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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

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Introduction to Annotated Bibliography on Propaganda and Agitation

This bibliography grew out of "Report on the Use of Propaganda at the Workplace" and its introduction. Realizing that we could improve our practice with increased mastery of the experiences from our own history and other countries, we paid attention to conducting periodic investigations to deepen our understanding. Thus after several years of investigation we have become aware of a wide body of written material on propaganda and agitation. Much of this material we have not thoroughly studied yet. When we received an invitation to this party building conference we decided we wanted to present something which represented our most advanced experience and would concretely be of help to others. We decided to do up this bibliography in a form that others could use it and so that we would sharpen our knowledge of these tools.

In its "Propaganda Theses" the Communist International lists 6 concrete organizational tasks in centrally guiding and furthering its propaganda activity. The 3rd task is stated: "Publication of a propaganda periodical for the purpose of instructing Party officials and above all, the propagandists. The task of the periodical must be to act as a medium for the exchange of experiences, in elaborating questions of programme, in generally guiding and systematizing the educational work of the Party, in investigating and working, in communicating systematic bibliographical material, and in suitably utilising for propaganda the results of the Marxist-Leninist investigations. In providing instructive material the periodical should also supply the needs of the agitators. The periodical should appear in German, French and English."

It would obviously take a very mature worker's movement to put out a propaganda periodical. We can, however, still communicate valuable systematic bibliographical material to each other. It is our experience that neither dogmatism nor empiricism or liberalism and economism can be rooted up unless a great deal of conscious attention is paid to propaganda and agitation. We think that as the communist and worker's movement becomes more fused that more attention will be paid to agitational and propaganda activity as a special branch of communist work.

This bibliography does not pretend to be complete. We are revolutionaires and not scholastics. It merely reflects the point we have reached and it is intended to help guide class struggles. It is not well organized and is rather patch-work. Very important articles may have a short notation or quotation, and less important articles may have a longer notation. Some references solely contains quotations and some contain comments by us. The inconsistencies within are a reflection of our division of labor and the fact that we did not have commonly agreed upon criteria for commenting upon an article.

We do not know if all the materials listed in the bibliography can be easily obtained by other groups. We do not have the personnel to honor requests from individuals for articles, but if there is any difficulty in obtaining these articles we might be able to provide organizations with hard-to-get materials.

Teach the Working Class to Know Itself
and Substitute Science for Dreams

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Annotated Bibliography on Propaganda and Agitation

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PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION- GENERAL LESSONS

- 1) L. Harry Gould, Marxist Glossary, 1946, Proletarian Publishers San Francisco, page 77
Gives good definition of propaganda. "The presentation of many ideas explaining some particular problem, in contradiction to agitation, which explains and arouses political action on the basis of one commonly known event or condition."
- 2) Lenin, A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy, 1899, C.W., Vol. 4, pp. 255-285
He wrote this to combat the retrograde trend of economism that was spreading in influence in Russia at the time. The economist sought to lower their agitation to appealing to the more backward strata of the working class. Lenin, in contradiction to the economists, stresses here the importance of focusing our propaganda on the advanced in carrying out the task of fusing marxism with the working class movement. "It can be seen that whoever forgets agitation and propaganda on account of the economic struggle, whoever forgets the necessity of organizing the working class movement into the struggle of a political party will aside from everything else, deprive himself of even an opportunity of successfully and steadily attracting the lower strata of the working class to the working class cause." He also stressed that "Agitational methods must be adapted to individual and local conditions. Every agitator must be allowed to select those methods of agitation that he has at his disposal... One has to talk to cabmen differently than to sailors, and to sailors differently than printers. Agitation must be individualized, but our tactics, our political activity must be uniform."
- 3) Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism-An Infantile Disorder, 1920, C.W. Vol. 3I pp. 92-94
Propaganda and agitation alone are not sufficient. For the masses must have their own political experience. "As long as it was (and inasmuch as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism, priority went and still goes to propaganda work; even propaganda circles, with all their parochial limitations, are usefull under these conditions, and produce good results."
- 4) O Piatnitsky, The Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries by Means of Overcoming the Social-Democratic Traditions, 1932, The Communist International, No. 8-9, pp. 264-266
"The strength of the Bolsheviks was due to the fact that they took up every question: be it a wage cut,.. or the absence of lavatories etc, and argued about them this way and that until the workers themselves drew the logical political conclusions from them."
- 5) Marxist-Leninist Institute, V.I. Lenin: A political Biography, 1943, pp. 26-33
Gives a very concrete description of how Lenin approached propaganda and agitation work in St. Petersburg and the establishment of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the working class. "Lenin gave a new turn to the work of the study circles. He linked up the propaganda of Marxism with the study of the conditions prevailing in Russia."

- 6) Mao, Reform Our Study, 1941, SW, Vol. 3, Chinese Ed. pp. 17-25
"Take our propoganda work, for instance; if we do not know the situation with regard to the propoganda of our enemies, our friends and ourselves, we shall be unable to decide on a correct propoganda policy."
- 7) Lenin, Draft Declaration of Iskra and Zarya, 1900, C. W., Vol. 4 pp. 320-330
"The Social-Democratic Labour Party must respond to all questions that arise in all spheres of our daily life, to all questions of home and foreign politics and we must see to it that every Social-Democrat and every class-conscious worker has definite views on all important questions. Unless this condition is fulfilled, it is impossible to carry on wide and systematic propoganda and agitation."
- 8) Stalin, Concerning the Question of Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists. 1923, Red Star Press, London, C.W. Vol. 5, pp. 174-176
On Slogans. The role of slogans and the important distinction that must be made between propoganda slogans and agitation slogans. We must not confuse the two.
- 9) Lenin, The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, 1902, C.W. Vol. 2, pp. 327-347
"The socialist activities of Russian Social-Democrats consist in spreading by propoganda 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 the future of capitalism, an understanding of the historical task of international Social-Democracy and of the Russian working class. Inseparably connected with propoganda is agitation among the workers... Agitation among the workers means that the Social-Democrats take part in all the spontaneous manifestations of the working class struggle, in all the conflicts between the workers and the capitalists over the working day, wages, working conditions, etc., etc. Our task is to merge our activities with the practical, everyday questions of working class life!"
- 10) Krupskaya, Reminiscences of Lenin, 1933, International Publishers 1975 ed. pp 18-26
"Lenin was interested in every little detail that could help him to piece together a picture of the life and conditions of the workers, to find some sort of avenue of approach to them in the matter of revolutionary propoganda."

- 11) Communist International, 21 Conditions(found in International Communism and World Revolution by Hollar, 1961 ed., Appendix 5 pp. 339-346)
"I. All propaganda and agitation must be of a genuinely Communist character and in conformity with the programme and decisions of the Communist International. The entire Party press must be run by reliable Communists who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is to be treated not simply as a current formula learnt by rote; it must be advocated in a way which makes its necessity comprehensible to every ordinary working man and woman, every soldier and peasant, from the facts of their daily life, which must be systematically noted in our press and made use of every day."
- 12) Stalin, Notes on Contemporary Themes, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1952 ed. CI, Vol. 9, pp. 337-338
"(C) The principle that unfailing regard must be paid to the truth that propaganda alone are not enough for the political education of the vast masses, that what is required for that is the political experiences of the masses themselves."
- 13) Lenin, August Bebel, 1913, C.W. Vol. 19, pp. 295-301
"Bebel expressed the mood of the working class masses and their firm conviction that a fight should be put up for full-blooded slogans."
- 14) Communist International, from Principles of Party Organization, adopted at the third Congress of the CI, 1921, Mass Publications Calcutta, pp. 15- 23
"Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interests and aspirations, especially out of their common struggle."
- 15) Chi-Ping, Attach Importance to the Role of Teachers by Negative Example, Peking Review, March 31, 1972, pp. 5-8
An excellent article about the importance of continual struggle against bourgeois ideology in our propaganda and agitation work and the need to learn from mistakes. "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstances should they be allowed to spread unchecked" Mao
- 16) Lenin, Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B)(Found in Speeches at Party Congresses(1918-1922), Progress Publishers, 1971 ed. pp 125-131
In this speech Lenin stresses that the Party must win the masses to the cause of communism not by coercion but by good practical work. " While formerly we carried on our propaganda by means of general truths, we are now carrying on our propaganda by our work. That is also preaching, but it is preaching by action."

ON LANGUAGE

- 17) A. Lozovsky, Marx and the Trade Unions, International Publishers, First published in 1935, pp. 23-24
 "Karl Marx felt the pulse of the masses, he knew how to speak to them at every given moment. It will be very instructive in this connection to compare the Communist Manifesto (1847) and the Inaugural Address of the First International, written seventeen years later. The Inaugural Address of the First International is a document calling for the united front, aimed at rallying those strata and organizations of the working class which were not then ripe for communism. There is not even a word mentioned about communism in the whole of the Inaugural Address, but at the same time it is a document communist to the core...." This is what explains the "trade union language" of the Inaugural Address, the most remarkable document after the Communist Manifesto. This is how Marx, with one and the same aim in view- to imbue the labour movement with communist consciousness- changed forms and methods of approaching the masses, depending upon the level of the movement and the character of the working class organizations of the given period."
- 18) N. Krupskaya, Memoirs of Lenin, excerpt found in the Guardian, Nov. 5, 1975, p. II
 "There is nothing I would like so much, there is nothing that I have hoped for so much as an opportunity to write for the workers", wrote Lenin... "From whom did Lenin learn to speak and write in such a popular style? He learnt most from the workers themselves. He talked with them for hours, listening carefully to their casual remarks, and to the questions they put. He adjusted his observation to their level of knowledge, so that he could find out just what they did not understand on any given question... But while working hard to assure that he conveyed his ideas to the workers in the clearest and best possible form, Lenin at the same time protested against all vulgarization, all attempts to narrow down the question for the workers, to simplify its substance..... At the present moment popular literature makes it essential that the masses should understand the situation as clearly as possible, that they understand how to link up the current facts of day to day life with the fundamental questions of the fight for socialism. We have absurdly little of such literature. It is necessary to produce it."
- 19) Mao Tse-Tung, excerpt from Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, 1957, Red Book, 1966ed, p.312
 "When in addition to reading some Marxist books our intellectuals have gained some understanding through close contact with the masses of workers and peasants and through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language, not only the common language of patriotism and the common language of the socialist system, but probably even the common language of the communist world outlook. If that happens, all of us will certainly work much better."
- 20) Mao Tse-Tung, In Opposition To Party Formalism (Speech found in Mao's China- Party Reform Documents, 1942-44, Univ. of Washington Press 1966 ed, pp 33-53

"We cannot become intimate with our friends, no matter who they are, if we do not understand each other's minds, if we do not know each others thoughts. If propogandists do not investigate, analyso, and study the audience for their propoganda, it is confused and will never make the grade... As soon as a man talks with another man, he is engaging in propoganda... Therefore our comrades must by all means study languages..In studying languages, they must pay special attention to the language of the people... If we do not study the language of the masses, we cannot lead the masses.... "when writing or speaking always have in mind the rank-and file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal, and be ready to follow you."(Dimitrov)

21) M.A. Macciocchi, Daily Life in Revolutionary China, Monthly Review Press, 1972 ed., pp. 185-187

Here she stresses the significance of the Red Book to the Chinese masses. "The little red book is also a unifying text since it enables everyone to use a common political language, one which transcends the ancient divisions of the various Chinese dialects throughout the country.... The little red book is thus the unifying political work for 750 million Chinese; they can read the same words with the same meanings and apply them not only to their political work, but also in order to have moral and collective rules: courage, devotion, thrift, and modesty."

LESSONS FROM MARX AND ENGELS ON PROPAGANDA

- 22) Marx, Quoted in Garaudy, Karl Marx: The Evolution of his Thought, International Publishers, 1967 ed., pp196-197
"The political movement of the working class has as its object, of course, the conquest of political power for the working class and for this it is naturally necessary that a previous organization of the working class...(had) been developed... Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organization to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, ie the political power of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against and a hostile attitude towards the policy of the ruling classes. Otherwise it will remain a plaything in their hands."
- 23) Marx, Quoted in John Lewis, Biography of Marx, International Publishers 1965 ed., p-133
"Before the proletariat fights out its battles on the barricades it announces the coming of its rule with a series of intellectual victories."
- 24) Riazonov, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Monthly Review Press 1973 ed., pages 63-72
" a good observation, C. Weiting, like Bakunin, was opposed to propagandistic and preparatory work... they maintained that paupers were already to revolt, that a revolution, therefore, could be engineered at any moment provided there be resolute leaders on hand."
- 25) Engels, Engels to Florence Kelley, 1886, (Found in Letters to Americans by Marx and Engels, International Publishers, 1963 ed, pp. 158-160
"A very good bit of work would be a series of pamphlets stating in popular language the contents of Das Kapital. The theory of surplus value, No. 1; the history of the various forms of surplus value (cooperation, manufacture, modern industry), No. 2; accumulation and the history of primitive accumulation, No. 3; the development of surplus value in colonies, No. 4-this would be specially instructive in America, as it would give economic history of that country, from a land of independent peasants to a centre of modern industry and might be completed by specially American facts. In the meantime you may be sure that it will take some time yet before the mass of the American working people will begin to read socialist literature."
- 26) Engels, History of the Communist League, 1855, (found in selected works of Marx and Engels, International Publishers, Vol. 2 p-15
"We entertained no doubts that an organization within the German working class was necessary, if only for propaganda,"

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE DURING THE TIME OF LENIN AND STALIN

- 27) V. I. Lenin, What Is To Be Done. 1902, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1973,
pp. 66-71 The role of factory exposures. The danger of economism in conducting propaganda and agitation.
pp. 82-83 The difference between propaganda and agitation; the definition of each.
pp. 90-102 The party must direct propaganda at all classes, in order to be vanguard. The importance of doing political education with the workers. The importance of teaching from the conditions of Russian life. The power of political agitation and the organization of political exposures.
"The Social Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum of the people it affects; he must be able to generalize all of these manifestations to produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to explain his Socialist convictions and his democratic demands to all, in order to explain to all and everyone the world historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation."
- 28) V.I. Lenin, "Draft and Explanation of a Program for the Social Democratic Party". 1896, C.W., Vol. 2, pp.112-115.
The importance of developing the workers' class consciousness and what is meant by workers' class consciousness.
- 29) V.I. Lenin, "Letter to a Comrade on our Organizational Tasks". September, 1902, C.W., Vol. 6, p. 231.
Talks about why there are so few propagandists and how it is hard to train them. Talks about division of labor and how someone might be good in one area of work and bad in another.
- 30) V.I. Lenin, On Organization. 1902 Proletarian Publishers, S.F., pp.122-125.
"Capable propagandists well-grounded and trained in theory are very rare (to become such a propagandist requires a fair amount of training and accumulation of experience); they must therefore be specialized, we must put them wholly on this work and take great care of them."
- 31) V.I. Lenin, "Draft Resolution on the Place of the Bund in the Party". C.W., Vol. 6. June 1903, p. 470.
"...that the complete amalgamation of the Social-Democratic organizations of the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat can in no respect or manner restrict the independence of our Jewish comrades in conducting propaganda and agitation in one language or another, in publishing literature adapted to the needs of a given local or national movement, or in advancing such slogans for agitation and

the direct political struggle that would be an application and development of the general and fundamental principles of the Social-Democratic programme regarding full equality and full freedom of language and national culture, etc., "

- 32) V.I. Lenin, "Second Congress of Communist Organizations of the East" in Against Dogmatism and Sectarianism in the Working-Class Movement. 1919, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 142.
"Your task is to continue to ensure that communist propaganda is carried on in every country in a language the people understand."
"We must realize that the transition to communism cannot be accomplished by the vanguard alone. The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organization, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately, and to join the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle."
- 33) V.I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism-An Infantile Disorder" Several Conclusions, April, May 1920, C.W. Vol. 31, pp. 90-104.
Opposes left doctrinaireism. Stresses the importance of winning over the proletarian vanguard ideologically, and the role of propaganda circles in that task. Explains that propaganda and agitation are not enough for an entire class to take a stand; that the masses need their own political experience.
- 34) V.I. Lenin, "Tasks of Political Educationalists". 1921, C.W., Vol. 33, pp. 76-77.
Illiteracy must be combatted, but this is not enough. Political education "means practical results, it means teaching the people how to achieve these results, and setting an example to others..."
- 35) V.I. Lenin, "Thesis on Production Propaganda" in On Trade Unions. 1928. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970 pp. 372-374.
"This newspaper, devoted to matters of production, should be a popular one, in the sense of being understood by millions of readers, without falling into vulgarisation. The paper should not descend to the level of the uncultivated reader, but should work steadily--- and by very gradual degrees---to promote his development."
The use of leaflets, films, records, displays of diagrams in clubs village reading rooms and in the streets; bills and placards.
- 36) V.I. Lenin, "Our Immediate Task". 1899, C.W., Vol. 4, pp. 218-220.
"Learn, Propagandise, organize---and the pivot of this activity must be only the organ of the party." "An economic struggle that is not united by a central organ cannot become the class struggle of the entire Russian proletariat." The necessity for concentrating all of their forces on to this central organ was peculiar to

Russia as compared to other European countries that have "numerous other means for the public manifestations of their activity for organizing the movement---political liberties" which include parliamentary activity, election agitation, public meetings, participation in local public bodies, open conduct of the trade unions, etc.

- 37) V.I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers." 1920, C.W., Vol. 31, pp.363-373. "There must be less fine talk, for you cannot satisfy the working people with fine words." "What does communism consist of? All propaganda must be conducted in a way that will amount to practical guidance of the state's development. Communism must be made comprehensible to the masses of the workers so that they will regard it as their own cause. That task is being poorly accomplished, and thousands of mistakes are being made. We make no secret of the fact. However the workers and the peasants must themselves build up and improve our apparatus, with our assistance, feeble and inadequate as it is." "We must re-educate the masses; they can be re-educated only by agitation and propaganda."
- 38) V.I. Lenin, "Instructions for Compiling a Reading Book for Workers and Peasants". 1918, C.W., Vol. 42, p. 122. It should be short, written in popular style, and in simple language. Use old materials.
- 39) V.I. Lenin, "Letter to the Propaganda and Action Council of the Peoples of the East". 1921, C.W., Vol. 42, p.369. "I hope that the business of attracting the best representatives of the working people of the East will make faster and wider progress thanks to your newspaper. The destiny of all Western civilization now largely depends on drawing the working masses of the East into political activities."
- 40) V.I. Lenin, "Speech at a Meeting of Communists and Candidate Members of the RCP". May 9, 1921. C.W., Vol. 42, p.300. "Every member of the Party should not lose contact with the non-party masses, as often happens with us. Each one of us, therefore, must keep closer to the non-Party masses and carry on more propaganda."
- 41) V.I. Lenin, "An Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers" (pp. 29-72) and "To the Working Men and Women of the Thornton Factory" (pp. 81-85). 1895, C.W., Vol. 2. Examples of what and how Lenin wrote for working people.
- 42) N.K. Krupskaya, "Lenin on How to Write for the Masses" in the appendix to Memoirs, 1930, New York pp. 189-197 (Also excerpts from The Guardian, November 5, 1975).

Gives an account of what Lenin wrote for workers and how. You must speak and write in a popular style, clearly, concretely. You must be objective and succinct. Your argument should be drawn in a manner that helps the reader draw conclusions for himself. "Statements should be based on facts closely concerning the listener or reader. These facts should be gradually explained link by link, in connection with the most important questions of class struggle, with the most important questions of Socialist construction."

- 43) Menashe, "On Lenin". Socialist Revolution Magazine, Vol. 18, p. 24. While the Russians may have looked to the Europeans in matters of theory, their heroic models for personal life and political engagement came from their own history and their own revolutionary culture."
- 44) History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1939 edition.
pp. 16-19 St. Petersburg Period
pp. 32-33 The role of a militant political newspaper on an all-Russian scale, which would carry on propoganda and agitation as a first step in the building of the party.
- 45) O. Piatnistsky, Memoirs of a Bolshevik. 1925, International Publishers, New York,
p. 29 Tells a story of the danger of transporting and distributing propoganda as a Bolshevik.
p. 171 Describes a method of doing agitational work.
- 46) Cecilia Bobrovkaya, Twenty Years in Underground Russia (Memoirs of a Rank and File Bolshevik) 1934, Proletarian Publishers. Describes revolutionary work in Russia 1894-1914. Explains the importance of integration with workers in doing propoganda with them. Describes how propoganda and agitation were conducted, how workers' circles were organized, how leaflets were produced, how security measures operated.
- 47) Nina Gourfinkel, Lenin. 1961, Grove Press Inc. New York. Plekanov wrote from a philosophic journal, the Dawn and not the popular ISKRA. Lenin was against such a distinction. "We wish particularly to emphasize our opposition to the view that a labor newspaper should devote its pages exclusively to matters that immediately and directly concern the spontaneous labor movement, and leave the theory of socialism, science, politics, questions of party organization, etc. to an organ for the intelligentsia. On the contrary, it is necessary to combine all the concrete facts and manifestations of the labor movement with these questions; the light of theory must be brought to bear upon every separate fact; propoganda on questions of political and party organs must be carried on among the broad masses."

48)

J.V. Stalin, "Report to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Work of the Central Committee."
Section on "Party Propaganda. Marxist-Leninist Training of Party Members and Party Cadres." March 10th, 1939
Stresses that we need cadre who are not only competent technically, but who have mastered the science of sciences---the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. "The task of Party propaganda, the task of the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, is to help our cadres in all branches of work to become versed in the Marxist-Leninist science of the laws of social development."
"If we succeeded in training the cadres in all branches of our work ideologically and politically to the extent as to enable them easily to orientate themselves in the internal and international situation; if we succeeded in making them quite mature Marxists-Leninists capable of solving the problems involved in the guidance of the country without serious error, we would have every reason to consider nine-tenths of our problems already settled. And we certainly can accomplish this, for we have all the means and opportunities for doing so."

49)

Jack F. Matlock Jr., An Index to the Collected Works of J.V. Stalin. Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York, 1971.
References on propaganda and agitation as cited in the Index.
Vol. 1: pp. 4-5, 14, 132-133, 153, 203, 272-275.
Vol. 2: pp. 80, 152-153, 181-182, 187, 188.
Vol. 6: pp. "05-207, 216.

50)

E. Yaroslavsky, Landmarks in the Life of Stalin, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940.
pp. 37-39 Describes Stalin as a propagandist. "At this time Comrade Stalin was already a talented propagandist. He was able to explain the most difficult and intricate questions to the workers in a clear and comprehensible way. While his expositions were a model of simplicity, he always condemned over-simplification, simplification carried to the point of vulgarization."
pp. 159-160 Sums up Stalin's contributions in the 18th Congress speech.

51)

"On the Form of Party Propaganda in Relation to the Publication of the 'Short History of the CPSU'" A Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, November 14, 1938.
Used the principle of going from the shallower to the deeper. There were three groups and three levels for studying the History of the CPSU. There was not one correct way to approach the study--but three, depending on the level of the cadre.
"The chief deficiency in Party propaganda is the lack of necessary centralization of the direction of Party propaganda, and the consequent rule of thumb methods and lack of organization in the propaganda."

52) J.V. Stalin, "Two Essays on Strategy and Tactics", synopsis of of a pamphlet published by the Communist League. March 14th, 1923 in Pravda.

p. 67 "Agitation slogan and action slogan. These must not be confused. It is dangerous to do so. In the period from April to October 1917, the slogan "All power to the Soviets" was an agitation slogan; in October it became an action slogan---after the Central Committee of the Party at the beginning of October, adopted the decision on the "Seizure of power". In its action in Petrograd in April, the Bagdatyev group was guilty of such a confusion of slogans."

pp. 82-83 Setting out tasks of the revolutionary movement in Russia--"a) To win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (i.e., build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out the programme, the principles of tactics). Propaganda as the chief form of activity."

53) Mikhail Kalinin, "Regarding Certain Problems of Agitation and Propaganda, Speech at a Conference of Komsomol Regional Committee Secretaries in Charge of Propaganda", in September 1942, in On Communist Education, Selected Speeches and Articles. Mass Publications, Calcutta, 1976, pp. 127-140.

"Each historical moment requires its particular form of agitation and propaganda".

"Those who engage in agitation and propaganda, should seek out vivifying gems of Russian language and thought and carry them to the people."

"If you avoid exclamations and rhetoric in your agitational and propaganda speeches, and do not admonish or lecture your audiences---I realize, of course, that it is somewhat difficult not to sometimes---your agitation and propaganda will undoubtedly, be far more effective."

"I would like to advise you to avoid pretentious language in agitation and propaganda."

THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE

- 54) Mao Tse-Tung, "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work". March 12, 1957, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1967.
The necessity of studying and of remoulding oneself. The importance of integrating with the masses, of practicing the mass line, of using criticism self-criticism in conducting propaganda. Oppose one-sidedness.
"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." p. 6.
"Our comrades must understand that ideological remoulding involves long-term, patient work, and they must not attempt to change people's ideology, which has been shaped over decades of life, by giving a few lectures or by holding a few meetings. Persuasion, not compulsion, is the only way to convince them," p.16
- 55) Mao Tse-Tung, "The Question of the Red Army's Propaganda Work" in the first draft of "Correcting Mistaken Tendencies Toward Nonproletarian Ideas in the Party" as it appears in The People's Liberation Army And China's Nation Building. December, 1929, pp. 29-36.
Article is very good at presenting the obstacles, difficulties, and shortcomings in doing propaganda work. Stresses that propaganda must conform to the mood of the masses. It must be timely, and adapted to a given location. It must be directed at women, youth, and the urban poor.
- 56) Mao Tse-Tung, "Combat Liberalism". September 7, 1937, S.W., Vol. 2, p. 32.
"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. This is a seventh type" (of liberalism).
- 57) Mao Tse-Tung, "Speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CCP". Peking Review, Vol. 44, p19.
"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter revolutionary class".
- 58) Mao Tse-Tung, "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing". February 8, 1942, S.W., Vol. 3, pp. 53-68.
Says we must study language. We must learn language from the masses. The people's vocabulary is rich, victorious, vivid and expressive of real life. Our propaganda must be lively, fresh, vigorous, forceful. It should be short and with substance.

It should be national and scientific. It should be based on facts, be concrete and not abstract. In this piece, Mao introduces A Guide to Propaganda to the meeting he is addressing. He emphasizes the important points of the four articles the guide contains. See below for references to the two Chinese articles included in the guide.

59) A Guide to Propaganda in Mao's China, Party Reform Documents.

Translation and introduction by Boyd Compton, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1966, pp 252-254. Includes two articles:

Lu Hsun, "What's Necessary for Good Writing".

Sets out rules for good writing. Examples: "Pay close attention to all manner of things; observe more, and if you have observed only a little, then do not write." "Do not force yourself to write when you have nothing to say." "Do not coin adjectives or other terms that are intelligible to nobody but yourself."

Mao Tse-Tung, "Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee (1938) on the Popularization of Propaganda".

"It has become a problem which the entire country must thoroughly understand and resolve, to make Marxism Chinese, to see to it that in every manifestation it bears a Chinese character, that is to say, that it is applied according to China's special characteristics. Foreign formalism must cease, empty abstract tunes must be cut short, dogmatism must be put out of circulation. In their places must be substituted a fresh lively Chinese style and spirit which the Chinese people will be glad to hear and see."

60) Mao Tse-Tung, "A Talk to the Staff of the Shansi - Suiyuan Daily".

April 2, 1948, S.W. Vol 4, pp. 241-249.

Applies mass line to propaganda work. "To teach the masses, newspaper workers should first of all learn from the masses." Examine your work and sum up your experience in doing propaganda. Use militant, revolutionary, proletarian style. "Newspapers run by our Party and all the propaganda work of our Party should be vivid, clear cut and sharp and should never mutter and mumble. ...Since we want to teach the people to know the truth and arouse them to fight for their own emancipation, we need this militant style. A blunt knife draws no blood."

61) Mao Tse-Tung, "On Coalition Government". April 24th 1945, S.W., Vol. 3, pp. 265-266.

"It (our congress) should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes, and instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organize themselves voluntarily..."

- 62) The Workers' and People's Liberation Army Men's Mao Tse-Tung Thought Propaganda Team at Tsing hua University, Strive to Build a Socialist University of Science and Engineering. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1972.
With class struggle as the key link, the article sums up their experience in applying Mao's thinking on proletarian revolution in education. Stresses the importance of remolding intellectuals, of using the mass line in doing propaganda, of covering the 3 great revolutionary movements.
"An ideological stronghold of feaction can only be destroyed with a revolutionary ideological weapon" p. 5
"In the problem of transforming education, it is the teachers who are the main problem." p. 7
"To train worker, peasant, and soldier students, it is imperative to persist in taking class struggle as the main course and adhere to the unity of theory and practice." p. 20
"Teaching methods are definitely not only a question of specific methods, but what is more important, are a question of principle, a question of organizing teaching according to which class theory of knowledge and methodology." p.32
- 63) Chen Chin-guan, "Materialist Dialectics Helps Fighters Make Ideological Progress" in Mao Tse-Tung's Thought Is The Invincible Weapon. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1968, pp 37-55.
Many good ideas on how to advance people's ideological progress; especially on how to change the backward into the advanced through propaganda.
- 64) "T'ung Yun" from People's Daily, January 13 1962 in Major Doctrines of Communist China. ed. by John Wilson Lewis, W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1964, pp. 190-191.
Deals with the importance of investigation. "First one must go into the midst of the masses to discover their worries, analyze them concretely, and deal with them seperately." Sets out the "one key for one lock" method for doing propaganda. "Because of their differences in origin, age, work, environment, income, educational level, experience of life, and mental development, two people may differ also in thought and in the level of their ideological consciouness. Even thoughts and feelings of the same person may vary according to the time, the environment, the kind of work he is doing, and the knowledge he has...Because of this, 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..."
- 65) John Wilson Lewis, Leadership in Communist China. Cornell University Press, New York, 1963, p.147.
"For a cadre in propaganda work, for example, a post 1949 manual presented as models for his own conduct the brief

accounts of fifty other propaganda cadres who had successfully met special propaganda problems of general interest."

66)

Hongi, Political Work: The Lifeline of all Work. Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1966.

"The key point is to combine theory with practice and to propagate and study Marxism-Leninism in order to solve practical problems. Only when this is done can the people master living Marxism-Leninism."

"In regard to propaganda work among the masses (Mao) said it must be done in a way which would appeal to the masses. He emphasized, therefore, that we must have a thorough knowledge of the people to whom the propaganda is directed. Thus, we must not engage in propaganda without making an analysis and study of the people."

The Communist International

- 67) Communist International, "Propaganda Theses", CI, Dec. 1924.
Excellent. Discusses conditions of the CI in 1924 and gives a detailed analysis and recommendations for improvement in the organization of its propaganda work. "The condition for the development of propaganda work is... theoretically mastering Marxism-Leninism... practical work shouldn't be carried out to the neglect of the theoretical struggle"... Sections 4 and 5 on Methods and Programme of Propaganda are especially useful. "The methods of propaganda must be adapted to the conditions and stage of development of the various sections.... the guiding principle for all propaganda institutions must be to train the students for a definite form of party work and for the solution of definite and practical problems..." The CI regards both education within the party and education of the masses as propaganda work. Discusses 2 forms of education: 1) party schools and 2) self-education. Says that when development of the party is not yet sufficient to establish schools then worker's study circles (the group system of self-education) should be set up. "The methods to be applied in Party schools, and in self-education circles must be carefully selected. Unless propaganda is methodical, it will not achieve its aim and will only result in useless expenditure of the energy of the propagandists, and the masses among whom they work. Experience has shown that wrong methods frequently lead to the disintegration of the entire propaganda system... This being so, great care must be taken in training propagandists not only in the theories of Marxism-Leninism, but also in the methods of imparting their own knowledge..."
- 68) Communist International, "The 21 Conditions" in Gunther Nollau, International Communism and World Revolution, Praeger, N.Y. 1961, p. 340.
The CI at its 2nd Congress decided to admit only parties that conduct propaganda of "a genuinely Communist character." This 1st condition makes it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat "must be advocated in a way which makes its necessity comprehensible to every ordinary working man and woman, every soldier and peasant, from the facts of their daily life." Condition number 4 states that there is "the special obligation to carry on systematic and energetic propaganda in the Army."
- 69) Communist International, "On Propaganda and Agitation", Section IV of Principles of Party Organization, CI, 1921, Calcutta, Mass Publications, 1975, 15-23.
"Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interests and aspirations, and especially out of their common struggle." Says there are 3 principal forms of Communist propaganda: 1) individual verbal propaganda 2) participation in the industrial and political labor movement and 3) propaganda through the Party Press and distribution of literature. Criticizes "propagandists of the hackneyed, so-called pure socialist propaganda."
- 70) Communist International, "Resolution on the Organization of Factory Nuclei, 1924", reprinted in Unite, MOC, vol. 1, no. 1, August, 1975, p. 11.
"In addition to general Party work, the tasks of the factory nuclei are as follows: 1. To carry on Communist agitation and propaganda among the non-party working masses, by systematic instruction of individual workers in order to draw them into the ranks of the Communist Party; distribution of political literature in the factories, discussion of questions affecting the factory; and even the publication of a special factory newspaper; the carrying on of social and agitational work among the factory workers."

71)

Communist International, "Bolshevization of the Press, 1925-26," reprinted in Class Struggle, Winter, 1976, #3, 61-73.

An unofficial translation done from documents of the CI which appeared in Imprecorr magazine in 1925 and 1926. "Bolshevization of the press signifies to transform the Bolshevick press in such a way that it becomes the press of the broad masses." There is a good section on language of the masses and errors made in this respect. Lenin's observations in "On the Character of our Newspaper" are noted: "Write us about the conversations in workers' circles, about the questions and answers of the workers, about the organization of propaganda and agitation, about the relationships in society, in the army, among youth; write most of all about those things for which the workers most of all curse us Social-Democrats out, about their questions, their protests, etc." To have room in the paper to do this Lenin says to write articles from 10 or 20 lines instead of from 200 to 400, and with less phrasemongering. The CI says "the first-line tasks of the communist press are agitational and not propagandistic; that is, it must explain communist politics to the masses not by reference to communist theory but by reference to facts that are visible to the masses." Communist editors must take part in party work and even the smallest detail they write must be seen in light of the fact "that a thousand lively workers' brains will check it over and judge it with passion." Agitation must be presented in a "planful and effective way" reflecting the mood of the masses. "What does Bolshevization actually mean? It means the transformation of our press into a real workers' press. The communist newspaper must be a workers' newspaper and not merely a newspaper for workers... We must achieve that the non-party worker looks at the communist newspaper not only as a distant mere mouthpiece of a political party, but as his own workers' newspaper that he understands and which reflects his hopes, his moods, his everyday life and his struggle.... Some things that scare off many comrades, who have become used to the 'traditional type' of bourgeois papers... are precisely signs that our newspaper is already on the road to proletarianization, that its links with the masses are becoming stronger and that it ceases to resemble the stereotyped social democratic paper which is distinguished from the bourgeois paper only through its political platform. And this is the main task in Bolshevizing the Press." The article concludes that Bolshevization of the parties in the realm of agitation must begin with the press and lays out criteria for judging when sectarianism has been overcome.

72)

Douglas Pike, "Communication of Ideas", ch. 7 of Vietcong, The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam, MIT Press, 1956. (Chapter's 9 and 14 also contain information on propaganda).

Ch. 7 discusses in detail NLF methods of propaganda. "Agit-prop work is directed at the masses, for the benefit of the masses, and must involve the masses doing propaganda work under party guidance. Thus the propaganda target is the masses, and the propaganda forces is also the masses.... Propaganda action is half the resistance work"... Agit-prop cadre's duties were 1) promote hatred of the enemy 2) show the people it is in their interest to support the Revolution, for it serves them; 3) teach the people the meaning and techniques of the political struggle... 4) develop the people's faith and self-confidence in achieving revolutionary success and maintain their enthusiasm... Good or bad results in the Revolution depend on whether agit-prop action to educate and change the thinking of the masses is good or bad. Every person must know how to conduct propaganda." Discusses "root-and-link" method and "mouth to mouth propaganda." "The purpose of agit-prop work is to mobilize the people's thinking. This is an ideological struggle that is complex and hard to carry out. It requires time and painstaking efforts. A cadre should be patient, should follow up on each individual, and should repeat the same theme over and over. He should endeavor ceaselessly. He should build durable support and should not become discouraged. He should set an example for the masses, must share their joys and sadness, must be determined to work for the good of the masses.... must suffer the hardships of the masses, for only in this way can they feel the suffering and sorrows of the masses. If cadres lack feeling, their propaganda will be emotionless and will not arouse the masses. Above all... cadres must accept responsibility for the words they speak." Describes organizational structure of agit-prop work.

73)

David Hunt, Organizing for Revolution in Vietnam, a special issue of Radical America, Jan-April, 1974.

Contains many useful insights as well as raw material on the propaganda and agitation of the NLF; 32-36 and 100 have examples of NLF techniques of organizing against fear and in recruiting people. Using a protracted approach the NLF helped people act collectively on the small questions to build up confidence that people could handle the big questions; sometimes cadre had to work with and discuss questions with a whole family for a week in order to persuade them to go to a meeting; 107-131 propagandizing peasants to become revolutionaries with an emphasis on class analysis; 131-139 on how cadre drew upon people's feeling of bitterness and hatred and in a protracted way turned hatred into energy; 139-154 "Women Without Caution and Care" is an analysis of why women would want to join the NLF, what other women might think of them, obstacles and traditions that got in their way of joining the NLF and how the party propagandized to overcome these obstacles.

74)

Ho Chi Minh, "Mass Education," from Ho Chi Minh, Selected Articles and Speeches, 1920-1967, ed. Jack Woodis, 102-109 (speech of July 16, 1956).

"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 as pens and paper."

Ho Chi Minh, "How to Write," from Granma newspaper, Havana, Cuba. (Note: Am writing this from memory as have not been able to locate article again).

Ho explains his collective style of writing an article for the masses. It goes through many drafts and he always seeks criticism from the workers and peasants before widespread circulation. If the feedback says a word or sentence is too hard to understand, then he re-writes it.

75)

Ho Chi Minh, "Instructions for the Setting Up of the Armed Propaganda Brigade for the Liberation of Vietnam (Dec. 1944) in Selected writings of Ho Chi Minh, 1920-1969, Hanoi, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1973, 47-48.

"The name of the Armed Propaganda Brigade for the Liberation of Viet Nam shows that greater importance is attached to its political than to its military action. It is a propaganda unit. In the military field, the main principle for successful action is concentration of forces....The Armed Propaganda Brigade...is the first-born unit....It is the embryo of the Liberation Army and can expand from North to South throughout Viet Nam."

76)

Wilfred Burchett, "Armed Propaganda," chapter 15 of Vietnam Will Win, a Guardian Book, N.Y. 1968, 175-184.

Burchett quotes from Vo Nguyen Giap and Ho Chi Minh to explain the principles of armed propaganda. "Armed propaganda consists in using the armed forces to carry out political propaganda, to sow confidence among the population so they will be convinced that our forces are powerful. After this confidence is established, it must be transformed into political consciousness....after the propaganda activities, the work of consolidation follows."...."To sum-up, armed propaganda should be adapted to the localities and circumstances; to the state of our own forces and those of the enemy so that form and procedure should be appropriate and effective." There are also other useful chapters in the book especially ch. 5 "Winning Hearts and Minds," and ch. 8 "The Work of Persuasion."

77)

Le Duan, "For a Radical Change in Ideological Work" from On the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Hanoi, 1967, vol. 3, 7-51.

An excellent article that this notation does not do justice to. "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... 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"...."propaganda and educational cadres must form the core and brain of the revolutionary movement."

78)

Truong-Chinh, "How Has Our Party Applied Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam," from Forward Along the Path Charted by K. Marx, Hanoi, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1969, 96-97.

"During the years 1930 and 1931, our Party sent a number of cadres and Party members to factories, mining areas and plantations where they lived and laboured with the workers in order to carry on propaganda, lead the struggle there, and foster their own proletarian feelings as well."

79)

Committee for the Study of the History of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, Our President Ho-Chi-Minh, Hanoi, 1970, 92.

"Starting from 1928, in implementation of the slogan of 'proletarianization', members of the Viet Nam Revolutionary Youth League went to work in factories, mines and plantations to conduct propaganda and organizational work among the workers. The workers' movement, at first spontaneous, localized and scattered, gradually became conscious and organized....From the end of 1929, it took on a distinctly independent character and became the nucleus of the national-liberation movement in our country."

- 80) The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, History of the Party of Labor of Albania, Tirana, 1971, 103-105.
- "Never before had any political group or organization in Albania ever carried out such widespread and militant propaganda and agitation with such sound ideological content, so clear and down to earth...Of all forms of agitation and propaganda, agitation by word of mouth occupied the most important place-- discussions with people, separately or in small groups, discussions at gatherings of workers, of peasants, and of the youth. This form of agitation yielded most satisfactory results. The communists penetrated wherever the masses gathered. In order to come in contact with the people, they made use of all the means and methods that came to hand. They exploited extensively all the old and new acquaintances, national and popular festivities, weddings, market-days, family ties, and so on....As a result of the Party propaganda work, the need to unite in an organized war against the invaders became more clear....Propaganda and militant agitation were a most efficient weapon to win over the masses, but that was not enough. The CPA had drawn valuable lessons from the shortcomings in the work of the communist groups, realizing from the start that the masses understood and mastered what the Party told them only if words were backed up by facts, concrete actions responding directly to their demands, interests and aspirations."
- 81) Georgi Dimitrov, Political Report of the Central Committee to the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Worker's Party (Communists) Dec. 19, 1948 in Dimitrov, For a United and Popular Front, Sofia Press, no date p. 378.
- In his discussion of the history and development of the Bulgarian Worker's Party he comments: "During its development our Party waged a ceaseless struggle against alien petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences, and championed the formation of an independent working class with an ideology and organization of its own. About the turn of the century it was a small but growing detachment trying to imbue the workers with class-consciousness, organize them and defend their vital interests, ie. it was primarily a propagandistic organization out to popularize socialism. From this modest status it gradually developed during and especially in the wake of WWI, into a mass political party of the working class."
- 82) Georgi Dimitrov, "A Correct Line Alone is Not Enough," in Dimitrov, For a United and Popular Front, Sofia Press, no date, 211-213. (This is from his Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism speech in 1935 at the 7th World Congress of the Comintern and is referred to in their Propaganda Guide by the Chinese as 'Dimitrov on the Popularization of Propaganda.')
- He makes some very good remarks on the heaviness of the language in their leaflets and newspapers and says "if we reflect, comrades, that workers, especially in fascist countries, who distribute or read these leaflets risk their very lives by so doing, we shall realize still more clearly the need of writing for the masses in a language which they understand, so that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain. The same applies in no less degree to our oral agitation and propaganda. We must admit quite frankly that in this respect the fascists have often proved more dexterous and flexible than many of our comrades." He gives a very painful example of workers, eager to hear a Communist, beginning to yawn and become disappointed. He concludes: "To agitate in such fashion means to agitate against one's own cause. It is high time to put an end once and for all to these...childish methods of agitation....Every one of us must make this a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule: 'When writing or speaking, always have in mind the rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you. You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak.'"

83)

Kim Il Sung, Selected Works, Pyongyang, Korea, 1971, 45-46, 53-54.

In summing up defects in the course of agrarian reform it was discovered that in several provinces "newspapers carrying the text of the Agrarian Reform Law were not distributed to the peasants....the newspapers lay in piles in the provincial and county Party headquarters....Owing to such inadequate propaganda work by the Party, the peasants failed to have a full understanding of the political significance of the agrarian reform and engrossed themselves exclusively in the distribution of land. Hence, although land had been distributed to the peasants, some of them did not even know where the land had come from. This was because the work of preparing and mobilizing the Party members ideologically was unsatisfactory and the Party functionaries...lacked a correct understanding of the Party's policy for the agrarian reform. Party organs and Party organizations at all levels should promptly correct the serious defects in their propaganda activities and intensify their political and propaganda work among the vast masses of the people." He makes the point that to effectively conduct propaganda the Party must know the propaganda line of the landlords.

84)

Amilcar Cabral, Selected Texts, Revolution in Guinea, N.Y., Monthly Review Press, 1969, 153-160.

He stresses the importance of political education in building a revolutionary movement against Portuguese rule. Sometimes whole families would come to their political school in Conakry for intensive political education and they would talk until they were hoarse. "We could never mobilise our people simply on the basis of the struggle against colonialism - that has no effect. To speak of the fight against imperialism is not convincing enough. Instead we use a direct language that all can understand: 'Why are you going to fight? What are you? What is your father? What has happened to your father up to now? What is the situation? Did you pay taxes? Did your father pay taxes? What have you seen from those taxes? How much do you get for your groundnuts? Have you thought about how much you will earn with your groundnuts? How much sweat has it cost your family? Which of you have been imprisoned? You are going to work on road-building: who gives you the tools? You bring the tools. Who provides your meals? You provide your meals. But who walks on the road? Who has a car? And your daughter who was raped -- are you happy about that?' In our new mobilization we avoided all generalizations and platitudes. We went into detail and made our people preparing for this kind of work repeat many times what they were going to say. This is an aspect which we considered of great importance, in our specific case, because we started from the concrete reality of our people. We tried to avoid having the peasants think that we were outsiders come to teach them how to do things; we put ourselves in the position of people who came to learn with the peasants and in the end the peasants were discovering for themselves why things had gone badly for them....Our experience showed us that it is necessary for each people to find its own formula for mobilising for the struggle; it also showed that to integrate the peasant masses into the struggle, one must have a great deal of patience."

- 85) Leo Huberman, "Notes on Left Propaganda," Monthly Review, September 1950, 155-160. "Agitation, based on information, brings lasting converts to socialism; agitation, based on exhortation, does not. Failure to understand this simple fact is perhaps the chief defect of Left propaganda in the United States. Truth is on our side. It is the job of the socialist propagandist to present that truth in its clearest and most persuasive form. It seems a pity to have to point out, at this late date, that jargon and name-calling neither clarify nor persuade. The use of Left 'shorthand' such as 'fascist beast' or 'running dogs of imperialism' may be the easiest way out for the overworked Left writer but it makes no sense to those readers not already in the charmed Left circle. And how often have even those of us who are convinced socialists been embarrassed and made uncomfortable by the 'arguments' in the Left press!" (155)
- 86) Leo Huberman, "How to Spread the Word," Monthly Review, December, 1967, 44-51. (Both this and "Notes on Left Propaganda" were printed together as a pamphlet by the New England Free Press). Makes the point that knowing how to teach is as important as knowing what to teach. Gives a concrete example of a trade union class where the teacher knows the subject well but the audience poorly and fails to get them involved. "His mistake was in being concerned only with subject matter; he should have been concerned with students. He was a lecturer, not a teacher. The lecturer teaches subject matter; the teacher teaches people. The difference is crucial." This was a trade union class of 17 people and Huberman presents a summary outline of how he approached the same subject in a workers' summer school.
- 87) Peter Lathrop, "Telling and Teaching," Monthly Review, Feb. 1966, 42-52. This article is pretty academic but also has some valuable insights. "Telling the truth is no substitute for teaching it...The Marxist's teaching goal of creating a socialist consciousness derives primarily from his long-range revolutionary ends; it is formulated in terms of an historical epoch and therefore appears more or less independent of rapidly fluctuating economic, social, and political conditions. The mode of teaching, on the other hand, depends not only on relatively constant revolutionary and teaching objectives, but also on two highly variable limiting factors - the social realities of the present, and the specific character of the audience. Thus teaching modes are revolutionary tactics subject to periodic re-examination in the light of new social conditions and audiences. In general, the mode of instruction which the Marxist adopts should represent the best means of realizing the teaching aim in the case of a particular audience."
- 88) Theodore Draper, The Roots of American Communism, Viking Press, N.Y. 1957, 199, 215-216. "As Ruthenberg later admitted, 'the Communist Party of 1919 stood outside of the labor movement, endeavoring to draw the workers into its ranks through agitation and propaganda which pointed to the necessity of a revolutionary party fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.' To stand outside the labor movement in 1919 was to stand outside the greatest strike wave in a generation."....Analyzing the split which occurred in April, 1920 Ruthenberg commented: "Since the beginning of the party there have been two viewpoints represented in the Central Executive Committee. The majority members of the committee considered themselves 'great theorists.' They constantly talked about the word 'principle,' but never about how to relate Communist principles to the working class movement of this country and to make these principles a living reality in action..."
- 89) Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, The American Communist Party. A Critical History, Praeger, New York, 1957, 82-88. Claims that the 21 Conditions of Admission to the Communist International received a flunkyist response in U.S. and did not suit U.S. conditions "yet

it carried far greater weight with the American Communists than the reality surrounding them. It encouraged them in the remoteness of their propaganda..."

- 90) "Conversations with the Steelmill Rebels," Ramparts, Dec. 1972, Berkeley, Calif., 54. (Fuller transcript from which this is taken is included in Alice and Staughton Lynd, Rank and File: Personal Accounts of Working-Class Organizing, Beacon Press) "I have a problem that I'm always wondering about. Say you are for socialism, but you're selling it as "democracy" or "fairness." The fact that you don't sell it openly means that no education goes on in the process. The problem for rank and filers is that in every election you say, "We can do more for you than the other guy." Somehow there is no education - just appealing to the selfish interests of the individual, primarily economic. I've seen Trotskyists and Communists who, when they got to be union officers, actually were very good because they could read the contract better. But they never sold Trotskyism, they never sold Communism. The only people who knew that they were Communists were the FBI and not the people. Nobody was ever educated in the process."
- 91) Walter J. Stein, California and the Dust Bowl Migration, Greenwood Press, 1974, 266-267. In his chapter on "The Failure to Organize the Okies" Stein concludes: "Nor did the organizational propaganda of either the Worker Alliance or UCAPAWA (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America), tailored as it was by urban, union-oriented Californians for urban labor, conform with the psychology of the migrants. Its tone was strident, class-conscious, and ideologically alien. It was not designed to meet the migrants' prior rural, midwestern background....the Okies were exhorted to support the International Labor Defense as an arm in 'the struggle against imperialism.' Unfamiliar slogans were hurled at them....In only one camp did organizers depart from conventional union sloganeering...At Arvin, the resident organizer, fully aware of the Okies' ignorance of unions, promised to 'try to explain what organized labor is and how it works.'"
- 92) Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, William Morrow & Co, N.Y. 1967. Countless criticisms of propaganda of CPUSA on the Negro Question from the standpoint of a black nationalist.
- 93) John Judis, "The Triumph of Bourgeois Hegemony in the Face of Nothing that Challenges It," Socialist Revolution, March-April, 1970, vol. 1, no. 2, 107-125. On pp's 112-117 Judis quotes from leaflets from the Revolutionary Union and the International Socialists and criticizes their approach to propaganda as economism. Concludes that the leaflets: 1)"accept the bourgeois conception of material needs" 2)"failure to challenge the bourgeois definition of well-being, in which the satisfaction of those material needs makes us see ourselves as consumers rather than producers..." and d) "in failing to challenge bourgeois ideology, fail to challenge its living embodiment in social relations within the proletariat: racism, male chauvinism, competitiveness and also patriotism and the acceptance of imperialism, which are the United States proletariat's social relations with the rest of the world proletariat!..." "The proletariat's demands for a higher standard of living should not be put aside by a revolutionary movement, but should be raised in the context of an alternative conception of individual and social well-being. The 'standard of living' is as much a qualitative as a quantitative conception. Bourgeois hegemony reduces the qualitative to the quantitative. So, too, do the working class groups in their agitation, and in their general perspective."
- 94) Arnold Lockshin, "Propaganda in the Battle for Men's Minds," Political Affairs, June, 1976, 35-46. Examination of propaganda methods used by U.S. imperialism. Emphasizes importance bourgeois propagandists stress on achieving credibility in prop-

aganda. "A necessary condition for gaining...credence is that you do not permit him to catch you in lies. Hence the constraint upon all propagandists to accurate reporting of matters which are subject to verification by the audience." References are given to several sources on the "gray" and "black" propaganda of state such as the CIA and FBI. There is a great deal of use of the book *The War of Ideas in Contemporary International Relations* by Georgi Arbatov (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973). About this book it is said: (it) "is an extremely valuable analysis of current imperialist strategy and propaganda methods." It is also noted that "Arbatov is Director of the Institute of the USA of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R." There is a brief discussion of "working class and communist propaganda" with a good discussion by Lenin on the importance of political exposures for the working class to have a clear picture of classes and contradictions. Makes the link between propaganda and struggle: "The real education of the masses can never be separated from their...revolutionary struggle. Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizons, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."(lenin) (46)

- 95) Letter from T.C. of Gibbville, Pennsylvania to Guardian, Feb. 9, 1977.
The letter writer lives in a town of 6,000 in E. Pennsylvania. He writes: "Most of the people who write letters to the paper seem to come from large cities. I wonder if they can appreciate how life is in these Gibbville-like small towns....I've tried to get some of the people I know interested in the Guardian, but it is hard. You can't show the paper to just anyone...Being a communist in a small town is a frustrating and lonely experience at times." The guardian does not respond to the letter, but this would have been a perfect time to explain the limitations of the Guardian and they could have pointed out that the author should go from the shallower to the deeper, the easier to the more difficult, clip or copy one of the clearest articles he can find that would interest one of his friends and make a breakthrough.
- 96) Letter on "Vocabulary" from Mairead Conner, Syracuse, N.Y. to Guardian, 11 Aug. 76.
After commending Guardian for increased coverage of Native American struggles and Rusty Conroy's pamphlet on Native Americans the correspondent criticizes the difficult vocabulary in the Guardian: "I am a teacher of reading at an adult basic education center and most of the people in the classes there would have a tough time understanding the paper. One analytical article that I did a grade level on, came out at 16th grade! This is an extreme example perhaps, but very few articles came out below a 10th grade level. The average was around 12th grade level. Even this is bad. The overwhelming majority of people in the U.S. (especially working and third world) read at a grade level for below this. Their average would be between 6-9th grade level. The people who the Guardian should be reaching out to are being ignored by academicism, elitism, etc. Many of these people would be receptive to the Guardian and radical or Marxist though if they did feel it pertained to them, not just for people who go to college or are college grads. Most people who graduate from high school don't even read at a 12th grade level."
- 97) Michael Miller, Against Revisionism, League for Proletarian Revolution, Red Star Publications, July 1974, 48-49.
Criticizes Carl Davidson and OL for claiming that a transition has already been made from propaganda to agitation. Concludes: "How can Carl Davison, who knows very well that we have not yet won over the proletarian vanguard ideologically, take such pleasure from the knowledge, presuming it to be true, which it actually isn't, that the communist movement has moved from propaganda circles to mass agitation before the party has even been formed?!"
- 98) Bay Area Communist Union, Beginning Analysis, San Francisco, Ca., February 1976, p. 75.

BACU criticizes a dogmatist tendency including the RU (political workers' organizations line) and the party building trend line (represented by many groups) on their trade union line. BACU says both tendencies have a too minimal understanding of the trade union question and in this respect have a common line which can be paraphrased as: "struggles will develop on a trade union level and that's fine but for us communists to get too deeply involved in these struggles, instead of winning the advanced by propaganda, amounts to economism." It sees some difference also between these two incorrect lines. Here we will mention only their criticism of the "Party building trend": (this trend) "seems to have had little enough experience that they think communists can do their 'propaganda' work pretty much in ignorance and disregard of the union and job conditions around them. This trend criticizes the RU essentially for not leaving the work of trade unions to the trade unionists and reflects a real non-struggle, 'economist' if you want, neglect of the subjective factor, i.e. that the leadership of and direction of the workers' struggles can play a very decisive role (positive or negative) in developing the consciousness of the working class." Bacu concludes that this refusal to take responsibility of the workers' movement is a left error (but right in essence).

99) ATM, "Propaganda, Agitation, and Winning Over the Vanguard," Response to the Worker's Congress, Revolutionary Cause, October 1976, vol. 1, no. 9, 9-10. This is a response to criticisms made by the Worker's Congress. Contains a self-criticism for an error made. This was to view propaganda solely as illegal work which narrowed the scope of propaganda and limited it to the advanced workers primarily in study circles. "We must utilize different forms of propaganda to reach the middle and lower strata workers. And this too, is part of training the advanced -- for both communists and the advanced must master this task....But our main point is that we must never restrict the scope of our propaganda to the advanced alone; rather we must broaden its scope so that the advanced can truly carry out their role as the vanguard of their class." In this article they change the formulation of "propaganda as the chief form of activity" to "propaganda in the forefront." The new formulation was seen as necessary "because our practice has shown that some comrades, our own cadre included, interpreted 'chief form' to mean the 'only form' of political activity, and it led to belittling the importance of political agitation." On p. 8 of the same issue of Revolutionary Cause ATM criticizes PRRW and RML for belittling political agitation and advocating Only Propaganda, and Only to the Advanced.

100) ATM, "Propaganda from 'Molders' Strike - Victory!'", Revolutionary Cause, vol. 1, no. 7, July 1976, p. 6. Discusses importance of propaganda and agitation in order to fuse the communist and worker's movements. Criticizes itself for tendency to limit propaganda to the advanced and not developing forms of propaganda comprehensible to all strata of the workers. They cite quotations from a leaflet they passed out in order "to show how communists can raise the national question and socialism in a popular manner."

101) MLOC, "Linking Propaganda with Agitation" and "Inconsistent Propaganda" from "Lessons from the Shop Floor" in Unite, vol. 2, no. 1, Feb-April 1976, 9. Discusses problems of investigation and security as crucial for being able to link propaganda and agitation. In relation to agitation and the problem of getting fired they state: "As with most questions of security, the long-run surest guarantee is close connection with the workers, close ties with the masses....communists must be aware of the security question, but only in order to overcome the obstacles it raises. Discussing the error of inconsistent propaganda they state that they failed to adhere to the following: "Correct propaganda develops in conformity with the dialectical development of knowledge, that is from the lower to higher, from the narrower to broader. Our

method, on the contrary, was to comment on things that were happening around us, without, however, having any political or organizational followup. Making one point about health and safety abuses and their relationship to the employers, another about high unemployment and yet another about overtime but without connecting them, without going from lower to higher. This reflected a basic tendency of economism on how political consciousness develops. More importantly, this error held back winning of the progressive elements in the shop as it did not correctly relate propaganda to agitation, and neither to political action."

102) MLOC, "Winning the Advanced Through Propaganda," Unite, vol. 2, no. 1, Feb-April, 1976, 24.

"Propaganda is the primary form of political education in a period (such as today in our revolution) in which winning the advanced to communism must be done. At the same time, agitation serves to directly mobilize the masses in the struggle through which the advanced elements of the class come forth. Advanced workers are not primarily identified through discussion on the shop floor. They come forward in the heat of the actual struggle. It is at the advanced sector, as Lenin said, that we should aim the bulk of our propaganda work. It is through the factory nuclei, the basic unit for communist work and of the communist party, that propaganda and agitation are carried out - in order to fuse communism with advanced workers.... Propaganda and agitation are a unity, a two-edged sword.... Agitation and propaganda must supplement one another, neither must be put off at the expense of the other or confused with the other. Agitation must take as its starting point the immediate experiences, needs, and demands of the masses, and must illustrate questions vividly and clearly without confusing and complicating these questions with long-winded explanations and theoretical constructions. Propaganda... must show that these everyday experiences are no chance events or accidents, that they are a symptom of capitalism, and that the endless repetition of such things can only be prevented by the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism. Propaganda and agitation must be linked constantly to political action... (and) will be proven to be correct in the course of the actual political struggle.... An example of the correct relationship between agitation and propaganda was the work around the Scottsboro case in the '30's. In defending the ... case the C.P.'s propaganda showed that the case against the nine framed Blacks was a manifestation of national oppression. Through this the C.P. raised the right of self-determination for the Black Nation. At the same time agitational work, based on the same theme, was used to mobilize mass support throughout the country. The Scottsboro case won many advanced Black workers and sharecroppers to communism. Propaganda and agitation were interrelated to build the revolutionary movement, the leadership of the class and the unity of the proletariat."

103) MLOC, "MLOC Strategy and Tactics," United, vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1975, 19.

"Propaganda as the chief form of practical activity.... the development of proletarian means of propaganda - which includes both inner organizational propaganda.. as well as propaganda amongst the masses, which includes the development of the press and other publications, political exposures, polemics, and various means of propagation of Marxism-Leninism."

104) CPUSA, Shop Paper Manual. A Handbook for Comrades Active in Shop Paper Work, 1930. (Was given to us and don't know where it came from originally). Contents: Introduction - The Role of the Shop Paper in the Class Struggle, 1) The Political Aspects of Shop Paper Work 2) Shop Conditions and Trade Union Work 3) Special Subjects 4) Organizational Aspects of Shop Paper Work 5) Miscellaneous Details 6) Technical Make-Up. Introduction says: "The shop paper is the sharpest weapon in mass agitation in the arsenal of the active Communist. The shop paper is the Communist organ in the shop, reaching the proletariat as no other organ of the Party can. Shop paper work is extremely exacting

work, demanding a patience and accuracy which few other fields of Communist activity require. At the same time it is a field of work in which our comrades have the least experience, due almost entirely to an under-estimation and lack of appreciation of the importance of this effective weapon for capturing the 'fortresses of the working class,' as Lenin calls the factories." (5)

105) Workers Congress (M-L), "Lenin on Propaganda and Agitation," The Communist, vol. II, no. 7, April 1, 1976, 11.

This article quotes some of Lenin's writings on the subject which make "clear that propaganda and agitation are inseparably connected and that economic and political agitation are equally necessary for guiding the class struggle. ...the Economists of our movement separate propaganda from agitation, and restrict their activities to economic agitation alone. They often view agitation as the only means of gaining influence over broad sections of the proletariat. At the same time, they narrow the scope of propaganda, seeing its significance only as a means of educating and training agitators and overlook its importance as a vital tool for spreading class consciousness in general. In criticizing the Northern League's position on propaganda and agitation, Lenin put it this way 'in propaganda it is particularly necessary not to lose sight of the task of training agitators...but all propaganda should not be reduced to the training of 'experienced and capable agitators,' and the 'training of individual class conscious workers should not be simply rejected.' (LCW, Vol #6, p. 65)."

106) Workers Congress (M-L), "Political Exposures," The Communist, vol. 2, no. 10, July 20, 1976, 6 and 13.

Contains an explanation of political exposures as a part of propaganda work. Criticizes the approach to political exposures of the RCP, OL and the "Wing."

107) Workers Congress (M-L), "Propaganda is Our Chief Form of Activity," The Communist, vol. 2, no. 10. (same issue as above)

This is an introduction to several articles in this issue which deal with propaganda. One is by SDOC (San Diego Organizing Committee) called "Winning the Advanced Through Propaganda." It is part of a pamphlet written for advanced and intermediate workers at two plants in San Diego and tries to explain the state. There is also an article called "Errors of CPUSA: Plant Organizing in the 1940's" which has a lot of information on the experience of two communists in cell work and deficiencies in propaganda work which they saw. Another article called "Shop Lessons" is primarily a self-criticism. The author says: "One of the most dangerous mistakes I made was failing to make a painstaking analysis of the plant situation before beginning agitation and propaganda work in a really upfront way....Armed with only a bookish understanding of Marxism-Leninism and perceptual knowledge of immediate objective conditions, I began to take strong stands against what I believe were incorrect ideas and actions, without fully investigating or knowing how to proceed in a professional revolutionary way. I assumed that the main question was whether to speak or remain liberal and silent. Clearly, the main question was how to do agitation and propaganda in the immediate conditions!"

108) Los Angeles Work Group, Report on the Use of Propaganda at the Workplace, (2nd draft, 27 January 1975) and "Introduction to Report on the Use of Propaganda at the Workplace" (Feb. 9, 1976).

A member of the LAWG tries to summarize principles used in doing propaganda work primarily with individual workers. Some attention is paid to being concrete and providing examples of what it means to go from the shallower to the deeper, the one key one lock method, the importance of investigation and security, etc. The "Introduction" tries to explain some of the weaknesses of the Report in terms of the context in which it was written and discusses areas where thinking and practice should be deepened.

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