

A COLLECTION
OF ARTICLES

**Workers,
Peasants and
Soldiers
Criticize
Lin Piao and
Confucius**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS P E K I N G



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**WORKERS, PEASANTS AND
SOLDIERS CRITICIZE
LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS**

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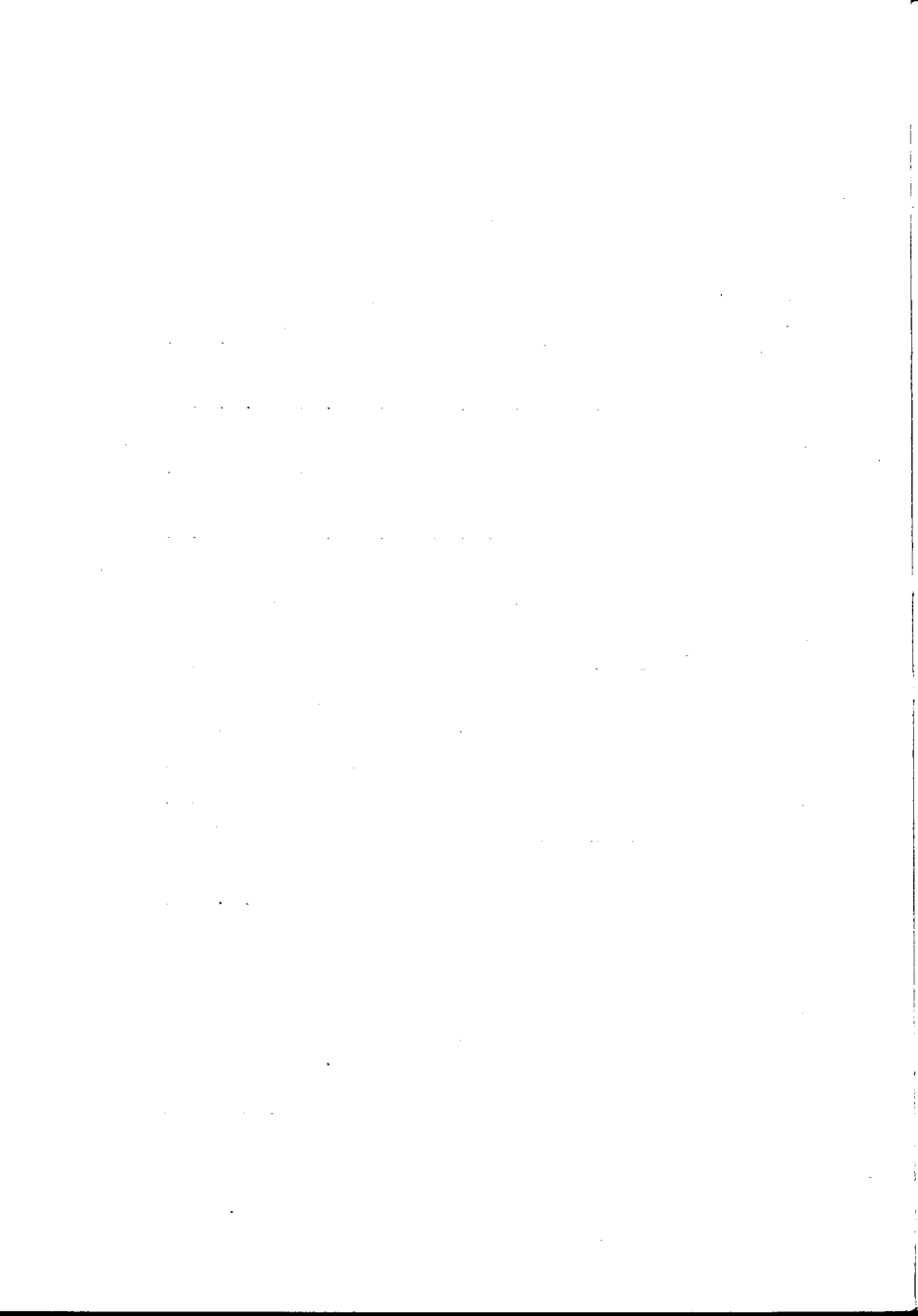
Confucius was a reactionary who doggedly defended slavery and whose doctrines have been used by all reactionaries, whether ancient or contemporary, Chinese or foreign, throughout the more than 2,000 years since his time. The bourgeois careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao was a thorough devotee of Confucius and, like all the reactionaries in Chinese history when on the road to their doom, he revered Confucius, opposed the Legalist School and attacked Chin Shih Huang, the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.). He used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a reactionary ideological weapon in his plot to usurp Party leadership, seize state power and restore capitalism in China.

Adhering to or opposing Confucianism is in essence a struggle between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand, and revisionism on the other, between progress and retrogression, between revolution and counter-revolution, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the capitalist and the socialist roads, and between the revolutionary and the revisionist lines. Thorough repudiation of Confucian-Mencian doctrines, with the repudiation linked with the condemnation of Lin Piao, is vital to deepening the criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and an urgent task of the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure.

The worker-peasant-soldier masses of China are the main force in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. They plunge into the struggle with strong revolutionary indignation. It is with the aim of helping the reader to understand this campaign of criticism that we have collected these articles by workers, peasants and soldiers, reflecting their conscientious study of theory and their revolutionary spirit in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as weapon, integrating theory with practice and overcoming every difficulty on their way to learning. The articles also show that a theoretical force of the Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers has been formed and is steadily growing in the struggles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Guided by the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung, China's workers, peasants and soldiers are determined to carry the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end and do still more for the revolution in the course of the struggle.

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FIGHT A PEOPLE'S WAR OF CRITICIZING LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS

Chao Chung-fan*

WITH the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius going deeper, the idea of worshipping Confucius and opposing Legalism has also been subjected to more penetrating criticism. Many comrades have actively plunged into the class struggle and blasted Lin Piao and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in spoken and written words like thousands of guns firing on target. This momentous event in the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two lines, revolutionary and revisionist, merits serious consideration. The masses must be mobilized extensively and intensively to ensure victory in this people's war.

In repudiating a wrong line, it is necessary to analyse its class, historical and ideological origins. "Restrain oneself and return to the rites" was Confucius' reactionary political programme formulated to serve his aim of preserving the slave system. The careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao salvaged this rot from the Confucian-Mencian dump in his attempt to subvert China's proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism in the country. Lin Piao took this rot as the greatest treasure in the

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world and put it first on the agenda. When Lin Piao and company, out of their eagerness to usurp Party and state power, dished up their anti-Party political programme, they based themselves on the Confucian concept of "correct titles," clamouring that if the state power was not placed in Lin Piao's hands, "the titles would not be correct and words would not carry weight." The Lin Piao outfit, therefore, brazenly attempted to legalize their counter-revolutionary activities for restoring capitalism in China. Again, in their assault on the Party at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, where they hawked their anti-Party theoretical programme, they scavenged something from Confucius. This time, like a drowning man clutching at a straw they seized upon the Confucian idea of "heaven's will" and adopted the idealist concept of "genius," shamelessly to prime Lin Piao in his counter-revolutionary attempt at capitalist restoration. In making their clandestine plan for the armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat known as the *Outline of Project "571,"* they sneaked into the Confucian shop once more looking for such tarnished wares as "government by benevolence," and "rule by rites," at the same time shouting "do or die" to give their gang a shot in the arm for the purpose of subverting the proletarian dictatorship, suppressing the revolutionary people, and unloosing ghosts and monsters of all descriptions. In assailing the Party's policies of cadre participation in productive labour and educated youth going to the countryside, they were also taking as their reactionary weapon the Confucian-Mencian exploiting-class idea of "those who work with their minds govern, while those who toil with their hands are governed." These few ironclad facts

are sufficient to open people's eyes to the poisonous ideological and political root of Lin Piao!

In China, the reactionaries through the ages invariably worshipped Confucius and opposed the Legalists. They heaped honorary titles on Confucius and lauded him to the skies, as if evoking the ghost of Confucius could save their moribund rule. Such farces of Confucius-worship and opposition to Legalism went on without interruption in China's modern history. From Tseng Kuo-fan, the butcher in the suppression of the Taiping Revolution (1851-64), to the usurper of state power Yuan Shih-kai; from Chang Hsun and Kang Yu-wei, who clung to Confucianism and monarchism, to the autocrat and traitor to the people Chiang Kai-shek, all acted according to Confucianism. Later, the ringleaders of opportunist lines within our Party chorused these reactionaries' hymns to Confucius. Chen Tu-hsiu lauded Confucius and Mencius as "outstanding personages" among the "scholar-officials." Wang Ming drivelled that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were "virtues of the nation." The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi turned historical facts on their heads in claiming that "Confucian thinking in its time reflected the progressive trend and demands of the society and, viewed in our days, it still has rational elements," and that "we should utilize it fully." His sinister book on "self-cultivation" is in essence a refurbished version of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Lin Piao, treading in the footsteps of Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi, came up with the reactionary thinking of Confucius, disguised and fitted it out to be used as a "brick to open doors" for capitalist restoration. Chinese history has shown that the reactionary class, when in power, invokes Confucianism to defend its rule

and deceive the people; and, when not in power, it also relies on Confucian thinking to dupe the people in order to stage a come-back. This historical experience is noteworthy.

Confucius was a representative of the moribund slave-owning class. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are an ideological system of the exploiting classes. Reactionaries in history, including Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, though far removed in time from Confucius, all belonged to the declining exploiting classes and their ideologies shared a common nature that had been passed down. Lin Piao was China's modern Confucius. Our in-depth criticism of Confucius will identify the extremely Rightist character of Lin Piao in wantonly attempting to restore capitalism and turn back the wheel of history. It will also enhance our ability to distinguish true Marxism from false. The criticism of Lin Piao tallies entirely with that of Confucius, and the pen of every Chinese should be used in integrated criticism of the pair.

Some claim that criticizing Confucius "is a job for the philosophers, historians and men of letters and has very little to do with workers, peasants and soldiers." But this view both disregards the class nature of the struggle and negates the role of the masses in it.

To label this life-and-death class struggle as "polemics" of "pure academic interest" is a shop-worn trick of the bourgeoisie, and vigilance is called for against being duped. In class society, the realm of ideology is always a battlefield of class struggle; it is never a vacuum and haven above classes. Further, class struggle has always been the common cause of the millions, not the concern of a few "scholars" and "*literati*." The 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China reminded the

whole Party, army and nation: "We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base." The current movement to criticize the worship of Confucius and opposition to Legalism is closely linked with the contemporary struggles between the two classes, two roads, and two lines. Criticizing Confucius is a component part of the criticism of Lin Piao. The superstructure, including the sphere of ideology, is used as a bridge-head by the exploiting classes from which to launch counter-assaults against the proletariat. How well we do in this battle has vital bearing on the question of our Party and country keeping their political colour and so is of paramount concern to every one of us. Fighting this battle well, therefore, is our common duty, and no one of us should view it casually or stand aside.

In summing up the historical experience of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out that the workers and peasants were the basic revolutionary forces and **"the intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants."** The broad worker-peasant-soldier masses are the main force in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They are the most intelligent and the most capable. And not only are workers, peasants and soldiers the main force on the political and economic fronts, but they are the main force on the ideological and theoretical fronts. They have the greatest say in the realm of the superstructure. Chairman Mao has always trusted and relied on the masses and stressed that in doing any work a vigorous mass

movement is necessary; dependence on a few persons working in solitude will not do. He personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in the course of which he brought up for discussion by the people of the entire country the struggles in every sphere of the superstructure and the two-line struggle within the Party. This method brought the great victory of the Cultural Revolution. It shows the confidence that Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have in us — a great encouragement. The entire experience of the Chinese revolution demonstrates that only by courageously mounting the rostrum of the superstructure can the proletariat enforce overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in every sphere of that realm.

Specialists' research and convincing, analytical, substantive writings are needed, but these alone cannot overcome obstinate enemies. A fatal blow is inflicted only by the concentrated fire of guns by the millions. Old ideas remaining from the old system are bound to be stubborn; they will not just fade from the stage of history. Only the concerted action of the entire nation can deny sanctuary to the old ideas. The reactionary mentality of Confucius has spread its poison far and wide. More than half a century ago, in the May Fourth Movement, there arose the slogan "Down with the Confucian shop!" But the spectre of that shop-owner is still around and often plays the devil. It is necessary now to rouse the masses in their millions to criticize Confucius, to wash away the slime and filth left over from the old society.

The deeply ingrained Confucian thinking may seem like a formidable giant; in reality it, too, like all reactionary things, is only a paper tiger. Both Confucius' ideas

and practices ran counter to the objective reality of his time and the law of historical development. The proletariat and people are on solid ground in despising Confucius and in believing that our criticism will discredit him. Lu Hsun said: "The ordinary men and women of China, especially those known as the 'witless mob,' though they call Confucius a sage, have never really looked upon him as such." Lu Hsun also said: "Yet I fancy no other people in the world know Confucius as well as the 'witless mob' in China." Confucius was boosted to prominence by the reactionary ruling classes, while the people never considered him a person deserving of respect. In his own time and down through the centuries, Confucius has always been roundly criticized. The working people contemporary with this "sage" assailed him as a person "whose four limbs do not toil and who does not know the difference between the five grains," and accorded him treatment that often placed him in an awkward position. In China's modern history, the peasant army of the Taiping Revolution not only attacked the landlord class militarily and politically but it also launched a large-scale ideological campaign against Confucius. The Taiping leader Hung Hsiu-chuan destroyed shrines to Confucius and called him "a devil whose books, presumably meant to teach people, are all fallacious." This had completely deflated the prestige of reactionary Confucianism.

In our day, with the unprecedented dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the ability of the people to criticize wrong things has been so enhanced that they can fight them like winged tigers. To discredit Confucius' political corpse poses no insuperable problem for them.

**We ask the God of Plague: "Where are you bound?"
Paper barges aflame and candle-light illuminate the
sky.**

We will take up our pens in today's class struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and, as described in these lines from Chairman Mao's poem, "Farewell to the God of Plague," "illuminate the sky" with our militant repudiation.

CONSCIENTIOUSLY STUDY AND ADVANCE DESPITE HARDSHIPS

Yu Ho-kang*

THE current movement in China to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle to uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism. We of the Chinese working class should be the main force in the struggle. My feeling is that we must make steady effort if we are truly to achieve this aim.

Soon after taking up the struggle last year we met with enormous difficulty. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius advocated by Lin Piao reeked of archaic men, things and language all preaching retrogression and restoration of the old order. To strip off these disguises we had to sit down and read history books and also study classical Chinese writings. It really taxed my brain.

As the movement developed, however, I understood better that my first thoughts on it were a far cry from what the situation demanded. The movement showed that the criticism of Lin Piao is closely linked with that of Confucius. In order to criticize Lin Piao penetratingly it is essential to criticize Confucius also in depth. Lin Piao was a big party tyrant and warlord who read no books, newspapers or documents and had no learning

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at all. He directed his followers to collect a hotchpotch of quotations from Confucius and Mencius, which he hung on the wall in his home or incorporated into his sinister notes. He did this because the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius advocated restoration and could be used as his best reactionary ideological weapon in his attempt at usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism. In the course of the struggle I eagerly studied Chairman Mao's works, which helped me realize that the ringleaders of the opportunist lines within the Party in the past, like Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all worshipped Confucius. Being agents of the landlord and bourgeois classes inside the Party, they prostrated themselves before Confucius and pitted Confucian-Mencian doctrines against Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao invariably criticized these doctrines sharply in fighting these chieftains of the opportunist lines, in this way settling accounts with their ideological, class and historical roots politically and theoretically.

As early as in the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) Chairman Mao wrote the article *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* criticizing the Right opportunist line represented by Chen Tu-hsiu. There he scathingly repudiates the reactionary Confucian preaching about being "temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous" as peddled by Mencius, the "junior proprietor" of the Confucian shop. Chairman Mao also condemned "the doctrine of the mean," which necessarily opposed revolutionary mass movements. In 1942, during the War of Resistance Against Japan, he initiated a rectification campaign to criticize Wang Ming's opportunist line which was first "Left" and then Right.

To this end Chairman Mao disclosed the relationship between stereotyped Party writing and the "eight-legged essay,"¹ pointing out that only when the old feudal "eight-legged essay" was subjected to penetrating criticism could stereotyped Party writing be thoroughly repudiated. The rectification campaign helped Party members to raise their understanding of the two-line struggle. Today, the struggle to oppose or revere Confucius between us and the political swindlers like Lin Piao is a continuation of the two-line struggle inside the Party. It reflects, under the conditions of socialism, the two-class and the two-line struggles between progress and retrogression, between revolution and counter-revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches: **"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** The experience of the past two-line struggles in the Party demonstrates the importance of thoroughly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and conducting intensive education in the necessity of opposing revisionism and preventing its emergence in the Party. Only in this way can we repudiate the revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like and consolidate the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

¹The "eight-legged essay" was the special form of essay prescribed in the imperial examinations under China's feudal dynasties from the 15th to the 19th centuries. It consisted in juggling with words, concentrated only on form at the expense of content. Every paragraph was written to a rigid pattern with a fixed number of characters, the writer spinning out the essay by ringing the changes on the words in the theme. Thus "stereotyped Party writing" characterizes the writings of certain people in the revolutionary ranks who piled up revolutionary phrases and terms higgledy-piggledy instead of analysing the facts. Like the "eight-legged essay," their writings were nothing but verbiage.

During the movement my comrades and I read some relevant documents. We also collected articles and materials from newspapers and periodicals on the polemics between the Confucian and the Legalist schools. Though they were a bit too difficult for us we tried our best, never stopping until we understood them. I had never read anything by Confucius or Mencius and had always thought their writings must be extremely profound and inscrutable. Later, in reading annotations to the *Analects of Confucius* and *Mencius* in the newspapers, I referred the original texts to the notes and criticisms. I also delved into history books dealing with the political and economic situation during the Spring and Autumn (770-476 B.C.) and Warring States (475-221 B.C.) periods. I studied the class relations of that time and saw quite clearly the basic reactionary views preached by Confucius and Mencius and their crew. They were like an embroidered cushion — pretty on the outside, but a bag of straw inside. Confucius and Mencius were diehards bitterly hostile to revolution. Taking the stand of the declining slave-owning class, they opposed any progressive reforms the newly emerging landlord class made. They advocated restoration and retrogression in an attempt to turn back the wheel of history. Both Confucius and Lin Piao were representatives of the moribund classes who advocated “returning to the rites,” i.e., restoration of the old. So, in order to maintain the socialist nature of our state, we must carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going way. Only thus can the dictatorship of the proletariat be further consolidated and strengthened.

Nothing in the world is difficult for one who sets his mind to it. We of China's working class are quite capa-

ble of shouldering the heavy load of the struggle and becoming the main force in this movement, so long as we study well the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and of Chairman Mao. In our study and criticism we grasped mainly the nub of problems, by no means undertaking scholastic research or spending much time on minor issues. For instance, concerning "benevolence means love for men" preached by Confucius and "government by benevolence" mouthed by Mencius, I knew these were lies but I couldn't tell why theoretically. After restudying *The Civil War in France* and *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx, *The State and Revolution* by Lenin, *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, Carry the Revolution Through to the End* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* by Mao Tsetung, however, I learned from these proletarian revolutionary teachers' theories on the state about the reactionary essence of so-called "love for men" and "government by benevolence." And our own personal experience convinces us that in class society there has never been any universal human love. The bourgeoisie does not "love" the working class any more than the working class "loves" the bourgeoisie. The historical experience of the class and two-line struggles tells us that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat definitely does not apply a policy of "benevolence" to the reactionaries but exercises dictatorship over them. If it does not, the masses of working people will be plunged once again into misery.

Chairman Mao says: **"We need Marxism in our struggle."** The deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has given impetus to the present study campaign of the workers and cadres in our plant.

During the Cultural Revolution, especially after the Party's Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, we have been conscientiously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. Since the current movement began, we have tried our best to link our study of these works with the reality of the present struggle. We take great pains to examine and analyse the nature of the reactionary views Confucius preached, and why Lin Piao and all other revisionists peddled them. We study also how Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao repudiated these reactionary ideas, and how their noxious influence affects our present struggle. This method of relating our study and repudiation to our present struggle has enabled us further to distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, between materialism and idealism and between progress and reaction so as not to be fooled by political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Our experience has been that so long as we take active part in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, study conscientiously and do a good job of criticism, we can certainly increase our knowledge of Marxism and use it.

Such study is admittedly not easy. A strong will is needed to surmount difficulties. But no difficulty, however great, can daunt a man worth his salt. Educated by Mao Tsetung Thought, we of the Chinese working class must display the spirit of taking the bull by the horns and play the vanguard role in the current movement, study conscientiously and carry through the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure!

THOROUGH EXPOSURE OF COUNTER- REVOLUTIONARY AMBITION

Wu Nien-hsiang*

LIN Piao and Confucius were two venomous snakes from the same nest, two poison gourds on the same vine. They thought the same, talked the same and pursued the same sinister aims. Both were reactionaries trying to turn back the wheel of history and bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration, Confucius being the supreme master and Lin Piao his pious disciple.

Bent on saving the slave system from its imminent extinction, Confucius wantonly preached "restrain oneself and return to the rites," meaning the revival of the slavery of the Western Chou Dynasty (around 11th century-770 B.C.) and the dictatorship of the slave-owning class. "Restrain oneself" was aimed at "returning to the rites." It served the purpose of inducing the people to curb their aspirations and refrain from rebelling against the slave-owning aristocracy at a time of great social change. This concept decreed that people should "not look at, listen to, say or do things not conforming to the rites" but should act entirely according to the rules and regulations set by the slave-owning aristocracy. In this way all under heaven would "submit

* A worker of the Peking Printing House.

to benevolent rule," i.e., to the rule of the slave-owning class. It can be seen from this that to "restrain oneself and return to the rites" was Confucius' reactionary programme for restoring Western Chou slavery.

As Confucius' faithful follower, the bourgeois careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao, obstinately taking the reactionary stand of the landlord and capitalist classes, chanted to Confucius' tune in dark corners, "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites." He wrote these words time and again on scrolls and hung them on his walls as canons. He did this at a time when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had achieved great victories and the dictatorship of the proletariat was stronger than ever. In yelling for "restraining oneself and returning to the rites," Lin Piao was trying to toe Confucius' line and put back the clock, in the fond hope of radically changing the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, subverting proletarian dictatorship and restoring capitalism. His clamours indicated that he meant to place the restoration of capitalism first on the agenda. It should be noted here that Lin Piao and his anti-Party clique wrote these words of Confucius on scrolls and hung them on their walls not mainly for artistic reasons, but rather for the purpose of launching a ferocious attack on the Party and people. Defying Chairman Mao's repeated instruction, this clique, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee, advocated the post of state chairman in their political programme. They ranted: "If the state has no chairman, it will be without a head; 'if the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight.' " Their aim was to usurp the supreme power of the Party and state so as to revive bourgeois dictatorship under

"correct titles and weighty words." To realize his political programme and pave the way theoretically for usurping Party leadership and seizing the state power, Lin Piao also dished up the idealist concept of "genius" in his anti-Party theoretical programme, comparing himself to a "heavenly horse" and styling himself the "noblest of men," a "superman." After his counter-revolutionary coup d'etat was frustrated at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee, he conspired behind closed doors with a handful of his sworn followers, who painstakingly concocted a plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, the *Outline of Project "571,"* howling for the political liberation of ghosts and monsters of all descriptions. Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary, revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" crystallized the desire for a counter-revolutionary restoration in China of domestic landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois Rightists, as well as the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in the world. It also fully revealed his counter-revolutionary ambition to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and throw China back into the old semi-feudal, semi-colonial society.

We veteran workers cannot help setting our jaws in anger and hate when we recall the evils of the old society. Each of our families had its story of suffering and every one of us had his bitter experience. In the man-eating old society, a handful of the reactionary ruling class bled us white. They wallowed in luxury while we labouring people struggled on the verge of death. My grandfather worked as a hired hand for a landlord most of his life, toiling from dawn to dusk under the landlord's whip in order to keep his family of five alive, only to be kicked

out by that jackal of a landlord when he grew old and weak from illness. He could do nothing but take his family begging, and they roamed all the way to Wucheng County in Shantung Province. On the way my grandfather was bitten on the leg by a landlord's dog and died soon afterwards, angry and ill, in an old temple. After that things were even harder for the family. To go on living, my grandmother sent my father to Taying in Hopei Province to work as an apprentice, and my uncle to the Northeast. She sold one of my aunts as a child-bride into a landlord's family where she was maltreated and worked to death in less than three years. In the wicked old society we poor people could never straighten our backs though the sky was so high, nor had we a place to set our foot on this vast land of ours. Only under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party could we labouring people overthrow the landlord and capitalist classes, and could we become masters of the country and live a happy life. We understand fully that we owe all this to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and are determined to defend our socialist state with our blood. We will never tolerate a return of the old, capitalist system.

Our great teacher Lenin said: **“When the old society perishes, you cannot nail its corpse into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us.”** Though Confucius and Mencius died over 2,000 years ago, the toxic influence of their reactionary ideas has spread far and wide and struck deep roots, so that today they are still used by landlord, capitalist and reactionary elements like Lin Piao and company as their ideological weapon for restoring capitalism. We working masses had suffered without

end through the generations from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and hate them with our whole being. We know best what kind of stuff these doctrines are. We won't stand for Lin Piao waving Confucius' tattered banner of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" to restore capitalism and plunge the labouring people back into the abyss of misery. We of the working class will carry the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end.

LIN PIAO'S REACTIONARY PROGRAMME FOR RESTORING CAPITALISM

Li Shun-ta*

LIKE all reactionaries in their death throes in Chinese history, Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist and traitor, used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a reactionary ideological weapon in his conspiracy to restore capitalism. From October 1969 to January 1970, he and one of his sworn followers wrote four scrolls reading: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites." In holding the restoration of capitalism as the first of all his concerns, Lin Piao fully revealed his bestial ambition to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"To restrain oneself and return to the rites" was Confucius' reactionary programme for the restoration of the slave system. He put forward this programme in the last years of the Spring and Autumn Period when the feudal forces were in the ascendant, the slaves were constantly rising in rebellion and the slave states were on the brink of collapse. Being a loyal servant of the slave-owning aristocrats, Confucius vigorously opposed the social change. He took the trash that "exploitation is justified and rebellion is a crime" as an eternal truth,

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slandered the uprisings of the slaves — a revolutionary thing — as “insubordination and rebellion” and “absence of right principles throughout the country.” In order to maintain the declining rule of the slave-owning class, he travelled about peddling his sinister ware of “restraining oneself and returning to the rites,” vainly trying to restore the order of the slave society of the Western Chou Dynasty in accordance with the Chou rites, and reverse the wheel of history.

In our day, 2,400 years later, Lin Piao took over the mantle of Confucius and repeated after this political mummy his reactionary doctrines. When great victories had already been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat had been further consolidated, Lin Piao, afraid that the exploiting classes and the system of exploitation would become extinct in China, could rein in no longer. He waved the sinister banner of “restraining oneself and returning to the rites” time and again in a vain effort to effect a fundamental change in the Party’s basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism, reinstate the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, rehabilitate the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, revive the fascist dictatorship of the landlord and capitalist classes and turn China into a colony of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists. This was the sinister aim of Lin Piao’s reactionary programme of “restraining oneself and returning to the rites” and the ultra-Rightist nature of the revisionist line he promoted.

Although Lin Piao and Confucius lived in different historical periods, and the class content of the watchword

that each propagated was not the same, they were birds of a feather in their reactionary ideology, both opposing social change, opposing revolution and advocating retrogression and restoration. Confucius was Lin Piao's venerated teacher, and Lin Piao was a faithful disciple of Confucius. These two evil-doers were of the same stripe in their attempt to turn back the wheel of history and in plotting restoration. Both were mortal enemies of the labouring people.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.”** In Lin Piao's vain attempt to restore capitalism, however, he was practising revisionism, splittism, intrigue and conspiracy.

The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in socialist revolution and construction is very acute. Our Hsikou Brigade has grown in the repeated struggles against the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines carried out by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

In the period of the agricultural co-operative movement we withstood many times such erroneous tendencies as: “resolute cutback,” “stop establishing agricultural producers' co-operatives but return to mutual-aid teams” and “opposing adventurism.” We expelled two counter-revolutionaries who had wormed their way into our co-op and usurped financial power. As a result, our agricultural producers' co-operative was consolidated and developed.

In 1960-62, when our country met with temporary difficulties in our national economy, we repulsed the tendencies for restoration as formulated in *san zi yi bao* (the extension of plots for private use and of free mar-

kets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis) and the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale and private enterprise), and thus consolidated the collective economy of the people's commune.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we overcame the interference and disruption caused by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the bourgeois careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and ferreted out a bad egg who had tried to undermine our efforts in learning from Tachai in agriculture, and by these means consolidated and enhanced the excellent situation in the Cultural Revolution.

We well understand that the struggle between progress and retrogression, between restoration and counter-restoration, is a protracted and sharp struggle which existed, exists now and will continue to exist. We must adhere to the Party's philosophy of struggle. We fought, are fighting, and will continue to fight — we will battle firmly to the end against all revisionism, which stands for turning back and restoring the old. We will never stop fighting till complete victory.

Each crop yields its own particular fruit; each class speaks its own language. Taking the stand of the slave-owners and attempting to restore the slave system, Confucius stubbornly carried out the reactionary line of "reviving states that are extinct, restoring families that have lost their positions, and calling to office those who have fallen into obscurity." This was to revive extinct slave states, rehabilitate the slave-owning aristocratic families deprived of their hereditary status, and reinstate the overthrown slave-owners. Clinging fast to the stand

of the landlord class and bourgeoisie, Lin Piao carried out a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In his plan for a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état known as *Outline of Project "571"* which was cooked up in March 1971, he viciously clamoured that the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, secret agents, diehard capitalist-roaders and remnants of Kuomintang reactionaries "shall all be politically liberated." This means that he wanted to negate completely the various political movements led by the Chinese Communist Party, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the hard-won victories gained by the people of the whole country in several decades of arduous struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao. It means that he intended to reverse the correct verdicts passed on the chieftains of earlier opportunist lines and to restore for the landlords and capitalists their lost "paradise." Had Lin Piao succeeded in his plot, he would have ascended the throne as king; landlords and capitalists would have again ridden roughshod over the people and sucked their blood, while the broad masses of working people would have been thrown back into dire misery and suffering, to live like beasts of burden. We labouring people will never allow this to happen!

In order to restore capitalism, Lin Piao feverishly preached Confucius' "government by benevolence," holding it as a treasure. In fact, there is no such thing as supra-class "government by benevolence" in a class society. Any "benevolence and righteousness" propagated by the exploiting class is a fraud and a hidden knife. The sufferings of the labouring masses under the oppression and exploitation in the old society are a merciless

accusation against the "benevolence and righteousness" advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius.

My own early life is a case in point. I went begging with my mother when I was nine. When I was 10 I had to look after the child of a landlord who swore at me and hit me whenever he felt like it. One day when his son ordered me to crawl around on the ground with him on my back, I refused and was driven out of the landlord's house. Five years later, my father was thrown into jail by the puppet government and soon died there of the tortures. The family's main means of support gone, my mother had no way out but to sell my younger sister. That's how it was in the old society in our Hsikou Village. Those who tilled the land were without grain to eat; those who spun and wove wore rags; those who built fine houses lived in tumble-down huts. New mothers became wet-nurses in the families of the rich while their own children were sold to buy food for the rest of the family. Every poor and lower-middle peasant family has a history of blood and tears. It is only under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao that, after overthrowing the three great mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which weighed on our backs, we have taken the broad road of socialism and are emancipated politically, economically and culturally. Chairman Mao saved us poor and lower-middle peasants. The reactionary rulers, landlords and rich peasants put up attractive signboards but sold wares quite different behind the scenes. Their "benevolence and righteousness" are nothing but the "benevolence" mouthed by the despotic landlord in the story of *The White-Haired Girl* and the "righteousness" of the Tyrant of the South in the theatrical work *Red*

Detachment of Women. In a word, their "benevolence and righteousness" are nothing but the law of the jungle. The reason why Lin Piao peddled "government by benevolence" and "benevolence and righteousness" is that he wanted to use this trash against the dictatorship of the proletariat. But we the labouring people will never listen to Lin Piao and Confucius. We definitely do not apply a policy of "benevolence" to the handful of class enemies; we exercise dictatorship over them. If we do not act in this way, the revolution will fail, the state will change its political colour, and the people will suffer.

To practise revisionism, Lin Piao inevitably resorted to intrigue and conspiracy. According to him, to "return to the rites," one would have to "restrain oneself," and only when one "restrained oneself" was one able to "return to the rites." To "return to the rites" was his ultimate counter-revolutionary aim, and to "restrain oneself" was his counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Pretending to "restrain" himself he waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. He was a conspirator "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened his mouth without shouting 'long live,' who said nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." When he thought the time was not yet ripe, he was "forced to lodge for a time in the tiger's lair," watching which way the wind blew and awaiting his chance to achieve his evil aim. When he considered the right moment had come, he came out with Confucius' reactionary watchword: "If the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight." In his desperate attempt to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, he feverishly ranted that he must have the title of the "head" of the state. Otherwise, he said, the titles would not be correct and

words would not carry weight. When his counter-revolutionary plot was exposed, he frantically conspired to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup, assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. But reactionaries always miscalculate. No matter how the reactionary ringleader Lin Piao resorted to intrigues and conspiracies, he could not save himself from his doom.

The dialectics of history is irresistible. All reactionaries who plotted retrogression and were bent on turning back the wheel of history were eventually crushed under that same wheel. Driven from pillar to post, Confucius, "sage" of the reactionary class, ended up by joining the ghost of Duke Chou¹ with his ossified idea of restoring the slave system. And Lin Piao, the "heavenly horse," crashed to his death at Undur Khan in Mongolia, to become an object beneath human contempt.

The wheel of history cannot be turned back. The objective law governing the development of history is that progress overcomes backwardness, brightness overcomes darkness, the dictatorship of the proletariat supersedes the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and socialism vanquishes capitalism. With the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has struck deeper roots among the masses, the people of various nationalities in our country have achieved greater unity, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. The industrial

¹Duke Chou, whose surname was Chi, and whose given name was Tan, established the rules and regulations of the Chou Dynasty under which he ruthlessly exploited and suppressed the slaves. He was fervently worshipped by Confucius.

output is increasing steadily, and good harvests have been gained for 12 years in succession. The revolutionary situation in the country is fine, and will be even more so. Our Shansi Province is no exception, nor is our Hsikou Brigade. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has advanced the revolutionary situation, and the cadres and masses have raised their consciousness of class and two-line struggles in the movement. We work hard and perseveringly to build up our mountainous area, and have obtained victories both in revolution and production. For the past four consecutive years our per-mu¹ output of grain has been over 1,000 jin,² while the peak figure before the Cultural Revolution was around 600. Our total income from agriculture, forestry, stock-breeding and side-occupations has doubled. With the development of collective production, we have made greater contributions to the state. Before the Cultural Revolution we sold only a little over 100,000 jin of grain to the state annually, now we sell 350,000 jin in a single year. In addition, we sell approximately 300,000 jin of dried and fresh fruit and large quantities of special local products to the state. The brigade's public accumulation fund has increased and the commune members' cultural life has improved correspondingly. We used to lack doctors and medicines; now we have co-operative medical service. We had almost no schools; now all school-age children receive elementary education, and a nine-year school which combines primary and secondary education has been set up. The poor and lower-middle peasants are very happy with the new things that have emerged

¹ One mu = 1/15 hectare or 1/6 acre.

² One jin = 1/2 kg. or 1.1 lbs.

in the Cultural Revolution. They say: "This is the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Marxism tells us that the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered into the grave. It disintegrates like a corpse in our midst; it rots and poisons us. "To restrain oneself and return to the rites" is a reactionary political programme of diehards which holds out for sticking to the past, restoring the old order and reversing the trend of history. Confucius invented it to revive the slave system; the decadent landlord class used it to maintain feudal rule, and Lin Piao advocated it to restore capitalism. Although all of these have been overthrown, their reactionary ideology still exists. It is just like a bunch of old onions hung from the eaves of a house: their roots may have withered and their leaves dried, but the main stalks are still alive. And that is why we must persist in the Party's basic line, prepare ourselves for prolonged struggle, develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in depth, and carry through to the end the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure, so as to consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PERSEVERE IN MAKING REVOLUTION, OPPOSE RESTORATION

Chen Yi-mei*

IN 1955 our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung made an important statement in referring to our Chenchia-chuang Agricultural Producers' Co-op in the book *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*. He pointed out: **"The socialism of today is indeed unprecedented. Compared with the Confucian 'classics,' socialism is infinitely superior."** With this statement of Chairman Mao's as our weapon, we have sharply criticized the reactionary ideas preached in the Confucian "classics" and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, firmly grasped the struggle between the two roads and two classes as it relates to the current class struggle, kept to the socialist orientation and resolutely followed Chairman Mao in making revolution. We have turned a poor and backward village inhabited by former poor tenant-peasants who in the old society were savagely exploited by Confucius' descendants (the "Kung Family") into a new socialist village with initial prosperity.

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CRITICIZE CONFUCIUS' "CLASSICS,"
PERSEVERE IN SOCIALISM

Confucius was born in our county, Chufu, Shantung Province, but we poor and lower-middle peasants cannot help getting angry and hating him whenever his name is mentioned. Confucius mouthed such nonsense as "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in a bid to revive the slave system in decline at that time. By his mumbo-jumbo of "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" and "those who work with their minds govern, while those who toil with their hands are governed," Confucius together with his disciples and followers tried to theorize their exploitation and oppression of the labouring people as natural and eternal. In idolizing Confucius, all doomed reactionaries likewise used his reactionary ideological trash to deceive and dupe the labouring people in order to exploit and oppress them. Our Chenchiachuang Village was known for its millet, and the tenant-peasants used to pay their rents to the "Kung Family" in that crop. In the old society we had our fill of suffering and misery. Every year after paying their rents into the "Kung palace of hell," the poor people had nothing to eat but bran and wild herbs. Commune member Chen Ching-mu's family, poor peasants before liberation, for example, had to pay 400 jin of millet a year as rent for one and a half mu of land, apart from other miscellaneous extortions. In 1939 a hailstorm destroyed the ripe crop and, though the Chens didn't reap a single grain, neither did the "Kung Family" reduce their rent by a single grain. Driven to desperation, Chen's father and grandfather hung themselves, leaving the young Chen, his mother and little brother to flee the

famine and become beggars. In fact, 25 of the 58 families of Chenchiachuang Village did this, and 5 were forced to sell their children. More than 60 from the village hired themselves out to landlords as long-term or short-term labourers, while 21 died on the road. The poor people hated Confucius' sinister "classics" bitterly and called them "murderous." A popular saying among the people went: "Sinister 'classics,' ferocious as tigers and wolves. Twisting reason, leading people astray. Poor people hate them so they can't bear to look at them!"

In such words the poor and lower-middle peasants condemned the Confucian "classics."

In 1948 Chufu was liberated and our Chenchiachuang Village sprang to life. Under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, we former slaves of the "Kung Family" criticized the Confucian "classics" with strong class hatred. We started out on the socialist road charted by Chairman Mao by forming mutual-aid teams. Later we had an agricultural producers' co-op and now we belong to a production brigade in the people's commune. We transformed more than 800 mu of sandy barren wasteland, 120 mu of which was built into garden-like farmland and the rest planted to 70,000 timber and 20,000 fruit trees. We also dug 21 pump-wells for irrigating 720 mu, turning it into land with high and stable yields. Our brigade now owns trucks, tractors, electric motors, diesel engines and other farm machines. Grain output is rising steadily, making increasing contribution to the state. Since 1969 we have had an annual surplus of 180,000 jin of grain to sell and deliver as agricultural tax to the state, an average of about a ton per family.

The villagers' life is improving. There were only three literates in the village before liberation, while today the

brigade has a 10-year school which all school-age children attend. We already have 120 middle school students and three college students. Now the people have new verses on their lips:

*Look, our village has storeyed buildings and
factories,
Chairman Mao's directives shine forth radiantly!
Look, in our fields tractors run, electric
motors hum, horses caper
And the commune members' laughter fills the air!
Look at our "sandy wasteland," green with poplars
and willows;
Fruit trees heavy with apples, peaches and pears!*

Our Chenchiachuang Village is certainly different from before. How did this happen? It is the outcome of the poor and lower-middle peasants' adherence to the socialist road, and the struggle they have carried out in criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and revisionism.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN RESTORATION AND COUNTER-RESTORATION

For the last quarter-century we have been advancing along the socialist road, every step forward involving sharp struggles between reverence for Confucius and opposition to him, between restoration and counter-restoration. The struggles all centred on the fundamental question of adhering to socialism or going back to capitalism.

In 1961, when we were holding aloft the Three Red Banners — the Party's General Line for Socialist Construction, the Big Leap Forward and the People's Commune — in our courageous advance, and had succeeded in various fields of socialist construction, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and company joined in the anti-China chorus of imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries and attacked the Three Red Banners as "going too far," "premature" and "in a mess." They shouted themselves hoarse hawking such revisionist wares as *san zi yi bao* and the "four freedoms." They followed Confucius' line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in their vain attempt at restoration.

At that time, a sinister meeting of holding sacrificial rites and paying respects to Confucius was held in Chufu, his birthplace. For this event, more than 100 musicians (all landlords) were brought together from all over the county. They drummed and blew, sang and chanted, kowtowing to the idol of Confucius and lauding him as a "great statesman," "thinker," "educationist" and "one of the greatest men in the history of Chinese thought." They used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in their counter-revolutionary activities to restore capitalism. A handful of class enemies in Chenchiachuang Village took this occasion to tout these doctrines and oppose socialist revolution. They jabbered: "Holy Duke is a title conferred by the throne upon the lineal descendants of Confucius. Confucius is certainly wise and mighty, whom even the emperors called teacher." "The musicians have gathered once more. From now on things will go according to the old sage's rules and regulations."

When we exercised dictatorship over these class enemies, they yelped: "Our surname's Chen, the same

as yours. We're all one family, so better be kind to your relatives. Harmony is to be prized." They accused us of disowning (showing no "benevolence" towards) our closest kin. When we sank pump-wells and worked to transform the sandy wasteland, they moaned that we had violated geomantic rules and gone against "heaven's will," etc., etc. Using Confucius' set of standards, they cooked up 10 major accusations against me and grabbed power in the production brigade's leadership. They proceeded to sabotage the collective economy, which resulted in our village's production falling sharply — from 500 jin of grain per mu to 300. This showed quickly one of the things that happens when revisionism, i.e., the capitalist class, takes over!

It was at this critical time that, in September 1962, Chairman Mao personally convened and presided over the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. There he drew up the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: **"Never forget class struggle."** Like a radiant beacon, Chairman Mao's instruction showed us the way forward. It made us realize that the struggle we were undergoing was a class struggle between restoration of capitalism and counter-restoration, that it was a two-line struggle between practising Marxism-Leninism and practising revisionism. We organized the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and, with the Party's basic line as the key link, vehemently criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We struck hard at the handful of class enemies. The poor and lower-middle peasants said angrily: "The

doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are doctrines of exploitation, oppression and retrogression. The aim of the handful of class enemies in trumpeting these reactionary doctrines is to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and fling us back into capitalism." After sharp struggle we seized back power, and the poor and lower-middle peasants determined to restore and develop production as quickly as possible. As the saying goes, "When people see eye to eye, it's no problem levelling Mount Tai." A year later our grain production jumped to 600 jin per mu, double the previous year, and substantial progress was made in forestry, animal husbandry and side-line occupations as well.

CONSOLIDATE AND EXPAND
THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS
OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we poor and lower-middle peasants, in co-operation with the workers and Red Guards, exposed and criticized Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and did our best to eliminate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits—products of the influence of the Confucian "classics." This educated the cadres and tempered the masses. But Lin Piao and company followed Confucius' preaching "to restrain oneself and return to the rites." They inscribed on four scrolls the words: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites," which showed their impatience to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. They did their utmost to launch vengeful counter-attacks,

railed at the new things that had emerged in the Cultural Revolution and attempted to turn back the wheel of history. For example, when educated young people responded to Chairman Mao's call and went to settle in the countryside as a part of the programme to integrate with the workers and peasants, Lin Piao slandered this as "reform through forced labour in disguise." When cadres went to "May 7" cadre schools to temper themselves in collective productive labour and accept re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants, Lin Piao attacked this as "unemployment in disguise." These fallacies of Lin Piao are in tune with the reactionary Confucian-Mencian concept that "those who work with their minds govern, while those who toil with their hands are governed." When we poor and lower-middle peasants took over the management of the school, put into practice Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive of 1966 for the students both to study professional courses and do manual labour, some people vilified this as "messing things up," "disrupting study discipline" and "lowering the standard of teaching and study." We were fit to burst with anger when we heard these comments.

All these were manifestations of the struggles between the two classes and the two lines. We must fight resolutely against Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repudiate these reactionary ideas designed to put back the clock. We will study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's writings even more conscientiously. We will continue to criticize Lin Piao and company for their crimes of trying to sabotage the Cultural Revolution. By presenting the facts and reasoning things out, we will criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, such as "those who work

with their minds govern, while those who toil with their hands are governed" and "he who excels in learning can be an official." We will praise the great victories of the Cultural Revolution, actively support socialist new things, and work hard to consolidate and develop the achievements of the Cultural Revolution. Precisely because Lin Piao attacked educated young people going to settle in the countryside, we are all the more determined to act according to Chairman Mao's teachings and do our best in working with these youths. We pay close attention to their political growth and encourage them always to follow the road of integrating with the workers and peasants. We see to it that they play their role in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, let them **"face the world and brave the storm"** and take charge of whatever work they are capable of doing. We give adequate consideration to their welfare and educate them to work hard and live economically.

The more than 70 educated young people who have settled in our brigade are being tempered and are maturing politically. Most of them have made great progress. Three have been admitted to the Communist Party and 18 to the Communist Youth League. Two are now on the brigade's revolutionary committee. We cadres have learned a great deal by taking part in manual labour and, countering Lin Piao's attacks, we are determined to follow the "May 7" road indicated by Chairman Mao, actively take part in collective productive labour and maintain the fine qualities of the working people. We are often covered with mud, and calluses have formed on our hands. In 1972 each of the 15 leading cadres of our brigade put in an average of 315 days of physical

labour. We see to it that the schools for our children are run by the poor and lower-middle peasants and are run well, that Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive is implemented. The pupils study culture and science, take part in productive labour and political-theoretical study. They also participate in the class struggle and criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Many are brave young fighters active in the struggle against class enemies. During rush farming seasons they serve as a shock force driving tractors or ably ploughing the fields — quite a change from the picture before the school was run by the poor and lower-middle peasants, a change which forcefully rebuffs Lin Piao and company's attempt to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and nip in the bud the socialist new things born of it.

Now, under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, a mass political struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in depth in all spheres of endeavour. Our brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants now see more clearly Lin Piao's crimes of following Confucius' line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" to restore capitalism. Lin Piao was a faithful disciple of Confucius. We are determined to carry through to the end the criticism of the pair. We must persevere in making revolution, fight against restoration, continue the march forward, and firmly oppose going back!

REPUDIATE LIN PIAO'S FALLACY, CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION

Hsipu Production Brigade Party branch,
Chienming People's Commune,
Tsunhua County, Hopei Province

CONFUCIUS, born over 2,000 years ago, was a reactionary bent on restoring the old order and reversing the trend of history. To revive slavery, he set forth the reactionary programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." Aping Confucius, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao singled out this fallacy as the most important of all things in his eagerness to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

All moribund reactionaries in the past, whether Confucius or the chieftains of opportunist lines within the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, were representatives of the decadent, reactionary and retrogressive forces. Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that **"all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces."** They do everything in their power to return to the ancient and regressive, oppose revolution and progress, in a vain attempt to reverse the forward movement of the wheel of history. All progressive forces invariably persevere in revolution and progress, daring to rebel and wage resolute struggles against the reactionaries. And

the outcome of the struggles is always the defeat of the decadent by the new-born, of the reactionary by the revolutionary and of the retrogressive by the progressive. This is an objective law independent of the human will.

Over a quarter-century after the founding of the People's Republic, our Hsipu Production Brigade saw intense struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, progress and retrogression, revolution and counter-revolution, in every major political movement and at every critical historical juncture. In all these struggles we were guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, upheld revolution and rejected restoration, persisted in progress and opposed retrogression, steadily expanding the socialist position and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After liberation, we poor and lower-middle peasants in Hsipu stood up, took power and became our own masters. But, countering Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his like pushed through a counter-revolutionary revisionist line by spreading the absurdity that "exploitation has its merits" and advocating the "three-horses-and-one-plough" type of rich-peasant economy, in a vain attempt to throw the labouring people back into the dark old society. Serious polarization soon appeared in the village: 11 households of poor and lower-middle peasants sold their land, 6 mortgaged their houses and 4 families took up their begging bowls again.

Was Hsipu Brigade to go forward or backward, take the road of socialism or revert to the old road of semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism? Twenty-three households of former poor peasants in the village gathered together to study again and again Chairman Mao's great

instruction: **"Get organized!"** and to recall the bitterness of our life in the old society. We came to realize that individual farming was a blind alley offering nothing but fresh exploitation and oppression, and we decided not to be led up this blind alley under any circumstances. Led by Comrade Wang Kuo-fan, we braved all difficulties and set up the first agricultural "paupers' co-op" in the village, so nicknamed because its sole possession was a three-quarter share in the ownership of a donkey.

Sharp struggle existed from the very first day of the "paupers' co-op." When Liu Shao-chi and his gang from above fanned the ill wind of disbanding co-ops wholesale, a counter-revolutionary who had sneaked into the Party responded from below by fanatically plotting the undermining of the co-op. Then the adverse current of going it alone and restoring capitalism ran swift and strong for a time. At this crucial moment we fought back determinedly and held this counter-current back. We unswervingly followed the road of collectivization and our "paupers' co-op" emerged from the struggle stronger.

In the Editor's Note to the article "The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Co-ops," Chairman Mao highly praised the poor and lower-middle peasants in Hsipu, saying, **"Our entire nation . . . should pattern itself after this co-op. In a few decades, why can't 600 million 'paupers,' by their own efforts, create a socialist country, rich and strong?"** His words have been a great encouragement and inspiration to us, filling us with zeal to build socialism.

Guided by Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, we continued to display the "pauper" spirit and marched with greater strides along the road of socialism. In 1958 Chairman Mao said: **"People's communes are fine,"** and

we set up one here. Then Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and their like came out again to attack the people's commune as "premature" and "in a mess," trying to strangle this new form of organization. The class enemy in our brigade also lost no time in stirring up trouble to subvert the commune.

This was another sharp struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, between progress and retrogression. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we heightened our vigilance, saw through the scheme of the class enemy and stuck to the people's commune. Only a year and a half later we seized the unprecedentedly good harvest of 580 jin of grain per mu, an achievement that refuted the shameless slanders of Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and their ilk with material results.

In the three years of temporary economic difficulties (1960-62), Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their gangs, going along with the adverse anti-China current abroad, fanned the evil wind of *san zi yi bao* at home. Lin Piao also attacked the General Line for Socialist Construction, the Big Leap Forward and the People's Commune as "going too far," "overstepping the limit" and impairing personal initiative. In our brigade, the struggle was extremely acute and intense. We assiduously studied Chairman Mao's instruction: "**Only socialism can save China,**" stood up against the adverse current of capitalist restoration, further consolidated the collective economy and persisted in the socialist orientation.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we withstood the interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and his followers, closely relied on the revolutionary people, resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies and ferreted out deeply entrenched class

enemies. As a result of our doing so, the proletarian dictatorship in our brigade was strengthened and the collective economy further consolidated.

In the past quarter-century our brigade has been progressing in the struggle against restoration and retrogression, and this struggle has effected radical changes in our brigade. The former barren hills and ridges are covered with pines, cypresses and orchard trees. Irrigation ditches wind through the hills, carrying water to the level terraced fields. The per-mu yield, which started out at less than 100 jin, exceeded 800 jin each of the three years beginning from 1970. In 1973, it surpassed the 1,000-jin mark. While we owned only three quarters of a donkey and had to pull the plough ourselves, we now have a herd of horses and mules and even tractors. Instead of relying on relief grain from the state, our commune members now all have enough and to spare, and the brigade has large quantities in reserve. In the past more than 10 years we have sold and delivered as agricultural tax to the state over 2.2 million jin of grain and 3.5 million jin of fresh and dried fruit. We hadn't even a primary school before; now our children can attend not only primary school, but can go on through middle school right in the village. All these achievements are made possible because we have resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persevered in revolution and progress and opposed restoration and retrogression.

Looking back on the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the revolutionary and the revisionist lines in our brigade, we see with greater clarity the counter-revolutionary nature of Lin Piao's flaunting

Confucius' shabby flag of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." Lin Piao's "returning to the rites," like the counter-revolutionary activities of Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and the class enemy in our brigade, was meant to stem the tide of history and restore capitalism. The fact that our brigade has made continuous progress in the course of struggles also proves that this scheme of Lin Piao and company is bound to fall flat before the revolutionary people who persist in taking the socialist road and going forward.

Lin Piao's attempt at "returning to the rites," when we come right down to it, was to reinstate overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois Rightists, to let the landlords and capitalists ride on the backs of the labouring people once again, and to shove us back into the abyss of suffering and exploitation. All poor and lower-middle peasant families in our brigade have a bitter history of tears and blood which ended only at liberation. The very mention of the man-eating old society makes us fume with hatred. How can we tolerate the renegade and traitor Lin Piao's perversity of peddling the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and waving the tattered flag of "returning to the rites," in order to make us suffer for a second time! Filled with an inveterate hatred towards the class enemy, we people of Hsipu Brigade will never allow anyone, no matter who, to restore capitalism and seek retrogression! Nor will the revolutionary people of the whole country, who are determined to follow the socialist road!

Chairman Mao points out that "retrogression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient

times, in China or elsewhere.” This is the dialectics of history. Confucius, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao all met the same infamous end. All were crushed to bits by the wheel of history.

The historical trend is irresistible; the revolutionary, progressive forces are invincible. Though there will be persons in the future who will follow in the footsteps of Confucius and Lin Piao, they can never change this irrefutable truth. We will steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, march from victory to still greater victory.

EMANCIPATED SERFS IN TIBET WILL NEVER TOLERATE RESTORATION

Tsebang Ngoidrub*

MORE than 2,000 years ago Confucius set forth the reactionary political programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." His aim was to maintain the decadent and declining slave system. Confucius travelled to many states, referring to himself as "a wise man of the upper class" and clamouring to "revive states that are extinct, restore families that have lost their positions, and call to office those who have fallen into obscurity." By this he meant to revive the slave states already destroyed, resurrect the old aristocratic families deprived of their hereditary positions, reinstate those aristocrats already in decline and restore the outdated slave system. Copying him, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao also called for "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." He styled himself a "heavenly horse," a superman and the "noblest of men." Mustering his sworn followers, Lin Piao clandestinely cooked up a plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, known as *Outline of Project "571,"* the aim of which was to usurp Party leadership and seize the state power so as to change the basic line and policies of our Party for the entire histori-

* A People's Liberation Army fighter of Tibetan nationality.

cal period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Lin Piao's restorationist plot would revive the semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China, hand back to the landlords and capitalists their lost positions, and reinstate the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, bourgeois Rightists and freaks of every description. In a word, Lin Piao, like Confucius, tried to restore the old order and turn back the wheel of history, in his vain attempt to throw us labouring people back into the dark old society, into the subhuman life of oppression and slavery. We will never tolerate this! We know only too well what sufferings restoration and return to the old would bring us emancipated serfs of Tibet!

In the past, a handful of serf-owners headed by Dalai cruelly oppressed and exploited the serfs in Tibet. To preserve the extremely reactionary, cruel and savage feudal serf system, which combined political and religious rule, they made a point of preaching the idealist concept of "heaven's will" to deceive the labouring people. Dalai proclaimed himself "the incarnation of god" and made himself out to be a "saviour" with the power of sending people to "paradise" or casting them into "hell." "Whether a man is rich or poor is decided by fate, and he must obey god all his life. Anyone who dares to disobey and resist will be condemned to hell," preached Dalai to the working people, obviously in order to forestall rebellion by the labouring people in Tibet and subject them forever to oppression and exploitation. These deceitful lies of Dalai were much the same as the reactionary rubbish peddled by Lin Piao and Confucius. The three were vipers from one and the same nest.

To maintain their reactionary rule, the bunch of serf-owners headed by Dalai enforced the most savage "13-Point Law," which stipulated that anyone who disobeyed his superiors should have his eyes gouged out, the tendons of his heel severed, his tongue amputated, that he be thrown into a scorpion-infested pit, hurled from a cliff, soaked in water or put to death outright. How many of our innocent class brothers were killed by Dalai under his savage law and cruel tortures! Dalai's hands dripped with the blood of the working people of Tibet. He went so far as to practise human sacrifice. Yet he described this savage and inhuman reactionary political system as the "auspicious cause of happiness."

The reactionary serf-owners in Tibet headed by Dalai not only brutally suppressed the labouring people but also subjected them to the most ruthless economic exploitation. Living on the sweat and blood of the serfs, the serf-owners led a notoriously decadent life in utter contrast to the broad masses of the serfs, who subsisted miserably, unclothed, on the verge of starvation, struggling between life and death. In the old days, Lhasa swarmed with beggars and the unemployed, who made up one-fifth of the city's population. The cries of beggars were heard everywhere. Today's Shengli Road in Lhasa used to be one of the three slum areas where 600 of the 996 families lived by begging. Under Dalai's reactionary rule poor people starved to death uncounted every day. Every toiling man and woman in Tibet has a history written in tears and blood before liberation.

A clap of spring thunder shook the earth when the Communist Party and Chairman Mao delivered us serfs in Tibet from the abyss of dire suffering. In 1959 the democratic reforms brought about the overthrow of the

reactionary rule of the manorial lords and the emancipation of the broad masses of serfs, who became their own masters. Tibet moved from the dark society of feudal serfdom onto the bright road of socialism. Given the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, we have built up a new Tibet, tremendous changes having taken place there especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During this revolution, a great number of excellent worker-peasant cadres of Tibetan nationality emerged and have played an important role in the leading groups at different levels. A number of Tibetan cadres have been trained in the People's Liberation Army too. The mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are taking hold. Before liberation Tibet had not a single coal mine. Now coal deposits have been discovered and many new heavy and light industrial enterprises have been set up. Production increases each year and the scene is one of prosperity. We have had bumper harvests for 14 years running, and the people's livelihood improves steadily. People's communes have been established in most of the areas and a number of agricultural and stock-breeding units have arisen that are out ahead in learning from Tachai. Nyal Mad Commune and Red Flag Commune are among these. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen have greatly raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. All these achievements are great victories for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and rich fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Never forget class struggle."** Class enemies will never be reconciled to their

defeat but will constantly do all they can to regain their lost "paradise." We will never forget that, although it has been more than 10 years since Dalai and his sworn followers fled abroad following the failure of their counter-revolutionary rebellion, they are still around and will never accept the fact of their defeat. We cannot forget that they are busy conspiring with the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in a vain attempt to restore their reactionary rule in Tibet. There are also a handful of the class enemies in Tibet who have not given up their sinister aim to attempt a come-back and they are trying to sabotage national unity and engaging in criminal anti-Party and anti-socialist activities. Following in the steps of Confucius to "restrain oneself and return to the rites" and to attempt restoration and retrogression, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao represented the interests of the few reactionary serf-owners. Chairman Mao has said: **"Retrogression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere."** Confucius attempted to reverse the tide of history but he could not avert the doom of slavery. Instead he went to meet the ghost of his paragon Duke Chou with his ossified thinking. Lin Piao wanted to usurp the Party leadership and seize the state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, but his fond dream, too, burst like a bubble. He scurried away and, filthy and contemptible, died in a plane crash in the desert of Undur Khan, Mongolia. Dalai is no different from Confucius and Lin Piao. Seeking to preserve the reactionary and barbarous feudal serfdom, he was opposed by the people in Tibet and other parts of China, fled across the border in betrayal of the

country and became an anti-China clown, a shameless traitor kept by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. Those who try to turn back the wheel of history will be smashed to bits and their dreams dashed. Such is the inescapable doom of all who make attempts at restoration. We labouring people in Tibet will strengthen our unity with the people all over the country and take an active part in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate and develop the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and defend our great socialist motherland!

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN SAVE CHINA

— A criticism of Lin Piao's criminal attempt at restoring capitalism

Tang Hai*

“TO restrain oneself and return to the rites” was Confucius' reactionary programme to revive the moribund slave system. Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist and conspirator, imitated Confucius in taking this same idea many centuries later as his reactionary programme to restore capitalism. Using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a reactionary ideological weapon, he attempted to change the Party's basic line and policies, subvert the proletarian dictatorship and establish a fascist Lin family regime.

Lenin pointed out: **“The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration.”** The fact that Lin Piao took “restrain oneself and return to the rites” as the most important of all things shows him as an agent of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, trying vainly to turn their “hope” into “attempts” at restoration. If Lin Piao had succeeded in his sinister plot, the landlords and capitalists would

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have again come to power, with the broad masses of working people again their victims. We will never allow this to happen.

By berating Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.), the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat as "despotism" or "absolutism" and slandered continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as "creating contradictions." They did their utmost to vilify the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and denigrated and slandered socialist new things that emerged out of it. None of these can fool us revolutionary fighters, however; on the contrary, they have only exposed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's reactionary nature of rabidly hating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system and the Cultural Revolution. We revolutionary fighters know very well that Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party are the liberators of the people of all nationalities in our country, and that "**only socialism can save China.**" Only by advancing along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhering to the socialist road and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship can we completely eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Only then can the working people win complete liberation and eventually realize the infinitely bright, beautiful and sublime ideal — communism. We are determined to take the socialist road. Lin Piao's attempts to restore capitalism and drag us back to the old society were pipe dreams!

The dark old society was a paradise for the rich, but it was a hell for the poor. My home village is in a moun-

tain area where people of the Han, Miao and Yao nationalities live side by side. Before liberation our life was worse than that of beasts of burden under the oppression and exploitation of the landlords. We had a folk song:

There's a heap of bitterness in the Yuehcheng Mountains,

Ten-year-old girls already with a stoop from Chopping firewood, lugging lumber and doing heavy chores.

Children are objects for sale,

For there's no way to earn a living.

We working people of minority nationalities suffered especially. We were oppressed politically, exploited economically and discriminated against by the Kuomintang reactionaries. They called us "barbarians" and drove us Miao and Yao people into the mountains. If we came down, they beat us. To escape their cruelty we did our best to grow maize in the mountains and gather wild greens to keep ourselves alive. Five members of my family shared a tattered quilt of rough coir fibre; we burned chestnut branches to keep from freezing at night.

My mother lived to her forties before liberation without a cotton bed covering, nor a pair of shoes or warm clothes. She never had a meal which was not skimpy. We had no money for a doctor, and my elder sister died of an ordinary sickness. Neither had we grain to pay the land rent, so my father and grandfather were beaten many times by the landlord, arrested and jailed. I tasted the landlord's lash early — as a child of five — when I was beaten almost to death. In the old society, the poor people's life was one misery after another.

Then the dark clouds dispersed and the sun came out. Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese people in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which had weighed on the backs of our working people like three great mountains, and we minority nationality people were rescued from the abyss of suffering. Since then we have won liberation in the political, economic and cultural fields. The days are gone forever when we Miao and Yao peoples were oppressed and discriminated against! Like the people of the whole country we enjoy a good life. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of my home village have adhered to the socialist road. In the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we grew double-crop rice for the first time in the cold, high Yuehcheng Mountains, and the grain output has increased every year. We have built highways and small hydro-power stations. Every house has electric lights and a radio speaker. Every village has a school and every production team has a co-operative medical centre. Many production teams have bought walking tractors.

The poor and lower-middle peasants are overjoyed. They say, "Before liberation we lived worse than animals; today we have become our own masters. We used to eat wild herbs; now we have surplus grain in store. Our life gets better every day. This is a great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." With the care of the Party organization, I studied politics and acquired an elementary education. I did my best to raise my consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the revolutionary and revisionist lines, and became a People's Liberation Army man and gloriously joined the Chinese

Communist Party. I deeply feel that Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee always show great concern for us of minority nationalities.

Contrasting our sufferings in the old society with our happiness in the new, we further realize that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is our lifeline, and that the socialist road is the road to happiness for the people of all nationalities in China. We will never forget class struggle and never forget to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship. We must adhere to the socialist road and resolutely smash the fond dream of all reactionaries who attempt to restore capitalism in China.

History has shown that progress always prevails over retrogression, and newly emerging forces overcome decaying ones. Those who would like to "return to the rites" are bound to fail. This is an objective law independent of man's will. As Chairman Mao points out: **"Retrogression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere."** Confucius has been swept onto the garbage heap of history. Lin Piao met an ignominious end. But class and two-line struggles will go on for a long time. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we must persist in the Party's basic line and carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end. We must consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, consolidate and expand the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution and make a sustained effort to push the socialist cause forward.

THE THEORY OF "GENIUS" IS PURE DECEPTION

Su Kuang-ming*

CONFUCIUS was a past master at peddling the idealist concept of "genius," bragging that he was a born "sage" "endowed by heaven with virtue" and "with innate knowledge." The bourgeois careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao, devout disciple of Confucius, picked this theory of "genius" from the Confucian-Mencian rubbish heap and cherished it as a pearl beyond price. He brazenly styled himself "heavenly horse," "the noblest of men" and "super genius," saying that he had "a good head, different from others. It's particularly brilliant." This is all obviously stuff and nonsense.

In the old society, I had no say as to what became of me and could only toil like a beast of burden for the capitalists. I couldn't read or write. At liberation I began to live a new life as a master in my country. Brought up and educated by the Party, I learned to read and write. As I studied Chairman Mao's works, I realized there is no "genius" "born with knowledge" at all. Correct ideas, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, "**... come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production,**

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the class struggle and scientific experiment.” My long years of productive labour have convinced me that knowledge comes from practice and that ability grows in struggle. Experience, creation and innovation in production neither drop from the sky nor are innate in the mind, but are the result of repeated practice over a long period of time. I am a tool miller. Formerly I operated an old, broken-down lathe imported in the late 1920s. Its efficiency was low and the quality of the products poor. After studying Chairman Mao’s brilliant essay *On Practice*, and with the help of our leaders and comrades, I have remade the lathe eight times since 1950, adding 100-some parts. Thus, by applying Chairman Mao’s philosophical thinking, the old lathe was changed into one with high-speed cutting capacity. With it I fulfilled my quotas for the First and Second Five-Year Plans 23 and 32 months ahead of schedule respectively. Two workers in our shop’s cylinder group who were assigned to punch holes in the leather cup worked very hard till their arms ached from swinging hammers, but still they couldn’t keep up with the needs of production. After repeated experimental and research work done in co-operation with other workers and technicians, I made a pneumatic punch press for making holes in the leather cup of the lifting cylinder. Now a worker can do in a day a month’s work in the past. In the last two decades, working together with the workers and technicians, I have made 330 big and small technical innovations, and these were done by relying not on “genius,” “inspiration” or pure imagination behind closed doors, but on extended observations, “perspiration” and experiment, as well as from failures. Just as Chairman Mao tells us: **“Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many**

repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." Lin Piao's nonsense that "the existence of genius cannot be denied" and that abilities "are endowed by both heaven and man" absolutely does not hold water.

Chairman Mao rightly points out: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** Who are the creators of human history? "Geniuses," "heroes," or "sages"? By no means, and we of the working class know this very well. "We want no condescending saviours to rule us, . . . let us consult for all."¹ My years of productive labour and technical innovation have brought me to understand that one person's wisdom is limited while that of the masses is inexhaustible. We working people have the greatest wisdom and strength. Take, for example, the changes since liberation in our Harbin Rolling Stock Works, which has a history of 75 years. In February 1950, our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung made an inspection visit of our works, giving great inspiration and education to us workers! With deepest respect for Chairman Mao and guided by his proletarian revolutionary line, the broad masses have, in the past two decades, rid themselves of blind faith in experts and things foreign, and have emancipated their minds. Through self-reliance and hard work they have carried out large-scale technical innovation and transformation. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have completed 435 innovation items. We have transformed 70 per cent of over 200 machines and equipment dating from the forties and, in

¹ A line from *The Internationale*.

addition, to keep pace with production, designed and made by ourselves more than 40 precision lathes. Relying on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and our two hands, we labouring people, considered as "stupid" and "inferior" by Lin Piao and Confucius, have, by working hard, conscientiously and resourcefully over the years, transformed a small, run-down, poorly equipped workshop into a fairly large, modern plant. In the early years of liberation we could do nothing but some repairs. We serially produce heavy tip lorries for the mining industry now. Facts powerfully refute Lin Piao and Confucius' idealist concept of "genius" and their reactionary fallacy that "only the highest are the wise, while the lowest are the stupid, and this cannot be changed."

While shouting from the housetops the theory of "genius," Lin Piao referred to himself as a "genius" and "heavenly horse." Assuming the guise of a "saviour," he vilified workers as "inferior men" capable only of wishing each other "good luck and prosperity," as knowing only how to "make money" and "get rich." In Lin's eyes, workers were no more than "the ignorant rabble," "stupid and lowly" — "silly people" to be ordered about. Lin Piao's motive in all this was to create counter-revolutionary public opinion for his plot to usurp the Party leadership, seize state power, restore capitalism and set up a fascist Lin dynasty. He dished up the concept of "genius" as his theoretical programme to serve his reactionary political programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." But, we of the working class use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a microscope and detector of monsters, and see clearly his evil ambition and reactionary essence. A political swindler who did not read books, the newspapers or any

documents, Lin Piao was a big tyrant in the Party and a big warlord without any learning at all. He exactly fitted Marx's description: **"While he is a nonentity as a theoretician, he is in his element as an intriguer."** Such were the ugly features of Lin Piao as an out-and-out conspirator.

The dialectics of history, however, is inexorable. More than 2,000 years ago Confucius waved the tattered banner of idealism in upholding the theory of "heaven's will." He spent his lifetime scurrying about campaigning desperately for restoring the slave system. But he ran against a brick wall everywhere he went, being ignored and spat upon by the labouring people. Calling on the ghost of Confucius, Lin Piao harped on the shopworn idealist concept of "genius" in his attempt to restore capitalism. But this "heavenly horse" only galloped ignominiously to his total ruin and self-destruction. But, though the renegade and traitor Lin Piao was reduced to ashes, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he madly pushed and the monstrous crimes he committed must yet be thoroughly repudiated in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

TO SLANDER THE WORKING PEOPLE IS TO OPPOSE THE REVOLUTION

**The Gate No. 6 Workers' Commentary Group
of the Tientsin Station,
Tientsin Railway Sub-Bureau**

THE reactionaries throughout history have invariably posed as saviours while at the same time relegating the labouring people to the category of idiots. Confucius, that ideological representative in his time of the declining slave-owning class, claimed that he and the slave-owning aristocrats were "the highest" and all "wise," while the slaves were forever "the lowest" and incurably "stupid." In our time, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao parroted Confucius in styling himself a "heavenly horse" and viciously slandering the workers and peasants as his inferiors — people caring about nothing except "how to get cooking oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood, and about their wives and children." Lin Piao's spouting of such fallacies thoroughly exposed his reactionary idealist conception of history and hostility to the working people.

The broad masses of the working people are the main force in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. To deny this role of the workers and peasants is to oppose the revolution. The attitude towards the masses is a watershed dividing the proletarian and bourgeois revolutionaries; it is a pivot around which the struggles

between Marxism and revisionism revolve. Chairman Mao Tsetung shares the feelings of the workers and peasants and therefore trusts them and sets great store by them. In his words: **"The masses are the real heroes."** **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** What inspiration and support to us working people these words are, filling us with enthusiasm, strength and confidence so that we are able to overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy! However, Lin Piao piped a tune contrary to the revolutionary teachings of Chairman Mao, vilifying the working people as vulgar rabble concerned only about their immediate needs. Lin Piao's stand marks him as a betrayer of Marxism and a mortal foe of the working people.

To realize fully the sinister implications of Lin Piao's words and criticize such statements adequately one needs to look into their historical setting. He slandered the working people in this way in May 1945, on the eve of the Japanese imperialists' unconditional surrender in China. Among vital questions posed then were: Who really resisted Japan throughout the war? To whom should the fruits of the victory belong? In the acute struggle that existed between us and the Kuomintang reactionaries on these crucial questions, Lin Piao spread the lie that the workers and peasants only cared about "how to get cooking oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood and about their wives and children," and did not give a thought to resisting Japan. It is all too obvious that this was a definite attempt on his part to offer the credit for the victory won by the people with blood and untold sacrifice to the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek. The facts are well known: Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people fought and shed their blood in the

battles of resistance against Japan for eight long years. To defeat the Japanese imperialists with the greatest dispatch so as to create a new China — this is what the Chinese working people had on their minds and, indeed, what they were doing. Many gave their lives for the cause of China's national liberation. The hero Li Yu-ho in the modern revolutionary opera *The Red Lantern* depicts these working people well. Old workers among us have the strongest impression of such events in our history, which is replete with them, and are the best qualified to present the facts. Our Gate No. 6 was a living hell in the old days, with checkpoints and the imperialists' stooges everywhere you turned. We seethed with indignation and hatred to see our class brothers cut down in bloody massacres by the Japanese invaders' bayonets. What we thought about and tried to do was to avenge our class brothers, to drive the Japanese imperialists from our soil. But Lin Piao turned the facts on their head and chanted in tune with Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang shouted that it was he who fought the aggressors, while Lin echoed him, claiming that the common, working people had no share in the War of Resistance, being occupied with "how to get cooking oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood" and unable to see the significance of the war. The thoughtful person asks: For whom, and in the interests of which class did Lin Piao assert this?

Chairman Mao says: **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** The question of mobilizing or not mobilizing the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, to wage an all-out, protracted people's war of resistance against the invader marked a fundamental difference between the proletariat

and the bourgeoisie and the two lines they respectively represented. Victory in the war was due to the unremitting struggles waged by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao against Chiang Kai-shek's capitulation and national betrayal. It was brought about by opposing the opportunists' Right capitulationist line within the Party and by mobilizing the broad masses to persist for eight years in bitter struggle against the Japanese imperialist invasion. Without Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, without the leadership of the Communist Party of China and without the heroic struggle of the people, who feared neither bloodshed nor any sacrifice, China's national liberation would never have been achieved. This is ironclad and irreversible historical fact.

History, viewed in its true light, is created by the people. This truth is fully demonstrated in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and in the socialist revolution and construction. We need only to witness the changes in our Gate No. 6. Before liberation, the feudal gang bosses, who held the title deeds and the tallies, were everywhere shouting: "This place belongs to me. Get off!" and "Who is it that feeds you poor beggars if not me?" It is all too clear that we workers fed them with our sweat and blood, but they brazenly claimed they were feeding us. With the three great mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism weighing us down we hadn't even the right to straighten our backs, no room to stand up, though the sky was so high and our land so vast. In the 62 years of the bosses' rule Gate No. 6 remained a barren flat without a single house on it. It was either wrapped in dust so thick that you could hardly see, or else it was

just mud. After liberation, we denounced and overthrew the gang bosses and set our minds on making revolution. In the 25 years since, the area has been built up with warehouses and storage sheds. The dust and mud have given way to smooth, straight roads. The workers use cranes and fork-lifts for moving goods, and the volume of cargo handled at the station is 100 times what it was before liberation. The so-called "coolies" — so despised by the feudal bosses — are now managing affairs of state.

How did this radical change take place? Could it have happened if the working masses were thinking only about "how to get cooking oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood," or was the change perhaps brought about for them by some condescending "sage"? Of course not. All was created by the hands of the Gate No. 6 workers, who are guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Our emancipation was effected by us workers, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. We of the working class and the people are the creators of history, the decisive force in propelling society forward. History shows that the people, once armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, have profound wisdom and infinite strength, that such people can work wonders among mankind, and that nothing can stop their march forward.

Lin Piao's smear of the workers and peasants echoes precisely Confucius' spouting: "Only the highest are the wise, while the lowest are the stupid, and this cannot be changed." Both of these are reactionary, idealist mouthings. Chairman Mao says: "**The lowly are most intelligent; the élite are most ignorant.**" "**In a sense, the fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest**

and the most capable.” These words severely repudiate Confucius and Lin Piao. Why are the lowly most intelligent? It is because they are the fighters with the most practical experience. The reactionary exploiting classes, or “the élite” representing the interests of those classes, are most ignorant, because they despise the masses and spurn practice. The workers of the Taching Oilfield fought to drill the first oil wells and extract oil in extremely difficult conditions. They learned accurate locating of deposits, quick drilling and clean extraction of oil. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, standard-bearer in China’s agriculture, worked hard to transform their rugged mountain slopes and gullies into terraced fields, and they gained experience while doing it. We workers of Gate No. 6 loaded and unloaded cargo for dozens of years and became very good at handling goods whether long, square, round, flat, light, heavy, loose or packed tight. We got so that we could load quickly and efficiently. When we say that wisdom comes with practice and that ability grows in struggle, we are speaking from experience. Confucius and Lin Piao both opposed the great truth that recognition comes from social practice and so trumpeted with might and main the idealist concept of persons being “born with knowledge,” which had no basis in the labouring people and social practice. How could wisdom be acquired by such persons? Confucius, who claimed to be very learned, was actually a peddler of trash. Lin Piao claimed to be a “super genius” and the wisest of all men. In the end he was exposed as a big party tyrant and warlord who did not read books, newspapers or documents, and who had no learning at all. The self-styled “heavenly horse” showed himself to be the praying mantis that wanted

to stop the chariot in the fable. How really stupid he was!

Lin Piao bragged about his thoughts being as different from the working people's as "heaven from earth." Quite right! The proletariat and the other labouring people on the one hand, and the landlord and bourgeois classes, which include the renegade and traitor Lin Piao on the other, are to each other as fire and water. There's a world of difference between our thinking, speech and actions, and theirs. We fill our minds with making revolution and progress, while they're bent on bringing back the old and going in reverse. We think of serving the people and adding a brick or tile to the edifice of socialism; they rack their brains thinking how to become an emperor and ride roughshod over the working people again. We think about consolidating proletarian dictatorship in order to build socialism and then realize communism; they intrigue against the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to subvert it and restore capitalism, to offer China as a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Different stands of course represent different viewpoints.

Why did all reactionaries in history adopt Confucius' preaching that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid"? This was by no means accidental, but to justify their oppression of the working class and condemn its resistance to oppression. We workers of Gate No. 6 are quite aware of this fraud. The Japanese aggressors called us "stinking coolies," the Kuomintang reactionaries called us "stinking porters," and the feudal gang bosses named us "stinking bearers." All tried to whip us into line as obedient slaves who "mutter at their own ill fate to be hungry and patiently bear living in

their hell." This was to force us humbly to our knees to be ruled by them. Lin Piao had in mind to control us working people by slandering us with his notorious epithet. He was so arrogant as to call himself a "genius" with "a good head, different from others" and "particularly brilliant." That's why, he said, his gang should "have everything under their command and everything at their disposal." The "stupid" labouring people who didn't know pearls from fish eyes should be ruled by him. This would make it possible for Lin Piao, under "correct titles and weighty words," to push his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism, establish his feudal fascist father-son monarchy, and realize his "life-long" aim of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites." Marx and Engels exposed the landlord and bourgeois classes' idealist conception of history when they said that these reactionaries' aim was to prove **"that the noble, wise, and learned ones should rule"** over the common people. These words of Marx and Engels probe to the bottom the intrigue of the Lin Piao gang.

Slanderers and dominators of the working people always end up badly. As Chairman Mao pointed out: **"... our enemies are the backward and decadent reactionaries who are doomed. Ignorant of the laws of the objective world and metaphysical and subjective in their thinking, they are invariably wrong in their judgements."** Confucius was precisely this type of reactionary who was bound to be swamped in the relentless tide of history. The Japanese imperialists, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the feudal bosses of Gate No. 6 all ended up badly. After running amuck for a little while, they were toppled one after another. Under the leadership of Chair-

man Mao and the Communist Party, we labouring people are going forward with great strides, while history has thrown onto the garbage heap the reactionaries who tried to obstruct the development of society. Styling himself a "heavenly horse" that "flies through the skies, free and alone" within the socialist system, the reactionary Lin Piao was aiming at reversing the wheel of history. He came to no good end either. History is the history of the people, and anyone who opposes the people only destroys himself.

"INNATE KNOWLEDGE" IS UTTER NONSENSE

Li Feng-lan*

LIN Piao followed in the footsteps of Confucius in flaunting the tattered banner of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" and tooting on the broken trumpet of the theory of "genius." He decked himself out as a "genius" "born with knowledge" and slandered the labouring people as "stupid rustics." Such were the fallacies he advocated in order to create a theoretical basis for usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism in China.

Are knowledge and ability innate in the mind or do they come from social practice? Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Correct ideas . . . come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment."** That is to say, knowledge and ability are not innate but come from social practice. Knowledge comes from practice and struggle enhances a person's abilities. There is no "genius" "born with knowledge" in the world.

In the criminal old society, women were bound hand and foot by four systems of authority — political, clan, religious and masculine, and working women were on

* A peasant woman artist of Huhsien County, Shensi Province.

the bottom rung of society. In socialist new China, our Party has blazed a broad road for us women to participate in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasant women have taken an active part in these movements, in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Our mental outlook has changed greatly, and we have continuously raised our understanding of class struggle and the two-line struggle. Tens of thousands of outstanding women have joined the Party and the Communist Youth League. Many have been selected as leaders at all levels and are shouldering the heavy task of managing affairs of state. This earth-shaking change is the result of the revolution led by Chairman Mao and the Party. It also demonstrates the unrivalled superiority of our socialist system.

This comparison between the past and the present not only proves that knowledge and ability are not innate but come from social practice; it also proves that our labouring people's political position and living conditions are not decided by "heaven's will" but by the social system.

We women and the masses of labouring people create with our own hands not only social material wealth but also social wealth of the mind. Take my learning to paint for example. In the criminal old society I couldn't go to school because my family was so poor. After liberation I went to an evening school and a short-term literacy class. In the past I used to like making paper-cuts for decorating window-panes, but I didn't know how to draw. In 1958 the Party sent me to a spare-time art

training class sponsored by the county. It was located at a reservoir work-site, and I worked there while learning to draw. The course started out with Chairman Mao's work *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, which gave me the orientation. Chairman Mao teaches us that **"all our literature and art are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."** Inspired and encouraged by the revolutionary spirit and tremendous enthusiasm of the commune members working at the reservoir site, I took up my brush and painted *Heroes Subduing the Water-Controlling Dragon* and other revolutionary poster-size pictures. Put up at the work-site, they inspired the fighting will of the broad masses, which in turn opened my eyes to the role played by works of art and at the same time steeled my determination to learn to paint for the revolution. In 1963, during the socialist education movement in the countryside, the Party branch encouraged me to visit old poor peasants who suffered bitterly in the old society and had a deep class hatred. Nursing a deep hatred for the old society myself, I painted several series of pictures depicting the blood-and-tears history of the poor and lower-middle peasants. During the Cultural Revolution I did wall paintings and lantern slides to spread Mao Tsetung Thought and the great victories of the Cultural Revolution. It was through hard revolutionary social practice that I learned to paint these pictures. At first I painted a person in the background bigger than one in the foreground, and the legs and arms were often not in the right places. With the concern and warm support of the Party organization and the poor and lower-middle peasants I carried a sketch-book with me all the time and kept on drawing—in the fields, at meetings, and sometimes

while cooking a meal I found a few moments to sketch. I practised and practised, and gradually people began to say that my drawings looked real.

I hadn't been able to draw. Was I "born stupid"? Obviously not, because I can now. And of course I was not "born clever" either. My learning to paint involved a process of gaining knowledge through practice. While working in a cotton field and as a leader of a cotton-growing group in our production team I was inspired by the rich cotton harvest to paint *Happy Cotton Pickers*. The commune members saw the picture and asked: "Is this our team's cotton field? Too bad there's nothing particular in it." Other comments were: "Just cotton pickers. What are they picking cotton for?"

I thought this question over and realized that their opinions were correct. Instead of just cotton pickers, my picture should show commune members selling cotton to the state to support our socialist construction. Later I used the cotton picking scene as background and added commune members in high spirits driving and pulling carts loaded with cotton to deliver to the state. The theme of the picture, which I renamed *Happy Harvest of Cotton*, had been clarified and the commune members expressed their approval. The success of this picture was due to the collective wisdom of the masses, without whom there is no artistic creation.

With the help of the Party and comrades, I have painted over 300 pictures in the past dozen years. Although I have done very little for the people, the Party and the people have accorded me great honour. In 1972 I was invited to Peking to see the national fine arts exhibition and received warm encouragement from leading comrades. A poor, illiterate woman in the old society, today

I have been elected a deputy secretary of our brigade's Party branch and paint for the revolution. This proves that our labouring women's initiative and wisdom can be brought into full play only in the socialist society. The process of my learning to paint is a powerful criticism of the theory of "genius" and "innate knowledge" advocated by Confucius and Lin Piao. Facts have proved that any "innate knowledge" is utter nonsense. Knowledge comes only from practice. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius I have made up my mind to strike back at their reactionary fallacies by doing more and better painting for the revolution.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP IS OUR SAFEGUARD

**— Criticizing certain reactionary fallacies
advocated by Confucius and Lin Piao**

Wang Wen-tsao*

OVER 2,000 years ago Confucius peddled the reactionary fallacies of "virtue," "benevolence and righteousness" and "loyalty and altruism" to retrieve the collapsing slave system. The moribund, reactionary rulers of all periods have used all this rubbish as ideological weapons to defend their rule and deceive the labouring people.

Aping Confucius, the bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao waved the ragged banner of Confucian moral ethics and trumpeted "benevolence" and "tolerance" in order to realize his programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites," and attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must thoroughly criticize these fallacies.

Confucius said that "benevolence means love for man." But what kind of men did Confucius love? Living at a time when the slave system was collapsing and feudalism was emerging, a crucial period of great social change, he obstinately clung to the dying slave system and opposed to the point of frenzy the slave uprisings and

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changes initiated by the rising landlord class. When he heard that the slave revolt in the State of Cheng had been ruthlessly put down by the slave-owners, he shouted, "When government is mild, the people despise it. Then severity must take over." Those whom Confucius loved were only a handful of moribund reactionary slave-owners, while for the slaves and the rising landlord class, who stood for reforms, he had a deep hatred.

Chairman Mao has taught us: **"There has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society."** Confucius praised his own ethics to the skies, his sole aim being to fool the people.

Like Confucius, all reactionaries in history have put up the signboard of "benevolence and righteousness." What they have done, however, is to devour and slaughter the labouring people. As Chairman Mao said, these reactionaries, **"though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue."** Behind these professions lurked the misery and death of the labouring people: Lin Piao babbled a lot about "benevolence" and "tolerance" in his attack on our proletarian dictatorship, to give us workers a second dose of suffering. But we will never permit that.

We old workers of Gate No. 6 have inveterate hatred for the old society. When I was 10 years old, for example, my father died of the tortures of the evil old society. My mother was left with me and a new little brother

to support. She had to wash clothes for rich people from early morning to late at night. She fell ill when I was 15 and we had nothing to eat, not to say get medical treatment for her. The sight of my mother's pinched, pale face filled me with hatred for the capitalists. With the little money I earned doing odd jobs I bought two cakes for her, but she only took my hands in hers, her eyes full of tears, and said, "Child, it's no use. . . . Keep the cakes for yourself and your little brother. . . ." Mother died before finishing what she had to say, and all my little brother and I could do was to cry our hearts out. At that time even the sky and the earth belonged to the capitalists. We poor people had no way out.

When I was 18 I started working at the East Freight Depot of Gate No. 6. Over the gate hung plaques inscribed with the words "Hall of Benevolence" and "Hall of Virtue," and in these "halls" many of our class brothers were worked to death. Loading and unloading was done entirely by manual labour. The workers had to carry 150-200 kilogrammes of bulky goods and pull heavy carts. Though we exerted all our strength for the capitalists, our day's wage wouldn't buy one kilogramme of corn flour. Every labouring family suffered like this. In those days silver dollars piled mountain-high in the houses of the landlords and capitalists while tears flowed in endless streams from our workers' eyes. The harsh facts thoroughly exposed the reactionary essence of Confucian ethics.

Led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, we workers were liberated and instituted revolutionary dictatorship over the handful of class enemies. Lin Piao desperately wanted us to apply "virtue" and "benevolence" to the class enemy. We will never do that. He

vilified us as relying on force. It is true. With revolutionary violence we overthrew the reactionary rule of the landlords and comprador-capitalists, founded the socialist new China, and exercise proletarian dictatorship over a handful of class enemies. To the people who have won victory this dictatorship is something that cannot be dispensed with for a single moment. Before liberation, when the landlords and capitalists exercised dictatorship over us labouring people, we hung between life and death with never enough to eat or wear. We were called "stinking coolies" and "smelly porters" by the landlords, capitalists and feudal gang bosses. Now we are the masters of new China and live happily with no problems of livelihood. We have introduced mechanization step by step at our freight depot, raising work efficiency and lightening labour. We have adopted labour protection and safety measures. Proletarian dictatorship is truly our safeguard. Without it we would not have our happy life or any of the good things we have today.

The reactionaries of all times have used two daggers to maintain their rule. One is a bloodstained dagger, visible; the other is invisible. The "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" ploy was the invisible dagger used by Confucius. Lin Piao, too, that criminal arch party tyrant and warlord who attempted to restore capitalism and establish a fascist dynasty of the Lin family, and even to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao, mouthed "benevolence, righteousness and virtue." But his ugly features as a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who said nice things to a person's face but plotted murder behind his back have been fully unmasked.

Confucius died more than 2,000 years ago and Lin Piao crashed to his death. But their reactionary thinking has

not died with them. In order to consolidate proletarian dictatorship we workers must thoroughly repudiate Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. We must carry this movement through to the end.

PERSIST IN THE MARXIST PHILOSOPHY OF STRUGGLE

**— A critique of the “doctrine of the mean”
advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius**

Lu Yu-lan*

WITH the aim of deceiving the people and turning back the wheel of history, reactionary chieftains of all periods without exception upheld the Confucian “doctrine of the mean” as the undisputed truth. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao likewise flaunted this tattered banner of Confucius, clamouring that “the doctrine of the mean . . . is rational.” Lin did this to lull the people’s revolutionary spirit in a wanton attempt to change the basic line and policies of the Party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and throw China back into capitalism. The “doctrine of the mean” is a doctrine of downright deception, of going backward, and of restoration of the old order. But we working people want to make revolution, to go forward, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and attain the high goal of communism. We must persevere, therefore, in the Marxist philosophy of struggle — struggle against the elements, against class enemies, and against feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies.

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TO DISTINGUISH FRIEND FROM
FOE IS A QUESTION OF PRIMARY
IMPORTANCE FOR THE REVOLUTION

Lin Piao, faithful disciple of Confucius, shouted himself blue in the face hawking the "doctrine of the mean." "When two sides fight, they become enemies; when two sides live in harmony, they become friends," he railed. What fallacy! In a class society, one class always oppresses another. In old China the landlord class always sat hard on the backs of the poor and lower-middle peasants. A landlord of our Tungliushanku Village took the opportunity of the 1943 famine to engage in usury and grab land. He had the brazenness to say: "One cannot amass riches without killing the poor; it's not hard to make a fortune in a famine year." More than 500 of us poor and lower-middle peasants starved to death that year, and more than 800 fled our homes to beg on the road. More than 200 families sold their own children to strangers. Incidents in blood told us that landlords would never "live in harmony" with the peasants, nor would they ever regard peasants as their friends.

Like the predatory wolf that will never turn into a sheep, the nature of class enemies will never change. If you don't fight them, they will fight you. The more lenient you are with them, the more ferocious they become. If you don't exercise dictatorship over them, they will tyrannize over you. Our experience since liberation has borne this out. We waged many struggles against the handful of class enemies in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and other political campaigns. Yet, in our village, we still have an ex-landlord who appears

humble enough, walking with his head down and bowing before people. All he says is "yes, yes, yes . . . good, good, good," and one might think he was "in harmony" with us poor and lower-middle peasants. But a wolf is a wolf, even when it's been beaten. This ex-landlord was found later to have kept a secret account book in expectation of a capitalist come-back. He had been busy, too, furtively writing reactionary jingles while plotting acts of sabotage in his reckless attempt to regain his lost "paradise."

The class enemy has never been "in harmony" with us, nor have we ever relaxed our vigilance against him or stopped struggling against him for fear of antagonizing him. It was our persistence in struggle that frustrated the enemy's restorationist plot.

Chairman Mao says: **"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."** Lin Piao's "harmony" theme, as stated above, was the theme of giving up fighting our enemies: externally against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and internally against landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, as well as against feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies. Such was the fond dream of Lin Piao and company. But for us to "live in harmony" with the enemy means to surrender to him; to befriend revisionism is to betray Marxism.

A CLEAR-CUT STAND
— THE MILITANT STYLE OF A REVOLUTIONARY

Lin Piao's "leaning to neither side" (Confucius' "doctrine of the mean") is sheer fallacy. In class society

everyone belongs to a particular class and acts and speaks in the interests of that class. Where is any "leaning to neither side" possible? Trumpeters of the "doctrine of the mean" have never been "middle-of-the-roaders." Take Confucius, for example. In order to preserve the moribund slave system he plunged into restorationist activities to "revive states that are extinct, restore families that have lost their positions, and call to office those who have fallen into obscurity." He condemned slave resistance as "insubordination and rebellion" and executed the reformer Shaocheng Mao. Then, many centuries later, came Lin Piao and his sworn followers. At home they openly tried to reverse the correct verdicts on the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, calling for "political liberation for them all," in order to place them back in power in a fascist dictatorship. In foreign relations, they were all for hiring themselves out to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, and uniting with world imperialism, revisionism and reaction in opposing China, communism and revolution. The counter-revolutionary acts of Confucius and his latter-day disciple Lin Piao amply prove that their loudly professed "doctrine of the mean" was a sham while their extremely reactionary nature was the fact.

In the fierce struggles between the two classes, two roads and two lines, there is no sitting on the fence. Nor is there a "third road." The following incident in our brigade illustrates this. While we were again faced in 1965 with the question of going along the road of socialism or drifting back to capitalism, a cadre was sent from a higher organization to "help us out." This cadre gave the impression that he would not take sides. But, faced

with such a major issue of right and wrong, one either supports the correct side or in fact supports the wrong side and allows capitalism to spread unchecked. This cadre was in time found to be secretly involved with an alien class element of our village, the two of them eating and drinking together, flattering each other and exchanging favours. The cadre had reached the point of trying to install this alien class element as one of our brigade leaders. Mouthing "taking neither side," he in fact took the side of capitalism against the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The fighting style of a Communist is to be open and aboveboard and to take a clear-cut stand on vital issues. In preaching "take neither side" Confucius and Lin Piao attempted to turn people into "good-hearted fence-sitters" in the struggles between progress and retrogression, between reform and conservatism, between revolution and counter-revolution — persons who would not expose the intrigues of either for restoration, not fight against their counter-revolutionary activities nor rebel against their sanguinary suppression. This was sheer wishful thinking.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT IS FINE

There are two fundamentally opposing attitudes towards the revolutionary mass movement: one is to applaud it; the other is to disparage it. The attitude taken is an important hallmark in distinguishing Marxism from revisionism. The careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao picked up the Confucian-Mencian trash that "excess is as bad as deficiency" to vilify the masses' revolutionary

struggles as "excessive" and "extreme." This was nothing but wild counter-revolutionary hooting by one who stood pat by the landlords and capitalists.

Slandering revolutionary mass movements as "excessive" is a favourite trick of all reactionary classes and their representatives in opposing revolution and social progress. Confucius used it in obstinately trying to preserve the slave system; the autocrat and traitor to the people Chiang Kai-shek, who enforced fascist dictatorship, used it; the chieftains of all past opportunist lines, those agents of the landlord and bourgeois classes inside the Chinese Communist Party, used it. The Right-opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu smeared the revolutionary peasant movement as "terrible," and "going too far." The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi went all out to slander agricultural co-operation and close down the co-ops wholesale. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao assailed the General Line, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune as "excessive" and "extreme," attacked the anti-revisionist struggle as "going overboard," or "beyond the limit," and vilified the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things that emerged out of it. All this fully exposes Lin Piao and company, like all reactionaries in history, as arch enemies of the revolution and implacable foes of the people.

In counter-attacking those who slandered the revolutionary mass movement as "going too far," our great leader Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: **"Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted."** It takes a mighty deluge to clear away any filth. Widespread revolutionary mass movements are necessary to clear away the exploiting

classes' old order and traditions of many centuries. In July 1955 Chairman Mao published his brilliant work *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, which gave us our guideline for going forward. We poor and lower-middle peasants responded warmly and soon had 10 elementary agricultural producers' co-ops set up in our village. In this great social change, the former rich peasants tried to undermine agricultural co-operation by spreading the reactionary fallacy: "Co-ops are not as good as mutual-aid teams, while the teams are not as good as individual peasant farming." But we poor and lower-middle peasants dared to struggle resolutely against those rich peasant elements and frustrated the capitalist counter-eddy they stirred up. In half a year the semi-socialist elementary co-ops had developed into advanced co-ops of socialist character. In 1958 we organized the co-ops into a people's commune, which is larger in size and has a higher degree of public ownership. These revolutionary mass movements have not only changed the private ownership system of the past few thousand years but have battered the whole deep-rooted idea of private ownership as well. The mental outlook of the commune members has been clarified to a point where the idea of farming for the revolution has become the accepted one, and many outstanding people have emerged. They think of world events as they till the land, and propel both the revolution and production forward in leaps. Facts in the class and two-line struggles show that the revolutionary mass movement is truly fine. Lin Piao and company feared and attacked it because they were afraid the masses would rise in struggle against their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and

break their sweet dream bubble of subverting the proletarian dictatorship and restoring capitalism.

THERE IS NO GOING FORWARD
EXCEPT THROUGH STRUGGLE

While clamouring that "the doctrine of the mean . . . is rational," the traitor Lin Piao ranted: "Guard against exceeding proper limits in antagonism, or unity will be destroyed." This is downright counter-revolutionary logic. Marxism holds that the unity of opposites is relative, while their struggle is absolute. The development of things can only take place in the process of struggle. The law governing the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe, the basic line of our Party for the historical period of socialism having been formulated on the basis of this idea. Lin Piao propagated the above-quoted fallacy of his in a wanton attempt to negate the ideological foundation of the basic line of our Party.

In class society, class struggle is a motive force of social progress. The proletariat and other labouring people in China, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, persisted in revolutionary struggle and through such struggle overthrew the three great mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — that bore down on them. They became masters of their country. Had we poor and lower-middle peasants of Tunliushanku Village not risen in revolutionary struggle when we suffered from the exploitation of the landlords and rich peasants, we would never have won the happiness of our life today. We have followed the teaching of Chairman Mao in vigorously grasping

class and two-line struggles. We have not only grappled with the whims of nature, but we have engaged in more important struggles — with class enemies, capitalist tendencies, the revisionist line, and wrong thinking within our Party. And, with each struggle, cadres and masses have grown in political consciousness; the revolution and production have gone a step forward. Within a dozen years our brigade transformed 3,000 mu of barren sandy dunes into a tract of verdant woodland and planted another more than 3,000 mu of sandy area to crops. The “rickety ox-cart” level of farm implements has given way to complete or semi-mechanization. The grain yield per mu of land, which stood at about 100 jin prior to co-operation, has risen to more than 1,100 jin. In short, our “poor sandy depression” has now been transformed into socialist new countryside with flourishing farming areas and woodland.

Revolutionary practice has convinced us that victory is possible only through struggle. In the course of revolution, class enemies and adherents of the wrong line often take advantage of our respite following a victory to make counter-attacks, and the slightest laxity of vigilance on our part can lead to reversals. A case in point was the educational reform which had begun during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao’s instruction: **Education should be revolutionized**, we had placed our schools under the management of the poor and lower-middle peasants, to be run in the “open-door” manner as the Party directed, giving pupils the opportunity to learn outside of the classroom and inviting poor and lower-middle peasants in to lecture. The revolution in education had been carried out most vigorously. That done, we sat back

comfortably for a time with folded arms, only to find later that the old, revisionist measures had been reinstated during our negligence. Then, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we summed up our experience and drew lessons from it. We again exerted ourselves in grasping class and two-line struggles in the cultural and educational spheres, this time turning the situation into a bright and excellent one. This proved to us that if we struggle, we advance; if we don't, we fall back, fail, and become revisionist.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **Never forget class struggle.** Lin Piao and his followers, who attempted a counter-revolutionary come-back, have been pulverized under the wheel of history. But the poisons of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line have yet to be completely cleared away. The reactionary "doctrine of the mean" still pollutes the air we breathe; a small number of class enemies are still around and not reconciled to their defeat but dream constantly of restoration. We must not relax our guard. We must adhere firmly to the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao, read and study earnestly to master the weapons for the struggle, persevere in opposing and preventing revisionism, resolutely counter-attack the reactionary trend of capitalist restoration, and continue our telling offensive against class enemies and all reactionary forces. Only in this way can we carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

TO SHOW "BENEVOLENCE" TO THE ENEMY IS TO BETRAY THE PEOPLE

Chen Chao*

OVER 2,000 years ago, when the slave system was on the verge of extinction, Confucius tried to save it by setting up a whole system of reactionary thought centred on "benevolence." History shows that all reactionaries bent on retrogression and restoration of the old order have invariably used Confucian "benevolence" to deceive and benumb the people, and so to gain their reactionary political aims.

The renegade and traitor Lin Piao was a faithful disciple of Confucius. While we were celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Lin Piao clandestinely wrote scrolls bearing the reactionary maxim: "He who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish." With these words he viciously attacked revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat, fully revealing his reactionary features as enemy of the people.

"Reliance on virtue," "benevolence," etc. are sheer lies spread by the reactionary classes to hoodwink the people. Those of us who tasted life in the old society understand well what such rubbish means. I was born in a poor

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peasant family in Yungchuan County, Szechuan Province. For generations my family worked as farmhands for a landlord. When I was still young, my father was tortured to death by that devil, and my elder sister became a child-bride. The cruel landlord never applied "benevolence" to us orphans and my widowed mother, but intensified his cruel exploitation. Not long after killing my father, the landlord claimed that his victim had owed him three dollars, so he forced my mother to work off the "debt" by slaving for him. Suffering every kind of oppression and humiliation at the landlord's hands, she fell ill and soon died a bitter death. When I was 12, I had to work as a farmhand for the landlord too, grazing cattle in the hills in the daytime, carrying water and feeding his pigs mornings and evenings. Though I was worked almost to death all day long, the heartless landlord was still not satisfied and would seize on any pretext to scold and beat me. One morning in the dead of winter when I went to a well to fetch water, the icy well-side was slippery and I fell into the well with the bucket. It was Uncle Wang, another farm labourer, who saved my life. The devilish landlord's wife knew very well that I had been almost drowned in the well, but instead of taking "pity" on me, she hurled vicious abuses, saying I was eating her food but doing no work for her.

Uncle Wang finally took me to a silversmith in town where I became an apprentice. Little did I know that I had escaped from the wolf's lair only to fall into a tiger's den. The capitalists were no less cruel than the landlords. I scrubbed the floor, emptied the chamber pots, and looked after the proprietor's child. It seemed there was no end to my toil and misery. One day the child cried and, no matter how I soothed him, he just

wailed on. So I shouted at him. But the proprietress happened to come by just then, and she seized me by the collar and dragged me to the boss. Without any investigation at all, he picked up the heavy bronze ruler lying at hand and began hitting me on the head with it. I was so angry, I took up an inkstone on the desk and hurled it at him. It was a good hit and he crumpled to the floor. I ran away quickly from out of the tiger's clutches.

In the old society, we saw everywhere "Halls of Benevolence" and "Halls of Virtue" built by landlords and capitalists. But what was their "benevolence"? It was a disguise which they wore to commit all sorts of crimes, murder the working people and break up their families.

On the battlefield in Korea, the U.S. imperialist aggressors brutally killed the Korean people. Their towering crimes made me realize more deeply that all reactionaries whether domestic or foreign are, without exception, man-eating jackals. They advocate "government by benevolence" in order to use these fine-sounding words to mask their ugly acts of cruel exploitation and oppression of the working people and to prop up their reactionary rule. We must wage a blow-for-blow struggle against the enemy. On the battlefield I expressed my hatred against the oppressor classes and the foreign aggressors with my rifle and hit hard at the enemy. During a battle I beat back six enemy attacks singlehanded and wiped out 48 U.S. aggressors, keeping our position intact. The Party and people accorded me high honour and, to my great joy, I was received by our great leader Chairman Mao four times. My experience has impressed me with the truth that to show "benevolence" to the enemy with guns on the battlefield is to betray the peo-

ple. It is also true in peacetime that to be "benevolent" to the enemy without guns is likewise a betrayal of the people.

The renegade and traitor Lin Piao preached "relying on virtue" and treating people with a "benevolent heart." What Lin Piao wanted was for us to give up the dictatorship of the proletariat and unloose ghosts and monsters of every description — landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists — so as to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism and reduce China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. We revolutionary people must not be taken in, but must always remember the Party's basic line and constantly consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

BREAKING DOWN MALE SUPREMACY

**"Iron Girls" Team of Nanszehsien Production
Brigade of Chaopi People's Commune,
Hsiyang County, Shansi Province**

IN the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, we working women of Nanszehsien Brigade have been indignantly repudiating the Confucian-Mencian doctrines advocated by the careerist, renegade and traitor Lin Piao. Though we have never read Confucian classics, we do know they are preachments on man-eating and how to harm people, and are spiritual fetters designed to enslave us working women.

In his attempt to preserve the moribund reactionary rule of the slave-owning aristocracy, its apologist Confucius clamped the shackles of "moral code," "etiquette," etc. on women. He preached that "it is most important for a state to draw a clear line of distinction between men and women," and that "women and slaves are most difficult to maintain and deal with." He formulated a whole series of reactionary fallacies such as "women must be obedient to the men" and "men are superior to women." Later, Confucius' disciples developed his ideas, throwing in other trash such as the "three cardinal

guides and the five constant virtues"¹ or "three obediences and four virtues."²

Let's take one of the three "guides" — "husband guides wife." We women suffered especially from this rule. Women were just an appendage to men, and this situation was held as natural and eternal. They were expected to be humble and obedient, otherwise they would be guilty of offending the rites. A widow could not remarry for, though her husband was dead, she would still be losing her chastity. In the old society working women were dominated not only by the political, clan and religious authorities but also by the authority of their husbands. Their ability and wisdom were ruthlessly fettered by these old rites and conventions. The disciples of Confucius and Mencius spread this set of reactionary ideas in order to make the labouring masses, and especially women, submit docilely to the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes.

In the dark old China, the working women of Nansze-hsien, like those in other parts of the country, were victims of the Confucian-Mencian doctrines used by the exploit-

¹The "three cardinal guides" are: "sovereign guides subject, father guides son and husband guides wife." The "five constant virtues" refer to the so-called immutable principles of "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity."

²The "three obediences" refer to the rule that "A girl has to obey her father and elder brothers before marriage, her husband while married, and her sons if widowed." The "four virtues" are firstly "women's virtue," meaning a woman must know her place under the sun and behave herself and act in every way in compliance with the old ethical code; secondly, "women's speech," meaning a woman must not talk too much and take care not to bore people; thirdly, "women's appearance," meaning a woman must pay attention to adorning herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex; and fourthly, "women's chore," meaning a woman must willingly do all the household chores.

ing classes. Chang Sze-ying is an old poor peasant woman who was sent to Nanszehsien from Hoshun County after being sold for one silver dollar when she was three years old. Another poor peasant woman, Chang Mi-wa, was sold three or four times and shifted around to different places, so that she does not know where she was born or who her parents were. In the old days the exploiting classes compared a married woman to "a purchased horse, which can be ridden and whipped at will." Working women were bought and sold like commodities and used as beasts of burden. They could be humiliated and beaten at any time. Many died from the tortures of cold and starvation. The reactionary ruling class, afraid of women rebelling, forced them to bind their feet, resulting in the agonies of life-long crippling. Older women in our brigade remember dozens of girl babies drowned at birth and child-brides dying of ill treatment. All these facts form a powerful indictment against the reactionary exploiting classes and their Confucian-Mencian doctrines.

Lu Hsun wrote in one of his stories, *A Madman's Diary*: "I tried to look this up, but my history has no chronology, and scrawled all over each page are the words: 'Virtue and Morality.' Since I could not sleep anyway, I read intently half the night, until I began to see words between the lines, the whole book being filled with the two words — 'Eat people.'" Actually, for several thousand years countless working women were devoured by the grim old society. It is true that the old society was like a dark hundred-thousand-foot well, with the common people lying at the bottom and women forming the very base.

Today, after Chairman Mao and the Communist Party freed us working women from that abyss we have seen the light of day and become masters of the country. We are playing an important role in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. We are proud and happy about this. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and encouraged by the women of the model Tachai Brigade, we Nanszehsien women have become an important force in socialist revolution and construction. Smashing the feudal moral shackles, we are now holding up half the sky in both revolution and production. For instance, in 1960 we tried to transform the three-and-half-kilometre-long stony Gourd Gully in our village, but the work ended in failure due to the interference of the wrong line. Having taken political power from the capitalist roaders, in 1967 under the leadership of Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, the people of Hsiyang County unfolded a vigorous mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Our brigade Party branch again put forward a plan to reclaim the gully, and 20 of us young women proposed to the Party branch that we organize an "iron girls" team to undertake this heavy but glorious task. The Party branch supported our proposal. We knew that this would not be easy, but we followed the example of Tachai's women and prepared ourselves for whatever difficulties we might meet. When we set out for Gourd Gully, class enemies threw cold water on our resolve. "People were not fools in the past. If that gully could have been reclaimed, it would have been done long ago. Now are we to expect these puny girls to do the work?" they harped. Instead of losing heart, we were all the more determined to fight to the finish and trans-

form the gully. Chairman Mao has said: **"Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too."** In revolutionary work we must dare to tackle what has never been done before. We had never worked with stone, but now we all became stonemasons splitting rock and, sometimes, the skin between our fingers holding the spike. But not one of us complained. Needing carrying-poles, we made them from tree branches we gathered from the mountains. When there were no more baskets, we wove them with willow branches. Short of nitrate to make the dynamite we needed, we collected the alkali on the ground surface and made it from that. We worked through the scorching hot mid-day in summer, and in windy and snowy weather we still had our three meals each day at the work-site. We carried sand seven kilometres round trip from the mouth of the gully to its main part, but there was not so much as a whisper of being tired. To prevent the sand from falling through the baskets we lined them with our head scarfs. We also made it a rule that "our baskets should never travel empty." So we carried manure to the fields on our way to the work-site and, at the end of the day, we carried stones back to the village for building an 18-stall horse stable. Relying on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, on the Tachai spirit and our own hands, we 20 girls worked alongside 15 men comrades and together we reclaimed Gourd Gully. The project was actually completed in two years instead of three, as planned, and it included 2 small reservoirs, 104 embankments and 150 mu of land opened up. After the completion of the Gourd Gully project we voluntarily undertook farming the transformed gully. In the several years since, we members of the "Iron

Girls' Team have been helped by five old poor peasants to learn ploughing, sowing, hoeing, manuring and other farm work. Now we can also carry basketfuls of manure and apply it to the fields, a job formerly regarded as strictly men's work. Now the more than 100 mu of land in the gully has been made into Tachai-type fields giving high and stable yields.

We were also out front in the struggle against class enemies and to break through the "four olds" (old ideas, culture, customs and habits). For example, women had not been allowed to enter the sheep pens, for that was supposed to bring misfortune. Now we have taken it upon ourselves to collect sheep dung. Some people were against our digging up abandoned tombs, but we dug them up anyway and have built 30 rooms with the bricks we found in them.

Events prove that our "Iron Girls" Team has grown in the struggle against class enemies, the revisionist line and the pernicious influence of the Confucian-Mencian doctrines. Our revolutionary practice is in itself a powerful criticism and repudiation of these doctrines and line.

Proceeding from their ambition to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, Lin Piao and company were banking on the filth of Confucian-Mencian doctrines when they picked up cast-offs from the historical garbage heap and used them as a reactionary ideological weapon in their attack on the proletariat. They feared and hated the thoroughgoing emancipation of working women and therefore slandered them as "born idiots," dictating that "the fate of the husband decides that of the wife," and that "a woman's energy should be expended on her husband." This is utter nonsense! No reactionary force can prevent the

complete emancipation of us women armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. The era when women were slaves is over. We will bury the "three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues," the "three obediences and four virtues" and all male supremacy over women. Lin Piao tried to deceive us women with the Confucian-Mencian doctrines and strangle our socialist initiative to facilitate their turning back the wheel of history and staging a counter-revolutionary come-back. But all of this was idle dreaming. We will continue our condemnation of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary crimes and the revisionist line he promoted. We will also thoroughly discredit the Confucian-Mencian doctrines, free our minds and discard the traditional ideas of the exploiting classes so as to play our role fully in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH AIM HIGH

Chan Feng-mei*

ONE of the main reactionary ethical tenets of Confucius was that "a son may not travel far from home while his parents are alive." This concept spread its poison widely and must be criticized.

Why did Confucius formulate such reactionary ethical tenets and taboos anyway? To answer this question we must trace the class struggle in Confucius' time and see what was his political stand.

Confucius lived at the end of the Spring and Autumn Period, a time of drastic transition from the slave system to feudalism. The rising landlord class challenged the reactionary slave-owning class economically, politically and ideologically, and waged a fierce attack on it. The slaves also rose up against the slave-owners. In this revolutionary condition characterized by great disorder, the reactionary slave-owning class was in a state of all-round collapse — in economy, politics, and also in ideology and theory, i.e., in the patriarchal relations. There were frequent occurrences of officials not being loyal to the sovereign, sons not being filial to their fathers, younger brothers not being obedient to their elder brothers, of

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slaves running away and sons travelling far from their homes. This situation resulted in the disruption of the slave-owning class' traditional concept of the clan and in their reactionary rule being weakened and threatened. It was precisely in this upheaval that Confucius, obstinately adhering to the reactionary stand of the slave-owners, dished up such moral laws as "a son may not travel far from home while his parents are alive."

The nub of this ethical precept of Confucius is the so-called filial piety and fraternal duty. "Filial piety" meant that sons and daughters should act in a prescribed way towards their parents; "fraternal duty" meant that younger brothers should be devoted to elder brothers. This moral code made attendance on parents the aim in life of sons and daughters, and those who acted against it were undutiful, "lacking in virtue" and to be reproached. Such Confucian preachings were designed specifically to protect the patriarchy of the slave system "from the sovereign down to the families." By demanding filial piety to parents, Confucius meant that all children should forever cling to their parents; by demanding filial piety to the sovereign, he meant that all parents should obey the emperor. Its class essence was simply to call on the people to "restrain themselves" from "rebellion and insubordination"; i.e., they should obey their parents unquestioningly and be meek subjects of the sovereign under the absolute slave-owning system. The taboo, peddled by Confucius and aimed at safeguarding the reactionary rule of the slave-owning class, of a son remaining at his parents' side fell flat, however.

Marxism considers that family relationships in class society, including that between father and son, can only be class relationships. A particular family relationship

arises from the relations of production in a given historical period. Particular productive forces and relations of production create corresponding family relations and concept of the family. With the development and change in the production relations, family relations and concept of the family are bound to change accordingly. This is a historical trend no reactionary can stop. Confucius' reactionary ethics and tenets did not save the slave-owning class from its doom nor prevent the collapse of the slave-owning aristocratic clans, for the reason that what Confucius advocated represented reaction. While not allowing others to "travel far" to revolt against the slave-owners, he himself travelled in many states, giving advice and making suggestions — acting as legman for the regime of the slave-owning class. Obviously, what he opposed was travel for revolutionary purposes, not travel for counter-revolutionary aims. Far from rejecting the latter, he took the lead in such travel, laying bare the reactionary class nature of this precept.

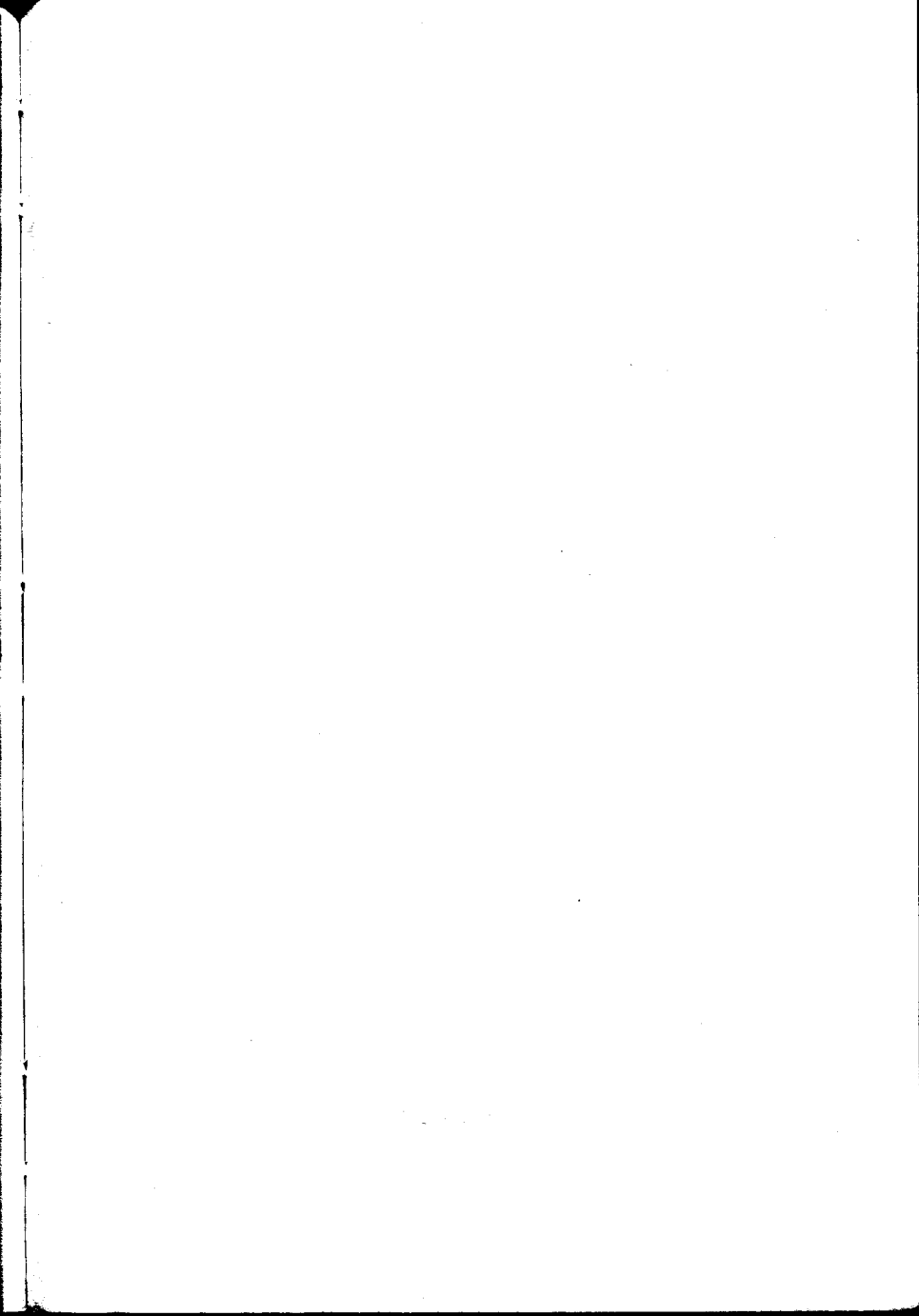
In order to prop up their reactionary rule, representatives of the exploiting classes have invariably peddled Confucius' reactionary filial piety over the past 2,000 years, using it as mental fetters to bind young people's minds. The anti-Party careerists and conspirators Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao did everything they could to oppose and undermine the integration of educated youth with the workers and peasants. They flaunted the black banner of the Confucian shop for the revival of Confucius' ghost in a vain attempt to restore capitalism through the younger generation. "How can you be a man if you aren't a good son?" they preached to the youth. "Homesickness is natural." These are variations of the same Confucian idea. Invoking bourgeois "human

feelings between mother and son" and "love between father and son," they injected poison into the minds of young people and tied them to the small circle of the family, to the neglect of the basic interests of the entire proletariat, the Party's cause and the lofty aim of revolution, so to turn them into short-sighted philistines. More sinister still, starting from the exploiting-class moral concept of "loyalty and filial piety," Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao hawked the trash of idealist apriorism. They impressed on young people's minds the idea of "studying to become an official" by spreading such fallacies as "do not pay attention to what is happening outside in the world, but concentrate on your studies of the sages' classics" and "bring honour to your ancestors by achieving fame overnight." They used bourgeois selfishness to lure China's young people onto the wrong road of alienating themselves from proletarian politics, the worker-peasant masses and the three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment), and turn them into bourgeois intellectual overlords who detest labour and stand above the working people. They looked upon the youth as stepping-stones and docile tools to be used in their counter-revolutionary coup d'etat for capitalist restoration. But history proved all their tricks as no more than an idiot's daydream. Marx regards morality in class society as constituting class nature. And Engels says: **". . . so far every moral theory has, in the last analysis, been the product of the economic conditions of society obtaining at the time. And just as society has so far moved in class antagonisms, so morality has always been class morality."** Proletarian morality has as its highest standard the greatest interests and needs of the proleta-

riat and other labouring people. Hence the proletarian ethical tenet of serving the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the world. It puts parents and the family on a class basis and demands that they serve to consolidate and develop the socialist economic base, to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the interests of the proletariat as a whole, the proletariat holds, there would be no interests of parents, the family or the individual. Whether children "travel far" or not should depend on the needs of the revolution. Our revolutionary youth have great aspirations wherever they go. Educated by the Party and Chairman Mao and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we revolutionary educated youth of China are deeply aware that the falsehoods of "feelings between mother and son" and "love between father and son" preached by political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were aimed at poisoning our minds and are an invisible dagger killing people but leaving no trace of blood. We are more determined than ever to take the path of integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants. While repudiating Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao's fallacies of "studying to become an official," "going to the countryside as a decoration" and "going to the countryside is reform through forced labour in disguise," revolutionary youth in their millions have resolved to answer the Party's call and go to the countryside, the border regions and wherever the conditions are the toughest. This struggle is a round in the great revolution to change existing habits and customs, a powerful rejection of the conventional ideas represented by Confucian-Mencian doctrines. In

response to Chairman Mao's significant call, I came in 1968 from Luta City in China's northeast and settled down in Taikou Brigade, Liaoning Province. Through storm and stress over the past few years in the vast rural areas I have cleared away my old Confucian idea of looking down on the peasants and despising labour. Educated and helped by the poor and lower-middle peasants, I have grown in political consciousness. Experience in the past years has convinced me that it is necessary for educated youth to go to the countryside and become integrated with the worker-peasant masses in order to be successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. This is also a long-term measure to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Facts demonstrate its great importance to closing the gaps between town and country, between workers and peasants, and between mental and physical labour. The educated youth are a dynamic force in changing the old customs and habits in the rural areas and in transforming society.

No horse can be trained well in a courtyard, and no pine grows sturdy in a flower-pot. Our revolutionary youth have the great aspiration to go to the countryside and border regions, go where the motherland needs them most, so as to shoulder the responsibility of the time and devote themselves to the realization of communism.



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