

FLAG STRESSES NEED TO CRITICIZE CONFUCIOUS

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[RED FLAG NO 3 Article by Kao Lu: "To Combat Revisionism, It Is Necessary To Criticize Confucious"]

[Text] At present, the great struggle to repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is advancing from victory to victory. This is a great debate between Marxism and revisionism in regard to the two line. It is another big battle between the two major opposing classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is also the continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In order to thoroughly expose and criticize the reactionary essence of that revisionist line currently existing in the party and to deepen and develop the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, we must continue to criticize Confucious. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao in 1974 is an important class struggle. The fundamental issue which the struggle is meant to highlight is to persist in continuing the revolution and oppose restoration and retrogression. In that struggle, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings. They study the current situation and the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the complete history of class struggle. They deepened criticism of and exposed the ultrarightist essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and repudiated the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which peddled restoration and retrogression, thus dealing a powerful rebuff to the reactionary trend of restoring capitalism that emerged in 1972, giving impetus to the socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure and struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts, promoting the vigorous development of the mass contingents of theorists, and consolidating and developing the magnificent achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This struggle profoundly shows that combating and preventing revisionism is essential to deepening criticism of Confucius.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are important ideological weapons of revisionism. Exposing the link between the revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in order to enable people to recognize to reactionary nature and hypocrisy of the doctrines is of important significance to our persisting in the party's basic line, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a capitalist restoration. However, those unrepentant capitalist readers in the party who stirred the right deviationist wind spread absurd arguments everywhere to oppose and negate criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in order to launch a vengeful counterattack on the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution. They slander and vilify the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius with vicious words in a vain attempt to negate the achievements of this great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism.

People cannot help but ask: Why are those people who called themselves communists so hostile to and oppose the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius? Through analysis, one can see very clearly that the line being peddled by them is precisely a continuation of the counterrevolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Tracing back to the beginning, they are imbued with the same spirit of the reactionary line of "restrain oneself and restore the rites" peddled by Confucius.

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Historical and current class struggle show us that all those who attempt restoration invariably want to oppose and change the correct line. Over 2,000 years ago, to oppose the social changes during the period in which the feudal system replaced the slave system and to safeguard and restore the decadent slave system, Confucius peddled a reactionary line of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" in order to oppose the reformist line of the legalist school. The specific features of this reactionary line were 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." To peddle this reactionary line, he promoted the necessity of "rectifying names" in an attempt to reform the social reality that had been changed by means of the "book of rites" of the slave system. He attempted to slash totally new things that emerged at that time in order to restore the old system, old order and old culture of the slave society.

All reactionaries in history, from Chao Kao and Wang Mang to Yuan Shih-kai and Chiang Kai-shek, flocked to the Confucian shop in search of ideological weapons for turning back the wheel of history. "Restraining oneself and restoring the rites" thus became their banner for plotting counterrevolutionary activities. "Rectifying names" became a big stick for them to use in suppressing revolutionaries.

One of the characteristics of revisionism in China is revisionism of Marxism by continuously applying reactionary bourgeois ideology as well as the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This has been true from Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao. Those who now stir the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts are no exception.

We can see once again in the main source of the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party who put forth "taking the three directives as the key link" the reappearance of Confucius' ghost. When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, he played the trick of "restraining oneself" by repeatedly swearing that "I'll never reverse the verdict" and that he wanted to repent and turn over a new leaf. But once he resumed work and grasped power, he wasted no time in holding aloft the sinister banner of "restoring the rites." He clamored openly about restoration and wanted to serve the "home-going legion." He launched a frenzied, vengeful counterattack against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. To practice "restraining oneself and restoring the rites," he desperately peddled the theory of the "moribund class struggle" and the so-called "taking the three directives as the key link" in an attempt to tamper with the party's basic line and negate class struggle as the key link.

Did he really want to eliminate class struggle? No: What he wanted to eliminate was class struggle in which the proletariat opposes the bourgeoisie. As for class struggle in which the bourgeoisie opposes the proletariat, he grasped it tightly instead of eliminating it. In this way, he attempted to knock down the proletarian revolutionaries while at the same time supporting the bourgeois influence for restoration. What he did was true to the preaching of "reviving states that were extinct, restoring families whose lines of succession had been broken, and calling to office those who had fallen into obscurity."

They opposed any mention of turning schools into tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technology front. This means they wanted to revive those independent bourgeois kingdoms destroyed by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They opposed the tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionist line over the past 17 years.

They clamored that some past practices were not necessarily completely wrong. What they meant in criticism about (?succession) was to succeed the influence of the antiparty cliques of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao in order to promote anew their counterrevolutionary revisionist line. [sentence as heard]

They opposed bringing up and training successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and also opposed the five criteria put forth by Chairman Mao concerning successors to the revolution. They were hostile to the three-in-one combination of the young, the middle-aged and the old championed by leading groups at all levels. They clamored that "this has to depend on us old hands!" In reality, they do not want to rely on the veteran cadres who persist in continuing the revolution but to strike at broad masses of young, middle-aged and old cadres who persevere in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line so that those old capitalist roaders who were criticized during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but refused to mend their ways can take office again to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat.

The coming to power of revisionism would also mean the coming to power of the bourgeoisie. In order to reverse correct verdicts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the capitalist roaders who stirred the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts have raised a hue and cry that "the present is not as good as the past." They describe the excellent situation since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius as a "mess." In their eyes, the socialist new things that emerged in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were all illegal and should be "readjusted."

In their opinion, only those revisionist things criticized by the masses are orthodox and all should be restored. They even follow Confucius' tone and clamor that "without right titles, words will not be proper." They want first to "rectify names." The unrepentant capitalist roader in the party wanted to readjust all things which have emerged since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in fields including industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education. What are the criteria for this readjustment? He said forthrightly: "As long as others accuse you of having staged a comeback you have carried out your work well." This explains the truth. They want to restore the old order in the name of readjustment.

On the education front, they used the signboard of readjustment to oppose the working class leading schools, to oppose the acceptance of workers, peasants and soldiers into universities, and to oppose the training of laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. They slandered the new things which emerged in the revolution in education and always considered them wrong. To them, only the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals, the concept that "he who excels in learning can be an official" and the training of intellectual aristocrats are the orthodox things. Their purpose in readjusting education is to turn schools into the tool of bourgeois dictatorship again.

In scientific and technology circles, they opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed the training and promoting of scientists and technicians from among workers, peasants and soldiers, and opposed the open-door method of scientific research. They clamored to return to the old order and only considered the running of institutes by experts, the closed-door way of running institutes, the idea that "professional work comes first," and the road of "white and expert" as orthodox things.

Their purpose in readjustment of science and technology circles is to let the bourgeoisie monopolize the field of science and technology again and turn science and technology departments into a front for the restoration of capitalism. In the literary and art circles, they created various kinds of rumors and vainly attempted to undermine the leadership of the proletariat and reverse the verdicts passed on the revisionist line in literature and art. They viciously attacked model revolutionary theatrical works as the "blooming of one flower alone" and energetically advocated bourgeois "liberalization." In their opinion, only the domination of the literary and art front by revisionists and the occupation of theatrical stages by emperors, kings, generals and ministers, by scholars and beauties, and by monsters and freaks of all descriptions are orthodox things. Their sole purpose in readjustment of the literary and art circles is to vainly attempt to turn the literary and art departments into a Hungarian Petofi Club again and make the literary and art front a place for the free dissemination of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and bourgeois ideology.

It is the same in other fields. Facts have fully proved that their so-called readjustment is meant to suppress proletarian revolutionaries, attack the revolutionary new forces, strangle new socialist things, and do everything by following the old chapters and taking the revisionist road in order to realize their goal of counterrevolutionary restoration. Is this not a replica of Confucius' "setting right titles" under the new situation? If we let them do things their way, before long the achievements of socialist revolution and construction will all vanish, and capitalism will be restored in an all-round way in China. Is this not dangerous? At present, the revisionist line within the party inherits directly the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This is not coincidental. It has a profound social background, and its cause lies in its class root.

Confucius more than 2,000 years ago and the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the party who stirred the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts were all representatives of reactionary and declining classes during periods of great social change. Restoring the old order and turning things backward and opposing progress are the common class nature and political needs of all reactionary and declining classes. Among the capitalist roaders in the party, some were quite positive during the democratic revolution period. However, they had never been Marxists and were merely fellow-travelers of the party. In the course of the revolution, they have not properly remolded their world outlook. When the revolution advanced from the stage of democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, their ideology failed to keep pace with the revolutionary advance. They are not in the least interested in socialist revolution; on the contrary, they are acting against it in various ways. These people have completely divorced themselves from the masses, become officials and overlords, and used their power to maintain and expand bourgeois rights. They are communists in name, but their ideology and lives are those of the bourgeoisie. They have totally forgotten about such things as the goals of communism and the emancipation of all mankind. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, they are standing on the side opposite revolution and have become representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Lu Hsun said: "Those who had been rich want to return to the old order, those who are becoming rich want to maintain the status quo, and those who have never been rich want to make progress." Lu Hsun's words explain the class distinction between revolutionaries and reactionaries. Such class distinction also exists in the socialist society.

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taking the socialist road. Stubbornly taking the position of the new and old bourgeoisie, they think that the interest and desire of those who are extremely few in number and who oppose social changes are the only reality, and that these are the only criteria of truth. To them, truth means everything that is in their interests and in accord with their subjective desire to take the capitalist road. Anything that goes against their interests or desire is wrong and false, and should be eliminated then and there.

"It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice"--such is their philosophical motto. When they used this kind of idealist world outlook to view the Great Cultural Revolution, which is a great social change of unprecedented depth, they naturally came to the conclusion that "the present is not as good as the past." It was also precisely by clinging to this idealism as a morale-booster that they have clamored for "readjustment" and "restoration," striking the same stance as Mencius when he claimed that "if heaven wishes the empire to enjoy tranquility and good order, who is there besides me to bring it about?" Full of bellicosity, they indeed seemed so overbearing! They knew from the beginning that it was totally against the party's basic program to rig up restoration and retrogression. Furthermore, it was clear to them that to do so would inevitably arouse vehement indignation and opposition from the broad masses. This notwithstanding, they still willfully clung to their own course. In a great frenzy, they opposed the objective laws and the revolutionary practice of the masses of the people. Moreover, they repeatedly blustered that "it is necessary to display our ardor; don't be afraid of being struck down, let's just make up our minds and go all out with the best in us." Is not this stubbornness and madness of theirs in turning back the wheel of history one and same as the diehard attempt of Confucius who "knows that it is impossible but works at it anyway?"

Chairman Mao pointed it out in "On Practice" that "we are opposed to diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all diehards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction." This statement made by Chairman Mao incisively exposed the common characteristic of the revisionists and all diehards, including Confucius, as far as their world outlook is concerned. It is of great significance as a guide to our current struggle.

We must study assiduously the Marxist philosophy and study some history of Chinese philosophy to deepen the criticism of the idealism of Confucius and of the capitalist roaders within the party who stirred the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. At the same time, we must rid our own minds of the influence of the ideology of idealism and metaphysics, keep to the correct line of cognition, and respect materialism and the revolutionary practice of the masses. Only by doing so is it possible for us to keep up with the pace at which history is advancing in the period of the socialist revolution, and always remain supporters of the revolution. Much effort is still required before the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius can be completely eliminated. It remains a major project along the road of revolutionary transformation in the days to come. All revisionists and all those who oppose social changes revere Confucius. They all dread the criticism of Confucius, and oppose and sabotage this criticism. On the other hand, all true Marxists and all revolutionaries are determined to hold high the banner of criticism of Confucius when traveling along the road of continued revolution. We must grasp class struggle as the key link, and combine the criticism of revisionism with the criticism of Confucius, so as to make sure that our country will always advance along the Marxist-Leninist line indicated by Chairman Mao.