

# PEKING REVIEW

7

February 15, 1974

北  
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報

**Lin Piao and the Doctrine of  
Confucius and Mencius**

**Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Are the Main  
Force in Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius**

***Soviet Revisionists' Foreign Policy Up  
Against Stone Wall Everywhere***

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## Greeting Grenada's Independence

Located in the eastern Caribbean, Grenada proclaimed its independence on February 7. Congratulating Premier Eric Gairy of Grenada on February 8, Premier Chou En-lai in a message said: "On the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of Grenada, I extend warm congratulations to Your Excellency and the people of Grenada on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. I wish to take this opportunity to inform Your Excellency that the Chinese Government has decided to recognize Grenada. May your country enjoy prosperity and her people well-being. May the friendship between the peoples of China and Grenada develop continuously."

## Premier Chou Meets Dawee Chullasapya

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping of the State Council on February 12 met Dawee Chullasapya, President of the Olympic Committee of Thailand, and the delegation of the committee led by him. They had a friendly conversation with delegation leader Dawee.

The 14-member delegation arrived in Peking on February 7. The following day, Wang Meng, leading member of the All-China Sports Federation, gave a banquet in their honour.

At the banquet, Wang Meng spoke of the traditional friendship between the people of China and Thailand. He said that sports exchanges between the two countries have been strengthened in the past few years and this has promoted the understanding and friendship between the sports workers and people of the two countries. Dawee said that Thailand and China should establish friendly relations and that these relations

should be developed in the days to come.

## All-China Sports Federation to Participate in 7th Asian Games

The All-China Sports Federation held a meeting in Peking on February 7 on preparations for participation in the 7th Asian Games. Decisions made at the meeting follow:

1. The meeting expressed gratitude to the justice-upholding friends in Asian sports circles for their great efforts in the confirmation of our legitimate rights in the Asian Games Federation, and the expulsion of the so-called national sports organization of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The meeting spoke highly of the outstanding efforts of the government and sports organizations of Iran to make the 7th Asian Games a success. The sports organizations, organizers and sportsmen of China are determined to join sportsmen of other Asian countries and make positive efforts to the success of the 7th Asian Games.

2. The meeting decided to hold nationwide selective trials in Peking and other places in May 1974 to select a Chinese sports delegation to the 7th Asian Games. It called on Chinese sports organizers and sportsmen to make efforts and contribute their share to the development of friendship and unity of the people and sportsmen of China and other Asian countries.

3. The meeting decided to notify sports organizers and sportsmen of Taiwan Province and Taiwan-born sports organizers and sportsmen residing overseas and invite them to take part in the nationwide selective trials.

4. The meeting pointed out that the decision on the confirmation of the legitimate rights of the All-China Sports Federation adopted by the council meeting of the Asian Games Federation on November 16, 1973

fully reflected the common aspirations of the people of various Asian countries to enhance exchanges with the Chinese people. This is an irresistible trend of history. It noted with satisfaction that a number of international sports organizations had recognized this trend of history and adopted the attitude of respecting the decision of the Council of the Asian Games Federation and cooperating with the Asian Games Federation. The meeting emphasized that the people of Asia are the masters of Asian affairs and any outside interference is intolerable to the people of Asia. The people and sports circles of Asia will certainly strengthen their unity and strive to the end for the success of the 7th Asian Games.

Secretary-General of the All-China Sports Federation Sung Chung sent a notice to the sports organizers and sportsmen of Taiwan Province and Taiwan-born sports organizers and sportsmen residing overseas, welcoming them to come to take part in the nationwide selective trials for the 7th Asian Games.

## "February 7" Strike Commemorated

Mass meetings and forums of workers and people of various walks of life took place in Peking, Chengchow, Wuhan and Kwangchow on February 6 and 7 to commemorate the 51st anniversary of the Peking-Hankow railway workers' "February 7" general strike.

Led by the Communist Party of China, workers on the railway called a general strike in February 1923 to protest warlord Wu Pei-fu's attempt to stop by armed force the establishment of a federation of trade unions. The strike was a massive blow against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and a clear demonstration of the fearless revolutionary spirit of the working class. The northern warlords and imperialists who were working hand in glove

(Continued on p. 23.)

# Broaden and Deepen the Struggle to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius

A MASS movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is going on throughout the country. Combining the criticism of Lin Piao with criticizing Confucius is the key link in deepening the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and is an important task in deepening the socialist revolution in the superstructure. We must fight with all our efforts.

Chairman Mao has taught us repeatedly that it is imperative to grasp major issues and grasp the line. To deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is now a major issue for the whole Party, the whole army and the entire Chinese people. Failure to do so means failure to grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and failure to continue the attacks on revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook, and if this should go on, one would inevitably go astray and slip into revisionism. This demands our attention and calls for heightened vigilance.

Why is it necessary to combine the criticism of Lin Piao with the criticism of Confucius? This is because Lin Piao, like all reactionaries in history and the ring-leaders of various opportunist lines in the past, was every inch a devout disciple of Confucius. Lin Piao had always worshipped Confucius and opposed the Legalist school and attacked Chin Shih Huang (first emperor of the Chin Dynasty) on many occasions. He kowtowed before the utterly decadent doctrine of Confucius and Mencius, made their sayings his maxims and regarded them as "canons," and hung them or kept them in shady nooks. His counter-revolutionary words and deeds were permeated with the reactionary thinking of Confucius and Mencius. Lin Piao worshipped Confucius not because of his "nostalgia for the past," but because of the need of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and of imperialism, revisionism and reaction to subvert the proletarian dictatorship in our country, and Lin Piao's worship of Confucius was a means to push his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The doctrine of Confucius and Mencius was used by him as a reactionary ideological weapon in his plot to usurp Party leadership, seize state power and restore capitalism. The struggle between our Party and Lin Piao centring on the issue of opposing or worshipping Confucius was in essence a struggle between the two classes and the two lines: between progress and retrogression, revolution and counter-revolution during the period of socialism. This struggle is by no means over. Therefore, in order to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao, it is imperative to criticize Confucius; and the very aim of criticizing Confucius is to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao. Only by criticizing

the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius is it possible for us to see more clearly the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique to work for a capitalist restoration and retrogression as well as the ultra-Rightist nature of his revisionist line; only thus is it possible for us to dig out the roots of Lin Piao's reactionary ideology and sweep clean the influence of the reactionary ideology of Lin Piao and Confucius; and only thus is it possible for us to be all the more conscious of the necessity to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution so as to consolidate and develop its tremendous achievements.

Precisely because of these reasons, deepening the criticism of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius is not an "academic question" or just "a matter for cultural and educational circles which does not concern me," as some people think. On the contrary, it is a political question closely connected with present-day class struggle and the two-line struggle and is an issue of paramount importance in opposing and preventing revisionism, an issue which merits the attention of all seven sectors: industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party. How can one say that it "does not concern me"? **"There is no construction without destruction."** To uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Marxist world outlook, it is imperative to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We do not believe in "the doctrine of the mean"; our philosophy is the philosophy of struggle. To be a true Communist and proletarian revolutionary, and to carry the socialist revolution in the superstructure through to the end, it is necessary to develop the proletarian revolutionary spirit, fight well and win this battle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

In combining the criticism of Lin Piao with the criticism of Confucius, it is necessary to lay stress on exposing and criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary crimes in using the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius to try to change the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Confucius was a representative and a diehard of the declining slave-owning class; he opposed reforms and progress and stood for restoration of the old order and retrogression. Throughout his life, he never gave up his attempts to revive the dying slave system and turn back the wheel of history. "To restrain oneself and restore the rites" was his reactionary programme for restoring the slave system. Lin Piao knew quite well its political implications and was all for it. He held that "of all things, this is the most important." And what was the most



important thing Lin Piao had in mind? It was to go the Confucius way — “to restrain oneself and restore the rites” — in an attempt to restore capitalism. Confucius once said he wanted to “revive states that were extinct, restore families whose line of succession had been broken, and call to office those who had fallen into obscurity.” It was this very mantle of Confucius that Lin Piao had inherited, vainly trying to reinstate the landlord and capitalist classes, which Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in overthrowing, let the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists regain power, restore the fascist dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, and turn our country into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. To achieve this criminal objective, Lin Piao lauded “virtue,” “benevolence and righteousness,” “loyalty and forbearance,” peddled the “doctrine of the mean” and preached the concept of the exploiting classes that “those who labour with their minds govern others, those who labour with their strength are governed by others”; he taught his son to worship Confucius and study Confucian canons, he applied the reactionary philosophy of Confucius and Mencius in handling human relations and set up a clique to further his private interests and went all out to engage in intrigues and conspiracies. This is the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao’s revisionist line.

In combining the criticism of Lin Piao with criticizing Confucius, it is necessary to put stress on exposing and repudiating Lin Piao’s reactionary world outlook and its root cause. In trying to restore the slave system, Confucius made the following his ideological basis: the reactionary theory of “heaven’s will” and idealist apriorist concepts emanating from it such as some people were “born with knowledge” and “only the highest, who are wise, and the lowest, who are stupid, cannot be changed.” The theory of “innate genius” — the anti-Party theoretical programme of Lin Piao — stemmed from the Confucian theory of “heaven’s will.” Lin Piao boasted that he had a “good head” which was “especially clever,” and compared himself to a “heavenly horse” flying through the skies “free and alone.” This is utter nonsense. But these idealist apriorist concepts were the very theoretical basis of Lin Piao’s revisionist line, and the spiritual mainstay of a feudal, comprador and fascist hereditary Lin dynasty which he tried in vain to establish. They also showed the feebleness of Lin Piao as a reactionary. A penetrating exposure and criticism of Lin Piao’s theory of “innate genius” in connection with criticism of the Confucian theory of “heaven’s will” will enable us to see more clearly the reactionary nature of the world outlook of the exploiting classes which uphold the system of “man eating man” and to realize the protracted nature of the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the world outlook of the landlord and capitalist classes.

The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius touches on many aspects of the ideology of the exploiting classes. Looking down upon manual labour, contempt for women, despising the workers and peasants, disliking

newly emerging things and forces, idolizing things foreign and restoring the old order and the unhealthy tendency of letting people “go in by the back door” — these are traditional concepts of the exploiting classes which have their social and class origin and can be traced ideologically to the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. In the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must eliminate the pernicious influence of these concepts by deepening the criticism of the reactionary ideas of Lin Piao and Confucius.

In criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we must master the ideological weapon and study hard. Many works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao; Chairman Mao’s numerous penetrating criticisms of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and the idea of worshipping Confucius made in the course of class struggle and struggles between the two lines in the period of the new-democratic revolution and the period of the socialist revolution; the series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — all these are our powerful ideological weapons for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Only when we study conscientiously with a view to criticizing the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius preached by Lin Piao and have a good grasp of Marxism can we deepen the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, make clear distinctions between Marxism and revisionism, between materialism and idealism, between revolution and counter-revolution; only then can we further raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Many good articles, materials and speeches criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius have been written by people who have profound proletarian sentiments and have done their best to arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must keep on doing so.

Chinese history shows that the labouring people have always stood in the van of the struggle against Confucius and are the main force in criticizing Confucius. In the feudal society that lasted several thousand years in China, each of the peasant revolutionary wars invariably dealt blows at Confucius, whom the reactionary ruling classes venerated as the “sage.” Their criticism of Confucius became more and more daring and penetrating. However, as they did not represent the advanced mode of production, they were unable to use scientific revolutionary theory to defeat totally the reactionary Confucian ideology. Only we the proletariat can accomplish this mission. The task of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius which now falls on us workers, peasants and soldiers is a very arduous one. We must emancipate our mind, break with fetishes and superstitions and continue to display the indomitable spirit of the proletariat. We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our weapon to discredit utterly the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and make it the object of universal condemnation. The vast number of revolutionary intellectuals must integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and take an active part in the fight. “The workers, peasants and

soldiers have little schooling and do not understand classical Chinese, they won't be able to make high-standard criticism." This is sheer slander against the workers, peasants and soldiers by bourgeois overlords. The workers, peasants and soldiers have a high level of consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle as well as rich experience in practical struggle. A great number of advanced people daring to fight, good in fighting and full of vigour have already emerged from among the workers, peasants and soldiers in the course of criticizing revisionism and bourgeois world outlook. They will surely make still greater contributions in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

The Party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership and guide the masses in grasping well the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, which is an issue of major importance. Leading cadres must set an

example. We must adhere to the general orientation of the struggle, strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two kinds of contradictions which are different in nature and, in the course of criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, promote and strengthen unity among the masses, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war. We are convinced that with the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and with the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers as the staunch main force, the deepening struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius will win still greater victories.

(A commentary in "Hongqi," No. 2, 1974)

## Lin Piao and the Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius

by the Mass Criticism Group of Peking University  
and Tsinghua University

**I**NSPIRED by the spirit of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in depth. Lenin pointed out that in the acute struggle between the proletariat and the exploiting classes, **"the more varied the exploiters' attempts to uphold the old, the sooner will the proletariat learn to ferret out its enemies from their last nook and corner, to pull up the roots of their domination."** The current vigorous struggle to criticize Confucius is a component part of the criticism of Lin Piao and is precisely a battle to pull up the roots of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Lin Piao's hide-out was flooded with the trash of Confucian ideology and stank of putrid Confucianism. More and more facts show that the reactionary doctrine of Confucius and Mencius was an important source of Lin Piao's revisionism. Lin Piao and company resorted to this reactionary doctrine for restoring capitalism politically, tampering ideologically with the Party's theoretical basis, mustering ranks of counter-revolutionaries organizationally by recruiting deserters and renegades for a diehard clique, tactically playing counter-revolutionary double-dealing tricks and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies. Once Lin Piao's disguise was stripped off, he was exposed for what he was — an out-and-out devout disciple of Confucius.

### **Lin Piao Followed Confucius in Advocating "Self-Restraint and Restoration of the Rites" in His Attempt to Restore Capitalism**

Lin Piao's political line was a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, an ultra-Rightist line of restoration and

retrogression. In his own words, it was "restraining oneself and restoring the rites." In less than three months, between October 1969 and January 1970, Lin Piao and his diehard conspirator wrote four scrolls reading: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and restore the rites." "Restraining oneself and restoring the rites" was the reactionary programme Confucius put forward in order to restore the slave system. In regarding "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" as the most important of all his affairs, Lin Piao revealed his impatience and wolfish ambition to **subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.**

The latter part of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) was a period of tremendous social changes in Chinese history, one of transition from the slave system to feudalism. At that time China was in great disorder. The slaves frequently rose in rebellion. The newly emerging landlords vigorously advocated reforms and waged struggles to seize power from the slave-owners. All this brought the old slave-owning order of "rule of rites" to the brink of total collapse. Taking the stand of the declining slave-owning class, Confucius slandered the excellent situation in which "the rites were lost and music was ruined" as "absence of right principles throughout the country" and put forward his reactionary political programme of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites." By "restoring the rites," he meant suppression of the slave uprisings, opposition to the reform line of the Legalist school representing the newly rising landlord class, and the pulling of so-

ciety backward. He wanted to restore the rule of the slave-owning society of the Western Chou Dynasty (c. 1066-771 B.C.) in accordance with the rites of the Chou Dynasty and the dictatorship of the slave-owners in line with the principle that "ceremonies, music and punitive military expeditions proceed from the son of heaven." He meant to "revive states that were extinct, restore families whose line of succession had been broken, and call to office those who had fallen into obscurity," and to reinstate the overthrown regime of slave-owners and the slave-owning aristocrats who had been deprived of their privileged status, so as to seize back power from the newly rising landlord class. In a nutshell, Confucius' "restoration of the rites" meant restoration of the old order. Lin Piao also attempted a restoration. They had the same counter-revolutionary nature and political needs. That was why Lin Piao grasped at "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" and considered it "most important." His counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and *Outline of Project "571"* are the best explanations of his clamours for the "restoration of the rites."

Lin Piao's "restoring the rites" meant subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lin Piao and his gang rabidly hated this dictatorship and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They slandered the dictatorship of the proletariat which protects the people and suppresses their enemies as "enforcing the laws of Chin Shih Huang," and attacked continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as "creating contradictions." They did their utmost to smear and negate the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and wantonly vilified the new things that have emerged during the Great Cultural Revolution. They slandered the excellent situation and the thriving socialist cause since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution as "crisis-ridden" and "stagnant," and described our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat as dark and dreary. In short, in their eyes, nothing in socialist New China was in keeping with their "rites." Like Confucius, they were all reactionaries who extolled the past to negate the present and advocated retrogression.

Lin Piao's "restoring the rites" was a bid to usurp supreme power in the Party and the state and restore the dictatorship of the landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie. In October 1969, when Lin Piao wrote "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" on a scroll, he echoed Mencius and counselled his sworn followers that "this is most urgent." What did "most urgent" mean in fact? Let's look at the following:

In the winter of 1969, Lin Piao hung on the wall near his bed a scroll in his handwriting: "No ruler of a dynasty can surpass King Wen of Chou. . . ." He styled himself a "sovereign" and alluded himself to "King Wen." He was impatient to realize his dream of becoming an emperor.

In 1970 Lin Piao resisted Chairman Mao's instructions again and again and produced his anti-Party polit-

ical programme, clamouring that "if the state has no head, there will be no right titles and words will not be proper." He was desperately anxious to become "head of the state," and conspired to usurp Party leadership and seize state power. Following that, he launched an abortive counter-revolutionary coup d'etat at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Ninth Central Committee.

In 1971 Lin Piao and company concocted a plan for a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571."* They were impatient to "seize political power throughout the country" and launched the coup in September that year.

These facts prove that the prime purpose of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's "restoring the rites" was to seize supreme power of the Party and the state. This was the "most urgent" of their counter-revolutionary strategies.

The class content of Lin Piao's "restoring the rites" was to establish in China a feudal-comprador-fascist dynasty of the Lin family. Confucius shouted that he wanted to "revive states that were extinct, restore families whose line of succession had been broken, and call to office those who had fallen into obscurity." Internally, Lin Piao picked up this Confucian rubbish, carried out counter-revolutionary activities for a restoration, and rabidly shouted that they wanted to "give political liberation to all" enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat in an attempt to reinstate the landlord and capitalist classes, which were overthrown by our Party, army and people under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and restore capitalism. If that should happen, big and small despotic landlords as Huang Shih- jen and the Tyrant of the South (villains in the modern revolutionary ballets *The White-Haired Girl* and the *Red Detachment of Women* respectively — translator) would once again ride roughshod over the people, and the renegade, enemy agent and traitor Wang Ming and others like him would swaggeringly come back to power and become "guests of honour" of the Lin dynasty. And, thousands upon thousands of revolutionaries would fall victim to the counter-revolutionary butcher's knife, while millions upon millions of workers and peasants would once again be plunged into misery. Internationally, Lin Piao and company acted according to the motto they had taken over from Mencius — "the small states regarded the large as masters" — and engaged in capitulationist, traitorous, counter-revolutionary activities, trying to seek the patronage of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and alignment with imperialism, revisionism and reaction against China, against communism and against revolution. If the plot of Lin Piao, the "super spy," had succeeded, the beautiful land of China would have been trampled upon by the tanks of Soviet revisionism, the social-imperialist gangsters would have run amuck in China, and the Chinese people would have been subjugated and enslaved.

In a word, by picking up and waving the tattered banner of Confucius' "restraining oneself and restoring the rites," Lin Piao attempted to change funda-



mentally the Party's basic line and China's socialist system, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. However, all this was no more than an idiot's daydream.

Chairman Mao has said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind." And Lin Piao was a reactionary of this kind. He intended to ascend the throne as a vassal-king under the "nuclear umbrella" of his master — Soviet revisionism, but crashed to death in the desert. Holding the broken banner of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites," he traversed the road "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom," came to a dead end and went to meet Confucius.

### Using the Reactionary Philosophy of Confucius And Mencius in Opposing Dialectical and Historical Materialism

In an attempt to restore capitalism, Lin Piao had not only a counter-revolutionary political line but a counter-revolutionary ideological line that served it. The reactionary philosophy of Confucius and Mencius was a major source of this ideological line. Lin Piao opposed materialism with the Confucian theory of "heaven's will" and theory of "innate genius," opposed materialist dialectics with the doctrine of the mean, opposed the Marxist theory of classes with the Confucian concept of "virtue, benevolence and righteousness, loyalty and forbearance," and launched an all-out attack on dialectical and historical materialism.

Confucius preached the "heaven's will," alleging that there was a supreme god called *tien* (heaven) who created man and all things on earth and controlled everything in nature and the world of man. His will was irresistible. The slave-owners, like King Wen of the Chou Dynasty, had the power to rule the people because they had a heavenly mandate. Likewise, Duke Chou\* and Confucius had heavenly mandates so that they possessed "virtue" and became "sages" to "enlighten" the people. This religious and theological idealist theory was invented solely for the purpose of preserving the dictatorship of the slave-owners. From this reactionary theory of "heaven's will" Confucius derived his apriorism that some people were "born with knowledge" and his idealist conception of history that heroes were the makers of history. Lin Piao seized the idealist trash of Confucius as treasures in his bid to usurp power and restore capitalism. He wrote a scroll with the words "The heavenly horse flies through the skies, free and alone" and hung it in the centre of the wall by the head of his bed, comparing himself to a heavenly horse, describing himself as a

\* Duke Chou whose name was Tan was a younger brother of King Wu who founded the Western Chou Dynasty. After the death of King Wu, Duke Chou became the regent as King Cheng was still too young. He instituted the rules and systems upholding the dictatorship of the slave-owners of the Chou Dynasty.

dragon-like and exceptionally endowed person, a superman and a genius that heaven had sent to the world of man. In an inscription he wrote to his diehard conspirator, he described the "virtues," which he and his band claimed to have, as "qualities from Heaven." Isn't this the same as Confucius' statement that "Heaven endows me with virtue"? For many years, Lin Piao and his diehard conspirators tried in a hundred and one ways by lies and sophistry to palm off the theory of "innate genius" as Marxism. But this is futile. "Qualities from Heaven," these characters in his own handwriting, showed that his theory of "innate genius" was a replica of Confucius' theory of "heaven's will." In clinging to the theory of "innate genius" which was his anti-Party theoretical programme, he was trying to prove that he was a supreme ruler with a mandate "from Heaven."

Lin Piao argued that "*chung yung*" [the doctrine of the mean] was "rational." This exposed his true nature — opposing the revolution and dialectics. By "*chung yung*" Confucius and Mencius meant that everything should be done according to the "rites"; being neither excessive nor deficient was "*chung*," and maintaining normalcy and constancy was "*yung*." In a word, the doctrine of the mean required that everything should be done according to the old rules of the slave system and the least deviation or change was impermissible. This is a metaphysical theory that reactionary classes use to defend the old system and oppose any changes. Lin Piao lauded this theory to the skies and said it was "rational." Proceeding from this "rationality," Lin Piao viciously cursed that the struggle by the proletarian revolutionary line against the revisionist line "has been excessive" and "entirely leftist," "has gone to the extreme," "has been carried out to extreme" and "has created a mess." What a heap of labels! This, however, cannot in any way tarnish the brilliance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It only serves to show that what Lin Piao upheld was an ultra-Rightist line aimed at preserving the old system and order and turning back the wheel of history. When talking about "being excessive," Lin Piao was opposing the revolution with the Confucian doctrine of the mean. Chairman Mao refuted this fallacy long ago, pointing out that "a revolution is not a dinner party," and that "proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted." Lin Piao cried about "creating a mess." Well, it is only the order of the bourgeoisie and revisionism that has been disrupted. Without disrupting that order, we cannot destroy the old world and create the new. Does it scare the bunch of you that your order is disrupted? Well, this is just the beginning, and much remains to be done before eliminating all exploiting classes in the world. The world outlook of the proletariat is materialist dialectics which "is in its essence critical and revolutionary" (Marx: "Afterword to the Second German Edition of *Capital*"). Whether we foster new things to defeat old ones or use every means to prevent the old things from dying is a major issue in the struggle



between the two lines. Theoretically, this struggle is bound to appear as one between materialist dialectics and metaphysics. Lin Piao used Confucius and Mencius' doctrine of the mean to oppose dialectics. This is an ideological root cause for his pushing an ultra-Rightist line.

Lin Piao said that the "virtue, benevolence and righteousness, loyalty and forbearance" advocated by Confucianism were the principles for "human relations," that this was "historical materialism." He also said that "loyalty, which means treating people with benevolence and love, and forbearance, which means tolerance and forgiveness—these are Confucian principles." He talked about "benevolence and love," entirely removing the class character, and talked about "human relations" while negating class antagonism. He thus used the reactionary theory of human nature of Confucius and Mencius to tamper with and negate the theory of class of historical materialism.

The theory of human nature as preached by the Confucian school is a hypocritical idealist theory. It advocates an apriorist and supra-class human nature. Confucius alleged that "benevolence" meant "to love all men," and Mencius said that man was born in possession of "benevolence" and that "man is born good." Did they love all men irrespective of classes? Not in the least. When the State of Cheng\* killed all the rebelling slaves, did not Confucius commend the slaughter and say "excellent"? Did not Mencius theorize the exploitation of and rule over the slaves and labourers as "a universal principle"? Neither did they love the newly emerging landlord class. As soon as he took office as acting prime minister of the State of Lu\*\*, Confucius killed Shaocheng Mou, a representative of the reformers. Confucius promptly expelled his disciple Jan Chiu, broke off their relation of teacher and student, and instigated his other disciples to attack him because he served the newly emerging landlord class. These proved that the "human love" irrespective of classes, "benevolence" by birth and other notions advocated by Confucius and Mencius were all trash aimed to fool the people. In fact those they loved were the handful of slave-owners of the exploiting classes and the reactionary slave system. While talking about "benevolence and love," Lin Piao in his plan for a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, the *Outline of Project "571,"* viciously plotted to "devour" the proletariat at a mouthful, to assassinate the great leader of the proletariat, overthrow the working people who are now masters of the country, and institute a fascist dictatorship. Those they loved were actually the

handful of class enemies whom we have overthrown. This is Lin Piao's "human nature," also the human nature of the landlord and capitalist classes. A chieftain of the Chiang Kai-shek gang said mournfully two years after Lin Piao's death: "Lin Piao... had relatively more human nature. This is evidence of the Confucian ethics lying deep in men's hearts." This praise by the Chiang Kai-shek gang best explains what Lin Piao's human nature really was.

Doing their utmost to advocate the theory of human nature, the reactionary classes dress themselves up as "virtuous sovereigns" who care for the people so as to hide their man-eating features. On the other hand, they hoist the banner of "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" to denounce the revolutionary violence of the progressive classes. Did not Confucius curse the newly emerging landlord class as "rebels with courage but without righteousness" and the insurgent slaves as "robbers with courage but without righteousness"? Mencius went even farther. He hurled abuses at revolutionary violence, saying "they slaughter men till the fields are filled with bodies," and "they slaughter men till a city is filled with bodies," and they "devour human flesh." He said they should be given capital punishment, crying: "Death is not enough for such a crime." Lin Piao took over the mantle of Confucius and Mencius. With the reactionary theory of human nature as his theoretical basis, he cried: "Those who rely on virtue will thrive and those who rely on force will perish." He accused the dictatorship of the proletariat as "not benevolent." **"You are not benevolent! Quite so. We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes."** The proletariat must resolutely and mercilessly suppress all reactionary elements of the reactionary classes who dare to resist. Otherwise, we shall lose our state power, and the landlord and capitalist classes will come back to power. Did not Lin Piao, under the camouflage of sham benevolence and righteousness, attempt to use counter-revolutionary violence to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat? In dealing with the counter-revolutionary violence of the reactionaries, we have no alternative but, as the saying goes, to deal with a man as he deals with you, namely, use revolutionary violence to suppress counter-revolutionary violence. We must uphold the Marxist theory of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat and persist in the Party's basic line so as to continuously consolidate and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. This is our conclusion.

#### **Resorting to Expediency of the Confucian School, Forming a Clique for Selfish Purposes, Engaging in Intrigues and Conspiracy**

Lin Piao's political line and ideological line were revisionist. This inevitably led him organizationally to carry out splitting activities and form a clique to pursue his selfish interests, and tactically to resort to double dealing and engage in intrigues and conspiracy.

\* A state under the slave system in the Spring and Autumn Period, Cheng was in the southern part of the present Honan Province.

\*\* A state under the slave system in the Spring and Autumn Period, Lu was in the southern part of the present Shantung Province.

In order to entrench himself in the Party and to pull together his counter-revolutionary ranks, waiting for the opportunity to achieve his ambition of "restoring the rites," Lin Piao directed his sworn followers and others to comb through the Four Books and Five Classics\*, histories of China and other countries, and even novels and proverbs for material to help him find ways and means for carrying out his counter-revolutionary conspiracies. All the tricks the slave-owning class and the feudal landlord class had accumulated for their reactionary rule and their double-dealing tactics became his important ideological weapons for carrying out splitting activities and conspiracies.

In an effort to preserve the dying slave system, Confucius said that "a prince should employ his ministers according to propriety and ministers should serve their prince with loyalty," using this as the criterion in handling relations within the ruling clique of slave-owning nobility. That was precisely what Lin Piao practised in his anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao made use of Confucius' trash that "a prince should employ his ministers according to propriety"; but this was only a hypocritical gesture. An out-and-out fascist dictator, Lin Piao made stupendous efforts to establish his "absolute authority." He drew a line between those he favoured and those he disfavoured according to the attitudes shown towards him, and followed the principle that "those who are obedient shall thrive and those who resist shall perish." Yet he played the tune of "employing ministers according to propriety" and put up the signboard of "seeking wise men." The fact is that the "propriety" he talked about meant handing out official posts and making promises and granting special favours, inviting guests and giving them presents, wining and dining, and trafficking in mutual flattery and commendation. In short, it meant using personal

\* The Four Books — four "classical canons" of the Confucians — include the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects of Confucius* and *Mencius*.

The Five Classics refer to the following five Confucian "classics" — the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Book of Change* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Feudal rulers after the Han Dynasty called them the *Five Classics*, using them as an ideological tool to control the people.

The *Book of Songs* is China's earliest collection of songs. It was said that Confucius deleted certain songs in this book.

The *Book of History*, also known as the *Shang Shu*, is a collection of political documents and records of history prior to the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period.

The *Book of Rites* contains the *Rites of Chou*, the *Book of Ceremony* and the *Records of Rites*. The *Rites of Chou* records the stipulations for government offices and functions of officials of the Chou Dynasty. The *Book of Ceremony* records the ceremonies for marriage, funeral, sacrifices and social intercourse during the Chou Dynasty. The *Records of Rites* contains essays on rites by Confucians before the Chin and Han Dynasties.

The *Book of Change*, also known as the *Chou Yi*, is a book for fortune-telling in ancient China.

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* were the annals recording contemporary history written by the State of Lu in the Spring and Autumn Period. Deletions and alterations were made by Confucius to safeguard the slave system.

fame, gains and position as lures to buy over and draw together a group of people to serve his undertaking for a counter-revolutionary restoration. When his sworn followers were exposed by the masses, he used his position and power to shield and protect them and help them slip away unpunished. By "seeking wise men," he meant recruiting deserters, renegades and monsters, organizing a bourgeois headquarters and rigging up big and small counter-revolutionary "fleets" (Lin Piao's secret agencies — translator) to meet the needs of capitalist restoration.

By preaching that "a prince should employ his ministers according to propriety," Lin Piao wanted his sworn followers to act as "ministers serving their prince with loyalty." Like all previous reactionary rulers, Lin Piao used the idea of "loyalty to the prince" as the ideological pillar to maintain his rule in the ranks of counter-revolutionaries. He lauded Confucius and Mencius for their preachings of the concept of "loyalty and filial piety" which meant "respect for superiors" and "obedience," and advocated absolute obedience. He forced members of his secret agencies to swear allegiance and pledge "eternal loyalty" to the Lin family, father and son. Even when the downfall of Lin Piao's anti-Party clique was imminent, he issued the counter-revolutionary order of "success or death," vainly calling on members of his counter-revolutionary "fleets" to die as funerary objects for the "Lin dynasty." These facts show that an important organizational principle of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was the moral obligations and preachings of Confucius and Mencius.

Lin Piao set great store by Confucius' saying: "Want of patience in small matters confounds big plans." He copied it and hung it on the wall as a counter-revolutionary maxim. Towards the many painstaking criticisms and education given him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he nursed his hatred and waited for an opportunity to counter-attack. Plotting to usurp Party leadership and state power, he repeatedly reminded himself "to have patience" so as not to permit the "foolhardiness of common men" to confound his big plan of "restoring the rites" and "spoil one's great plan of a lifetime." Behind the "patience," Lin Piao gritted his teeth, sharpened his knife and watched how the wind blew to achieve his aim. This was actually a repeat performance of the counter-revolutionary trick of "seeking survival in forbearance" of Hu Feng\*\*.

Lin Piao highly valued the "stratagem of *tao hui* (concealment)" in order to "seek survival in forbearance" and realize his "big plan." In March 1970 when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was busy drawing up its scheme to usurp Party leadership and state power, Lin

\*\* Hu Feng was the ringleader of the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the people of the whole country in 1955 exposed and waged struggles against this counter-revolutionary clique hidden in the revolutionary ranks.

Piao directed his diehard conspirator to write the words "tao hui" in one of the notebooks, and personally copied a poem from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* that praises Liu Pei for having deceived Tsao Tsao\* by the "stratagem of tao hui": "Constrained to lodge for a time in the tiger's lair, the hero was alarmed when his ambitions were laid bare. Using the thunderclap to cover up his panic, he rose to the occasion, clever and quick." Here Lin Piao maligned the proletarian headquarters as the "tiger's lair" and compared himself to a "hero" who "lodges for a time in the tiger's lair." This shows that he was a bourgeois careerist and conspirator who nestled beside us. This also shows his ferocious features in using double-dealing tactics to disguise himself and cover up his counter-revolutionary aims and waiting for an opportune moment to execute his murderous plan against the proletarian headquarters.

In order to disguise his real self, he was quick to change to suit the occasion, and he secretly formulated a series of counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics in line with the admonition of Confucius and Mencius, which said: "To love those others hate and to hate those others love. . . . Calamities will certainly come down on him who does so." "A great man may not be true to his words or consistent in his action," "one cannot accomplish great things without telling lies" and "keep a smile on the face"—all these, without adding a single word, are sufficient to vividly expose Lin Piao as a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who "never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened his mouth without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back."

### Why Did the Revisionist Chieftain Lin Piao Seek Help From Confucius and Mencius?

Like chieftains of opportunist lines in the past, Lin Piao was a representative of the bourgeoisie within our Party, a devout worshipper of Confucius. People will naturally ask: Why did a representative of the bourgeoisie seek ideological weapons from the slave-owning and feudal landlord classes? And why do all the revisionist chieftains within the Party invariably seek help from the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius? This is a question worthy of attention.

That the revisionist chieftain Lin Piao and his like worshipped Confucius was not strange at all. It has deep class and historical roots.

\*The *Romance of Three Kingdoms*, a long Chinese historical novel, takes its material from the history between the latter years of the Eastern Han Dynasty and Three Kingdoms (184-280). The author is Lo Kuan-chung who lived in the 14th century.

Liu Pei (161-223) was the founder of the Kingdom of Han (Shu) in the period of the Three Kingdoms. Tsao Tsao (155-220) was the prime minister in the latter years of the Eastern Han Dynasty and father of Tsao Pi who founded the Kingdom of Wei in the period of Three Kingdoms. Tsao Tsao was posthumously given the title Emperor Wu of Wei.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that the devotion of Lin Piao and company to Confucius was closely linked to the historical characteristics and class status of the Chinese bourgeoisie and especially the big bourgeoisie, which they represented. The world entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Chinese bourgeoisie, which then lived in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, had its class character formed right from its inception. The Chinese bourgeoisie was very weak economically and politically, and in the ideological and cultural sphere it was incapable of establishing an ideological system powerful enough to replace feudal culture. The big bourgeoisie, which held the dominant position in old China, grew out of a combination of imperialism and feudalism, and its fundamental character was comprador and feudal in nature. The big bourgeoisie all along stubbornly supported and enthusiastically hawked the imperialist philosophy of enslavement and the feudal culture characterized by the worship of Confucius and the study of Confucian classics. In the period of the socialist revolution when the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the principal internal contradiction in China, whoever dreams of restoring capitalism in China must politically exercise a feudal, comprador and fascist dictatorship, and in the ideological and cultural sphere, seek weapons from imperialism and feudalism. Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and company, who represented the interests of the bourgeoisie, invariably reflected this class character in practising revisionism and resorting to the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. This was especially true of Lin Piao who came from a landlord-capitalist family and who all along refused to remould his world outlook.

Secondly, from the point of view of history, the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius was the ideology of the declining slave-owning class, a highly deceptive ideological system of the exploiting classes. Essentially it stands for retrogression and against progress, for conservatism and against reform, for restoration of the old order and against revolution. It is a doctrine of exploitation and oppression, of staging a counter-revolutionary come-back. It was later utilized by the decadent landlord class and the big bourgeoisie as well as by the imperialists who tried to vanquish China, and it became the dominant ideology in China's feudal society and semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of the past 2,000 years and more, the spiritual fetters used by all the past reactionary rulers to enslave the working people, and the ideological weapon of all reactionaries who conspire for a come-back and oppose communism. Because all the past reactionary rulers energetically advocated and forcibly pushed the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius, this doctrine became an age-old, traditional concept that had penetrated into every sphere of social life in old China. All reactionaries who advocated retrogression invariably took up the tattered banner of worshipping Confucius and used the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius in every possible way to deceive the masses with demagoguery. Therefore, it is not surprising



that all the chieftains of opportunist lines in our Party who opposed the revolution and advocated retrogression should worship Confucius. The revisionist chieftain Lin Piao was a big Party tyrant and big warlord who did not read books, newspapers and documents and who had no learning at all. But he tirelessly collected quotations from Confucius and Mencius and preached their doctrine, because his reactionary thought was the same as that of Confucius and Mencius, his counter-revolutionary nature was to bring about a capitalist restoration, and his vicious desire was to use reactionary traditional ideas in an effort to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, it is quite natural that we criticize the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and the notion of exalting Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school. The current struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a life-and-death struggle

between the two classes and the two lines and an event of paramount importance for the entire Party, the entire army and the people of the whole country. Not to criticize Confucius and the idea of exalting Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school is, in effect, not to criticize Lin Piao. A deep criticism of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and the idea of exalting Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school is of great significance in thoroughly exposing and criticizing the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line, strengthening education in ideological and political line, consolidating and expanding the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and doing a good job in the revolution in the superstructure. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we must develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and win new victories in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius!

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## Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Are the Main Force in Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

*Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the workers, peasants and soldiers are most resolute in breaking with old, traditional ideas and best know how to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Following are reports about their active part in this struggle. — Ed.*

### High Tide of Criticism in A P.L.A. Company

**T**HE Party branch of an anti-chemical warfare company of a P.L.A. unit stationed in Chekiang Province has launched a massive criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. With firm fighting will, commanders and fighters criticized Lin Piao's crimes in using the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius to carry out counter-revolutionary activities for a capitalist restoration.

The commanders and fighters studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works during the traditional Spring Festival and wrote articles and outlines of speeches criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. They held a series of meetings in the squads, platoons and the company, and wrote more than 200 articles. They pledged: "Under the personal leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, we will carry through to the end the socialist revolution in the

superstructure and the struggle against Lin Piao and Confucius."

How did this vigorous struggle of criticism develop in the company?

First, the Party branch enthusiastically helped the fighters understand the nature of the struggle. It gave talks to guide them in making clear the connection between the criticism of Confucius and that of Lin Piao and the relation to today's class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. The commanders and fighters were helped to see what kind of man Confucius was, what his reactionary ideas were, how Lin Piao used the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius—a reactionary ideological weapon—to conspire to usurp Party leadership and state power and restore capitalism, why reactionaries at home and abroad frantically oppose the criticism of Confucius and why they have whipped up an adverse current of exalting Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school. To make these questions clear, cadres and fighters had animated discussions. They pointed out that criticism of Confucianism is an important component of criticism of Lin Piao and an acute class struggle and struggle between the two lines. It is of profound immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance for consolidating and developing the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, opposing restoration

and retrogression, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and dealing blows at imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Commanders and fighters of the company expressed firm class hatred for the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. The fighters said: "Confucius wanted to restore the rites and Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism; they were one of a kind." "Criticizing Lin Piao without repudiating Confucius is like cutting weeds without removing the roots." Members of a platoon said: "For more than 2,000 years, the reactionary ideas of Confucius have been used to poison the minds of the labouring people and impede the progress of revolution. We

must completely eliminate Confucius' pernicious influence and propel the revolution forward."

Second, the Party branch guided all members of the company to do away with all fetishes and superstitions, emancipate their minds and strengthen their determination and confidence to be the main force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. They discussed such questions as: "Are the workers and peasants capable of criticizing books by Confucius and Mencius which are very difficult to read and understand?" and "Does the criticism of Confucius concern only cultural and educational circles, historians and the leadership?" They raised their understanding and enhanced their confidence and determination after doing the following three things:

One. They studied the instructions given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and restudied the passages from the documents of the Tenth Party Congress dealing with grasping class struggle in the superstructure, thereby arming themselves politically and ideologically.

Two. They familiarized themselves with instances of how the working people in Chinese history struggled against Confucius and discussed the great role of the workers, peasants and soldiers since liberation in criticizing feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. In this way they came to see their own strength. Fighters in the tenth squad said: "The working people are the makers of history. It is they who have overthrown the reactionary ruling classes one after another. The Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao bourgeois headquarters were both shattered by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. How can it be said that we the working people lack strength?" Medical orderly Chao



Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius at a P.L.A. anti-chemical warfare company.

Hsueh-chung said: "The working people suffered most from the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. They hate it the most once they see its reactionary essence, and their criticism is most penetrating."

Three. They further emancipated their minds and drew more encouragement by criticizing Confucius' idealist conception of history represented by his preaching that there are "the highest, who are wise, and the lowest, who are stupid." Fighter Wang Shou-hao said: "In the past I used to consider myself dumb and obtuse. Now I realize those with rich practical experience are the wisest and most talented. That concept of Confucius' was a vicious slander against the working people."

Third, the Party branch guided the commanders and fighters to link the criticism with concrete struggles. They were unanimous that the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius must be linked with reality. To do this, it is necessary first of all to link this criticism with the conspiracies and crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, putting particular stress on criticizing the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line. This is the main reality to deal with.

They also agreed that to link the criticism with concrete struggles it is necessary to grasp the cardinal issues in the current struggle between the two lines, criticize the Right deviationist trend of thought which negates the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, opposes new socialist things and tries to turn back the wheel of history. If these errors are not criticized, it is impossible to carry out Chairman Mao's instructions, put into practice the principles laid down at the Tenth Party Congress and grasp well ideological and political work in the armed forces.

The fighters said that it was also necessary to combat the influence of the reactionary thinking of Con-

fucius and Mencius, break with old, traditional ideas and remould one's world outlook. They said: "If careerists in the future use the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius to conspire to turn back the wheel of history, we will be able to see through their machinations and fight them once we have wiped out the evil influence of Confucius and Mencius and sharpened our vision."

Cadres in the company led the fighters in their conscientious studies and criticisms. Hsu Pan-chung, secretary of the Party branch and political instructor of the company, roundly criticized the bourgeois theory of human nature preached by Lin Piao in connection with the "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" preached by Confucius and Mencius. He said: "In the old society, my father worked as a hired labourer for landlords for more than two decades. He was barely able to keep himself alive. But no landlord showed any benevolence. Thousands upon thousands of poor people died of cold and starvation in the old society. But none of the capitalists showed any benevolence. Lin Piao preached the reactionary absurdities of Confucius and Mencius in his criminal plot to usurp Party leadership and state power and restore capitalism. This shows Lin Piao and Confucius had the same reactionary ideas and both were arch enemies of the working people."

After studying the teachings of Marx and Engels that the reactionaries' purpose in spreading the idealist conception of history was to prove that "the final answer is that the noble, wise, and learned ones should rule," they pointed out that Confucius advocated that some were "born with knowledge" in order to dress himself up as a "sage" representing the will of heaven and to restore the reactionary rule of the slave-owning class. As for Lin Piao, he peddled the theory of "innate genius" to palm himself off as a "genius" so that he could "command everything" and let the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes once again ride on the backs of the people. Comparing the fallacies of Lin Piao with those of Confucius, the fighters discussed and criticized them one by one, and their fighting will grew in the course of such criticism.

The company's commanders and fighters have further raised their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. After criticizing the concept that "he who excels in learning can be an official" and other fallacies peddled by Confucius and Lin Piao's venomous slanders against educated young people settling in the countryside, the commanders and fighters wrote revolutionary letters to their families to encourage their relatives to follow the road charted by Chairman Mao unswervingly. All this enabled them to be more conscious of resisting bourgeois ideology and developing the style of plain living and hard struggle. Thanks to the strengthening of their revolutionary unity and sense of organization and discipline, work in various fields in the company is forging ahead vigorously as never before.

## Shanghai Workers Active In the Struggle

WORKERS in China's biggest industrial city Shanghai are full of militancy in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Workers at the Cast Steel Section of the No. 2 Electric Furnace Workshop in the No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill, an advanced collective among Shanghai's iron and steel enterprises in studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, overcame difficulties in reading the *Analects* of Confucius, *Mencius*, *Great Learning* and *Doctrine of the Mean* in classical Chinese to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao's crime in using the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius to restore capitalism. They collected 250 examples of fallacious viewpoints from these books and criticized them in relation to Lin Piao's reactionary views. The more they criticized, the more clearly they recognized that Lin Piao was a devout disciple of Confucius.

The workers in this section, more than 200 in all, have in the past few years read the four volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and other Marxist-Leninist works. They used the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to roundly criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

One of the workers said at a criticism meeting: "Lin Piao and Confucius were sworn enemies of the working people. We workers will stand at the forefront in the struggle to criticize them. We workers are determined not only to overthrow all systems of exploitation of man by man but to criticize thoroughly the ideologies of all exploiting classes."

Workers at the Chiuhsin Shipyard, who have persevered in studying Chairman Mao's works for a long time, in the past few months criticized Lin Piao's concept of "innate genius" and fallacies that viciously slander the workers and peasants by linking them to the sinister stuff spread by Confucius and Mencius such as some are "born with knowledge" and "those who labour with their minds govern others, those who labour with their strength are governed by others." The criticism was focused on the struggle between defending socialism and attempts to restore capitalism.

Workers at the Electric Appliance Workshop read up material by domestic and foreign reactionaries extolling Confucius and compared it to Lin Piao's praise of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. This helped them see more clearly that Lin Piao wanted capitalist restoration and retrogression. They said: "The reactionaries want retrogression and restoration, so they worship Confucius. We want to advance and make revolution, so we must criticize Lin Piao and Confucius."

A veteran worker at the Shanghai Grinding Wheel Plant recalled that when he was a boy he had studied *San Tzu Ching*, an elementary textbook in classical



Chinese, which begins with "When a man is born, his nature is good." He and his workmates said: "This is the so-called 'theory of human nature' and idealist apriorism of the exploiting classes spread by Confucius and Mencius. They are the same as Lin Piao's reactionary theories."

With this as their starting point, the workers combined criticism of Lin Piao with criticism of Confucius. In their spare time they looked up material on the words and deeds of Confucius and Mencius and criticized them by linking them with the contents of the *Outline of Project "571,"* the plan for a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état drawn up by Lin Piao and his gang. The more they criticized, the deeper they went, and they clearly saw that Lin Piao's reactionary ideas were exactly the same as those of Confucius.

Veteran worker Huang Chin-tao, who has had only three years of schooling, read and collected articles from newspapers and took an active part in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. He also discussed the criticisms with his children at home.

Workers in many enterprises have organized study classes and held meetings to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. The workers said: "Lin Piao and Confucius sang the same tune and took the same road. Confucius advocated 'restraining oneself and restoring the rites' and Lin Piao explicitly said that 'of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and restore the rites.' He wrote this on a scroll and hung it in his bedroom. This shows that, like Confucius, he dreamt all the time of a counter-revolutionary restoration. Lin Piao considered capitalist restoration the most important thing. We the working class and revolutionary people must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against this. We must bear in mind Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and never forget that the most important thing of all is to combat and prevent revisionism."

## Peking Peasants Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius

POOR and lower-middle peasants and other members of the Hsuchiawu Production Brigade in Peking's outlying Pingku County held a meeting on the evening of January 28 to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Many of them were eager to take the floor the moment the meeting started.

Yang Ching-chuan, leader of Production Team No. 2, said: "Confucius was the dutiful son of the



Members of a commune in Honan Province denounce Lin Piao and the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius at a meeting.

reactionary slave-owning class, and Lin Piao was the dutiful son of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Both wanted to reinstate the overthrown reactionary classes. Anxious to see the slave-owners back in power, Confucius talked about the 'heaven's will,' 'the highest, who are wise, and the lowest, who are stupid' and uttered such nonsense as whether one belonged to the highest or lowest order was preordained and therefore could not be changed. In other words, a slave-owner should always remain a slave-owner and a slave for ever a slave. Then there was Lin Piao who described himself as a 'genius,' a 'heavenly horse,' saying he had a 'good head' which was 'especially clever.' He dreamt of becoming an emperor and worked for capitalist restoration."

"Heaven's will indeed!" Chen Yung-hsiang, secretary of the brigade's Party branch who presided at the meeting, cut in. "All this is bunk meant to fool us labouring masses. Remember the seven landlord households in our village? Before liberation, didn't they keep singing the tune of Confucius that they were 'born under a lucky star' and therefore were entitled to 'enjoy' while we poor and lower-middle peasants were 'born under an unlucky star' and were destined to 'suffer'? Hooey! 'Lucky star' 'unlucky star' my foot! What they had in mind was to make us work willingly for them like beasts of burden. Led by our great leader Chairman Mao, we carried out land reform and overthrew all seven landlords. Where are their 'lucky stars' now? And where are our 'unlucky stars' now? How did this change come about? It has nothing to do

with 'lucky or unlucky stars,' it's the revolution that counts. This Lin Piao and his gang talked about 'heaven's will' to oppose revolution and progress. His intention was to pull us back into the evil old society. But he was only daydreaming!"

Chia Huai-tung, deputy leader of Production Team No. 3, said: "And this same Lin Piao also viciously attacked the proletarian dictatorship with the rubbish he found in his master's sayings. He talked about 'virtue,' 'benevolence and love,' 'loyalty and forbearance,' hoping we would 'love men' irrespective of the classes they belonged to. Chairman Mao told us long ago: **There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes.**' This is absolutely true! There is no supra-class love or hatred. Confucius talked glibly about 'benevolence, righteousness and virtue,' but he had a knife in his hand all the time. Only seven days after he became an official he killed a reformer called Shaocheng Mou who opposed slavery. What Confucius loved was the handful of slave-owners and what he hated was the broad masses of slaves and reformers. Now about Lin Piao and his plan for a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project '571'*. In it he planned to kill the revolutionary people and 'liberate' the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists under our dictatorial rule.

Isn't it very clear who this fellow loved and who he hated?"

Yang Feng-hsien, a 59-year-old poor peasant, said: "I worked for a landlord in the old society. That landlord liked to quote Confucius' sayings. He had a tongue as sweet as honey and a heart as venomous as a scorpion. He often told us: 'Compromise and patience are the best. You must be patient in everything and learn to give in. In this way you'll be able to keep yourself out of trouble.' This fellow wanted to bleed us white and at the same time told us not to revolt. This is what Confucius and Lin Piao meant by 'love all men.' It is the great Communist Party of China, it is our great leader Chairman Mao, it is socialism and it is the revolution that really love and take good care of us labouring people. In the old society, not one of my forefathers was literate and after they had a meal they didn't know when they'd have the next. Today, in our new society, all my six children have gone to school, some are now teachers themselves. But this Lin Piao picked up the rubbish of Confucius and tried to make us docile and submissive. He wouldn't let us struggle against the reactionaries so that he and his gang could practise revisionism and drive us back to the old society. . . ."

"That can't be done!" echoed the angry crowd.

It was getting late, but the meeting continued as many people wanted to have their say.

## Soviet Revisionists' Foreign Policy Up Against Stone Wall Everywhere

SOVIET revisionist chieftain Leonid Brezhnev and company have recently been incessantly bragging about their achievements in foreign affairs, with special emphasis on last year when Brezhnev himself travelled abroad extensively. According to them, 1973 "was seen in a halo of real grandeur"; it "was an outstanding year" in the whole postwar history and "is going down in history as one of the most brilliant pages," and so on and so forth.

Is this really the way things stand? No! Harsh facts show that Brezhnev's foreign policy has run up against a stone wall everywhere, and 1973 witnessed the biggest Soviet failures in foreign affairs since Brezhnev took power. The self-glorification of Brezhnev and company is only a cover for their difficulties at home and abroad.

The essence of the Soviet revisionists' foreign policy is expansionism as shown by the fact that they have stretched their claws into Europe, the Middle East and anywhere they can reach in their contention for world hegemony with U.S. imperialism. For all its cloaks of

"peace" and "co-operation" and its chanting about "detente," this reactionary nature of Soviet revisionist foreign policy cannot be covered up. In his vigorous "detente offensive," Brezhnev travelled widely last year in the capacity of party general secretary, visiting eight countries in Europe, America and Asia, only to reveal more clearly the ferocious features of Soviet revisionism in its bid for world hegemony and arouse the vigilance and opposition of the world's people. Things are getting increasingly worse for Soviet revisionism.

### Soviet-U.S. "Co-operation" and "Detente" Hoax Explodes

In contending for world hegemony with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist clique has always given Soviet-U.S. relations top priority in foreign policy. Following the 1972 Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, Brezhnev went to the United States last June for new talks with Richard Nixon. Brezhnev and company made a big fanfare about the talks in the belief that by means of such an imaginary "detente"

after the talks they could hoodwink the people, lull the vigilance of the adversary, divide Western Europe and dominate the world.

The talks, however, turned out to be quite void of content despite all the publicity. True, twelve documents were signed between the two parties, but most were just an empty show. The "treaty for preventing nuclear war," which received the most publicity, does not commit the two parties to renouncing the use of nuclear weapons, let alone the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Moreover, either party could, in its own interest, carry out intervention and even launch a war against other countries on the pretext of "safeguarding international peace" and "security."

The results of the talks and the arms race between the two overlords, the Soviet Union and the United States, and their large-scale overt contention and covert struggle all over the world after the talks fully bared the deceitful propaganda of Brezhnev and his gang. Far from hoodwinking the world's people, they only succeeded in revealing even more clearly their own features as social-imperialists. Instead of lulling the vigilance of their adversary, they only aggravated the contention between them. Instead of splitting Western Europe, they only aroused greater misgivings and uneasiness among the West European and some East European countries. Instead of dominating the world, they only aroused greater indignation and opposition from the Third World, thus landing themselves in a more passive position and greater isolation in the world.

The nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States grows more intense from day to day. The strategic arms limitation talks in Geneva are deadlocked. In South Asia, one heads southward while the other moves northward to block it. In Europe, one is out to undermine the North Atlantic alliance while the other infiltrates into the former's "big community." In the Middle East, they are locked in a fierce battle. The thwarted Soviet revisionists are now plotting a counter-attack.

All this shows that the Soviet-U.S. "co-operation" and "detente" so loudly trumpeted by Brezhnev and company is a sheer hoax which has evaporated like soap bubbles.

### **Efforts to Dominate Europe Fail**

Europe is a key strategic area in the Soviet revisionists' contention for world hegemony with U.S. imperialism. In their tactics for Europe, they feverishly try to create an atmosphere of "detente" while ceaselessly building up their military strength in Europe. Combining hard with soft tactics, they try to consolidate their position as an overlord in Eastern Europe while attempting to undermine the U.S. position in Western Europe and divide the countries there.

Brezhnev loudly called for convening the European security conference, regarding it as a chief tactical means in realizing the Soviet revisionists' schemes. Flaunting the signboard of "setting up a system for European col-

lective security," they try to consolidate de jure Moscow's existing sphere of influence in Europe through the European security conference while lulling the West by creating a false sense of security. However, the proceedings at the conference upset the Soviet revisionists' smug calculations.

At the conference, some small and medium-sized European countries denounced the lies about "security" and "co-operation" spread by the superpowers, Soviet revisionism in particular, and unanimously demanded a guarantee of genuine security and independence for the European countries. Speaking in one voice and taking concerted action for the first time, the nine states of the European Community at the conference thwarted the Soviet revisionists' efforts on key questions under dispute and threw them into a very awkward position.

The Soviet revisionists wanted a "declaration" of the European security conference to consolidate their vested interests and sphere of influence in Europe, but the West European countries rejected a permanent status quo in Europe. The Soviet revisionists wanted to soften up the West with the bait of "security" and "detente," but the latter insisted on "free exchange" of ideas between the people of Eastern and Western Europe as a "basic condition" for achieving "European security." Grave differences brought the first-stage session of the European security conference to a hasty close with no results, while the second-stage session proceeded like a "dialogue among the deaf." This crushed the Soviet revisionists' hope to make the conference "wind up with successful and effective results" by holding a third-stage session at the end of last year.

The Soviet revisionists' foreign policy of disintegrating Western Europe and "divide and rule" has produced diametrically opposite results. The leaders and public opinion of Western Europe not only refused to be taken in by the Soviet revisionists' honeyed words about "security" and "co-operation," they also exposed the new tsars of the Kremlin as double-dealers seeking sham peace but real expansion, sham security but real hegemony and sham disarmament but real arms expansion. A distinct feature of developments in Western Europe last year was the heightened vigilance of various West European countries against Soviet revisionism. In these circumstances, the contradictions between some West European countries and Soviet revisionism have been further intensified instead of being relaxed.

There has been a swift strengthening of the trend of Western Europe's union against hegemony, primarily against Soviet revisionist hegemonism. Membership in the European Community, the main basis of Western Europe's union, has increased from six to nine amid a torrent of denunciation from Moscow. Proposed by French President Georges Pompidou, the summit conference of the nine European Community members took place last December. The conference decided to speed up steps to proceed from an economic union of Western Europe to a political-military union. All this took Brezhnev and company by surprise.



The West European press pointed out that this development, particularly France's attack on Soviet expansionist ambitions and France's change in attitude towards the question of West European union, constituted "a telling blow to Moscow." This is because France has been regarded as having "special relations" with the Soviet Union.

### Repeated Setbacks in Middle East

The Soviet revisionists have long been doing their utmost to maintain a situation of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East to facilitate their control and penetration of the Arab states and strengthen their own hand in their contention for hegemony with U.S. imperialism.

After signing a so-called treaty of "friendship and co-operation" with an Arab country in 1972, the Soviet revisionists tried to induce another Arab country to sign a similar treaty last year but were sternly rejected. Espionage and subversive activities by the Soviet revisionists in a number of Arab countries have been repeatedly brought to light.

Last October, the Arab people broke through the obstacles of the Soviet revisionists and shattered the "no war, no peace" deadlock by their courageous war against aggression. But in order to carry out Middle East expansion, the Soviet revisionists worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in hatching a ceasefire and imposed once again the yoke of "no war, no peace" on the Arab people in an attempt to stamp out the flames of the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people to restore their territorial integrity and achieve their national rights. Some Soviet revisionist chieftains travelled back and forth between a number of states in the Middle East to realize this scheme. However, the Kremlin's big-power politics at the expense of other countries' interests has further aroused the Arab world's indignation. The Arab people have come to see more and more clearly that Soviet revisionism is a sinister enemy and that they can liberate their occupied territory only by relying on their own efforts.

Not only has Soviet revisionism met a chilly reception from the Arab countries, with which its contradictions have developed continuously. Moreover, it has lost the initiative in contending with U.S. imperialism and has been relegated to an inferior position. After the Middle East ceasefire, it desperately attempted to send troops to the region and seize the opportunity for a military occupation of some Arab states. Outwardly strong but inwardly weak, it beat a hasty retreat in the face of the U.S. order for a "global alert." At present, it is actually excluded from the handling of Middle East problems. This is something it will not reconcile itself to.

The Arab people's further awakening and Soviet revisionism's self-exposure have made it even harder for Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to achieve its hegemonic ambitions in the Middle East region.

### "Asian Collective Security System" — No Sale

Taking advantage of the reduced U.S. presence in Asia after defeat in the war of aggression against Viet

Nam, Soviet revisionism has been intensifying expansion in the region to fill the "vacuum." Last year witnessed its most feverish efforts at peddling the "Asian collective security system." It openly declared this system would "most likely approach its solution" in 1973. To establish this system, it made Japan and India key points in its foreign affairs.

Last October Brezhnev invited Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to visit the Soviet Union and was snubbed when he tried to make Japan swallow the bait. Tanaka openly stated that "the idea [about the 'Asian collective security system'] is premature when one considers Asian peace and stability in a realistic way. Moreover, in the circumstances, it might complicate the Asian situation."

Brezhnev then visited India in November in the hope that India would openly support the "Asian collective security system." This also proved fruitless. The Indian-Soviet joint declaration has only empty words for "development of mutual benefit and co-operation" in Asia, without even mentioning the "Asian collective security system." So far, with the exception of Mongolia which is beating the drums for this system, almost none of the over 30 Asian countries has explicitly accepted the Soviet revisionists' proposal. Many have openly declared that they "will not participate in," "do not approve of," "cannot accept" or "are not interested in" the "Asian collective security system."

In Asia, the "southward" strategy of expansion in South Asia and the gulf area so painstakingly worked out by Soviet revisionism has met with repeated setbacks. Its scheme to further dismember Pakistan in order to obtain a land passage from Central Asia to the Indian Ocean has been exposed, and has aroused the indignation of the Pakistan people and the opposition of other Asian countries. It has also failed in its ambition to seize strategic places and oil resources in the gulf area. Iran, Pakistan and Turkey are actively strengthening their common defence capabilities. One after another, the gulf states have pointed out that the Soviet Union is "an imperialist country" and that they must "unite" against this "more dangerous enemy."

\* \* \*

Developments are independent of the Soviet revisionists' will. Lenin pointed out: "**The bourgeoisie are behaving like bare-faced plunderers who have lost their heads; they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom.**" The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are such fools. The follies and scandals of Brezhnev and his bunch have aggravated their predicament in foreign affairs and intensified the contradictions at home. The diplomatic "achievements" the Brezhnev clique boasts of are pure hallucination. As the verse goes, "flowers fall off, do what one may," the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists will inevitably suffer still more disastrous failures in their policy of aggression and expansion abroad.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

# India's Food Crisis

by Kuo Chih

INDIA has been experiencing a food crisis for many years, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi recently had to admit that the economy was in a difficult period.

## Hunger

Though India is an agricultural country — most of the population are engaged in farming — over 200 million of its more than 500 million urban and rural population go hungry. According to one report, 14 of the country's 21 states were seriously short of food, the worst being the states of Maharashtra, Kerala, West Bengal, Bihar and Rajasthan. Up to last September, in Maharashtra (population: over 50 million) alone 20 million people left their homes because they could not make a living. In Bihar (population: 56 million) about 28 million people in two-thirds of the villages were threatened by famine. Even in Andhra Pradesh (population: 43 million) which used to have a grain surplus there were over 30 million suffering from hunger. Many people in these 14 states had to get along on wild fruit, grass roots and bark.

The food problem is what the Congress Party has all along failed to resolve throughout its rule in the last two decades and more. The seriousness of the food shortage and the frequency of famine in India have seldom been equalled in the world.

India has a total of over 300 million acres of cultivated land, three-fourths of which grow food crops. But annual grain output in the first few years of the sixties remained at around 80 million tons. It once reached 89 million tons (in 1964), but that year still saw a nationwide famine. In the two years that followed, output again dipped to 72 million and 74 million tons respectively. Famine became even more serious and reached tragic proportions with people starving to death all over the country. Fiscal 1970-71 saw the highest annual grain yield since independence, an output of 107 million tons as a result of rather favourable weather conditions. Nevertheless, India was still far from self-sufficient in grain and had to import massive "surplus" U.S. grain. From 1947 to 1970 it imported more than 97.8 million tons of grain worth over 45,600 million rupees.

## Harsh Exploitation

The big feudal lords in India hold large sectors of the land and the peasants are heavily exploited. Feudal and backward relations of production have seriously tied down the development of the productive forces.

The rural population constitutes 80 per cent of the total. Landlords and rich peasants who make up 10 per cent of the rural population own 85 per cent of the land, whereas poor peasants and farm-hands and

middle peasants who form the rest of the population in the countryside possess only around 15 per cent of the land; over 70 per cent of the rural population are impoverished peasants without any land or owning less than an acre. The extremely harsh feudal exploitation and exorbitant levies by the Indian Government force the peasants into heavy debt and make it impossible for them to exist. Forced to flee the countryside, they leave large tracts of land lying in waste.

India's states have cut the amount of grain ration for their inhabitants over and over in view of the shortage. In Maharashtra, for example, the ration was slashed from the monthly seven kilogrammes per head to four; in Kerala every adult is actually given as little as 100 grammes daily. Since the government there gives dealers handling the rations only enough grain for a week's allowance every month, people have to rush to line up for their ration. Even then they can't get the amount they are supposed to. The black market price of grain keeps rising — wheat per kilogramme at the official price costs 1.5 rupees, on the black market it is as much as five.

India has abundant rainfall and fertile land. Except for regions in the north, it is frost free and generally two to three crops can be grown in a year. But because the Indian authorities have paid little attention to water conservancy, there have been endless minor natural disasters and quite a number of big ones.

Peasants are left at the mercy of the elements. In 1972 the country was hit by the worst drought in half a century and last year the worst flood since 1955. The result was many crops were not gathered. In Rajasthan in western India, for instance, harvests in autumn 1972 and in spring 1973 were only 5 per cent of those in an ordinary year, with a crop failure as high as 95 per cent! Though last year's autumn harvest was somewhat better, it could in no way alleviate the extremely serious food crisis.

## Fight for Right to Survive

The Indian people's battle against hunger and for the right to survive is mounting daily. The broad masses in the city and the countryside continuously staged strikes and demonstrations in protest against the government's food policy, demanding an increase in the grain ration and lower food prices. In Kerala students were forced to seize grain by violence and the Indian Government closed all universities and colleges at the end of last July.

(Continued on p. 21.)

# ROUND THE WORLD

## TANZANIA

### U.S. Fleet in Indian Ocean Protested

The Youth League of the Tanganyika African National Union (T.Y.L.) held a demonstration on February 4 in Dar-es-Salaam condemning and protesting the presence of the U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean.

Thirty thousand Tanzanian youth, students and young workers led by P.S. Qorro, Chairman of T.Y.L., gathered in front of T.Y.L. headquarters, marched through the main streets of the capital and held a mass rally before the U.S. Embassy. A statement condemning the presence of the U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean was read out and handed to an embassy official.

The Youth League of the Zanzibar Afro-Shirazi Party held a similar demonstration on Zanzibar Island February 4 and handed the U.S. Consulate in Zanzibar a written protest.

The United States and Britain have agreed in principle to expand anchorage, airfields and other facilities on the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, according to an official British announcement. This signifies that this small island in the centre of the Indian Ocean will soon become an important U.S. naval and air base.

## SOVIET UNION

### Espionage Activities

Recent articles in some Thai journals and papers have revealed that the Soviet Union sent large numbers of spies under various covers to foreign countries to collect intelligence and engage in subversive activities.

*The Nation* (newspaper) said on February 1 that Soviet spies expelled by Britain in 1971 have been sent to Southeast Asian countries for espionage activities. One of the 105 Soviet agents expelled at that time, Victor T. Veklenko arrived in

Bangkok on May 29, 1972. "He had been asked by the Thai Foreign Ministry to leave when it was found he had been expelled from Britain," the paper said.

Veklenko left Thailand for the Soviet Union two months ago, and returned to Bangkok last week as Third Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Thailand.

Another British-expelled Soviet spy, Eduard V. Ustenko, turned up in the capital of a Southeast Asian country in February 1972.

The journal *Capital of Thailand* pointed out that after the recent unearthing of Soviet agents in China, a Soviet embassy air attache in Britain was recalled to the Soviet Union because he was found to have tried to get an Arab diplomat to become a spy in London. The First

Secretary of the Soviet Embassy was expelled from Ghana after being caught spying by the Ghanaian military authorities. (See *Peking Review*, No. 5, p. 20.)

The journal also reported the Singapore espionage case after large sums of "loans" were given to "merchants" by the Soviet Embassy and the Moscow Bank in Singapore as well as the expulsion of Soviet agents from Hongkong.

The journal noted that according to incomplete British figures, in the last ten years 36 countries in the 6 continents had caught Soviet diplomats red-handed and expelled them for espionage and other relevant activities.

## BRITAIN

### General Election Ahead of Time

British Prime Minister Edward Heath announced on February 7 that a general election will be held February 28.

Britain's present system provides that the Parliament is elected every

## "VOICE OF MALAYAN REVOLUTION"

### 25th Anniversary of Malayan Liberation Army Marked

In an editorial on January 31 marking the 25th anniversary of Malayan National Liberation Army Day (February 1), the Voice of Malayan Revolution Radio called on the entire Party and army to unite and fight to further develop the people's war.

The editorial said: The Malayan National Liberation Army was born in the flames of the national-liberation war against Britain. It is a true people's army led by the Malayan Communist Party and a tool to carry out the programme and line of the Party. Its sole aim is to serve the people of various nationalities of our country wholeheartedly.

The editorial said: Persisting in the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and seizing state power by armed force, our army has resolutely carried out the revolu-

tionary line of carrying the armed struggle through to the end and fought valiantly and tenaciously in order to develop the people's war extensively. Surmounting numerous difficulties and smashing enemy sabotage and obstruction, our army has victoriously marched southward, setting up new bases and guerrilla zones and winning great victories. The victorious development of the revolutionary armed struggle has dealt heavy blows to imperialism and its lackeys, enormously inspired the broad masses of the people and vigorously pushed forward the rapid development of the mass struggle in various forms.

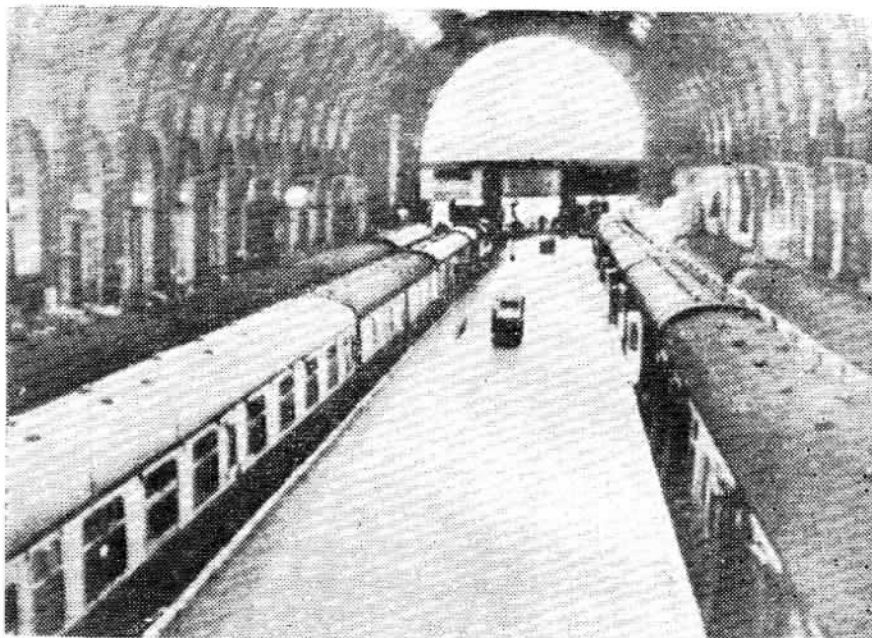
In conclusion, the editorial said: Let us hold high the banner of fighting in unity and, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Chen Ping, strive for the further development of the people's war and for new victories!



five years. The coming election will be 16 months ahead of time, since the last took place on June 28, 1970.

Political instability and rapid economic deterioration mark the present situation in Britain. The annual rate of inflation for 1973 rose to 11 per cent, while the balance of payments deficit was 1,500 million pounds. The value of the pound sterling dropped more than 20 per cent in terms of other major Western currencies last year.

British workers called 2,854 strikes last year, demanding wage increases and protesting skyrocketing prices. This cost British monopoly capitalists 7,173,000 work-days. The over-time ban insisted on by 270,000 coal miners for three months running and the two-month go-slow by 29,000 train drivers are the continuation and development of the British workers' struggles to safeguard their right to live. The coal miners decided to start a nationwide strike beginning February 10, while train drivers are persisting in their work-to-rule strike



London railway station: idle trains, empty platform.

and regional strikes. This means a heavy blow to monopoly capital.

Commenting on the coming general election, the British press pointed out that it will be held in a crisis atmosphere and that it is likely to be "the

hardest fight and bitterest since the 1930s." Explaining the reason for an early election, Prime Minister Edward Heath said in a TV broadcast: "As a country, we face grave problems at home and abroad."

(Continued from p. 19.)

On August 2, over 3,000 people in the same state paraded, demanding an increase in the grain ration. The police fired on them, killing and wounding several, and arrested more than 1,000. In Bombay, shops selling grain and spices suspended business from time to time because the masses had put pressure on them to reduce prices of such necessities as grain and edible oil. In Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Mysore, hungry people often forcibly seized grain and fought the police; the government found it difficult to bring things under control and imposed many night curfews.

To ease the crisis, the Indian Government introduced what it called a "green revolution" which mainly consisted of measures to increase production (mainly wheat) by improved farming techniques and strains while maintaining the feudal exploitation in relations of production. The masses of impoverished peasants who find it difficult to feed themselves are in no position to make investments and increase output. Though the Indian Government has given much publicity to its so-called "green revolution," the grain shortage has not been solved in the slightest. Instead, it has become more serious daily.

#### Soviet Revisionism's "Generosity"

Having failed to solve the food problem, the Indian Government has no alternative but to rely on large

imports. Between 1972 and the first half of 1973 grain imports reached 4 million tons and in the latter part of last year more than 4 million tons had to be imported. Foreign exchange reserves which are already nearly exhausted continue dwindling. India begged Soviet revisionism to lend it some of the wheat the latter had imported, to be returned in two to three years. This was rejected.

However, on the eve of Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev's visit to India last year, Moscow suddenly offered to lend India 2 million tons of grain. The Soviet revisionists themselves had an acute grain shortage and had to import annually huge amounts from the West. So why this "generosity"? The British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* provided the answer. The loan, it seemed, had a political motive behind it, the paper said. Both the offer and Brezhnev's visit were nothing but an attempt to make India further serve the Soviet revisionist policy of aggression and expansion.

This loan of 2 million tons of grain Soviet revisionism offered can in no way help India solve the food crisis. On the contrary, it will only make India more dependent on Soviet revisionism and cause the Indian economy to deteriorate further. India's serious grain shortage will inevitably continue and grow still worse.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## Great Changes in Peking's Industry

PROPELLED by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Peking's industrial production in 1973 trebled that of 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution started.

Great changes have taken place in the city's industry in the last several years. Raw material, fuel, power and other basic industries have been expanded, capacity of processing industries raised, and new petro-chemical production departments added. Output of many important products, such as steel, motor vehicles, machine tools, turbo-generators, synthetic fibres, watches, transistor radios has risen several times and in some cases dozens of times. Tens of thousands of new products and new varieties have been trial-produced and gone into production. Peking has become one of China's industrial bases with a relatively complete complement of industries.

Guided by the general principle for developing the national economy —

**"Take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor"** — set down by Chairman Mao, development of Peking's industry has been speeded up. In the past, Liu Shao-chi and his gang spread the fallacy that "supporting agriculture would affect raising the industrial level" and cut down on many industries producing goods required by agriculture in the capital, thus hampering both agriculture and industry. Since the Great Cultural Revolution began, the masses of workers and staff repudiated their revisionist fallacies and correctly handled the relationship between agriculture and light and heavy industry. Compared with 1965, output of chemical fertilizers, insecticides, farm machines and implements, and other products supporting agriculture nearly went up two to ten times in 1973.

Light industry which has close connections with agriculture has also developed. This not only greatly raised the level of self-reliance with respect to daily necessities in Peking's markets but also accumulated more funds for the country. In turn, the development of agriculture and light industry has provided markets and funds for heavy industry and accelerated its development. The output value of Peking's heavy industry in the last eight years showed a 3.8-fold increase.

Peking's iron and steel industry is one of the sectors where development has been comparatively rapid. During the last eight years, steel production went up more than four times, rolled steel output doubled and varieties reached over 10,000. The proportion of special steel and alloy steel has remarkably increased.

With the development of the iron and steel industry, the production level of the machinery, meters and instruments and other industries rose more than five times and that of the chemical industry 3.5 times.

Small industries have also developed quickly. Their output value in 1973 was close to the city's 1965 total industrial output value. The number of small enterprises in the whole city has surpassed 1,000 and is turning out large quantities of products needed by industry, agriculture, national defence, scientific research and the domestic market.

## New Advances in Transport

THE country showed a 60 per cent increase in rail, road and water (maritime and the Yangtze waterways) freight traffic in 1973 compared with 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution began.

Staff members and workers in the transport sector did a lot to support agriculture, rushing enormous quantities of chemical fertilizer, farm machinery and other goods to the rural people's communes. They delivered badly needed material in good time to areas hit by drought or other natural adversities. All this provided material conditions for last year's rich harvests. Transport workers also gave priority to goods needed by the iron and steel industry, so as to ensure the development of the national economy.

Since the Cultural Revolution started, railway construction has been expanded in central-south, southwest and northwest China at an unprecedented rate. Communications between those regions has been greatly improved. Under the unified planning of the central authorities, some provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have taken on building local rail networks. Honan Province has constructed more than 900 kilometres of narrow-gauge rail lines, of which two-thirds were built since 1966.

China produced four times as many locomotives, passenger coaches and freight cars last year as in 1965. The



Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant workers examine the rotor of a turbo-generator.

commission of several rolling stock plants in Szechuan and Kweichow in southwest China has led to a better distribution of this industry.

There also has been swifter development in water transport. Ships built in each of the last three years exceeded in tonnage China's total for the preceding decade.

Seven river ports have been opened or expanded in the middle and upper reaches of the Yangtze River, with an aggregate increase of 5.7 million tons in handling capacity. Rapid rivers in the highland provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuan have been improved, and the navigable mileage for motorized vessels is now more than double that for 1965.

China's highway communication has also been developed with greater speed. Motor roads have been built in many former out-of-the-way mountainous areas. Of all the rural people's communes in China, 77 per cent are now open to motor vehicles.

### **Plant Protection**

A SUCCESSFUL movement has been taking place in our country to control the main pests and plant diseases hindering farm production.

The people's communes in the main agricultural areas have set up on a wide scale stations which observe the movement of destructive insects. East China's Chekiang Province alone has 200,000 anti-pest

observers, mainly veteran peasants and educated young people.

Production of insecticides in China has grown rapidly. Most provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and counties now have plants turning out insecticides.

In addition to floods and drought, locusts were one of the three major farm scourges in old China. Records show there were upwards of 700 widespread locust invasions in the last 2,600 years or so between 700 B.C. and 1935 A.D. On each occurrence the sky was darkened by hordes of flying locusts that settled down on any crop and devoured it. Peasants had to flee their villages because of famine.

Systematic investigation on a nationwide scale after liberation was made of the breeding ground of the locusts in order to eliminate this plague. Since locusts mostly propagate in flooded areas, large-scale reclamation and water conservancy work were carried out in such areas, apart from applying chemical pesticides, to thoroughly transform their breeding ground. With the harnessing of the Haiho, Huai and Yellow Rivers, locust plagues are now a thing of the past in one-time infested Hopei Province in north China and Shantung, Anhwei and Kiangsu Provinces in east China.

Before liberation rice borers destroyed one-tenth of China's annual rice harvest. Now, thanks to various effective control measures, damage

has been reduced to about 1 per cent of the harvest.

A number of rust-resistant wheat strains have been produced as a result of years of scientific research, and these have been popularized all over the country. This has helped to control stripe rust in winter-wheat producing areas and stem rust in spring-wheat producing areas over the last seven or eight years. The wheat midge has been brought under control and eliminated as a source of damage for a dozen years since the breeding of strains resistant to this insect by scientists and the addition of insecticides to the soil.

Moreover, through effective preventive measures, China now can control oriental army worms, European corn borers, cotton aphids and black rot on sweet potatoes if they break out.

Chinese scientists in recent years have begun using biological means for pest and disease control. Provinces such as Chekiang in east China, Hupeh in central China and Szechuan in the southwest have reported good results in using red lady beetles to wipe out cottony cushion scales which infest citrus groves. Egg parasites are being scattered in south China's Kwangtung Province to kill effectively sugar-cane borers, European corn borers and paddy rollers. Kasugamycin is being widely used in many places to control rice blast and bacteria are being used to eliminate weeds.

*(Continued from p. 3.)*

carried out a bloody suppression of the striking workers on February 7.

Workers taking part in this year's commemoration meetings said they would conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, carry forward the February 7 revolutionary tradition and play their part as the main force in the current struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

At the Peking "February 7" Rolling Stock Plant's meeting, workers cited hosts of facts to criticize Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies and

the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius he trumpeted. Veteran worker Hang Pao-hua said that Lin Piao, in his attempt to restore capitalism, sang the same old tune as Confucius, loudly spouting "benevolence and love" and "loyalty and forbearance." The doctrine Lin Piao and Confucius advocated was a man-eating doctrine, Hang said. He added that older workers who had taken part in the strike knew this through personal experience. The reactionary warlord Wu Pei-fu was always mouthing "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" but that didn't stop him from massacring innocent railway workers

and putting down the general strike, Hang noted.

He continued: Lin Piao babbled that "when two sides fight each other, they become enemies; when two sides make peace with each other, they become friends." Actually he wanted us workers to "make peace" and have the reactionaries kill us. When reactionaries are slaughtering us workers can we still be friends? Can we live together in harmony with them? Historical lessons learnt in blood teach us that revolutionary people must arm themselves and use revolutionary armed force to oppose armed counter-revolution.



*Booklet in English*

**SPEECH BY  
CHIAO KUAN-HUA**  
Chairman of the Delegation of the  
People's Republic of China

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