here is the line I argue within the independent organization I am in: to educate ourselves in becoming true Marxists we must do ideological struggle (propaganda) with the working class. In transforming the subjective world, at the same time, we should recruit advanced members of the working class by practicing the mass line within the class struggle. This process is called "proletarianization": integrating with the working class and remoulding our world outlook to that of dialectical materialism so that we can win over the advanced and intermediate proletarians thus forming a proletarianized base for the party and proletarianizing its class composition.

## REPORT ON THE USE OF PROPAGANDA AT THE WORKPLACE

"We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulate principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness."  
(Mao, Get Organized, 1943, Selected Works, vol.3, p.158)

WHAT PROPAGANDA I HAVE USED. At the end of this report you will find an appendix which will give a breakdown of all the materials I have used. I am including this because it is very concrete and we have discovered in our work that many comrades do not know yet what materials actually exist and what has been found to be useful. This report and the chart of materials I have used cover approximately 3 and a half years of organizing in the working class and they also deal with both jobs that I have had, one in a small non-union shop of about 100 workers where I worked from 1971 to 1973; and the other, a union shop of more than 700 workers where I have worked for just over a year.

1. INVESTIGATE YOUR WORKPLACE. If you consult the chart you will see that the first lesson I have to draw from it is that I have used a great deal more written propaganda in the union shop where I am now working. One reason for this is that I benefited a lot from my experience in the non-union shop, but the general lesson I think is that your propaganda will vary some in content and quantity according to the place where you are working. I will try to be careful in this report to be clear about the place I am talking about for you. Assume that I am talking about the union shop unless I indicate to you otherwise. If there were a good revolutionary Marxist-Leninist newspaper in this country you might have much more similarity in the propaganda you would be using at whatever shop. But there is no good Marxist-Leninist revolutionary newspaper for the masses in the U.S. as far as I know so this is not yet feasible.

2. LEARN TO USE PAMPHLETS. Also in consulting the chart you will find that the content of this propaganda consists most predominately of pamphlets, not books or newspapers. Mostly if I use a Marxist newspaper I clip out whatever article I might want to use or just use part of the paper. Books are hardest to use because many working people never read books, at least not cover to cover, and because you're more likely to use books in your more advanced relationships and there are not a lot of advanced relationships on this chart. You will notice however that many of the relationships I'd define as more advanced often do begin to involve books as propaganda materials. This is a lesson it took me a while to learn, because I have given books to people to read, they have not read them, and, of course, I was disappointed and that made it harder to take initiative the next time. But this was a mistake on my part, and was certainly a case of being too subjective. Giving a book to someone to read and their not reading it is a concrete condition which needs to be investigated all-sidedly with such questions in mind as does this person ever read books, does their family life

allow them enough time to read, what kind of things do they read? Pamphlets are generally a much easier thing to use because you can carry them in your pocket and because the language is more often directed towards the working class person. The more a pamphlet approaches the principles Mao lays out in his essay Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing the better it will be received. I remember one time I wanted to use an article on the effects of the Alaska pipeline to the ecology which appeared in Ramparts with a friend of mine at the non-union shop. This guy had a job on the pipeline if he wanted to take it and I wanted to show him how its another case of the capitalists exploiting man and nature but this article was written to ther Ramparts intellectual types. So I had to explain the content of the article to him as best as I could verbally but lost much of the scientific vocabulary to really lay it out. This sort of thing makes you mad, and it also makes you realize that a revolutionary party of the working class will have to help these intellectuals to remould their world outlooks and to write more materials for a working class audience.

3. IF YOU DON'T DO PROPAGANDA WORK, YOU CANNOT EDUCATE YOURSELF. I use much more propaganda in my communist-to-communist or communist-to-non-communist relationships than the ones in which it is not known that I am a communist. This mainly relates to the question of trust, confidence and security. When you have gained someone's trust, when you have confidence that you are accepted for what you are, and you are reasonably sure they have enough respect for you not to go around blabbing that so-and-so is a red, then it's just a lot easier to use materials. But it's how to get to this place and what to do once you are there that is the subject of this discussion, the dialectics of developing someone's communist consciousness. What I want to stress here is that my use of propaganda is part of what enables me to become a communist in a relationship with someone. I will get into this more in lesson number 6 where I discuss the principle of "going from the shallower to the deeper and from the easier to the more difficult." As I give someone something to read when they are responsive I give them something more, something a bit deeper and at each step we connect up at a deeper level of our being. You'll notice that in the chart R has done the most study. R has never been to college, worries that if he were to become a communist he wouldn't have the discipline to do the study, and did most of this reading on the job. He is young, literate, single and with a lot more time on his hands inside and outside of work than a lot of other people. I think he is an exception rather than the rule, but certainly his activism in caucus work combined with his thirst for knowledge show that he is precisely the kind of person the communist movement needs. He has taught me a lot. This is important to keep in mind - when you are using a lot of material it doesn't necessarily become a one-way street where you are not learning anything from the person you're giving the materials to. I find it to be that the more I teach the more I learn.

"Our Party's rules have clearly stated that every Party member must do propaganda work, for while educating others he educates himself. In view of this one has not only to read but also to wage

ideological struggle. Any Party member who fails to do propaganda work cannot really educate himself. Only by maintaining close links with the masses can we keep abreast with the revolution. Revolutionary feelings are latent among the masses, inherent in the realities of production, and it is in the struggle for production that revolutionary ideas are born. Consequently, any Party member who stands aloft from the masses and does not make propaganda among them, cuts off his ties with the bases of the revolution. Hence, to turn Party members into good propagandists and ideological workers the question is to make them work among the masses in order to raise the latter's level, thereby elevating their own knowledge too." (From Change in Ideological Work from Le Duan on the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, vol.3, Hanoi, 1967)

4. I AM STRONGEST WITH PEOPLE WHO READ A LOT. Most of the material propaganda I use is of the written word. I've used a few records, music from Cuba, Puerto Rico, records such as the Harder They Come by Jimmy Cliff and Barbara Dane's I Hate the Capitalist System, but on a daily basis the written word is what I know how to use best and have used the most. This doesn't mean I don't have good relationships in which I have to rely on mostly verbal propaganda. The relationship with A and A, a couple, is one of my better relationships going back over three years and very little has happened in this relationship which involved the written word. But there is for me always a dimension missing when I cannot use the printed word and that is once you are physically separated, verbal conversation ceases and the process waits until you can get together or talk on the phone again. Whereas if you are reading and studying the connections are still there, and the job of teaching is easier. You should keep in mind that I was an intellectual and am still going through the process of remoulding my world view. Books, pamphlets, records, movies are all things I am familiar with while taking all the experience from a person's life and feeding it back to them in more systematic and articulated ways is a newer thing for me. But insofar as my strength is written propaganda, let me say that in order to do effective propaganda work of this kind you must also read a lot yourself. Let me add that there were many in my union shop that did read a lot.

I would guess that for every peice of propaganda I have used I must have read another 10 that I didn't use. It would not be necessary to read this much if I had someone who was doing a lot of it for me and turning me onto the best things they have read. So in my case it also means that I have to spend a certain amount of money on propaganda. This requires sacrifice of some kind in the sense that I'd rather spend money on keeping my mind alive and de-brainwashed rather than have a new couch in the living room or a new car in the driveway, or the most fashionable clothes. A really good communist newspaper would lessen the amount of money you'd have to spend on individual pieces of propaganda. The more unity we achieve on the left, the greater will be the need and possibility for this type of newspaper, but the situation we are now in requires the maximum of each person's self-reliance and being able to find their own bearings. You obviously cannot use things if you have not

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read them yourself, or at least you should not. Since one of the main purposes in using propoganda is to develop your relationships with advanced and intermediate workers, you want to try and talk about something connected with the pamphlet, drawing out this person's life history and consciousness and in the process sharing your own. If you do not know the article well that you give someone you will lose opportunities to refer back to the article and so the process becomes less of a bridge uniting two lives and more of something interesting to read, less of a move towards organization, and more of a communist merchant selling his wares. I have observed precisely this different use of propoganda at my union shop where a communist from another organization sold maybe twenty copies of his organization's newspaper every month, but still couldn't get a single person from his department to join the plant caucus. Neither did he appear to have a true friend in the entire plant and I witnessed that the way he used propoganda eventually drove people away from him. What he did not realize here is that the personal is political and so guys came to see him as someone who had a lot of interesting things to say about politics, but was other than that pretty much a bore. So you do not want to fall into the mistake this comrade made - judging his performance on the basis of quantity, how many newspapers or pamphlets you have given out, or simply on the correctness of the line in everything you pass out, but primarily on the quality of relationships with advanced and intermediate workers you are able to develop and space that this opens up for more conversations between you (verbal propoganda). With the degree of anti-communist propoganda being so high in the U.S. we have to be good at both written and verbal propoganda to break through it to win the advanced and intermediate workers to revolution.

On the other hand you should also be careful about being idealistic here and having too high an expectation of yourself. Using materials correctly is nothing that comes out of your head, it's a skill that can be learned and I've certainly made many mistakes. I think the most common one was using materials which I hadn't read in a long time and not re-reading them. I have not been nearly as good at verbal follow-up as I have been in the initial use of a piece of propoganda. This was not much of a problem in the non-union shop because the guys I used pamphlets with were the same as I ate lunch with or saw after work. But in the union shop I was using propoganda in four different departments and since my job restricted me combined with all the other normal problems of everyday life this often meant long lapses of time before you would see the person again. So the more you practice using pamphlets the better you will get with it. Make a breakthrough with one person, in one department, on one shift, and then build off of this experience.

5. LINK UP YOUR USE OF PROPAGANDA MATERIALS TO THE PRIMARY TASK. This task is building a caucus which will serve as the base from which advanced and intermediate workers can seek organization in a factory nucleus or communist group. The key here is trying to link theory with practice, trying to integrate the use of propoganda with concrete tasks to be done and concrete enemies in the people's minds

that you want to wrestle with. Of course to build a caucus you will have to wrestle with the enemies in people's minds, i.e. wage ideological struggle. I believe Mao said it is often more difficult to combat the enemies inside people's minds than to defeat Japanese imperialism. (Mao, from The United Front in Cultural Work)

One of the first enemies we all find is individualism - "I hate the company and I hate the union bureaucracy but I don't have anything to do with the solution to this problem". So one of the first peices of material I used in organizing a caucus was a booklet on how to build a rank-and-file caucus which came out of the Black Panther experience in the Fremont, Calif. GM plant. The two main points this pamphlet makes are: 1) this is a class society and workers and bosses are enemies and 2) we must join together to fight for our interests. It then lays out the dynamics of organizing a caucus, what you need to know, why a program is needed, and that there are steps to be taken with patience. My thinking was whoever responds positively to this pamphlet may be an advanced worker. I wouldn't give it to them unless I already thought they were, a positive response was a sure indication that I was on the right track. If they actually came to a caucus meeting, i.e. if their deeds corresponded to their words, I was pretty sure this person was right for the caucus. There were several people who liked the stuff, but never came to a meeting, and in these cases either something was lacking in the relationship, I had been too subjective about the person, or they may have been too afraid to get involved. Without an exact count, I'd guess 3 out of 4 people who got the caucus booklet became caucus members. The booklet was not the only thing I used. I had sort of a packet of basic materials I developed as I investigated the industry and the union I was in. One of the advantages of being in a big multi-national corporation is that there is more information available on companies this big. The other key pamphlet I often used in conjunction with the caucus booklet was a pamphlet put out by some university students years ago exposing the conditions in this industry, how the ruling class is in control, what is happening to the multi-nationals overseas as U.S. imperialism goes down to defeat, how racism is maintained by them, what health conditions are like and so on. The pamphlet would be dynamite if I had found the chance to rewrite it, but even as a "this-is-how-progressive-anti-imperialist-students-view-the-situation-in-this-industry" type of pamphlet it is still good and useful because it contains an analysis of imperialism and ties this into an analysis of worker's immediate experience. This pamphlet always got a good reception and the most common response was "shit, I knew these guys were a big company, but not that big". This pamphlet then laid bare some analysis of the imperialist system and gave a more concrete definition to the question: who are our friends and who are our enemies. (Here I really could have used a good class analysis of U.S. society about the length of Mao's Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society but I had nothing to use. Hartford's analysis which I used was too long, the BWC's Who Are Our Friends, Who Are Our Enemies - too short. I used these two pages only in the whole pamphlet refered to in the chart. Now I would xerox it and use it separately.)

This pamphlet on the company fulfilled a function the booklet didn't fill: with the booklet I would most likely find out someone's



feeling about the union, and in the pamphlet I would learn how much they hated the company. These have been my two most sidely read articles. After a while I also often followed up with a Short Guide to Parliamentary procedure for the rank and file that I think comes from the CPUSA. It's pretty good because in a very clear way it lays out how the bureaucrats use parliamentary procedure to intimidate people and people can use it against them if they also know the rules. I know quite a few guys too shy to speak up at a union meeting who I felt would have more confidence if they knew the legal ground-rules better. Since I did not do a good job of follow-up on this pamphlet I cannot really summarize the experience with it yet. I used a lot of materials on health problems in the plant which I had investigated particularly in my own department. I also had a very exciting description of how the workers in the main department had carried out a successful walkout which played an important role in developing the CIO in the 30's.

I used one peice of propaganda which combined pretty well both the function of building a caucus and fighting the internal enemy. Black workers in the union plant had a petition circulating on racial discrimination in the plant. At this point my relationships with blacks in the plant were still weak, primarily because of the predominance of chicanos in the department and shift I was working. Through a black I knew in the bowling league I got hold of a copy of the petition to circulate in my department. In practice it was hard to circulate the petition because it was too oriented to the conditions of blacks (too nationalistic) and all but neglected other races in the plant, particularly the chicanos. I worte a letter to the blacks criticizing this and also proposing that quite a few of the people they were proposing sending the petition to were enemies and not friends. My letter was also very supportive for the fight against racism and it got around it seems to most of the blacks who were behind the petition, and out of this I made some friends and started finding out who the most advanced blacks in the plant were and who were the ones whom the company could buy off. Basically my relationships with two of the blacks who were leading the fight against discrimination came out of this and these were the two blacks who became active in the caucus the earliest.

There was a lot of propaganda I used whose main purpose was to combat the enemies in people's minds rather than to build a caucus. Most of the material I used in the non-union shop was like this - stuff on heroin, imperialism, adulteration of foods under capitalism, material on Cuba, Masters and Johnson on sex. I used a lot of the same materials in the union shop, and even when the material was not directly related to building a caucus I generally used most materials with people whom I considered potential caucus members.

. 6. TRY TO FOLLOW THE PRINCIPLE OF "GOING FROM THE SHALLOWER TO THE DEEPER AND FROM THE EASIER TO THE MORE DIFFICULT". I have not always followed this principle. I have had to learn it and the process was mostly one of repetition. It wasn't until I was preparing for this paper that I came across this concept in a very advanced pamphlet from China called Strive to Build a Socialist University of Science and Engineering, by the Workers' and People's Liberation

Army Men's Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Team at Tsinghua University. This is an attempt by Chinese Marxist-Leninists to summarize the work of workers who have taken over an educational institution and tried to make the university serve the working class. One of the principles which they derive from the summation of their work is "going from the shallower to the deeper and from the easier to the more difficult".

As I thought over how I have or haven't related to this principle I felt it was also a correct summation of my own practice, a lesson I could have drawn independently from my own data. I don't start off my laying something too heavy on someone, by laying a book on someone, by telling them I am a communist and so on. I almost always will start with something short or relatively short and that links up with something that is easy to talk with this person about or something that might help them think about a problem we may have discussed. These problems are almost always involved with the three great revolutionary movements: the class struggle, the struggle for production or the struggle for scientific experiment, and I try to stay informed and to learn in these areas.

There was this one case where a guy read several pamphlets and then I gave him *Away With All Pests*. He still hasn't read it as far as I know and basically I think this was my mistake. Even though he reads a lot, he does not read books and his family life and lack of discipline doesn't leave him the time for it. Articles is about all he reads. I learned in his case that most of the time if he is going to read something starting with the easier means not just pamphlets over books, but also the workplace over the home. He did the same job I was doing and it lends itself to reading on the job if you want. There was a problem with this after the caucus started to become known because he was uncomfortable reading revolutionary materials in the plant. But before this happened he could read something like *International Runaway Shop* in an evenings work. Anyway after doing some investigation of his family situation and knowing his family better I realized that it is very hard to get any time alone to concentrate when you live in a one-bedroom house with two children.

This principle is a very valuable lesson in developing relationships also. You are giving someone something to read at a level they can handle and this becomes a positive experience and can be built upon. Following this principle I hope that informal study and use of materials will lead to formal study, and that a pamphlet like *Cuba for Beginners* can lead to reading Fidel Castro, and eventually to more systematic study of Marxism-Leninism. In the most advanced cases this has been my experience, and I am also thinking that informal study used in developing the caucus will lay the groundwork for more formal study within the caucus.

7. THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL. I think the material I have used which has had the best effect is stuff which is both personal and political. This is a lesson I took with me to the workplace where it was confirmed. I owe this lesson mainly to summarizing my experience with revolutionary women.

Some sketchy examples. I used an analysis of imperialism which

links the systematic underdevelopment of internal colonies in the U.S. to the imperialist system to talk about Mississippi to a black friend from Mississippi. I also used Malcolm X Speaks with him. He had never read Malcolm X before and knowing that I dig him too certainly helped our relationship. In fact he never did return the book. He told me he had misplaced it, but actually I think he wanted to keep it. I didn't mind.

I used the Autobiography of Malcolm X with R. R is very progressive and has generally supported the black liberation struggle. It took reading this book to awaken him to how little he actually knew about the black struggle and that he had just had superficial understanding and was a lot more prejudiced in some of his attitudes than he had realized. He thanked me several times for giving him the book to read and I know the feeling of what it's like to discover the personal heroism of Malcolm and his Bolshevik commitment to any means necessary. He is someone who sets both a personal and political example, someone you can say about "I'd like to be like him".

With A in the non-union shop I used an article from an underground newspaper analyzing contradictions in marriage and the family. The article was Marxist but meant for mass consumption. At the time I used it his marriage had just broken up and he was trying to put the pieces back together again. I think it helped him see how his personal failures have social causes to them. We had many occasions to talk about his sexist and chauvinist attitudes (my own also) but this was never done in a put-down way. I have found that the best way to struggle with these attitudes is not to accuse someone of being sexist but to share with them what I know about the oppression of women and in particular the role of the family in bourgeois society.

Also in the non-union shop I used The Opium Trail with BT. BT is a Vietnam vet who got a dishonorable discharge mostly because of heroin addiction. He had to lie about this when he applied for jobs. The article is very good at explaining the connection between U.S. imperialism and the drug traffic and contains the personal histories of many people who were strung out, how they got that way, how they eventually realized (in some cases) what the contradictions were and so on. Although we did not know each other long before he got fired for not caring about his job, I think I was one of the few people who ever got down with him about the drug traffic and offered an interpretation of what had been going on in relation to the system, the war and drugs. Some of this sharing that went on continued and we have maintained sporadic contact with each other for the past several years. Knowing I'm a communist he even came to my house one night to talk with me about his becoming a policeman.

There are many more examples I could cite. Using a pamphlet on the Honduran Revolution from Tricontinental with a guy from Honduras, a pamphlet from Cuba on Nicaragua with a guy from Nicaragua, materials on heat with guys suffering from heat exhaustion and fatigue, materials on noises, solvents, chemicals, reviews of movies someone had seen. I have also learned from my mistakes. With C, I had talked a lot about the Vietnam War. I gave him a pamphlet on Vietnam to read and he practically refused to read it. He is black and later I realized that his personal interest in imperialism was much stronger when we discussed South Africa or guerrilla struggles

in Africa, which I myself had been neglecting. It's true that there are some unique lessons to be learned from the experience of the Vietnamese Revolution, but these were things I wanted him to learn and not necessarily needs which he felt. I remember feeling almost pissed at him for not reading it and for acting like "who can be bothered with Vietnam". My response was pretty moralistic and based on too high of expectations of him. I was not starting from his needs but from my own desires. So when he said screw Vietnam, I said screw you. I don't mean this literally, I mean it emotionally. I took me sometime to realize that I was the source of the error and to correct my mistake.

To conclude this part. Many left groups still fail to realize that the personal is political and in this way fail to draw the appropriate political lessons. Being sure to do this would, of course, mean that their lines would have to include an actual rather than theoretical adherence to the mass line.

Paying attention to the personal also makes it easier to learn the language of the working class, and we can see that many people in our group have taken time to learn Spanish - a very good sign of their desire to learn from the people and something very important in developing a correct understanding of the national question. So I don't wish to imply simply that the personal is political is true in written propaganda and not in verbal propaganda. It is even more true with verbal propaganda. "We must learn to talk to the masses, not in the language of book formulas, but in the language of fighters for the cause of the masses, whose every word, whose every idea reflects the inner-most thoughts and sentiments of millions" (Dimitrov quoted in Macchiochi, Daily Life in Revolutionary China, p.429. Also see Dimitrov's A Correct Line Is Not Enough from his Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism speech, 1935, in For a United and Popular Front, p.211-213.) Sometimes I will think of Mao's "three constantly read articles" which he wrote when he was living in the caves of Yen-an in the 1930's. (They are: Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed Mountains.) Such simple little essays we hardly pay any attention to them here. I don't know if people even regard them as "theory". But we should not forget that these three little essays are the most widely read piece of revolutionary propaganda ever read. I believe this is true because they are written in the people's language and because they use personal examples to portray political lessons: people before profit, selflessness and internationalism, and a sense of perseverance and protracted struggle. They certainly show Mao's awareness that the personal is political.

In a study for the CIA, Douglas Pike says National Liberation Front Agit-prop cadre were told to: "take every opportunity for agitation....On a busy train, in a bar, at a private party, make the subject lively and raise the level of the class consciousness of the individuals present according to the circumstances....But be careful not to reveal yourself and avoid talking too much.... Here is a good example. Take a newspaper that carries a story about a certain man named A who committed suicide because he was unable to find a job. Bring up the subject of the newspaper story and then lead the conversation to the general subject of jobs, unemployment,

the difficulties of earning a living, etc. In this way people are invited to complain about the hardships they face. From this seek an opportunity to incriminate American aid as a source of this state of unemployment and starvation." He also describes what the Vietnamese called the "root-and-link" technique: "A party member looked for a prospective 'root' whom he would meet, talk with, and win over, after which he would educate him. This 'root' then became a 'link' who looked for other roots, and thus a 'chain' was formed. This did not necessarily involve Party membership or any form of formal organization. It was a transmission belt for propaganda, highly directed, specifically oriented, and very personal. The root-and-link device was an effort to make use of traditional channels of communication. NLF output referred to it and similar devices as word-of-mouth propaganda, which it described as 'the principal medium of both covert and overt propaganda. It is direct. It enables us to present our views clearly and to understand immediately the response of the individual. We can by this means offer on the spot a solution to his problems and at the same time mobilize his thinking.'" (Douglas Pike, Viet Cong. The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, MIT Press, 1968, p.131)

I would be giving a false impresssion unless I state clearly that I use mostly verbal propaganda. I am not as good at talking as I am with pamphlets but I have been learning a lot. One of my biggest problems has been language. At the non-union shop I had to speak Spanish 50-60% of the time and even though I speak it very well, understanding all the dialects, slang, accents and so on, it is very hard. It's also very noisy. At the union shop, it is even noisier so it's hard for more than two people to talk to each other at the same time in my department. An older guy who came to a caucus meeting once gave me an article from Reader's Digest on how noise begins to affect your personality and makes you more withdrawn. This is true and it's an objective condition I had to fight against. When it's a constant strain to hear people and you often have to ask people to repeat themselves it's sometimes a lot easier just to say nothing. And after a lot of experience with black dialects from the South, a lot of guys can still lose me at the lunch table. But I have chosen to concentrate on my strength in this paper. I would have to study my work notes once again to do a presentation on verbal propaganda thoroughly, but I think we are okay here because my impression is that most people in the group are already stronger with verbal propaganda than with written materials. I think I could sum-up by saying that verbal propaganda dominates in most of my relationships, but that written propaganda always plays a strong role in my relationships with advanced workers.

8. PROLETARIANIZATION AND THE ABILITY TO USE PROPAGANDA WELL GO HAND-IN-HAND. As I have become more proletarianized I have also become more persuasive. We still have not developed a definition of proletarianization which is precise and defines the boundaries of what we're talking about. We do know that two aspects of it are 1) integration - making friends, and realizing your first duty is to learn from workers, investigating the actual conditions (i.e. the mass line) and 2) remoulding your world outlook - actually being a dialectical materialist in your approach to solving problems.

You cannot just sympathize with workers, you must have or experience the same feelings yourself. Here is Mao on the link between proletarianization and the use of propaganda: "Some people have read a few Marxist books and think themselves quite learned, but what they have read has not penetrated, has not struck root in their minds, so that they do not know how to use it and their class feelings remain as of old....It is wrong to assume that people who educate others no longer need to be educated and no longer need to study, or that socialist remoulding means remoulding others...but not the intellectuals....Unless they rid their minds of what is unsound, intellectuals cannot undertake the task of educating others. Naturally, we have to learn while teaching and be pupils while serving as teachers. To be a good teacher, one must first be a good pupil." (Mao, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Peking, 1966, p.7-8. This speech is not contained in Mao's Selected Works.)

I can truly say that this applies to my case and that my experience in the past four years since leaving the university has actually taught me more Marxism than I had gotten from several years of reading books. This is because I have learned how fundamental it is to work on changing your world outlook. When I started off I didn't know much about learning from people. Now I try and learn from everyone.

I have put time into developing friendships and have settled down. Again let me quote Mao here: "Some can go to factories or villages just to look around; this may be called 'looking at the flowers while on horseback' and is better than nothing at all. Others may stay there for a few months, conducting investigations and making friends; this may be called 'dismounting to look at the flowers'. Still others can stay and live there for a considerable time, say, two or three years or even longer; this may be called 'settling down'....Making friends with the workers and peasants is no easy job. Even now when people go to factories or villages, the results are good in some cases but not in others. What is involved here is the question of stand or attitude, that is, of one's world outlook....Most of our present intellectuals come from the old society and from families of non-working people. Even those who come from workers' or peasants' families are still bourgeois intellectuals because the education they received before liberation was a bourgeois education and their world outlook was fundamentally bourgeois. If they do not discard the old and replace it by the proletarian world outlook, they will remain different from the workers and peasants in their viewpoint, stand and feelings, and will be like square pegs in round holes, and the workers and peasants will not open their hearts to them. If intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and make friends with them, the Marxism they have learned from books can become truly their own. In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." (Mao, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, p.9-12)

9. COMBINE MARXIST AND NON-MARXIST MATERIALS. AVOID THE TRAP OF ECONOMISM - USE PROPAGANDA CONCERNING THE THREE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS - THE CLASS STRUGGLE, THE STRUGGLE FOR PRODUCTION, AND SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENT. This can generally be done simultaneously with the principle of going from the shallower to the deeper: you start off with something non-Marxist and work your way up to something Marxist. One of the clearest lessons from the group discussions of propaganda is that people's skills in the group are much more developed with non-Marxist propaganda than with Marxist propaganda. All of us have used different magazines that we find at work or take to work. Most of the ones I have used are not listed in my chart but I would certainly agree with the practice of many women in the group who have used women's magazines to raise questions to which they then bring their own Marxist understandings and analysis.

Lenin definitely supported this position: "It would be the biggest and most grievous mistake a Marxist could make to think that the millions of the people (especially the peasants and artisans), who have been condemned by all modern society to darkness, ignorance and superstition, can extricate themselves from this darkness only along the straight line of a purely Marxist education. These masses should be supplied with the most varied atheist propaganda material, they should be made familiar with facts from the most diverse spheres of life, they should be approached in every possible way, so as to interest them, rouse them from their religious torpor, stir them from the most varied angles and by the most varied methods, and so forth. The keen, vivacious and talented writings of the old eighteenth-century atheists wittily and openly attacked the prevailing clericalism and will often prove a thousand times more suitable for arousing people from their religious torpor than the dull and dry paraphrases of Marxism, almost completely unillustrated by skillfully selected facts, which predominate in our literature and which (it is no use hiding the fact) frequently distort Marxism." (Lenin, On the Significance of Militant Materialism, 1922, Collected Works, vol.33, p.230)

Reich makes the same point in his essay What Is Class Consciousness? where he is making the point that the revolutionary must be able to feel at home in every sphere of life and to be able to develop the specific revolutionary tendency in every sphere of life. Commenting on the nature of communist newspapers at that time he said: "In today's revolutionary press almost nothing but party jargon is to be found; there is hardly ever any sign of comprehension of the contradictions facing the various strata of the population. Yet dialogue with the broad masses, both in terms of language and subject matter, should fill at least three-quarters of every newspaper. The remaining quarter is enough for reiterating the fundamental principles of Marxism." (Reich, What is Class Consciousness, p.42.)

. Let me give examples of this. From A and A I learned more to pay attention to what workers are already reading. The only newspaper they get is the National Enquirer. So generally when I do the grocery shopping I always pick up a copy and take it to work to read it. The Enquirer is the largest circulating weekly newspaper in the U.S. with about six million readers. It has great layout, the language of the masses, and short readable articles. The kind you

can read from start to finish on the toilet, or in a few spare minutes. After reading it regularly I began to like it. It's not that I cannot see through the escapism and petty-bourgeois dreams that it pushes, but that I like the fact that it is very interesting and deals with the three great revolutionary movements - all spheres of life. It tries to develop your petty-bourgeois ideology, to deal with the totality of your life unlike most left newspapers which deal pretty much with just one revolutionary movement - the class struggle. I picked the Sept. 2, 1973 Enquirer and tried to catalogue the articles in it according to my understanding of the three great revolutionary movements.

1. The Class Struggle. Under relations of classes what I find in this issue is a portrayal of the life of the self-made rich often as movie stars, as very public figures. There is one article on how smart middle Americans are whereas the superstructure says they are dumb, a portrait of a thirty-four year old millionaire who "made it" through "hard work", a former Hollywood star who is now happy as a bartender, Bud Abbot (of Abbot and Costello) as an ordinary person who is lonely.

2. The Struggle for Production. There are a bunch of articles on people who have overcome enormous odds to find meaningful work (mostly idealism but does recognize importance of self-help and self-reliance, family support), an article on reproduction, i.e. raising your kids right, an 80 year old grandma who is a newsboy, a story relating that the first successful caesarian operation was performed by a butcher long before "doctors" accomplished a success, an article on a family trying to find happiness without television.

3. Scientific Experiment. This issue contains approximately 18 articles on science, inventions, and so on.

Of anything I ever took to work in order to read on the job the Enquirer was the thing guys most frequently asked if they could read. Although it pushes a counter-revolutionary line there are always things in it which people can relate to and so it was always something which could help stimulate conversations.

I also have an article on the "Communist Press in Japan: Exposes and Comic Strips". The newspaper of the Communist Party of Japan has the greatest readership of any Communist organ in the capitalist world. It has a circulation of 2.2 million with L'Unita of Italy a distant second at 500,000: "Tokyo - Tadao Nirasawa prides himself on the fact that his newspaper appeals to the very young, a 3 year old who follows the comics, and to the very old, a 97 year old subscriber. 'We want our paper to be one that can be enjoyed by anyone from children to grandparents,' he said. He also is proud that his paper carries what he calls 'the most accurate fishing information' in Japan...elsewhere in the paper are comic strips, reviews of books, movies and TV shows, guest columns written by non-Communist stars of the entertainment world, news for children, special interest news for farmers, and features on taxes, bowling and fishing. Perhaps most significant of all is Red Flag's emphasis on exposes, a rarity in Japanese journalism."

One form of economism takes is the struggle against capitalism as an economic system without the struggle against bourgeois and



petty-bourgeois values and social relations. Concentrating on the three revolutionary movements helped me avoid the trap of economism. It also helped me listen to where people are at and be their pupil. In practice I often discovered non-Marxist were as useful as Marxist materials. Some of these are listed in the chart, but for the most part these are magazine articles, newspaper articles, the sports page and so on that I did not keep track of. When you use non-Marxist propaganda then it is up to you personally to put forth a Marxist point of view on this subject matter if you can and if it is the time to do it. The male equivalent of the women's magazines I don't think is men's magazines, although they often contain good subject matter and sometimes good articles. For example there was an excellent series in Penthouse magazine on the Vietnam veteran which I used several times. In general I think sports is a good area to develop a Marxist analysis of. The figures show that 30 percent of the male readers of the largest daily in the U.S. (The New York Daily News) read nothing but the sports page. With the growth of the civil rights movement, the new left, the women's liberation movement, the rebirth of Marxism that was developing in the world came to the U.S. and the past several years have produced more and more analysis of the superstructure - including sports - of U.S. capitalism. Certainly this is an area of propaganda that needs much developing: using non-Marxist material to develop Marxist analysis.

10. THE ORGANIZATION OF TEACHING SHOULD BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE LEARNERS..." (Ho Chi Minh, "Mass Education" in Ho Chi Minh, Selected Articles and Speeches, 1920-1967, N.Y. 1970, p.103) One thing that both of my workplaces have had in common is that I have had to do most of my propaganda work clandestinely, particularly work with written propaganda. You have a fear of being discovered and this is another reason I wanted to go from the shallower to the deeper. By the time you get to the deeper you want to be pretty sure you know the person well enough to know that they have some sense of security. In my case most of the propaganda I distributed was read inside the plant. This calls for an ever greater sense of security. (I should clarify this some: In the non-union shop I distributed very little written propaganda in my own department. There were few advanced workers in it that I had detected, it was my first job, and I would primarily have had to use materials in Spanish and I didn't have much. I had to rely much more on verbal propaganda there and the fear of getting fired meant even then that most raps I got into were with the people I ate lunch with). I remember that one of my fears in R reading so much was that in the beginning his sense of security was low. He would be careless about pictures, in books, careless about flashing titles of pamphlets and so on. I talked with him several times about this and he got much better and meant I could keep giving him things to read. This helped a lot on his job because he had a very boring job and he does a lot of reading just to stay awake and alert. It also meant that basically he learned his Marxism on company time, and of course, in practice in helping to organize the caucus.

I think it would have been a mistake to wait for using propaganda simply to time off work. It was primarily the reading inside the plant that stimulated him to study more off of the job. I think using propaganda the way I have is one important method of organizing teaching according to the living conditions of the learners. Since most all the materials were my own, people did not have to spend any money to buy things. I was making enough money so that if someone wanted to keep something I could often afford it. Let me emphasize this whole quote from Ho Chi Minh's speech on Mass Education: "Workers and peasants have a lot of work to do. If the method of teaching is not suitable to the learners, to their work and mode of life, if we expect classes provided with tables and benches, we cannot be successful. The organization of teaching should be in accordance with the living conditions of the learners, then the movement will last and bear good results. Our compatriots are still poor and cannot afford paper and pens, therefore a small pocket exercise-book is enough for each person. Reading and writing exercises can be done anywhere, using charcoal, the ground or banana leaves aspens and paper. Clandestine cadres were to teach and make one person literate every three months. At that time, there was no assistance from the Government, no Ministry, or department in charge of educational problems, but in such precarious conditions, the movement kept developing, like oil spreading, the literate teaching the illiterate." (Ho, Mass Education, p.103-104)

In general, I think most propaganda work in the conditions we have at our workplaces must be clandestine. One person I know had a hard time with this. He didn't like feeling that we had to be sneaky. We talked about this and I explained why I thought it was necessary, and he agreed with me, but he was never comfortable with it. I needed more ideological struggle with the guys about why security was necessary. But my consciousness of this was not high enough to propagandize well on this issue. I think there are many problems that combine to make passing out communist and non-communist propaganda a very risky thing. Fear of being caught is one of them and I want to focus on this for a minute before concluding.

11. DISCIPLINE AND FEAR OF BEING CAUGHT. You really cannot distribute propaganda if you don't deal with this fear and develop a certain amount of discipline, (i.e. habits of how you use it.) This is necessary because it can get you fired or very exposed. I believe that it is worth the risk and that it is a skill we must develop. While reading the life of a Bolshevik who did all his work in the underground I came across the following incident which reminds me of something that happened to me at the union plant and gives you a sense of the risk you often feel when you do propaganda work. This communist was involved in smuggling propaganda into Russia. He picked up three pounds of literature from some German workers near the German border and since taking the train was too risky he took a cab across the Russian border. He was with another comrade but in case of a mishap, he was to say the literature was his and his companion was to act as if he did not know this guy at all. This is exactly what happened:

"When the boxes were opened they discovered the bundles of Iskra

(up to the seventh number) and various pamphlets, including The Class Struggle in France by Karl Marx. The official did not understand what sort of 'contraband' this was, since his experience had been limited to dry goods, tea, etc. Consequently he did not know what to do with these 'goods', yet he did not let me go. He tried to read the names and headlines of the books and papers by the light of a match (it was night), but the wind which blew from the River Niemen blew the matches out and made it impossible for him to read. At last, tired of all this business, I gave him the last money I had...and demanded my immediate release, or else he would be responsible for any loss I incurred, as the papers had to be in Dvno early the next morning for sale on the news-stands. The official saw these papers for the first time and wanted to detain me until the morning, when it would be possible for him to read them. But when I asked him to hurry over to the box and give me a hand in getting it on my back, he complied, although he demanded a copy of the paper and the pamphlet. I gave him the pamphlet, but refused to give him a copy of the paper, because the last thing we wanted to become known was that the Iskra was being smuggled in this way. (Piatnitsky, Memoirs of a Bolshevik, 1925, p.29)

My method for taking propaganda into the union plant has been to take it in inside of a newspaper. I always have a newspaper folded up in my back pocket. Because so much salt sweats out of my body as I work anything I am reading I also keep in the newspaper in order to keep it from getting soaked and ruined. One day I made the mistake of leaving a copy of the Enquirer in the drawer of the table that I used to make out my time sheets. There is a particularly obnoxious plant superintendant who really gets down on reading and once in a while goes through all the drawers emptying them of anything to read. He generally puts everything in the break area because that is the only place you are supposed to be allowed the freedom to read. After he did this once I had to develop more discipline and I told myself I should never leave anything the least bit political in the drawer. One day sometime later a friend gave me a questionnaire his kids had gotten at school which was very racist. I knew he wanted it back in good condition so I left it along with the other things I had with me in the drawer the first few minutes after starting my job. Before I knew it the plant superintendant had gone through the drawer and I about freaked out. I got hold of a friend who was standing around and he did my job while I went to my locker. My locker had three or four incriminating pieces of propaganda in it and I put them all in a safe place. (Under some lockers that hadn't been cleaned in probably thirty years). I expected that my goose was cooked and pretty soon I would be called into the office. About 10 minutes later while I was working the guy who had done my job for me said the superintendant had thrown the things into the trash bin in the bullpen and I retrieved them from there. Naturally I was still worried. I wasn't sure how carefully he had looked at them before throwing them away. Besides the questionnaire there was the Rockefeller comic book and the Black Workers Congress pamphlet "The Black Liberation Struggle. The Black Workers Congress and Proletarian Revolution." The pamphlet was folded over so he would have had to go through it to see

the title and since he makes a habit of throwing anything away I was not sure what to conclude. Rather than waiting to find out I decided to go and talk with the shift foreman. I told him the supt. had taken something someone had given me to read and I had to return it and wanted it back. He said since I was somewhat new in the plant I could be excused but didn't I know that I wan't supposed to have anything religious or political in the plant: I said no, no one had ever told me that. The matter sort of dropped there but it did form one piece of a puzzle which I am sure they were beginning to construct. Basically this was my own fault and was the result of carelessness and lack of discipline. For the period following this I stopped bringing any heavy stuff to read for myself or for others and kept to light things like the newspaper and so on. This was in case they were laying a trap for me or anything. I also started keeping stuff in the trunk of my car rather than in the locker and even in the car I kept it in an out-of-sight place in the trunk.

In our agitation at the union plant we also have had to distribute our two caucus leaflets clandestinely. I mean by this that after the cops had harassed our first attempt to distribute leaflets at the gate we decided the only way we could do it was to distribute the leaflets inside the plant and not get caught. This was more risky personally, but we also felt we could do it and we could also get a few others to help us. We were successful in this, but with our two leaflets I don't think we reached more than one third of the plant. After this the company began searching everyone's lunch-boxes and so on when each shift came and went. I don't think they really felt we were dumb enough to bring leaflets into the plant in lunch-boxes and this was mainly to harass people and intimidate people. The people with the greatest awareness knew what they were looking for right away. This is really another subject however because a leaflet fits into the category of agitation rather than propaganda. For the distinction between the two see Lenin, The Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats, Collected Works, vol.2, p.329.

The main point I want to emphasize here is that getting propaganda out requires taking a lot of risks and we each must develop our discipline to do this. This is the only way to overcome our fears: through practice. To fail to conduct propaganda with the people with whom you work is a form of liberalism which will hold back the revolution and amounts to practicing liberalism and Marxism at the same time. Let's recall what Mao says about it in his great essay Combat Liberalism: "To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist." (Mao, Combat Liberalism in Five Articles by Chairman Mao Tsetung, p.55)

Note of Explanation. This is an expanded and somewhat revised version of a talk I gave on using propaganda in 1974. Following that talk certain observations and criticisms of the talk were made and I tried to take these into account as I rewrote this. I did not attempt to update the lessons so these lessons are still the same

APPENDIX - CHART OF MATERIALS I HAVE USED, 1971-1974.

(All initials which are in capitals are relationships in which I have been known as a communist. Initials with an asterisk behind them are people from the non-union shop. Materials generally are listed in order used.)

NAME OF PERSON

LIST OF MATERIALS

- R -LOC Conference leaflet, a left press article on a plant struggle, Underhanded History of the U.S., The (name of my industry), Papillon, Huey Newton article "I found freedom in jail," Shorter-Carter interview from the Guardian (leaders of a wildcat in Detroit), How to Look at Your Plant, leaflet on steelworkers caucus from BRWO, article on "spray painting" from Survival Kit, "Worker's Testimony" The People of Detroit in Class Action Against GM, Radical America article "Rock and the Development of Social Consciousness" (primarily on Bob Dylan), newspaper article on lung cancer, Boggs: Rise and Fall of the Union, Caucus Booklet, Food Price Blackmail, The Communist Manifesto, Jimmy Cliff album: The Harder They Come, Away with All Pests, The Incredible Rocky, Cuba for Beginners, Survival Kit on Heat, parliamentary procedure, The ... Report on Heat, Gorki's The Mother, radical review of movie, Billy Jack, article on a famous strike in the history of our industry, International Runaway Shop, issue of union newspaper in health problems in the industry, Pinto, Soldiers and Strikers, Malcolm X's Autobiography, Barbara Dane album: I Hate the Capitalist System, "Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories", Lee Lockwood, Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel, Selected Works of Mao in one volume, Autobiography of Mao, Philosophy is No Mystery, Hartford's class analysis of U.S., an issue of the Guardian, Cornforth, Dialectical and Historical Materialism.
- RO-LOC Conference leaflet, The (name of my industry), caucus booklet, Away with All Pests, Shell Strike Pamphlet, Keracher, The Head Fixing Industry, International Runaway Shops, Food Price Blackmail, Survival Kit on heat, The...Report on Heat, Glaberman, Punching Out, parliamentary procedure, caucus bulletin no.1.
- n -Caucus booklet, newspaper article on cancer, Survival Kit on an important health problem in our industry, parliamentary procedure, The Incredible Rocky, Rius' comic Los Chicanos.
- rb-The (name of my industry), caucus booklet, parliamentary procedure, The Incredible Rocky, Rius' Los Chicanos.
- f -caucus booklet, The (name of my industry), caucus bulletin no.1
- DW-caucus booklet, The (name of my industry), pamphlet on a dangerous chemical used in his department
- DR-parliamentary procedure, caucus booklet, The (name of my industry). Harold Baron, The Role of Black Labor (abridged version)

- i -Food Price Blackmail, The Incredible Rocky, caucus bulletin no.1
- s -The (name of my industry), Hartford's analysis of classes in the U.S., The Incredible Rocky, Vietnam primer, caucus bulletin no.1
- LT-LOC Conference leaflet, The (name of my industry), caucus booklet, Survival Kit on heat, leaflet on Rhodesia from BRWO, Uncle Sam the Pusherman, caucus bulletin no.1
- b -Rius' Los Chicanos, caucus bulletin no.1
- e -caucus booklet
- d -Cuban pamphlet on Nicaragua, Survival Kit on heat, caucus bulletin no.1
- w -pamphlet on industrial solvents, list on dangerous chemicals in our industry from Work is Dangerous to Your Health, Boggs: Rise and Fall of the Union, caucus booklet, caucus bulletin no.1
- b -Fifth Estate article on GM and the Nazis, caucus bulletin no.1
- a -Rius' Los Chicanos, caucus bulletin no.1
- BT\*The Opium Trail: Heroin and Imperialism
- G\*-Vietnam Primer
- J\*-Quotations from Mao, The Road of the Honduran Revolution, Cuba for Beginners
- C\*-Malcolm X Speaks, The Naked Ape, Proposition X Leaflet, Women and Their Bodies, Huey Newton on Sweet Sweetback, Hartford on classes in U.S., Masters and Johnson
- A&A\*article on marriage, China calendar 1973, Hubermann and Sweezy: The ABC's of Socialism, LOC leaflet, Food Price Blackmail, Barbara Dane's I Hate the Capitalist System, The Bread We Eat