

USING THE ORGANIZER. (Second version.) 2.10.77.

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I. INTRODUCTION.

Early on in our history, the PWOC did almost no propaganda work. The absence of this activity was recognized as part of the overall problem of narrowness and tailism which constituted an aspect of the organization's work at our Plenum in the fall of 1974. Developing a political newspaper which would combine agitation and propaganda was seen as a key element in the struggle to bring forward our "political side."

Over two years later, we can point to substantial gains. The publication of the ORGANIZER and other materials has been an all-important factor in the overall growth of the PWOC, both in quantity and quality. Within the workers' movement the ORGANIZER has strengthened the specifically communist side of our activity while aiding the development of the rank and file movement. Within the left and the communist movement both locally and nationally the ORGANIZER, along with our other publications, has served to establish the PWOC as a leading voice for a distinct Marxist-Leninist trend within the party-building movement.

Our newspaper is increasingly recognized for its strengths. Its ability to combine agitation with a popular treatment of revolutionary theory, its imaginative layout, its critical (as opposed to rhetorical) approach to the issues and its feeling for the character and traditions of the working-class in the U.S.--all these aspects have been noted in our discussions and correspondence with other organizations and individuals

The strength of the ORGANIZER is, of course, not simply a matter of its format and

style, but its political substance. The features of our political line: our hostility to dogmatism, our approach to the trade-unions, our treatment of the national question and understanding of the united front, add our grasp of party-building--all these elements which mark the PWOC as distinct in terms of political trend have not only found expression in the ORGANIZER, but have been further refined and developed in its pages.

In the shops the ORGANIZER has enabled us to link class-struggle unionism with the need for communist theory and organization and has been the key element in developing the PWOC's public presence. Our ability to utilize the ORGANIZER as a tool for communist propaganda and agitation, for recruitment, and for strengthening the political side of the rank and file movement is still limited, but the potential has been clearly demonstrated. Workers do read the ORGANIZER, and are influenced by it. It has been used effectively for educational purposes with some advanced workers, and the organization of study circles around the newspaper marks a major step forward.

So, taking things as a whole, we have made great progress--and this progress confirms the soundness of our judgment in launching the ORGANIZER. It is also a tribute to the entire organization, for the ORGANIZER is truly a collective expression of the PWOC: every member has made sacrifices in order to launch and sustain this project, and can justly take pride in its achievement to date.

However (as always), there is another side to the coin. Timidity, tailism, and lack of conscious planning for the utilization of the ORGANIZER in the shops, caucuses, and mass-organizations remains our major problem in the PWOC's propaganda work. Of course, we need far more materials to work with; of course, what we do have needs to be improved; of course, there is plenty to be done in terms of strengthening the quality of our journalism, the clarity of our political line, and the overall balance of the content of the ORGANIZER. But the point is that even with its present weaknesses, the ORGANIZER and our other publications are usable. And the fact of the matter, plain for all who desire to see it, is that overcoming the weaknesses in our propaganda is no guarantee whatsoever that we will overcome our weaknesses in using that propaganda.

As we prepare to move to a monthly ORGANIZER, what we must concentrate on--in addition to upgrading the quality of the materials themselves--is how to use our propaganda, how to realize its potential as a tool for communist propaganda and agitation. A monthly ORGANIZER (or even a daily ORGANIZER!) is no more desirable than a bi-monthly if we do not effect a qualitative advance in our work with it.

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## II. THE ORGANIZER AND THE PWOC.

### A. The consolidation of ideological and political line; the education of cadres.

First, some general points about the editorial authority of the ORGANIZER. While the paper speaks publically as the organ of the PWOC, it is in fact the organ of the Executive Committee of the PWOC. The newspaper concretely applies the general line of the PWOC to questions and issues that have not necessarily been fully discussed (or even broached) in the cells. Thus cadres have and will continue to find themselves in the position of learning what the organization's position is on a particular issue from the ORGANIZER (various articles on local and national elections are a good case in point).

This is not an abnormal situation that compromises democracy in the PWOC. On the

contrary, it is simply another expression of the leading role of the Executive Committee and the practice of democratic-centralism. The authority of the Executive in relation to the newspaper is no different than its relation to our work in general. In both instances, the Executive has the authority and indeed the responsibility to apply the general line of the organization to concrete situations without prior discussion in the organization as a whole.

Members are bound to familiarize themselves with these positions and defend them. If there is lack of clarity or division within the cells, this should be reported up through regular channels, and more extensive or intensive discussion can be arranged. Clearly, the Executive seeks to anticipate the need for consolidation prior to publication of its views; but nevertheless the political line of the ORGANIZER is the concrete application of the line of the PWOC and both presently and in the future, members will to a considerable extent grasp this line through the pages of our central organ.

Directly linked to the consolidation of line is the education of cadres. The use of the ORGANIZER and our other materials has a definite internal side. Indeed, discussion and analysis of the ORGANIZER in the basic units is the primary form of ideological education in these units; or at least it should be. The critical factor here is initiative from the units themselves; barring this initiative, we must recognize an inevitable narrowness and pettiness in the theoretical life of any cell.

For instance, the recent ORGANIZER issues contained an article on "The Foreign Policy of China." Should the basic units ignore this article because it is not related to their "ongoing work?" Should they conduct a superficial discussion of the main points in the article and leave it at that? No! Proletarian internationalism, the national liberation struggles and their relationship to the class-struggle in the US, the role of the socialist countries, all these questions are most definitely posed by the "ongoing work" of the cells and fractions. What does China's foreign policy imply about our attitude towards the Many-wing of the AFL-CIO? How are we to agitate around the national liberation struggle in Angola and southern Africa generally? What does internationalism mean to the rank-and-file movement today--what about the export of jobs and the weakening of the world trade-union movement? These, and many others, are very real and immediate questions for all our members. The organization, through the pages of the ORGANIZER, provides the basic reading: it is up to the basic units to do the education. They have both treatments of the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and their application to concrete topical questions at their disposal; and in the near future, they will have them at their disposal every month: what more could we ask for?

#### B. The organizational responsibilities of the cells.

If we agree that at the base of our organization we have not been taking the full measure of the ideological opportunities and responsibilities connected to the ORGANIZER, then we must recognize that organizationally, we have an even sharper self-criticism to make. What are the duties of the cells organizationally?

1. Organizing and evaluating mass-distribution; collection of receipts and full and accurate reporting.
2. Soliciting subscribers/sustainers; participating in promotional drives; collection of receipts and full and accurate reporting.
3. Evaluation and training of individual members' agitation.
4. Developing a network of worker-correspondants and distributors around the cell.
5. Organizing ORGANIZER Circles around the cell.
6. Criticizing coverage related to their concentrations, developing ideas for further linking the ORGANIZER and the mass-struggles in their concentrations.



At present, we cannot say with confidence that any of these responsibilities are consistently met...and the ORGANIZER at present is a bi-monthly. Once it goes monthly, many of these tasks will be at least doubled quantitatively, and all will expand qualitatively. Clearly, our work is cut out for us.

It is true that part of the problem here has been located, not in the basic units, but in the division of responsibility and labor in the Executive Committee's Propaganda Secretariat and the Staff attached to it. A number of important steps are envisioned to rectify these problems; they will be reported on in a general political report on the monthly ORGANIZER in the near future. But it is also true that these have not been the main or decisive aspect of the problem; what is primary here is the lack of initiative and responsibility of the basic units.

For instance, we have situations where fully 90% of a cell's energy around the ORGANIZER is devoted to a general discussion and point-by-point critique of each and every article! What then is left, we might well ask, for the six organizational responsibilities? As confirmed in practice, the answer is 'almost nothing.' A unit that has taken up all its mandated tasks, that is developing and deepening them, that is selling subscriptions, drafting or requesting really concrete coverage for its work, fulfilling its distribution assignments completely and punctually, and reporting up on schedule and through appropriate channels on all this work...a unit in this situation has every right to send up a general, overall critique of a particular issue; it may even, if it so desires, list its criticisms and questions for every article point by point--and we can guarantee that the Secretariat and Staff will devote its full attention to all of it.

But we have no units in that situation. And until we do, we should devote not 90%, but 100% of our energies to the basic organizational responsibilities outlined here.

C. The Press Officer in the cells.

For well over a year, the cells have all been urged to develop a "Press Officer" role within their division of labor and responsibility. Experience has demonstrated conclusively that: (a.) A serious effort to live up to its duties to the ORGANIZER by any cell absolutely requires a leadership post to systematize, centralize, and develop the work; (b.) Propaganda work is so central to the tasks of the cells in this period that the Press Officer should be the second role developed in the cell without exception, right after the Cell Chair; (c.) a "propaganda assistant" (parallel to the "organizational assistants" in most cells) is inadequate to the task--we must have a full Officer, elected by the membership of the cell and accountable to it.

Further, this role is not limited to the internal affairs of the cell. The cell Press Officers have a "semi-Staff" character in that they are part of the Distribution Department's infrastructure, and work directly with and under the Distribution Manager. They also have a "semi-Staff" relationship to the Editorial Staff through the "Labor Round Up."

Finally, we should add that with the monthly ORGANIZER, this role becomes even more critical. If the cells do not wish to be completely outdistanced and left behind by the monthly ORGANIZER, they must devote the kind of attention they have devoted to building up the Cell Chair's role to the Press Officer role, and they must do so immediately.

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III. THE ORGANIZER IN THE PLANTS AND NEIGHBORHOODS.\*

A. The ORGANIZER and the advanced worker.

The ORGANIZER was conceived with the advanced worker in mind. The form and content of the paper are concrete expressions of our political line on party-building. The ORGANIZER is a weapon for winning over the advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism and for building a communist current in the workers' movement. As such it seeks to propagate communist ideas in a popular form and to bring a communist perspective to bear on the concrete problems that face the workers' movement. While the paper also has a definite agitational content on the level of our mass-tasks, this side of the paper is subordinate to its explicitly revolutionary side. There is no impenetrable barrier between these two aspects of the newspaper, but it is important to recognize that the ORGANIZER is first and foremost an instrument of advanced, revolutionary agitation and propaganda.

Following these assumptions, every issue of the ORGANIZER will have some fairly advanced theoretical material. While we aim at making these articles as readable and concrete as possible, they inevitably will be fairly long and difficult given the complexity of the ideas. For these reasons it is unrealistic to expect that these articles will be "widely" read. They will in fact be read for the most part by the advanced workers with whom we have contact and often then only with some encouragement and help from us. They are primarily articles to be used in conjunction with discussion and study. We put them in our newspaper rather than just had them out separately to our contacts for several reasons. The context of the newspaper for these articles serves to convey the full breadth and depth of the PWOC as an organization. It serves to more organically unite the pursuit of revolutionary theory with the more practical activity of the workers' movement. Finally, the presence of these articles along with the other material facilitates the political development of workers from militant trade-unionists with a class-struggle orientation into full-fledged communists.

From the initial stages of the ORGANIZER, there has been a certain amount of resistance in the organization to advanced theory in the newspaper. While this has receded it has not disappeared, and thus must be clarified.

No one has argued that we should not have theoretical articles in the newspaper; rather the objection has been posed in terms of style, to the effect that these articles are "not readable" and must be shortened and simplified if they are to find their audience. The problem is that the objective effect of shortening and simplifying articles which are already, for the most part, short and simple--given their subject matter--would vulgarize their content and actually remove advanced theory from the pages of the ORGANIZER. This is not to say that these articles cannot be improved; some could stand much improvement, and all of them could be better; and of course we must work for greater simplicity and economy of expression.

But our general attitude is that these articles have been of a relatively high quality and that they approximate the kind of article we need. The simple fact is that it is impossible to develop a complex idea without using some technical language and several thousand words. The Editorial Staff is always open to concrete

\*Our discussion, as usual, will be framed in the context of our organizational priority, the shops; but we should keep in mind that the neighborhood and community struggles, in terms of using the ORGANIZER, are almost strictly analogous. Likewise for city-wide political campaigns, international solidarity work, anti-repression and defense work, and so on.

suggestions for the improvement of style and treatment, and thus readability, of our theoretical articles (it is unfortunate, we might note, that none of the critics in the organization has submitted a re-written section of a "abstract and academic" treatment, rendered more lively); but what must be insisted upon is that the complexity and thus the truth of the idea under consideration not be sacrificed in the process.

We must also recognize that while winning the advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism is the primary aspect of the ORGANIZER, uniting the existing Marxist-Leninist movement is also a most important feature. Our theoretical articles serve to sharpen the ideological struggle within the new communist movement and the broader left. They are one of the vehicles through which the PWOC seeks to strengthen the new Marxist-Leninist trend and expose en route the various forms of opportunism within our movement. While the newspaper is perhaps not the primary means through which we polemicize with other communist forces, it is a primary front in the battle for Marxism-Leninism over and against opportunism precisely because it will be the netry of the advanced workers into the fray that will ultimately decide the battle. The opposition that is raised from time to time to the polemics with other tendencies in the ORGANIZER is based on an unrealistic (and ultimately tailist and economist) grasp of party-building, one that fails to comprehend the dialectical relationship between 'winning the advanced workers' and 'untying Marxist-Leninists.' What is called for by way of rectification is greater initiative in taking our polemics and the ideological struggle in general in the ORGANIZER to the advanced workers; the last thing we can afford is for members to sit back and wait for their advanced contacts to complain that the articles are too difficult--such a "self-fulfilling prophecy" brings little satisfaction to either the individual member or the PWOC!

Clearly, much of our difficulties with the relationship between the ORGANIZER and the advanced workers reflects the continued influence of tailism within the PWOC. Members that sit on their hands and do not actively propagate communist ideas through the ORGANIZER in their workplace or mass-organization are guilty of tailism, plain and simple. Basic units that do not actively take up their mandated responsibilities to the ORGANIZER are guilty of tailism (mixed with a healthy dose of amateurism, to be sure), plain and simple. Finally, members and/or units that do not actively link the ORGANIZER to the ongoing struggles in their workplace or mass-organization, that do not strive for the greatest possible intervention and contribution on the part of the ORGANIZER in these ongoing struggles, are guilty of tailism, pure and simple. After all, it is precisely our ability to link up the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the immediate struggles of our class--through concrete analysis and guidance--that constitutes the key link in our struggle to win over the advanced workers. And it is precisely the ORGANIZER that constitutes our best and major tool for accomplishing this...it is precisely this feature of the ORGANIZER that guarantees we can use it.

At present, no one actually opposes this link-up; but on the other hand we cannot say that the initiative to develop it we must have from the basic units is always there. Most, if not all, of our members grasp the importance of "linking-up" in terms of the advanced workers; but they fear the possible reaction of the middle and backward workers--the solution, of course, is not mysterious: ideological strengthening around the question "to follow or to lead?", complemented by determination and boldness in practice. It might be helpful to consider that we are not far off from realization of a long-term goal of the ORGANIZER in certain plants: that is, open distribution by open communists working in the given plant--and this means all of our concentrations are closer than they might tend to think.

B. Forms for the advanced worker.

To utilize the advanced propaganda in the ORGANIZER obviously calls for a great deal of conscious activity on our part. We must pursue discussion around these, and other articles with the advanced workers. We should try to arrange informal discussion with both individuals and small groups around specific articles; and take advantage of every opportunity for discussion. We should know every reader in our department or work-area, and discuss every issue with them. It is worthwhile remembering that we agitate around the ORGANIZER not only to educate, but also to assist us in evaluating the effectiveness of the newspaper; thus even casual discussion that does not get into any substantive questions can still be quite valuable.

The "breakthrough" in this one-to-one work will occur when we are discussing not only the specific content of a given issue, but also the political role of the ORGANIZER. Getting subscriptions and sustainers is an important element in this process. It is through subscriptions that we build a stable and committed readership. A worker that is getting the paper regularly (and a subscription is the only sure way to guarantee this) will be far more likely to participate in discussion and study around the ORGANIZER. (More on this in Section E. on "Promotional drives.")

1. The ORGANIZER Circle.

a. Definition.

The ORGANIZER Circle is the PWOC's highest level form for non-member education. Its purpose is to instruct the advanced workers in communist theory and practice in a living, concrete way through the articles in the newspaper. We stress that these Circles operate on a communist level: they are openly organized and led by the PWOC, their express intent is to develop advanced workers into communist revolutionaries, and they take up the broadest and most advanced political questions facing the workers' movement. We view them as "stepping-stones" into the PWOC, and as major tools in our recruitment of advanced workers into our organization; if we take the PWOC AS a "university of revolution," then the ORGANIZER Circles are a kind of "prep school" for that university.

It should be clear, then, that the utmost professionalism is required of us in our leadership of these circles; there is no way they could possibly fulfill their functions if treated as informal "rap sessions." And it should also be clear that a serious commitment is required from all participants. The preparation and study required is intentionally not as difficult as that required in our internal cadres' education; but as we well know, many of the articles in the ORGANIZER are in no sense "simple" and do require serious intellectual effort. Of course, boldness is in order in calling together a Circle, and no-one with a real interest should ever be excluded; but we will need a relatively stable core to give the form life and enable it to furnish a basis for one-time and irregular participants.

What this means is that we must know our people and explain the concept of the Circle in depth to them, and then make a realistic judgment with them about the feasibility of forming one. A few informal "small group" discussions around a specific article or series of articles is a good way to "test the waters" and familiarize the workers with the concept of a Circle.

We have a responsibility to insure that workers of all nationalities and both sexes are comfortable in the Circle, and a worker that has little or no experience in struggling with their own chauvinism might jeopardize this; the experience of sharp struggle might also jeopardize the worker's own development. Anti-communism, unless it is so virulent it would be consistently disruptive and diversionary, is less of a problem. Part of the

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preparatory work to building a Circle should include an explanation to prospective participants that part of our understanding of 'education' is struggle, and that struggle against divisive ideas fostered by the bourgeoisie is particularly important. Any good Circle will generate a great deal of struggle, especially around divisions in the class.

b. Composition.

It is important to expend every effort to ensure a good composition in the group both in terms of nationality and sex. Now, the ideal form for an ORGANIZER Circle is membership drawn entirely from one factory or workplace; the reasons for this are exactly analogous to the reasons for the factory-cell form of cadres-organization. In order to preserve this focus, it may occasionally be necessary to sacrifice somewhat in terms of mixed composition; however, we can say that exceptional circumstances would be required to justify an all-white circle. Going further, Circles in industries or workplaces that are overwhelmingly male should not therefore resign themselves to an all-male group--wives and families are also organically connected to the factory.

On the other hand, Black, Spanish-speaking, and women Circles are a real possibility when called for by concrete circumstances. As in the case of other forms of political work, we would evaluate their advisability concretely, on a case-by-case basis.

We will often be confronted with an inadequate base for a Circle if we limit its composition strictly to one workplace, as we have with our factory-cell form of organization. If this is the case for a given unit (subcell or fraction), then the formation of a multi-industry Circle should be considered: this will increase both the prospective participants and the PWOC cadres available for the project. Such a Circle undoubtedly poses special problems, particularly in terms of follow-up (and checking-up on follow-up!), but our experience has shown that it can definitely make-up for its problems and achieve results similar to a more uniformly-composed group.

Finally, the ratio of PWOC members to non-members should be less than one-to-one. Beyond a certain ratio, no matter what the self-consciousness and discipline of the trained communists involved, the more advanced elements begin to dominate and "take over" the discussions from the less advanced. The choice of "less than one-to-one" is somewhat arbitrary, but experience is beginning to confirm it. At the same time, a ratio less than one-to-four is quite likely to prove inadequate in terms of leadership from the PWOC.

c. Curriculum.

The great strength of the ORGANIZER Circle as a form for communist-level education is its topicality; this provides a lead-in for many advanced workers that would not be likely to dive into "straight theory". As a general rule, each session should be tied to the current issue of the newspaper in order to maximize this "topicality" and liveliness; thus, the Circle meets monthly.

What this means is that we are teaching Marxist-Leninist theory through applying it to topical questions. As we all know, in many ways this is more difficult for the teachers (although more accessible to the students) than simply assigning WHAT IS TO BE DONE? It is incumbent upon us to draw out the fundamental theoretical principles and questions involved in any concrete Circle discussion; thus a serious and extensively prepared (which does not mean necessarily lengthy) presentation by the Circle leader is the general rule for each discussion. This presentation must provide the theoretical "background" to the political analysis expressed in the articles, and it must also link up that analysis to the immediate practical experience of the participants.



Further, the PWOC members involved must plan and co-ordinate, under the guidance of the leader, the specific political goals of each session; the character of the presentation, of course, will be largely determined by these goals.

We should realize, then, that the Circle form lies somewhere between "pure and simple" discussion on the one hand, and real study on the other. For example, unlike a study group, a Circle has no real "beginning" or "end"--there is no step-by-step "course of study." This feature makes it all the more important that through our leadership, we give each session a progression from more basic concepts to more advanced concepts. The key here is flexibility: back issues of the ORGANIZER, other PWOC publications, or supplementary readings from other sources can be used to pursue a topic of especial interest to participants; guest speakers from the ORGANIZER Staff or speakers with important and relevant personal experience can be invited to address the Circle; audio-visual materials may be employed...even field trips--the important thing is to draw out the workers participating, to involve them in their own self-education. As with all our work, we must lead, but not browbeat! The best prepared and best run session will be the session where the workers participate the most, where the discussion "flows," and where real educational progress is made.

Attention should also be given to the by-now extensive experience of the PWOC in creative educational technique. Case-studies, role-playing, critiquing negative examples--all can be very useful as long as they are not used as a substitute for intellectual development. One device not frequently employed up till now, but one which seems eminently suitable for the Circle form, is reading aloud and reading together whatever text is on the agenda. This compensates for lack of uniformity in preparation on the part of participants, orients thinking from the "get-go," and can contribute to the collective spirit of the discussion.

Generally, one main article (or several articles on one theme) should constitute the agenda of a given session, although it should be made clear that once this discussion is completed, discussion of other articles is very much in order. It should also be made clear that criticisms of either the style or content of articles is always in order; often, workers' political questions will take this form rather than asserting an explicit political position.

When an individual participant begins to pressure for more substantive education and theoretical development, there are several steps we can take. We can provide supplementary theoretical readings and ask the worker to report back to the Circle as a whole on their independent work; we can recruit the worker to an Outreach Study Group; or, best of all, we can recruit them to the Candidates' Program and membership in the PWOC! In point of fact, this "pressure" for a higher-level is exactly what the ORGANIZER Circle is intended to develop in the advanced workers.

#### d. Organization.

(I.) It should be clear that the role of Circle leader must be entrusted to a well-developed leading comrade; but the role of each and every PWOC member involved will be extremely demanding. Experience demonstrates conclusively that a Circle demands far more resources than we might tend to think at first. The most important education and the most important political work connected to the Circle takes place outside its confines in follow-up discussion. After all, from the point of view of the PWOC, the outstanding feature of the Circle is recruitment. As we mentioned earlier, in multi-industry situations and in the case of extra-concentration contacts, follow-up will require special efforts, as will checking up by the leader on follow-up work; but it must be done; otherwise we undermine the very purpose of the form in the first place. In this line, we must demand that each Circle, whatever its character, be attached to one cell or fraction, not several; too many centers "spoil the broth."

(II.) Also, collective planning and evaluation of the Circle and its progress by the PWOC members involved is essential; the concept and tasks of the Circle are too ambitious and too multi-faceted to do without collective method. Thus the cadres concerned should constitute themselves a "PWOC Committee" for the Circle, and meet as often as the Circle does. All PWOC members in the Committee should develop responsibility for the presentations, or at least portions of them (eventually, this will become an option we should take in terms of the workers in the Circle as well).

(III.) Each Circle leader (or the Circle committee's organizational assistant) should mail out the agenda for the forthcoming session to all participants in time for them to prepare; suggested study questions are a good idea. The session itself should be held as soon as possible after the paper hits the streets (this will facilitate participants' agitation around the issue back in the plant); all participants should be subscribers, so they will receive their copy in time to study it and be ready to discuss it a week or two after it appears.

(IV.) Circle meetings are a good place to inform people about other PWOC activities, to encourage them to attend, and so forth. A well-established Circle may even take up specific political tasks: for instance, last year one of our Circles, following a discussion of the campaign to save PGH, decided that all its participating members would go back to their respective union meetings and attempt to get a resolution of support, drafted by one of the Circle members, passed by their membership. However, we must also beware the tendency to "glut the market" with a dozen different events: exactly which practical projects are pushed in the Circle should be a political decision of the PWOC Committee leading the Circle, and should not be left to spontaneity (of course, this does not bar us from making literature from all the various PWOC activities available; the question is which particular activities do we promote?).

We must also take care in our Circle-work that in propagating the communist view of topical questions, we also manage to promote the PWOC. Before too many sessions have gone by, we should manage to convey a clear picture of the PWOC, its activities and goals, and the meaning and responsibilities of membership in it. Judging from experience, Circle participants that join in the course of a Circle's existence can be especially effective in conveying a sense of the PWOC to other non-member participants. This aspect should develop almost "naturally"--we analyze an issue, discuss the tasks of the working-class movement in regard to it, describe what the PWOC is doing about it, how it is doing it...and we're right there!

(V.) Questions of *security* in regard to the selection of Circle participants should be taken very seriously. Where possible, a special division of labor among the PWOC members participating should be developed. This division is impossible to predict in general; every unit is different, and this special division of labor should flow out of the general recruitment work of the unit. For instance, it may be unnecessary for all members of a given unit to participate in the Circle, or to participate openly.

(VI.) Each Circle grouping should begin with an Orientation Meeting, covering the following points:

1. a brief personal introduction of the leader (and other open members);
2. the purpose of the PWOC and the ORGANIZER (see "What is the ORGANIZER," vol.I, no. 1.);
3. the purpose of the Circle, relations between communists and non-communists, the mythology of anti-communist notions of "brain-washing, etc. (a short, lively mini-pamphlet on study and ORGANIZER Circles should soon be available to all comrades);
4. the communist approach to education: practical, collective, critical, the struggle for unity. divisions in the class, divisive ideas. compare and contrast with bourgeois approach, schools, etc.;
5. the importance of disciplined study: preparation, concentration, review.
6. the relationship of the Circle form to the mass-organization-- questions of *security* ;
7. opportunity for supplementary work;
8. building the ORGANIZER (see next section of this text);
9. details: mailing list, scheduling time and place, telephone numbers.

e. Developing worker-correspondants and distributors.

A most important aspect of the tasks of a Circle is building the ORGANIZER in the workers' movement. The advanced workers should not only study and discuss the newspaper, but also build it: contribute articles, distribute it, promote it by selling subscriptions and sustainers, and so forth. In general, as we have noted elsewhere, drawing the advanced workers into "organizing with the ORGANIZER" is a very important--in fact, primary--method of training future cadres in communist-level organizational work. The PWOC by itself cannot organize the in-plant networks of correspondants and distributors so critical to the development and role of the ORGANIZER; we must draw ever broader strata into this work. And, the all-important practical training the class-conscious workers receive--on a basic level in the rank-and-file movement and on a more intermediate-level in the city-wide coalitions and campaigns--is incomplete training without practical work on the communist-level...without training in fully revolutionary agitation and organization.

Now, the workers in an ORGANIZER Circle are prime candidates for this work: they can provide us with "inside" information and articles, they can circulate the newspaper inside their shops and solicit subscriptions and sustainers, they can agitate around the newspaper and report back on their results--the most revolutionary-minded of the advanced workers will also want to hawk the ORGANIZER at other factories.

This organizational work clearly must not be a condition for participating in a Circle; this would be a most serious error on our part. But every effort--probably at first on a one-to-one basis--should be made to

encourage it. Again, the practical example of workers that have become correspondants and distributors in the course of the Circle's existence will be the most effective tool in winning other workers to the task.

Looking into the future, we can see the potential of a collective form that links study and discussion of the ORGANIZER with practical work building it; going a step further, we can consider the potential of a network throughout the city of such ORGANIZER "shop committees." This is our long-term goal: every factory and neighborhood cell the center of a network of ORGANIZER Committees, realizing the role of the revolutionary press as "not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer." (Section III.B.2., "Worker Correspondants and Distributors," furnishes the concrete elements necessary to pursue this work.)

f. The struggle against opportunism.

Finally, we should be on our guard against tailism cropping up in this work as it progresses. This was very definitely a problem very early on when the concept was first being developed. Some comrades tended towards the view that the Circle should be a "caucus within the rank-and-file caucus," a form for consolidating trade-union tactics, and at the limit, the full class-struggle program. In other words, a form more or less similar to the Workers' Forum program, or to a caucus "leadership program."

This view is incorrect. We understand that one of the two outstanding advantages of the Circle form (the first being its direct ties to our central political organ) is its factory base and the opportunity it affords us to link up the daily, ongoing practical struggles in the factory to the most advanced Marxist-Leninist concepts. And every effort must be made to weave the rich practical experience of the advanced workers into every aspect of the Circle's discussions. It is certainly not going to be easy to concretize advanced theoretical concepts for the workers in the Circles, and we are going to have to draw upon all our experience in educational work in order to do it. Thus, we will make mistakes: we will come forward with abstract formulations that could tend to alienate workers rather than draw them closer to the PWOC.

But we cannot permit ourselves to "throw the baby out with the bath-water." The correct and legitimate demand for truly concrete theory must not be permitted to cover for the incorrect and tailist tendency to lower the level and dilute the content of the Circle. The Circle is a communist-level form; it negates itself if it is limited to the trade-union question. It is the most direct route to membership in the PWOC, and hence must provide a "road-map" to the advanced workers traveling that route. This means it must take up the full range of political questions facing the working-class in general and the advanced workers in particular, and that it must take them up with an explicit, fully-developed communist perspective.



2. Worker-Correspondants and Distributors: some guidelines.

The "Labor Round-Up" section of the monthly ORGANIZER will be a much more regular and standardized feature than at present. The timeliness and real "news" character of a monthly newspaper will be reflected first and foremost in the "Labor Round-Up." LRU correspondants should include both people within our shops and extra-concentration contacts. Each of our concentrations should be represented in print at least every other issue; it is the responsibility of the units to see that this happens.

Any prospective recruit is a potential correspondant, and any correspondant is a prospective recruit. Thus the development of both categories is linked, and we must approach them conscious of that link.

Extra-concentration correspondants are people who most likely will be drawn toward us on the basis of our trade-union work and/or its coverage in the ORGANIZER; proper work with them can develop to a great extent their class-consciousness, writing skills, and understanding of the PWOC and its organization. Obviously, an extra-concentration correspondant/prospective recruit will require more consciousness from the unit concerned than an in-concentration correspondant will. The absence of joint trade-union work--in the workplace--necessarily means greater commitment on our part. The ORGANIZER thus becomes a primary vehicle for the development of both mass-level and communist-level in-plant organization.

The unit's liason with extra-concentration contacts has the responsibility to meet with the correspondant on at least a monthly basis. In the initial stages of developing a correspondant, discussion will be required on the political role of a revolutionary newspaper and how it is organized and produced. Correspondants should understand that they can contribute on four progressively higher levels:

1. Talk with liason about their shop in general; jointly center down on issues for articles; write up by liason, reviewed by correspondant.
2. After discussion and with writing guidelines furnished by liason, correspondant writes article and turns it in.
3. Correspondant develops topics independently and writes them up with assistance only upon request.
4. Correspondant participates in inside distribution, agitation, and solicitation--thus becoming a worker=distributor.

On this last and highest level: for many correspondants, this will flow more or less "naturally," stimulated by the enthusiasm inevitably generated by seeing oneself "in print." But we must be aware that this aspect of ORGANIZER work is the most difficult, politically speaking, and we must be at pains to provide as much instruction as possible, anticipate difficulties and obstacles, orient our contact in terms of *security* and so forth. The appropriate section of this text should be supplied and

reviewed in detail. (It should not be necessary at this point to stress that anyone working for the ORGANIZER on all four levels is an eminently recruitable individual!)

Anyone who has written for a rank-and-file paper is a candidate to write in some form for the ORGANIZER, but this is not a pre-requisite given the relative scarcity of rank-and-file publications. The important criteria is political consciousness, not simply writing skill; if the former is there, the latter can be developed in one form or another. In working with contacts on writing, we must be sure to orient the writer around questions such as: (1.) It is not necessary to agree with everything in the newspaper in order to write for it; (2.) LRU articles are not presented as identical to the editorial policy of the newspaper; (3.) Signed articles will be published only in the official LRU section.

In order to make the LRU as current as possible, deadlines must be set and respected. Copy must be in the hands of the LRU Editor two weeks before date-of-publication; this is an absolute deadline, and the earlier the better. After this date it will be impossible to consider any material, due to production schedules.

Initiative from the units around the LRU is critical to making the ORGANIZER a real reflection of the working-class in Philadelphia. In the future, regular assignments will be given for LRU articles in order to buttress and strengthen this initiative--but these assignments cannot be interpreted as a replacement for the units' initiative. With regular contacts, for instance, there is no reason why "banks" of material on general, long-term problems at a given plant cannot be developed.\*

The unit's Press Officer is the immediate center for all this work. They maintain a Log of LRU contacts assigned to their unit, note the industry, union, liason, and history of the contact, and work directly under the LRU Editor and Distribution Manager. New prospects, once discovered, should be reported promptly and not held on the back-burner: the lists of available writers provide the basis for assignments and editorial planning by the ORGANIZER Staff.

Finally, all the units must strive to move to a collective context for the worker-correspondants and distributors they handle. A one-to-one method of work, while often unavoidable, is inherently limited in terms of evaluation and development. If there is not a Circle available, the unit should consider expanded unit meetings on ORGANIZER work and related matters.

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\*To avoid any and all possible misunderstandings, we should point out that while the LRU is the clear priority in terms of correspondance, an advanced worker with the desire and capability to treat a more general political question is most strongly encouraged to do so!

C. Using the ORGANIZER in the caucus.

Beyond the immediate circle of advanced workers who are already to one degree or another interested in communist ideas, are the activists in the rank-and-file caucus. Our approach to these workers is two-fold. We want to begin to introduce Marxism-Leninism in order to further their political development and move the best of them into the category of the advanced. We also want to develop and strengthen their grasp of class-struggle unionism in order to advance the caucus and the left-center alliance generally.

The ORGANIZER has regular articles of a theoretical character that aim at fleshing out and developing our trade-union line. These articles are particularly important in relation to the "caucus" group of workers. In the first place, these articles can be of great aid in the whole caucus's political development; they also serve to establish the relevance of the PWOC and by implication Marxism-Leninism in the mind of the rank-and-file militant who is hostile or suspicious of communist ideas. The strength of these articles provides an opening for introducing more advanced conceptions, and they are the cutting-edge of the struggle to link up the rank-and-file movement and the new communist movement. For instance, it is to these articles that we turn first when we try to integrate the ORGANIZER into caucus education.

In many cases, the workers we are talking about will not know of our association with the PWOC--at least not directly. Whether they should learn this and when is a question that must be decided on the basis of the concrete situation. If the conclusion is that it is important for a particular worker or group of workers to learn this, then the newspaper provides the ideal means of "breaking the ice." If it is inexpedient to reveal our organizational identity, this does not mean the ORGANIZER cannot be used. As with the advanced workers, we must initiate discussion around relevant articles in the newspaper, irregardless of how open we are about membership in the PWOC. In cases where we cannot present the newspaper as something we produce, we can still solicit opinions and start discussions...and must do so. Tactical flexibility is always necessary, but no matter what the circumstances we must find the ways and means of using the ORGANIZER.

We must also seek to secure subscriptions among this group of workers: Just because they may not accept the overall outlook of the ORGANIZER does not mean they won't subscribe to it. If they agree with some articles and find them instructive, this is a good basis for pushing a subscription. Again, as in the case of the more advanced worker, a subscription gives us the maximum opportunity to move them forward ideologically. It is not necessary to be open to sell a subscription. If we let it be known that we as individuals subscribe to the ORGANIZER and that we took the initiative to do so because we found it to be very valuable reading, then

we are in a good position to push a subscription. This may expose us to some red-baiting, but it will also allow us a very concrete opportunity to oppose red-baiting by pointing to the real usefulness of the newspaper as compared with the bourgeois press, as well as the standard democratic defenses. If there are worker-correspondants in the plant or caucus, we are in an even stronger position to push subscriptions (as well as to develop more worker-correspondants!), particularly if they sign their articles: the personal dimension can be very important.

D. Using the ORGANIZER with the broad ranks.

The majority of the workers in a given plant today fall outside the categories discussed above. The bulk of these workers will read neither the advanced propaganda or the more theoretical material on building the workers' movement and the trade-unions--at least not past the first paragraph. They are most likely to read an article that pertains directly to their plant or union and perhaps some of the other agitational material (with an occasional article on city politics thrown in).

This pattern stands to reason, since the basic agitational articles are in fact aimed primarily at the broad masses of workers. These articles seek to expose the monopolists and draw workers into struggle against them. While these articles are generally simple and easy to read, it does not follow that their impact will be realized spontaneously. The point of view in the agitational material is inevitably going to be controversial and thus winning workers to it requires struggle with them. This kind of struggle is easy to initiate when there has been a free-distribution at the plant in question; but this will be infrequent with the monthly ORGANIZER. Under ordinary circumstances, i.e. plant-gate sales, the vast majority of these workers will not have seen the newspaper and we will have to get it into their hands. There are several methods of approaching this task (all should be executed with appropriate degree of prudence as collectively determined). One way is to hand around the copy you bought at the gate. Another way is to ask for some extra at the gate and hand them around ("because of a particularly good article"Ø. Or, a relevant page or article can be removed and posted, then followed-up with discussion. Other methods will develop out of concrete experience--the point is that the task can and must be taken up.

Here, no less than with the other groups of workers, we are concerned with advancing the level of political consciousness and drawing workers into higher forms of struggle. While most of the workers we are talking about here will not be interested in study sessions, they may very well be interested in going to a demonstration, attending a caucus meeting, or engaging in some other form of activity that flows from a grasp of the content of the article. And, they may be interested in subscribing on this basis. This should be our aim in using the newspaper with the broad ranks.



It is also important to remember that we never know all the advanced workers. The ORGANIZER may very well bring new candidates for the PWOC out of the woodwork. Also, political consciousness is a dynamic, fluid quantity and many of the workers who we would correctly categorize as "middle forces" or even backward today will grow and develop with the upsurge of the spontaneous movement...and attention on our part. But these workers will remain in the woodwork as far as we are concerned unless we actively pursue discussion around the themes of the ORGANIZER and really use it.

E. Promotional drives.

We have little to say on this subject. Our first drive, launched last year, was a total failure--so much so that we learned almost nothing from it, even by negative example. The upcoming monthly presents us with the opportunity to start over from scratch and do the job right: i.e., establish realistic quotas and then get down to work. It is also time that we began really promoting our newspaper among the masses, rather than simply selling subscriptions to our friends: soapboxing, signboards, special promotional leaflets, posters, stickers, plant-gate rallies with plants in the audience--all of these techniques should be explored, and then some more created.

Good solid work here will create the conditions for ongoing concentration fundraising for the ORGANIZER, above and beyond subscription/sustainer drives: parties with some political entertainment and an address by a Staff member, and other forms of direct fundraising.

The Staff will take the initiative in developing a basic promotional brochure, attractively designed and printed, setting forth the various ways of building the ORGANIZER available to our readers, actual and potential: subscribing, sustaining, studying, corresponding, distributing, volunteering, purchasing and reading other PWOC publications...and so forth. It will be the tasks of the units to convert these ideas into material reality.

F. Mass-distribution.

The PWOC is planning a 12 to 16 page monthly newspaper; this is an increase in content from 0% to 25%, given that our bi-monthly ORGANIZER was 24 pages long (actually, the percentages are somewhat higher, since "bi-monthly" turned out in practice to mean five issues per year. But even if we were planning to publish a one-page newspaper, our mass-distribution workload would necessarily double. Given that distribution up till now has in no sense been an outstanding example of traditional PWOC professionalism, this is a matter for some concern.

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Professionalism in all aspects of our political organ is essential to the development of a quality newspaper that is in fact read by the working-class. Distribution is thus no exception to the rule. So, as we plan for a monthly, and as we grow in membership and dispose of greater and greater resources, we must recognize that it is inefficient and even idealistic to expect each and every member to participate equally in distribution. After all, we never expected this kind of abstract equality in terms of layout and production; and we have recently revised (or at least developed) our understanding of specialization in writing and reporting; now it is clear distribution requires similar measures.

Although we want to develop in every member of the PWOC (and its fringes, for that matter) the ability to agitate with written materials among workers who are not personal acquaintances--the self-confidence and boldness that are an essential part of an organizer's skills--we cannot view distribution of the ORGANIZER primarily in this "educational" light. This is particularly true if we are working on a tight, "newspaper" (as opposed to "newsmagazine")-type schedule...which we will soon be.

Therefore, we must form a Mass-Distribution Staff composed of cadres whose work-schedule permits them to distribute regularly, who have some skill and proficiency in the matter, and who can be trained as a group. This Staff will be expected to do more than their "normal" share of distribution, especially at the pilot-project locations and other strategic locations, although all members will continue to hawk the ORGANIZER as a basic responsibility of membership in the PWOC. Assignment to this Staff will be recognized as a specific and important political assignment, balanced against other aspects of the member's workload, and not simply slipped in as a secondary task.

Development of this Staff will include regular meetings to discuss the politics of mass-distribution and to conduct practical training--primarily through criticism/self-criticism of actual practice. These meetings will be called and chaired by the Distribution Manager with the assistance of the units' Press Officers.

We must also resolve the problem of the considerable number of members who, because of their work-schedules, are more or less unable to participate in mass-distribution as it has been organized in the past. Here we intend to turn a "bad thing into a good thing" and initiate weekend distribution at key locations in the working-class communities and commercial districts. Our resources in this category of member will also permit us to do much more and much better at distribution at left events in the city, which also tend to be weekend or evening affairs.

But the outstanding question in terms of mass-distribution is the pilot projects. These distribution assignments were originally thought of solely in terms of "extra-concentration" work--as a kind of compensatory measure for important locations where we had no membership. Our thinking was that developing a familiarity with the ORGANIZER and a regular, serious

readership is key to developing a communist current in the workers' movement, and that we cannot limit our efforts to develop that current solely to those workplaces where we have membership. All this is quite correct. However, a focus on developing a real readership at a location where we do have membership is an equally valuable activity given our generally low level of press-work.

Criteria for a pilot project include the following:

1. Accessibility of the workforce: can we distribute the newspaper to them with little harassment, at a place and time where conversation is possible?
2. Size of workforce.
3. Relative health of the industry: in Philadelphia right now this means how badly they are laying off. Ideally we would want a thriving industry, one where the workers felt confident of their jobs and where a young, relatively low-seniority profile was a reflection of expanding employment.
4. Good national and sexual mixture in the workforce: a good mix in both categories is rare, due to racist and sexist hiring practices, but we should do the best we can. (Flexibility is also important: for instance, a location with a high percentage of recent European immigrants would probably be a poor choice.)
5. Contacts: this is self-explanatory.
6. Reception to propaganda: this is an ambiguous variable, but we must attempt to assess. It depends upon all the criteria cited thus far, on the past work we have done there, the degree to which other forces have distributed literature, etc.

On the basis of these criteria, two locations--one "in-concentration," the other "extra-concentration"--will be selected. Logistical support will be as follows:

1. Each selected location will receive special attention from the Distribution Manager, the Editorial Staff, the captain of the distribution team, and all the Press Officers, one of which will be assigned main responsibility for the particular project. (For pilot projects where we are concentrated, this will be the Press Officer of the unit concerned; for pilot locations where we have no cadres, it will be the Press Officer of the unit to which the "inside contacts" are assigned.) In addition to the usual written reports, there will be regular meetings between the responsible Press Officer, the Team Captain, and the inside contacts when possible to evaluate effectiveness and progress.
2. An "elite" distribution team will be assembled, multi-national and mixed, assigned to at least two distributions per issue and occasionally more.

3. Special attention will be paid to developing correspondants at the location. There will be as much coverage as possible as often as possible, both in regular articles and in the LRU. (The regular articles will draw as much as possible on the conditions and experiences of the workers at the pilot location for illustration and examples of general political points.) Every conceivable avenue to contacts in the pilot location must be explored: "friends of friends," neighbors, old high-school class-mates, etc.
4. In the initial stages of the project, free-distribution will be combined with sales; we will move to sales-only as soon as possible.
5. Special promotional materials will be developed, including a general introduction to the ORGANIZER and a piece related specifically to the pilot location discussing past coverage and future goals, to be distributed immediately prior to the ORGANIZER itself. Other promotional techniques should be utilized as the project develops.

Our final point on mass-distribution concerns the question of sales as opposed to free-distribution. With the advent of monthly publication, we will convert to sales very rapidly at all our concentrations and distribution points. Everywhere we have distributed free in the past, we will issue leaflets explaining the changeover, the reasons for it and its political significance. We will use undistributed copies of the ORGANIZER each month for special free-distributions at new locations (and, of course, may utilize some free-distribution for particular reasons at established locations from time to time). As we all know, selling the ORGANIZER is more difficult than distributing it free-of-charge. So it should not surprise us that selling it--as opposed to giving it away--is also much more politically important: sales is our only accurate reflection of our real readership, and we have reached the point where our real readership is our major concern. Our hawking method remains the same--enthusiasm and consciousness!--except that it must be ever more professional.

Perhaps a few specific pointers are in order:

1. Dates for mass-distribution must be set by the Team Captain prior to publication of the issue, and postponements must occur only in cases of personal emergency: how many times have we said "Let's do it tomorrow morning" and it rained the next day, and two team members were sick the next monday, and it rained again on tuesday, and...so forth?
2. Be aggressive, but not a pain in the ass. Pursue every opportunity for conversation. We have sufficiently distinguished ourselves from the various obnoxious "leftists" at the plant-gates; we can afford to push a little at this point.
3. Through communication among the Press Officers, teams should be able to become familiar with the concrete conditions at their assigned distribution-points; refer to them while hawking, draw workers into conversation about them, learn more.



- 4. Show everyone that you enjoy what you're doing. Radiate confidence. Joke with your fellow & sister workers. Talk it up--it might be early in the morning, but you're doing something important and something valuable, and that's reason enough to be wide-awake.
- 5. Develop a main "hawking/theme " drawn from the most relevant main article in the particular issue. Elaborate on it, relate it to the concrete situation faced by the workers you're hawking to. Do so in a voice loud enough to be heard! Draw in other issues and current controversial subjects in the mass-media--get a rap going.
- 6. Promote the revolutionary press: we tell the truth, and we want everyone to know it. The ORGANIZER is the only Philadelphia paper written by workers for workers in the interest of workers--don't be ashamed to say so.
- 7. Be on the look-out for contacts at all times. Get their full name first if you can, then their department or work-area, then their telephone number. They may turn out to be "news contacts," or they may turn into worker-correspondants. Make sure the information is passed up through channels.

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IV. THE ORGANIZER AND "MOVEMENT" FORCES.

The PWOC in its day-to-day practice does not always give these strata their due. The progressive intelligentsia is an important political force in our society, and there is much to attract and educate them in the ORGANIZER. Our newspaper is also an excellent instrument for drawing closer to the PWOC and Marxism-Leninism the revolutionary-minded intellectuals among the leading sections of the intelligentsia. With a minimum of effort, every activist in the "movement" in Philadelphia could be a subscriber and supporter of the ORGANIZER...and they certainly should be. After all, we are not so developed or powerful that we can afford to be cavalier towards any sincere potential subscriber.

Many of our members know these individuals personally, and yet have never taken the time to sit down them, discuss the ORGANIZER, and sell them a subscription! (The same goes for the firends and relatives we all have, in Philadelphia and across the country, that could be persuaded without too much difficulty to subscribe to our newspaper.)

Finally, and most importantly, it is to the "movement" forces here in Philadelphia that we must turn for the bulk of the volunteers the ORGANIZER so desperately requires. We have discussed this in other reports, yet it must be repeated because we are not taking enough initiative and because the need is permanent--and can only increase with the advent of the monthly ORGANIZER. Typists, typesetters, layout and graphics, photography, translation, writing and research, transportation, hawking: we need them all, in quantity. It is more realistic and more politically

correct for us to strive to find these volunteers than to complain about the increased workload that will fall upon all members when the ORGANIZER goes monthly (besides, how can we complain about a major political advance for the PWOC?).

The Staff has set up a special ORGANIZER Circle for volunteers, and we can expect a number of recruits to the PWOC out of this Circle. Thus there is an added incentive for initiative on the part of the membership. To work!

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POSTSCRIPT.

In every situation and in all aspects of our ORGANIZER work, we need to encourage "letters to the editor." This is one of the healthiest of the "great american pastimes," and we have been derelict in our duty to ignore it. (It might be of use to note that in socialist countries, this is a massively-developed institution and an important aspect of proletarian democracy.)