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A QUOTATION FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

WE MUST HAVE FAITH IN THE MASSES AND WE MUST HAVE FAITH IN THE PARTY. THESE ARE TWO CARDINAL PRINCIPLES. IF WE DOUBT THESE PRINCIPLES, WE SHALL ACCOMPLISH NOTHING

APRIL 26, 1972

32. American Working Class Has High Aspirations

33. Statement of the Pa-N. J. Branch of the American Communist Workers Movement

Leslie Fiedler Offers Dream-Unity to Replace Reactionary Modernism

AMERICAN WOORKING CLASS HAS HIGH ASPIRATIONS

Toronto (PCDN) April 13 - Buffalo Student, "Organ of Buffalo Student Movement, Unit of American Student Movement under the Leadership of ACWM (M-L)", printed the following article in the Vol. 1, No. 2, March 1, 1972 issue:

In the spirit of the call of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-ditions for building a genuine revolution-Leninist) to BUILD THE PARTY on the basis of MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT and AROUSE THE MASSES, the zone two branch of the ACWM (M-L) the Party is no way isolated or detached initiated a Mao Tsetung Thought Study Circle. from building the mass movement to overthr At the first meeting a candidate member of ACWM (M-L) presented a talk entitled "The American Working Class Has High Aspirations." The presentation was enthusiastically received mong everyone present. Text of the talk follows:

Comrades and friends, our purpose in coming together today is to build a bright red Mao Tsetung Thought Study Circle so as to advance the struggle against U.S. imperialism and American fascism and contribute to the cause of proletarian revolution in the veloped in Europe and America in the 19th U.S. and throughout the world. In other words, we want to form a group in complete opposition to fascism, imperialism, socialimperialism and all reaction. Our forward motion will be determined by our resolute struggle against fascism inside the group as well as outside. Following this line means using Mao Tsetung Thought as guide to action. Studying and applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete practice of the anti-fascist revolution of

the American w orking class and people means upholding our revolutionary history learning from it and consciously moving forward. Studying and apply Mao Tsetung Thought means uniting our people against the fascist enemy, the U.S. monopoly capitalist ruling class, their fascist state machine and their lackeys and stooges in various places. Primarily, at this time, studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought means creating material conary CPUSA (M-L). Comrades and friends, unity is not an abstract thing and buildin, fascism through People's War. To unite our people, to build a genuine Communist Party means to go against all the roadblocks to building the Party and arousing the masses In the first place, it means to go against pragmatism, the ideology of American fasci to go against liberalism and bourgeois individualism, elitism and intellectualism, and to go against all those who persist in supporting these things, that is the fascists and social-fascists.

When large-scale capitalist industry de century there appeared ont the world historical scene the proletariat, the most revolutionary class in the history of mankind, the most powerful class ideological; politically and in strength. By the mid-19th century the proletariat had organized itself into the International Workingmen's. Association built by the first great leader of the proletarian movement, Marx and Enge. united all progressive elements around itse and was already beginning to lead all

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democratic and revolutionary movements, and had given rise to the revolutionary theory of Warxism. What distinguished the proletarian novement from all other movements and what listinguishes Marxism from all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies? Marx said in 1852: "Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists of the economic anatomy of the classes. What I had that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with carticular historical phases in the development of production, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the moletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

In America, advanced elements of the proletariat, including large numbers of immigrants, it once took up the revolutionary theory of Marxism and strove to apply it to concrete conditions here. At the same time there were people nestling within the proletarian movement who attacked Marxism and the revolutionary aspirations of our people, saying "Marxism loesn't apply to America, after all the bourgeoisie are so kind and liberal here." These negative elements spent all their energy to keep the prolet riat from organizing itself according to its class interests, that is in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as the first step in liquidating class society. : In Pact the bourgeois elements within the proletrian movement spent all their time desperately rying to 'bourgeoify' the working class by concocting and putting forward lunatic schemes for reforms.

When capitalism reached the stage of monopoly capitalism and imperilaism, there came into the forefront of the proletarian movement and world history the Russian proletariat. Led by the Bolshevik Party, and their great nelmsman Lenin and the revolutionary theory of Leninism, the Russian proletariat overthrew the Russian Czar, the Russian bourgeoisie and Coreign imperialists and established the first socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. LENINISM IS MARXISM IN THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. How did Leninism develop? How did Leninism influence the proletarian revolutionary movenent in the US? Leninism developed in the course of building the Bolshevik Party through constant class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the ruling circles, and constant class struggle within the revolutionary movement against the bourgeois agents and revisers of Marxism; the Bernsteins, the Russian economists, the Kautskyites, Trotskyites, etc. When the news of the Great October Revolution reached the ears of American workers (until then the renegade 'labour leaders' in the US had successfully kept Leninism from many Amer-

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ican workers) there was a tremendous upsurge in the revolutionary movement of ou people. American workers took upon themselves the widescale dissemination of Len inism among their class brothers and all sections of the population and the building of the Communist Party. This led to complete exposure and collapse of the Hil quists, Gomperites, etc., and other scabs hidden among the people. The revisers of Marxism were still around, now they supported Marxism but not Leninism or they supported Marxism-Leninism only in its 'creative application' to America. Their 'creative application' was to go against the very essence of Marxism, to strike at the very heart of the revolutionary prole tarian movement. Thus the revisionists seized political power inside the Communi Party, turned the political party of the: proletariat into a social-fascist party, 5 replaced the dissemination of Leninism by the dissemination of Browderism and ot er trash, and shamelessly pushed such des picable lines as "Rockefeller is a good . friend of the workers", "US imperialism is a healthy capitalism", "A Communist Party isn't needed in democratic America.'

In 1949 the proletariat and oppressed people in China, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, stood up and overthrew feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. Upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the CCP and Chairman Mao led the struggle against modern revisionism, with the Soviet revisionist cliques of Krushchev and now Breshnev and Kosygin at its head and their sinister theories of "peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peace ful transition, socialist state of the whe people, internationalist socialist community and limited sovereignty."

Personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the Chinese working class and pe ple carried out the GREAT PROLETARIAN CUI TURAL REVOLUTION to overthrow the persons in power taking the capitalist road, smas the plot to restore capitalism in Sociali China, solve the problem of continuing th revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and smashed the revisionist line of the hidden scab and traitor Liu 🕆 Shao-chi who propagated the sinister theo of "all production, no revolution" which essence boils down to keeping certain "ex, pert so-called Marxists" in power and the masses of working people enslaved. MAO TS TUNG THOUGHT IS MARXISM-LENINISM IN TERA IN WHICH IMPERIALISM IS HEADING FOR T TAL COLLAPSE AND SOCIALISM IS ADVANCING TOWARDS WORLD-WIDE VICTORY.

Just as our class brothers all over the world rejoiced at the victory of the Chinese people as their own, the American

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age 3 orking class which has never given up its revo- STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE utionary heritage and revolutionary aspirations, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA-WESTERN NEW as always upheld Marxism-Leninism and proletar- JERSEY AREA BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN an internationalism and striven hard to apply arxism-Leninism to the American revolution, is oday taking up the widescale dissemination of ao Tsetung Thought and taking up anew the gloious task of BUILDING THE PARTY on the basis f Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. Led by he American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Camden, N. J. (NAmN, April 5, 1972) eninist) along the path opened up by the INTER-ATIONALISTS and their leader Hardial Bains, may American youth and students and American worers have come forward since 1969 to take up the right red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and the uilding of the party in the style of the Great roletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, on the ass democratic basis and by following the methd of integrating theory with practice, relying n the revolutionary capacity of the masses and f moving from a low level to a high level. Comades and friends, the negative influence in the ass movement - the revisers, the mystifiers, the masses. The Necessity for Change Study owards, the pro-imperialist lackeys, the bour- Groups (Pa.-N.J.) public meetings in eois individualists and lumpen intellectuals, n a word the holy alliance of the 'left' are till around. Today, they support Marxism-Leninsm but not Mao Tsetung Thought or they support ao Tsetung Though but not in North America. hey support trade unions and 'mass actions' or o-called 'mass movements' but not building the arty. Aren't these tired old arguments and iversions pathetic? In a word, they support the ascist dictatorship over our people and oppose he proletariat seizing political power from beow, first in its own revolutionary party, and roceeding step by step to the establishment of he dictatorship of the proletariat through Anti-local organizations in order to build a ascist People's War. Comrades and friends, the merican working class is the largest in the orld. Our people have created modern socialized roduction and with great ingenuity created the ost advanced technology in the world. The Amercan proletariat has rich experience in class truggle, in building the Party and struggling or the seizure of state power. Comrades and riends, we are not afraid of fascist Nixon, who ust go hat in hand to visit our great leader hairman Mao. We are not daunted by the mystifiations of the old and new style renegades and evisionists and their cohorts - we know that a arxist-Leninist is someone who builds the Party n practice and we are determined to do just hat. We will always disseminate Marxism-Leninism-ation does. It is ACWM which can ao Tsetung Thought among the people, always uite our people on the principled basis of oppoition to fascism and strive to build the Party y following the Internationalist method of work nd build the Party in the midst of the masses nd under their supervision by building mass emocratic, anti-fascist struggles.

Comrades and friends:

ONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG sciously participate in helping to form THOUGHT!

ONG LIVE THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ASPIRATIONS OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS!

ONG LIVE THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST WORKERS MOVEMENT is one way you can begin supporting and (MARXIST-LENINIST)!

ONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO!

end item. LONG, LONG LIFE TO CHAIRMAN MAO!

COMMUNIST WORKERS MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST) TO MEMBERS AND LEADING SUP-PORTERS OF THE NECESSITY FOR CHANGE STUDY GROUP WHO HAVE HELPED DEVELOP ACTIVITIES IN CAMDEN

1. Why is it correct for us to come together to study the proposals of March 2 1972 American Communist Workers Movement (M-L) National Committee Meeting?

American Communist Workers Movement (M-L) aims to develop a true Party of the proletariat to provide leadership for a revolution to destroy exploitation forever in America and to Kill U.S. imperialism at its source. It can do this only by integrating itself with the Camden, which everyone here has attended and helped to plan or report on for the Necessity for Change Newsletter at one time or another, are one excellent form of the local effort to serve people locally. This service should not be done with a localist mentality, and has not been done with a localist mentality in Camden (or elsewhere in the general Pennsylvania-New Jersey area and with those from New York City we have been working with). The primary aim of the local leadership of ACWM is to build national proletarian organization, American Communist Workers Movement, in order to best serve the vast majority of Americans.

Because the goal of ACWM is to build a proletarian Party to serve the people, the organization must be open to comment and criticism from the people at all times. This is the way in which the Party must come under the discipline of the masses. Therefore, the fact that a number of us here today are not members or candidate-members of ACWM yet (though I look for change), does not mean that you have no interest in what the organizprovide the leadership and encouragement. we all need if we are to pursue progressive work well. Because the people here today represent the most conscious and active section of the advanced masses involved in the Camden work so far, you have the right (and, indeed, perhaps even the obligation) to judge and conthe correct essence of comments and criticisms into ACWM policy by showing others in ACWM their correctness. This creating the correct national revolutionary policy that will serve all of us and 95% of other Americans. This is not the only way, of course, since you, as active progressive local workers for Necessity for Change are invited to attend the National Committee meetings as either official participants or as observes who can participate in discussions.

I make this report based on my understanding of the history of the young ACWM. This American people. understanding is that ACWM has grown stronger as a result of struggling to surmount trials and tribulations caused by stubborn rightist and ultra-left errors. Continued correct struggles will result in even great- Many units reported highly successful er strength and ability to serve the masses. meetings and discussions and found that Thus ACWM is showing, as you can see in the they were able to integrate this national National Committee report, that it is inter- program with their ongoing local progested in rectifying its errors using mass democratic method of work, something that should please all people interested in proletarian revolution and dishearten all revisionists and supporters of the big bourgeoisie who hope that Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tsetung Thought will not succeed in the U.S. To ensure that proletarian methods do continue, we must maintain our vigilance and conscious participation and encourage every- investigation through careful carrying one else interested in fostering meaningful change in the U.S. to do so.

2. Background to the National Committee Report

The March 25th meeting of the Secretariat and National Committee of the ACWM shows that the unity developed at the first Nation-win proletarian revolution. This is a al Committee meeting in January and at the second in February (as reported in North America News #6) is a revolutionary unity which provides a solid basis for principled struggle and the rectification of errors.

The March 25th meeting was a great victory against the development of bureaucracy and for the mass democratic method of solving problems. Onelocal unit of ACWM, on the basis of its conscious experience in trying to carry out the national program on defeating slanders on the Nixon visit to China and China's revolutionary foreign policy, which includes the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, developed a line in opposition to the method of work represented by that national program. fore this unit called for a national meeting on the question of how to develop local work which will build a Party.

The unit which dared to take initiative had its secretary point out in the Secretariat that at this stage of development ACWM lacks sufficient knowledge to put forward a national program which would truly be from the masses, to the masses. The Secretariat and the National Committee agreed that the local units have not had sufficient time to develop their practice and sum up what they have learned from the masses in a deep way. At this stage of development a national program such as the China program will tend to be something concocted for the masses. This is not likely to be the most accurate assessment of what the masses require at this particular time. The effect of putting forward such national programs now for local units to put into practice is to interfere with the proper, careful development of local work. That is, it is a bureaucratic method which takes away some initiative from local units at the very time when it is most vital for them to develop that initiative most fully. The correct line is for local units to develop and sum up their own work independently so that they can begin to develop scientific knowledge about American conditions and

It is important to see also that this & does not mean: (a) that local units had bad experiences in carrying out the program on China's revolutionary policy. ram. But they realized that this was not always easy or proper to do and that however good the meetings on China were, in some cases they interrupted the development of a local program that was more important to carry through at this time. (b) that national program is in itself a bad thing. Rather, when local units have had time to do extensive out of local program, a synthesis of the investigations can be made and a program truly developed from the masses can be forged and carried out. In other words, the goal is to build a Party whose job will be to develop and apply a comprehensive analysis of American in order to national program for ACWM.

3. The National Committee Report / This report should appear soon in North America News, a national organ of revolutionary news. Copies may be ordered from Necessity for Change, Box 543, Pennsauken, N.J./ now open the meeting for any questions or comments you may have. . . . end item.

LESLIE FIEDLER OFFERS DREAM-UNITY TO REPLACE REACTIONARY MODERNISM

(NAmN, 4/26/72) The following report appears in full from the "Necessity for Change Newsletter," #12 for April 1972:

What is the significance of Leslie Fiedler's performance at Temple University on April 15th?

Leslie Fiedler's opening speech for the panel discussion on the death of Modernism was very much like a speech he gave at the 1971 Modefn Language Association Convention. It was clever and amusing mainly because he was attacking a lot of outdated sacred cows, Fiedler aroused audience support by sharply attacking the fascist implications of Modernism. He argued that in writers like Eliot, Joyce and Pound the humanism of the post-Arnoldian world had become openly "elitist and genteal," "reactionary and anti-populist." He denounced modernist critics, referring especially to the "Yale Mafia" of Wimsatt and co. He went further to point out that the avant garde movement is only a new form of elitism, "bourgeois children playing at rejecting their parents / the Modernists/." But Fiedler then offered the apparently apolitical alternative of sentimentality and popular culture. At the end of the speech it was possible to believe that perhaps Fiedler is an outspoken anti-fascist who is unfortunately espeaping into dreams of "priPage 5

mordial images seen by the third eye" and notions of achieving class unity by skirting political struggle, "closing the gap between high art and pop art."

The full meaning of Fiedler's role as opponent of New Criticism and the modernist literary sensibility began to be revealed only after the challenging remarks of Richard Wasson, the last of three discussants who responded to Fiedler's speech. Wasson changed the grounds of the discussion by offering a few simple truths: He pointed out the fallacy of assuming that high culture and pop culture are essentially ism and not fascism is what makes him different in origin or function. TV is not the culture of the people; it's just an ideological reflection of capitalism designed for large-scale consumption. All the apparently different cultures are the culture of capitalism--designed for different consumer groups: differences in style are not essential except to peddle the culture of different audiences. Both high culture and pop culture, he said, offer opposition to change. To take a sentimental or absurd posture is no more revolutionary than to be ironic; all three postures are useful only for people who don't need change. Post-modernism, Wasson said, has been "playing to the sense of mystery," "keeping the debate / about the revolutionary struggles going on around the world/ on the cultural level." The only helpful role critics can play, Wasson said, is to reveal what's going on, not to hobscure the problems of poverty and suffering.

Fiedler's impatience to reply was the first signal that the audience was to be given a much clearer statement of Fiedler's actual position. Wasson had denied that Fiedler's liberalism is a step forward or genuine opposition to the fascist implications of reactionary Modernism.

The second Fiedler speech of the afternoon revealed the frenzy and fury totally absent from his initial performance but completely predictable whenever liberalism is challenged as the close relative of fascism. Despite the fact that he eventually regained his composure and turned on his usual cleverness and charm, his wild anti-Communism showed what his objective role is at this point in history. When very few people besides Maurice Beebe are willing to put up with the blatant fascism of the Eliots for the sake of a rarefied aristocratic beauty, readers are naturally reddy for art and criticism that are on the side of ordinary people and progress. But those who support the status quo must see to it that people

are directed into a blind alley such as Fiedler's mythic dreams or William Spanos' absurd reality. The questions of a Wasson are unbearable to a Fiedler busily trying to herd people into confusion before they organize to fight their way free. Fiedler wants people to see his way as the alternative to modernist reaction and not what it really is-another variety of reaction.

Before Fiedler brought himself under control, he got out some surprisingly revealing thoughts and showed that Marxreally livid. According to Fiedler, art can and should join together the ruling class and the oppressed: "The marketplace is the place of communal dreams." He claims that art expresses the "suppressed ideas of the rulers which are identical to the unsconscious ideas of the oppressed." In other words, the fact that rulers oppress people has no great importance because, Fiedler insists, "in our dreams we are joined together." Fiedler actually asserted that current political problems are not as important as our deep, universal need to be together on the "primordial level of myth." According to him, the wonderful thing that popular art does is "release submerged voices." This Fiedler recommends as the alternative to political revolution because it "works for social and psychic health by joining the submerged soul of the ruling class and the oppressed people's unconsciousness." Rulers would not need the open brutality of fascism to force the rebelling oppressed people down if Fiedler's xxx notion of the powers of "popular art" were anything more than the empty dream of an enemy of the people. It took Wasson to flush Fiedler's reactionary views out into the open, but Fiedler himself spelled them out so there can wa be no doubt of the uses he intends for the sentimental sensibility he is peddling in the academic world.

-------These thoughts are offered in lieu of the discussion period promised to the audience but never delivered. The hope is that it will stimulate further discussion on the crucial question for teachers and students of literature: Whose interests are served by the critical stance we adopt? Are we on the side of change or on the side of adjustment and reconciliation to the oppressive status quo? end item.