

II

CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS

Introduction

The campaign to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was launched by Mao in the wake of the 10th Party Congress in August of 1973. Why were the two so closely linked? Lin Piao, of course, had attempted an armed coup in 1971. This was the culmination of a desperate struggle waged against Mao and the continuation of the Cultural Revolution, which Lin said had long since outlived any usefulness and was only creating disaster. He based his program for counter-revolution on the proposition that things had been better before than now, and that the revolution had gone to extremes.

Confucius some 2500 years ago had fought to defend the institutions of slave society from attack, harping that the slaves were creating havoc everywhere. He lectured extensively and organized against the political reforms directed at the slave system. His followers came to be known as the Confucianists, and they preached that everything should be based on strict obedience to the old system complete with its rites, ceremonies, and rigid social distinctions. Their opponents were the Legalists who represented the feudal forces that were rising at the time. They represented the progressive historical trend of the day, seeking to uphold reforms against the slave system.

Lin Piao, like the Confucianists, was a restorationist. He even draped himself in Confucian philosophy, including advocating the doctrine of the mean (things ought not be allowed to get too far out of hand). Confucius and Lin Piao stood against the revolutionary changes of the period in which they lived and did everything they could to turn the clock back. The Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius campaign was aimed at underscoring the persistent and recurrent danger posed by

those who seek to restore the old order and exposing their hypocritical airs of concern for the good of everyone. The campaign was designed to put people on notice that this was, under present circumstances, an urgent question to take up. The achievements of the Cultural Revolution must be safeguarded. And, of course, the campaign would hit at Confucianism, long an ideological prop of the reactionary forces in China and a fetter on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people.

It was clear who Lin Piao was, but was there someone else who fit the description of Confucius, a contemporary equivalent of this condescending defender of the slave system? Yes there was. While different contemporary leaders often figured in the analogy, it was Teng Hsiao-ping and ultimately Chou En-lai who were targeted by Mao and the Four for opposing the transformations of the Cultural Revolution and for suppressing those who defended these transformations.

By September 1973, study groups started forming in factories, and workers began in earnest to take up this historical study and sum up its contemporary relevance. In different forms, this study continued through 1976. The selection "History Develops in Spirals" (Text 13) demonstrated by way of analysis of the Chinese Revolution that victories were won only through repeated struggle and that twists and turns—even reversals—were part of the normal development of history, though they could not alter its general forward direction. It also contains criticism, by way of reference to Liu Shao-chi, of the line of reducing support to revolutionary struggles in other countries. The articles on culture written at this time (Texts 11 and 12) point to specific struggles on a key front where the Right began to make a concentrated bid to reverse the important changes wrought by the Cultural Revolution.

The speech to the Cambodians by Wang Hung-wen (Text 14) was delivered a week before Teng Hsiao-ping's speech to the U.N. at which Teng enunciated the theory of the "three worlds"; however, it appeared in the same issue of *Peking Review* in which Teng's speech was reprinted. Wang's speech emphasizes the importance of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people and mentions a recent statement from Mao that not to do so would be to betray Marxism. Even taking into account that the speeches were delivered in different contexts, their thrust is totally different and, interestingly, Teng's speech (Appendix 6) makes no reference to Mao.

TEXT 5

CARRY THE STRUGGLE TO CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS THROUGH TO THE END

A mass political struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, is developing in depth in all spheres of life.

Both at home and abroad, the reactionaries and the ringleaders of various opportunist lines have been worshippers of Confucius. Chairman Mao has repeatedly criticized Confucianism and the reactionary ideas of exalting Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school in the course of half a century in leading the Chinese revolution and struggling against reactionaries at home and abroad and against opportunist lines. The bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao was an out-and-out disciple of Confucius. Like all reactionaries in history on the verge of extinction, he worshipped Confucius and opposed the Legalist school, attacked Chin Shih Huang, the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty, and used the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius as his reactionary ideological weapon in plotting to usurp Party leadership and seize state power and restore capitalism. Therefore, only by criticizing the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius advocated by Lin Piao can we repudiate the ultra-Rightist nature of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line penetratingly and thoroughly. This is of great immediate significance and far-reaching historic importance in strengthening education in ideological and political line, adhering to and carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidating and expanding the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

A political swindler who did not read books, did not read the daily press and did not read documents, Lin Piao was a big Party tyrant and warlord who had no learning at all. He feverishly advocated the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius in dark corners behind people's backs, among his sworn followers and even in public. He hung Confucian canons on his walls and inscribed them in his diary as maxims. Why did he feverishly advocate the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius? Because it is a doctrine for restoring the old order. Lin Piao's reactionary

Peking Review #6, February 8, 1974. (*Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] Editorial, February 2, 1974.)

ideological system was identical with that of Confucius and Mencius. Both wanted to restore the old system and attempted to turn back the wheel of history.

Confucius and Mencius dished up a reactionary programme for restoring the slave system—"restrain oneself and restore the rites." Confucius said: "Once self-restraint and restoration of the rites are achieved, all under heaven will submit to benevolence," that is, all under heaven will submit to his rule. On many occasions after the Party's Ninth National Congress, Lin Piao advertised the notion: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and restore the rites." This fully shows how anxious he was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and that he regarded the restoration of capitalism as the most important thing of all.

Confucius and Mencius preached that some are "born with knowledge." Mencius said: "If all under heaven are to have peace and order, who is there but me at the present day to bring it about?" Lin Piao made the reactionary concept of "innate genius" his theoretical programme against the Party. He compared himself to a heavenly horse, regarding himself as the "noblest of men," a superman. He spoke of "the heavenly horse flying through the skies, free and alone," plotting to usurp Party leadership and state power and set up a personal dictatorship.

Confucius and Mencius held that "only the highest, who are wise, and the lowest, who are stupid, cannot be changed." Lin Piao played up the same idealist conception of history and vilified the working people as capable only of wishing each other "good fortune and wealth" and thinking only about "oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood."

Confucius and Mencius praised "virtue," "benevolence and righteousness" and "loyalty and forbearance," and Lin Piao clamoured that "those who rule by virtue will thrive; those who rule by force will perish." Here he viciously used Confucian language to attack revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Confucius and Mencius advocated the "doctrine of the mean," and Lin Piao blustered that this doctrine was "reasonable" and opposed the Marxist philosophy of struggle. He attacked the anti-revisionist struggle as "going to the extreme" because he wanted to surrender to Soviet revisionism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Confucius and Mencius advocated the philosophy of "recoiling in order to extend." Lin Piao wrote that he was "constrained to lodge for a time in the tiger's lair" and "quick to change miraculously according to circumstances." This is an unintentional confession that he was a bourgeois careerist and conspirator who nestled beside us and that the

method he used was counter-revolutionary double-dealing.

Confucius and Mencius advocated the fallacy that "those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others." And Lin Piao lashed out at the "May 7" road, slandering cadres' going to take part in physical labour as a "disguised form of unemployment," and educated young people settling in the countryside as a "disguised form of reform through forced labour." His aim was to undermine Chairman Mao's great strategic plan for opposing and preventing revisionism and bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Disciples of Confucius and Mencius "revere the doctrines of Confucius and ban all other schools." And Lin Piao taught his son to worship Confucius and read Confucian classics and wrote an inscription for his son in which he enjoined him to learn from the experience of ruling passed on by King Wen of the slave-owning Chou Dynasty before his death to his son, King Wu. Here Lin Piao dreamt of establishing a hereditary Lin dynasty.

All this shows that criticism of Confucius is indeed an important component of the criticism of Lin Piao. It is aimed at destroying the roots of Lin Piao's revisionist line and doing a better job in criticizing Lin Piao. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a serious class struggle and a thoroughgoing revolution in the realm of ideology in China today. It is a war declared on feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and a heavy blow to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. It is a matter of prime importance for the whole Party, the whole army and the entire Chinese people.

Whether one is active or inactive towards this cardinal issue of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius is a test for every leading comrade. **"The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle."** To continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end. To struggle is to advance. Not to struggle is to retrogress, to collapse, to go revisionist. Those engaged in military affairs should study and learn book knowledge, while those engaged in work in the economic base should learn to understand the superstructure. The vital question is whether to undertake the criticism or not. If you are determined to make criticism, you will be able to emancipate your mind and do away with all fetishes and superstitions, and you will press ahead in the face of difficulties.

Leading comrades at all levels should stand in the forefront of the struggle and discuss and grasp the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as a matter of paramount importance. They should earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's

writings and instructions concerning this matter and take the lead in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. It is necessary to arouse the masses, compare the reactionary viewpoints of Confucius and Mencius with Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies and counter-revolutionary crimes, and to refute them item by item. It is necessary to link this criticism with current class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, persist in revolution, oppose retrogression, adopt a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and enthusiastically support new emerging socialist things. The ranks of those working in Marxist theory should grow in the course of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Leading cadres should go to the grass-roots units, test things at selected points, train a backbone force and grasp typical examples well. They should constantly analyse new trends in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, strictly differentiate between the two types of contradictions which are different in nature and, in particular, correctly handle contradictions among the people, and keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle.

The worker-peasant-soldier masses are the main force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, they are most resolute in breaking with old, traditional ideas and best know how to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. "Confucius wanted to restore the rites and Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism; they were one of a kind." Well said! With one vivid expression, the workers, peasants and soldiers have hit at the nub of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius which Lin Piao preached. Only when the workers, peasants and soldiers rise in action can the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius be carried out in a deep, thoroughgoing way. The revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals should take an active part in this struggle and make conscientious efforts to transform their world outlook. The workers, peasants and soldiers will welcome the progress made by some intellectuals who were quite deeply affected by the poison of Confucius and Mencius but who are educating themselves in the struggle.

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat; it is better than idly strolling in a courtyard." We must act in the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, advance in the teeth of storms and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end.

TEXT 6

DARE TO THINK AND DO

Renmin Ribao published a commentary on July 5 praising the study and dissemination of the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools by the Tientsin Railway Station workers as "another pioneering undertaking of the working class and a good method of deepening the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius."

The commentary said: "Chairman Mao has taught us: It is necessary to know **'not only the China of today but also the China of yesterday and of the day before yesterday.'** The current class struggle is a continuation of the class struggle throughout history. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools over the last 2,000 years or so still has its influence at present and has continued to this day. Using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the past experience of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools is of great significance in further criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In order to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, it is necessary to study diligently Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conscientiously study some history books, study the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole, read some books by the Legalists and integrate still better the historical experience with the current class struggle and two-line struggle to serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"As far as the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are concerned, there are a great many difficulties for them to study history. But this is only one part of the problem. The other is that they have the style of daring to think and do and of dauntlessly going forward, and that they dare to shatter old conventions and break with traditional ideas. 'The reversed history must be set right!' 'If we do not study the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools, who will!' Such heroic words by the Tientsin station workers fully manifest the fearless revolutionary spirit of the Chinese working class. Facts have proved that the workers, peasants and soldiers can use Marxism to study and learn history.

Peking Review #28, July 12, 1974.

Liberate history from the confines of the historians' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses—this is not only absolutely necessary but entirely possible.

“Much work remains to be done to carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going, popularized and sustained way. We should bring into full play the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force. We should make a big effort to encourage their revolutionary heroism of dauntlessly going forward, advancing despite difficulties and never giving up until the goal is reached.”

TEXT 7

STUDY THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CONFUCIAN AND LEGALIST SCHOOLS

Liang Hsiao

The history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole is now being extensively studied by China's workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Such a wide-ranging mobilization of the masses for studying and summing up the experience and lessons of class struggle in the past is a matter of great practical and far-reaching historical significance.

Making the Past Serve the Present

Discussing the proletariat's historical task of preventing capitalist restoration after seizing political power, Lenin pointed out: **"We do not know whether or not our victory will be followed by temporary periods of reaction and the victory of the counter-revolution—there is nothing impossible in that—and therefore, after our victory, we shall build a 'triple line of trenches' against such a contingency."** (*Revision of the Party Programme.*) To successfully carry out the historical mission entrusted to the proletarian dictatorship and win victory in the prolonged and complicated class struggle, the proletariat not only should be adept at accumulating experience through its own struggles, but should study past class struggle and two-line struggle and the struggle between revolution and reaction and between restoration and counter-restoration in the periods of big social change, and use the Marxist method to make a critical summing up so as to accumulate experience and draw lessons and make the past serve the present.

The development of Chinese history has its own characteristics. Because the Chinese bourgeoisie living in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society was extremely weak economically and politically, the task of leading the bourgeois democratic revolution historically fell on the shoulders of the proletariat. Led by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have thoroughly carried

Peking Review #2, January 10, 1975. (Slightly abridged translation of an article in *Hong-qi [Red Flag]* #10, 1974.)

out the bourgeois democratic revolution and, following this, carried on the revolution to the socialist stage and founded the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Except for the revolution led by the proletariat, only the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system actually constituted a social change in China's history which saw the dictatorship of one class replaced by that of another class in its full sense. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines took place during that social change. The struggle between worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school on the one hand and between worshipping the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school on the other hand never ceased throughout feudal society, and this struggle still has its influence up to the present time.

All the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship have taken the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as their tool for restoring capitalism in China. The chieftains of the opportunist lines in our Party all worshipped the Confucian school and opposed the Legalist school. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao even went so far as to call Confucius and Mencius the "former sages" and Marx and Lenin the "later sages," and did all he could to peddle the idea that "both the former and later sages follow the same principles." To adhere to Marxism and oppose revisionism, we must thoroughly criticize this reactionary view and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

In the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods (770-221 B.C.) when the feudal system was replacing the slave system in China, the Legalists—the political and ideological representatives of the new emerging landlord class—in the course of seizing and consolidating political power waged prolonged and sharp struggles against the declining slave-owning class and its political and ideological representatives, the Confucianists. More than 130 years had elapsed from the time Shang Yang (?-338 B.C.) carried out reforms in the State of Chin to 221 B.C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China. If we reckon from the time when the State of Lu began to collect the land tax*, it was more than 370 years. During those centuries the newly rising landlord class seized and then lost political power many times. The unification of China by Chin Shih Huang did not spell the end of struggle. From the founding of the Chin Dynasty to the fall of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.), the struggle continued unabated for nearly 250 years between restoration and counter-restoration although the restorationist forces of the slave-owners were weakened step by step.

*This refers to the system of collecting a tax based on land area first introduced in the 15th year of Duke Hsuan in the State of Lu, or 594 B.C. Its adoption signified China's transition from slavery to feudalism in land ownership.

The struggles between revolution and reaction and between restoration and counter-restoration in that entire era (including open and covert, bloody and bloodless, political and economic, and military and cultural struggles) have provided us with extremely rich experience and lessons in class struggle and the two-line struggle. The experience and lessons have a vivid and profound nature special to the history of Chinese society. Communists and the working masses who are making revolution in China must sum them up from the Marxist viewpoint and make them serve the current struggle in our socialist revolution and construction.

Putting the Line First

The history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools tells us that a correct line does not appear spontaneously but emerges and develops in the course of struggle. In a deep-going social change, the progressive class can further develop and perfect its revolutionary line and make good preparations for the next battle only through criticizing the reactionary line and trend of thinking and summing up the experiences and lessons in class struggle. The rising landlord class started its full-scale attack in the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) and a high tide of reform swept the ducal states. The thoroughness of Shang Yang's reform shocked these states.

A sharp struggle ensued between the Confucian and Legalist lines around the question of negating or affirming this social change. Flaunting the banner of "speaking in the interests of the people," Mencius (390-305 B.C.), a representative of the Confucian school, came out with the theory peddling "benevolent rule" in an attempt to negate and overthrow the political power of the new emerging landlord class and restore the dictatorship of the slave-owners. (See "Mencius—a Trumpeter for Restoring the Slave System," *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1974.) Hsun Kuang (c. 313-238 B.C.) and Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), representatives of the Legalist school, firmly refuted Mencius' absurd theory of "benevolent rule." They pointed out that the so-called "benevolence and righteousness" merely aimed at "deceiving and keeping the people ignorant" and was a restorationist theory opposing reform and change; they thus enthusiastically defended reform in the various states. This debate covered a wide field involving social and political questions as well as world outlook, and it helped further develop and perfect the Legalist line. Chin Shih Huang resolutely put the Legalist line into practice and founded the first unified feudal state under centralized authority. His victory over the six other states and in unifying the country was not only a military victory but a direct result

of the Legalists' criticism of the Confucian doctrines in the big debate.

The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was still very sharp after the founding of the Chin Dynasty. (See "Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration in the Course of Founding the Chin Dynasty," *Peking Review*, Nos. 17 and 18, 1974.) Whether the upcoming landlord class could hold political power or not hinged on whether it could guarantee the continual implementation of the Legalist line. In this respect, the Chin Dynasty had both experiences of success and lessons of failure. Not willing to quit the stage of history of its own accord, the overthrown slave-owning class attacked the present with the past and launched one attack after another against the Chin Dynasty, doing whatever it could to change Chin Shih Huang's Legalist line and subvert the dictatorship of the newly rising landlord class. Chin Shih Huang firmly adopted such revolutionary measures as "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" (see "Clarifying 'Burning Books and Burying Confucian Scholars Alive,'" *Peking Review*, No. 19, 1974), smashed the attacks by the slave-owners' restorationist forces, adhered to the centralized system of prefectures and counties and persisted in the Legalist line.

But, precisely as Chairman Mao has profoundly summed up, **"except for the revolution which replaced primitive communes by slavery, that is, a system of non-exploitation by one of exploitation, all revolutions ended in the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, and it was neither necessary nor possible for them to do a thorough job in suppressing counter-revolutionaries."** (Introductory note to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") Chin Shih Huang was no exception. When he became rather complacent about peace and order in the country, Chao Kao (?-207 B.C.), a representative of the slave-owners' restorationist forces, sneaked into the core of the Chin court under the Legalist cloak and followed the "tactics of undermining from within" against the landlord class' political power. No sooner had Chin Shih Huang died than Chao Kao launched a counter-revolutionary coup d'état, substituted the reactionary Confucian line for the former's Legalist line, unloosed bloody class revenge against the political representatives of the landlord class and spared no effort to foster the slave-owners' restorationist forces.

The history of this period showed that after the landlord class seized political power, both the open and hidden struggles waged by the slave-owners' restorationist forces were all aimed at changing the Legalist line followed by the central authorities. Once the line was changed, the door would be open to restoration. After seizing state power, therefore, the revolutionary classes must give first place to the question of line and maintain high vigilance against the reactionary classes' intrigues and

conspiracies to change the revolutionary line. Bearing in mind this experience and lesson of class struggle gained from the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools helps us understand and persist in Chairman Mao's teachings that **"the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything"** and **"practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."**

Relying on the Masses

The statesmen of the landlord class were in a quandary after Chao Kao usurped power. But a new situation arose immediately after the outbreak of a peasant uprising. While handing out blows to the rule of the landlord class, the peasant uprising army led by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang (see "Working People's Struggle Against Confucius in Chinese History," *Peking Review*, No. 13, 1974) drove Chao Kao's restorationist political power into the grave in less than three years. This proved that the ascending landlord class could not carry the struggle against restoration through to the end with its own forces. The masses of the people were the main force in fighting against restoration. As the new emerging landlord class after all was an exploiting class and constituted a minority in society, it was in an antagonistic position with regard to the masses of peasants and naturally could not really rely on the masses to struggle against restoration. This was precisely the inevitable weakness of its political power.

In summing up the historical experience of the bourgeois revolution, Engels pointed out: **Even the most splendid achievements of the bourgeoisie in 17th century England and 18th century France were not made by it, but by the common masses, that is, the workers and peasants.** ("*Crisis*" in *Prussia*.) Similarly, the main force against the restoration of slavery in the big social change which saw feudalism replacing slavery was also the masses of peasants and those slaves who had not yet become peasants. This was decided by their class status, because once the slave system was restored, it meant first of all the return of the peasants to the extremely miserable status of slaves again. Without the forces of the masses, no revolution or counter-restorationist struggle in the past could be accomplished.

The proletarian dictatorship is the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of people over the small number of exploiters. The proletariat can and must rely on and unite with the working people, unite with all the forces that can be united with and smash the class enemy's restorationist intrigues. Chairman Mao's theses that **"direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party"** and

“a line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won’t do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses” point out the great significance of relying on the forces of the masses and continuously consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

Prolonged and Complicated Nature of Struggle

The great peasant uprising at the end of the Chin Dynasty swept away the slave-owners’ restorationist forces. It was on this basis that the Western Han Dynasty of the new emerging landlord class came into being. However, the declining slave-owning class’ strength was still bigger than that of the newly rising landlord class in certain fields, and the slave-owners’ experience of struggle in certain respects was richer than that of statesmen of the new emerging landlord class. The slave-owners were sure to use these to pit their strength again and again against the landlord class that was coming up.

Taking advantage of the economic difficulties in the early days of the Western Han Dynasty, a group of big handicraft and commercial slave-owners hoarded goods and sent prices up, and they vied with the landlord class to seize land and labour power, undermining that feudal society’s economic base. At the same time, these slave-owners colluded with conservatives in the landlord class (local forces that controlled certain places and had their own armies) to turn some areas into independent states. They gathered together a large number of Confucian scholars to create public opinion for restoration in the ideological realm and used their military forces to stage armed rebellions. They also often colluded with the slave-owning aristocrats of Hsiung Nu* in Chinese territory in an attempt to subvert the centralized Western Han Dynasty of the landlord class by attacking it from both sides. All this made the counter-restorationist struggle in that dynasty a prolonged, complicated and arduous one. Sharp struggles were fought on these fronts in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty. The landlord class’ centralized dictatorship became stable only after Emperor Ching of Han (whose name was Liu Chi and was on the throne from 156 to 141 B.C.) had put down the “rebellion of Wu, Chu and five other states” (see note on page 22 in *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1974) and Emperor Wu of Han (whose name was Liu Cheh and was on the throne from 140 to 87 B.C.) had launched an all-round counter-attack against the slave-owning merchants and had triumphed in the war against the Hsiung Nu.

*A nationality in the northern part of China in the Western Han Dynasty.

This showed that even in a social change whereby one exploiting system replaced another, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was of long duration and complicated and took place in every single field. As long as the overthrown class has some strength, it will always attempt a restoration. This law of class struggle will never change. Chairman Mao said in 1955: **“If to this day representatives of the Royalists are found in the French bourgeois National Assembly, then it is highly probable that years after the final elimination of all exploiting classes from the face of the earth, representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty will remain active here and there. The worst diehards among them will never admit defeat.”** (Introductory note to the “Third Batch of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.”) In our study of the history of struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, we get a deeper understanding when we restudy this scientific summing up of historical experience by Chairman Mao. Never for a moment should the revolutionary classes and people forget that the enemy still exists in the world.

Need for a Leading Group Adhering to the Correct Line

The Western Han Dynasty was able to win victories in the struggle against restoration in its early and middle periods because it persisted in the Legalist line. The implementation of this line was interrupted after the death of Chin Shih Huang. But following the death of the first ruler of the Han Dynasty Emperor Kao Tsu (whose name was Liu Pang and reigned from 206 to 195 B.C.), the Legalist line was basically upheld for 140 years by six succeeding rulers. The landlord class in these two periods was equally in the ascendant, and yet the results were different. Why?

Obviously what happened in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty was affected by the peasant war at the end of the Chin Dynasty which swept away the remnants of the slave-owning aristocrats and by the balance of class forces in the early years of the Han Dynasty. At the same time, it could not be denied that the long-term preservation of a Legalist leading group in the central political power of the Western Han Dynasty also played an important part. From the overthrow of the Chin Dynasty, Liu Pang came to understand the central leading group's extreme importance. He held fast to the Legalist line of selecting officials in the course of struggle. After his death, Queen Lu, Emperor Wen and several succeeding emperors continued to follow Liu Pan's Legalist line; they set great store by the opinions of such Legalists as Chao Tso (200-154 B.C.), Chang Tang (?-115 B.C.) and Sang Hung-yang (152-80 B.C.) and put them in important

posts in the central government. Adherence to the Legalist line was ensured because of the existence of such a leading group which continued to carry out the Legalist line. So even when armed rebellions broke out, they were promptly quelled.

This was the specific reason why the slave-owners' restorationist forces considered the Legalist leading group in the central organ their biggest obstacle in the way of restoration. Liu Pi (215-154 B.C.), who was prince of Wu and a nephew of Liu Pang and one of the princes in the early years of the Han Dynasty, put forth the counter-revolutionary strategy of "cleaning up those around the emperor" which, under the facade of supporting the central authorities, aimed at removing the policy-making Legalists in the central organ and putting an end to the Legalist leading group at the central level, thereby basically changing the Legalist line in the political power of the Western Han Dynasty as a whole.

After summing up this important experience in the history of struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Ever since Liu Pi, Prince of Wu of the Han Dynasty, invented the well-known strategy of cleaning up those around the emperor by a request to kill Chao Tso (chief brain-truster of Emperor Ching), many careerists have regarded it as invaluable, and the Hu Feng clique has inherited this legacy, too."** Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, those bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party often will adopt this counter-revolutionary strategy of "cleaning up those around the emperor" in order to bring about a fundamental change in the Party's basic line. In his *Outline of Project "571,"* didn't the counter-revolutionary careerist and conspirator Lin Piao rave about flaunting the revolutionary banner to attack the revolutionary forces that persevered in Chairman Mao's correct line? **"As members of a revolutionary party, we must get to know these tricks of theirs and study their tactics so that we can defeat them."** (Introductory note to the "Third Batch of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") We must be adept at detecting these careerists, conspirators and double-dealers and ensure that the Party and state leadership be always in the hands of the Marxist revolutionaries.

Persist in Continuing the Revolution

The feudal rulers carried out the Legalist line up to the end of the middle period of the Western Han Dynasty. In its struggle against restoration, the landlord class, however, aimed only at maintaining feudal rule and could not raise new revolutionary tasks for itself. After succeeding Hsiao Ho (?-193 B.C.) as prime minister in the early years

of the Han Dynasty, Tsao Tsan (?-190 B.C.) told Emperor Hui: "Emperor Kao Ti [Liu Pang] and Hsiao Ho have brought stability to the country and made laws clearly known to the people; now Your Majesty should just take the reins and Tsan and others should hold our posts by following what already has been established without change. Isn't this all right?" This typical case showed that though the landlord class at that time still adhered to the Legalist line, it lacked the clear-cut revolutionary spirit of the Legalists in the stormy periods of class struggle. Its revolutionary vigour and strength were gradually declining.

With the gradual disappearance of the danger of restoration of slavery after the Western Han Dynasty, the contradiction between the landlords and peasants daily grew sharper and the landlord class was being transformed from a real tiger to a paper tiger. The landlord class began to detest the Legalist ideas and found that the somewhat modified Confucian ideas suited its needs. This transformation was the inevitable historical destiny of an exploiting class.

However, the proletariat is different; it is most thoroughly revolutionary and its final goal is to wipe out classes and realize communism. Therefore, it persists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely as Lenin pointed out: **"Our 'guarantee against restoration' was the complete fulfillment of the revolution."** (*Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*) Chairman Mao also pointed out: The new socialist system can be **"consolidated step by step"** only in the course of socialist revolution. **"To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts."** (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) This tells us that only by persevering in long-term socialist revolution and socialist education in the political, ideological and economic fields can the proletariat that has seized political power prevent capitalist restoration and fulfil the historical task of proletarian dictatorship.

The class basis of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools changed in the middle and later periods of feudal society. The Confucian doctrines became the dominant ideology of the landlord class while the Legalists ceased to represent the newly rising class and became reformers in the landlord class. In view of the serious social and national crises at different times, they did come out with various proposals for reform which, for instance, stressed unity and waging wars of resistance and opposed splits and capitulation. Their proposals and exposure and criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were

beneficial to the development of the social productive forces, culture and science and the country's unity and independence, and were therefore progressive in nature. However, it was impossible for the Legalists to solve the daily sharpening basic contradiction in feudal society and find a way out for the feudal system. Although they criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in varying degrees, they were unwilling to or dared not make a radical rupture with these doctrines and, moreover, they dared not openly raise the Legalist banner. They carried on the struggle, but they no longer had full confidence in the future as the Legalists before the Western Han Dynasty had.

Because the Confucianists became increasingly dominant in feudal society, the Legalists were more and more oppressed, attacked and persecuted by them. This was more so the case after the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). Any minimal reform was regarded as a calamity and struck fear into the feudal rulers who immediately strangled it; any new idea was regarded as heresy by the feudal rulers who would stamp it out by every means. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools throughout feudal society shows that the trend of thinking in China which worships the Confucian school and opposes the Legalist school represents the interests of the most reactionary and darkest forces and always hinders social change and social progress. Unless great efforts are made to criticize this reactionary trend of thinking, revolution cannot advance and society cannot move forward.

Purpose of Studying the Struggle Between The Confucian and Legalist Schools

Going with the tide of historical development, the Legalists of the past played a progressive role to a certain extent in different periods and under various conditions. But it was impossible for them to grasp consciously the objective law of historical development and understand the great role of the people in making history. Guided by the Marxist world outlook, the proletariat is able to understand and consciously grasp the objective law of historical development and carry out thoroughgoing revolution. The basic line of our Party formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism is the scientific expression of the objective law of class struggle in the period of socialism. Although the task of struggle is arduous and the road of struggle tortuous, the future is bright. The replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship and the supersession of capitalism by socialism is the inevitable law of historical development and cannot be changed by any force in the world.

By applying Marxism in studying the historical experience of the

struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and summing up the general law of class struggle and the two-line struggle in history, we can deepen our understanding of the law of current class struggle, further strengthen our concept of class struggle and raise our consciousness of carrying out the Party's basic line; this will help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and accomplish the great historical mission of the proletariat. This is the basic purpose of our studying the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the class struggle as a whole.

TEXT 8

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF STRUGGLE

—Refuting Lin Piao for peddling
Confucius' doctrine of the mean

Chiang Yu-ping

The doctrine of the mean is a reactionary philosophy used by Confucius more than 2,000 years ago in stubborn defence of the slave system. Lin Piao and his gang completely betrayed dialectical materialism by describing this doctrine as "rational" and "a dialectic idea" and even listing it as "one of the great virtues of our nation."

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle.**" Marxist dialectics hold that "**the law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society.**" The unity of contradictions is relative whereas the struggle of contradictions is absolute. When the struggle develops to a certain stage and goes beyond a certain limit, it inevitably will destroy the old unity, resulting in the extinction of the old things and the birth of the new. Genuine dialectical materialists should not only recognize this law but also support and foster with full enthusiasm the new emerging things and strive to help them defeat the decadent things. They should persist in reforms, revolution and progress and oppose conservatism, restoration and retrogression, so that human society will constantly progress and develop in the storms of class struggle and the struggle for production and eventually realize communism.

Always persisting in applying the Marxist philosophy of struggle in the new-democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, our great leader Chairman Mao has led the entire Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country in surmounting numerous obstacles, marching forward courageously and winning one great victory after another. "**Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, 'It is right to rebel.' . . . And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.**" Restudying this great teaching of Chair-

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man Mao and reviewing every advance in the Chinese revolution, we deeply realize that to struggle is to progress and triumph while not to struggle is to retrogress, collapse and go revisionist.

But Confucius and the Confucian school after his time advocated "*chung yung*" (the doctrine of the mean), regarding unity as absolute and describing decadent old things as sacred and inviolable. According to them, "not leaning to either side is called *chung*; being unchangeable is called *yung*." Everything should be done in accordance with the slave system's moral standard of "letting the king be a king, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son," and there should not be the slightest deviation. To act otherwise was to go against the doctrine of the mean. Obviously, this doctrine was a reactionary philosophy used by Confucius and Mencius to oppose reforms and social progress and to protect the old slave system. How can it be "rational" and "a dialectic idea"? In peddling Confucius' doctrine of the mean, Lin Piao and company fully proved that they were not only a gang of political swindlers in the true sense but also out-and-out devout disciples of Confucius.

Falsehood is dressed up as truth, just as fish eyes are palmed off as pearls. In picking the doctrine of the mean out of the garbage heap of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and passing it off as, and tampering with, Marxism, Lin Piao tried to use this reactionary philosophy to oppose the Marxist philosophy of struggle and the surging revolutionary movement of the proletariat and drag society backwards. In 1958 when the people of the whole country, guided by the Party's general line for socialist construction, were launching the vigorous movement for the Big Leap Forward and the people's communes with soaring enthusiasm and boundless creativeness, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao dished up the reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the mean to attack the general line, the Big Leap Forward and the people's communes. One babbled that "things have gone wrong because they have been carried too far" while the other said that "things have gone beyond the limit" and "have destroyed individual initiative." When Chairman Mao led the entire Party and the people of the whole country in adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and opposing Soviet revisionism, Lin Piao again employed the doctrine of the mean to viciously curse our anti-revisionist struggle, alleging that it "went to extremes." This has fully exposed the ugly features of this renegade and traitor who attempted to throw himself into the lap of the Soviet revisionists.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and holding high the great banner that "**it is right to rebel against reactionaries,**" the revolutionary masses in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution demolished the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its

ringleader, dealt shattering blows at the old ideas, old culture, old habits and customs of the exploiting classes and smashed the dream of the landlord and capitalist classes of staging a come-back. Socialist new things mushroomed. Harboring inveterate hatred for all this, Lin Piao and his like once again picked up the doctrine of the mean as a weapon with which to frenziedly attack the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, socialist new things and the proletarian dictatorship. Their vilification was most vicious and their techniques most despicable. They even conspired to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup to put the landlord and capitalist classes' desire for restoration into action.

One criminal purpose of Lin Piao's advocating the doctrine of the mean is he hoped in vain to use it to erode the militant will of the people and undermine the revolutionary forces. This is another point meriting our high vigilance. If you wanted to display the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—Lin Piao would preach to you that you should “never go to extremes in anything” and that “going to extremes is wrong.” If you stood for reforms, advocated revolution and upheld social development and progress, he would assume the air of a philosopher and admonish you to “guard against exceeding proper limits in antagonism, or unity will be destroyed” and that only the doctrine of the mean was most “rational.” If you upheld the proletarian principles and waged a ruthless struggle against the class enemies, he would come out at once and spread the absurd fallacy of class reconciliation that “when two sides fight, they become enemies; when two sides live in harmony, they become friends,” echoing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that “in the application of the rites, harmony is to be prized.” In a word, revolutionary principles can be discarded, revolutionary struggles must be stopped; only the restoration by the class enemies is permissible while the broad masses are not allowed to make revolution—this is what Lin Piao and his kind really meant when they peddled the doctrine of the mean to the people.

All the revolutionary fighters of the proletariat shoulder the great task of emancipating all mankind and realizing communism. For Lin Piao to peddle the doctrine of the mean in an attempt to restore capitalism is something we will never tolerate! Not only in the present movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius but in the entire historical period of socialism, we must always adhere to the Communist Party's philosophy of struggle, thoroughly repudiate the doctrine of the mean and display the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution. What joy it is to struggle with heaven! What joy it is to struggle with earth! What joy it is to struggle with man! Certainly communism will be realized amid struggle!

TEXT 9

WORKING WOMEN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST CONFUCIANISM IN CHINESE HISTORY

Inequality between men and women is not a social phenomenon dating back to time immemorial, but it emerged together with the slave system. Oppression of working women is, first and foremost, class oppression. Inequality between men and women is created by class antagonism. Precisely as Engels pointed out: **"The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamian marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male."** (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*)

Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius Are Ropes Binding the Working Women

Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) in China, the Confucian school represented by Confucius feverishly trumpeted the reactionary fallacy that man was superior to woman. He regarded women as low as slaves and preached that "only women and inferior men are difficult to keep." Confucius held that the relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister and between father and son, were all between master and servant and that this principle was universal under heaven. During the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) Mencius, a devotee of Confucius, arbitrarily drew a line between men and women and advocated that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." He regarded a wife as a husband's slave and prattled that for a woman morality meant only obedience. Under the influence of the reactionary preachings of Confucius and Mencius, some of the so-called Confucian classics went even further. They formulated many reactionary dogmas such as the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues" (obedience to the father and elder brothers when young, obedience to the husband when married, and obedience to the sons when widowed; women's virtue, speech, appearance and chores), women taking part in political affairs would give rise to the danger of national subjugation and "separation

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of men and women" was a "major moral principle of a country." They thus imposed numerous spiritual shackles on the masses of working women. All these reactionary fallacies spread by Confucius and Mencius were entirely for the purpose of upholding and trying to restore the slave system.

With the daily sharpening of the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class after the middle of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.), the landlord class gradually switched from respect for the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school to worshipping the latter and opposing the former. As a result, reactionary Confucian ideas on the question of women developed further. A devotee of Confucius, Tung Chung-shu babbled that relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister or father and son, were decided by the *yin-yang* relationship. The husband represented *yang* (male or positive element) and the wife *yin* (female or negative element). Pan Ku of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) epitomized this idea as follows: "The sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They alleged that the difference in status between men and women following the appearance of class antagonism was absolute and eternal like "*yang* being superior to *yin*" or the sky above the earth. This fallacy of deciding the status of men and women by the *yin-yang* principle put a theological cloak over the reactionary theories for oppressing women.

Ardent followers of Confucius in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) turned out many reactionary works such as *Analects for Women* and *Filial Piety for Women* to inculcate among the masses of working women the idea of man being superior to woman. These writings did everything possible to spread ideas that women must keep to their "chastity" and "submissively accept all unfair treatment" and that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." Some even prescribed that a woman "should not look back when walking, twitch her lips when talking, move her knees when sitting, rustle her skirt when standing, laugh when happy and shout when angry." If she followed these rules in all her acts, could she look like a living person?

As the peasants' struggle against the landlord class mounted wave upon wave in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the latter became more and more reactionary. Some followers of Confucius and Mencius made big efforts to elaborate the reactionary canon that "the sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They said this was prescribed by heaven long before the appearance of humanity. An apologist for the landlord class called Cheng Yi demanded that women strictly keep to their "chastity" and shouted that "starving to death is very insignificant, while loss of chastity (for a

widow to remarry was regarded as loss of chastity) is a great matter.” He thus openly preached that women should become willing sacrifices to the feudal ethical code. Countless numbers of women in the ensuing 800 years were victims of this reactionary idea advocated by Cheng Yi.

The Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties were in the late period of feudal society. To stave off their decline and fall, the reactionary rulers were even more frantic in propagating the idea of male superiority. For more than 500 years a great many books preaching this idea were put out. They included systematically edited collections, popular readers and writings promulgated for the whole nation in the name of the supreme feudal rulers. This motley collection of books made the victimization of women more barbaric than ever before.

After the Revolution of 1911, Yuan Shih-kai who dreamt of restoring the monarchy and the autocrat and traitor to the people Chiang Kai-shek completely inherited the mantle of the previous reactionary rulers. They preached that “relations between husband and wife” and the “separation of men and women” advocated by the Confucian school were “immutable principles of social life.” Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, revisionist chieftains in the Party, and their gangs also took over all that Confucius preached and continued spreading the reactionary idea of men being superior to women. Slandering women as “backward” and “useless,” they tried to continue putting Chinese women in bondage to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so as to restore capitalism in China.

Working Women—a Great Revolutionary Force

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Numerous facts in Chinese history have proved that the working women not only can shatter the bonds of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but are a great revolutionary force in the fight against feudalism, Confucianism and imperialism.

Struggle Against Feudalism. Men in China were generally subjected to the domination of three authorities: political, clan and religious. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three authorities, they were also dominated by men or the authority of the husband. Chairman Mao has said: **“These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants.”** **“The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority.”** (*Report on an In-*

vestigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan.) In their struggle for liberation, the working women made feudal rule of the landlord class their first target of attack.

Towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty, Mother Lu of Haichu (present-day Jihchao County, Shantung Province) had bitter hatred for the exorbitant taxes and levies of the reactionary government. When her son was unjustly killed by the magistrate, this aggravated her pent-up hatred and enmity and she organized more than 1,000 impoverished peasants to stage an uprising in 17 A.D., proclaiming herself the general. Under her leadership, they took Haichu by storm, executed the magistrate, continued fighting the reactionary government and soon their army expanded to more than 10,000 people. After the death of Mother Lu, most of her units joined the rebellious peasant armies in other places. This formed a big nationwide peasant uprising which overthrew that reactionary regime.

The heroine Tang Sai-erh from Putai (present-day Pohsing County, Shantung Province) was a leader of a peasant uprising in Shantung in the early Ming Dynasty. By propagating revolution and organizing the masses, she assembled the armed peasant forces in the surrounding areas and established a rural revolutionary base area in 1420. The Ming government hurriedly dispatched troops to suppress the uprising. Spurring on her horse, Tang Sai-erh killed the enemy commander with her sword, and the enemy troops were completely annihilated. Terror-stricken, the Ming ruler immediately sent a senior officer to put down the uprising. Though encircled, she directed her troops to feint an attack on one place while striking at another, thus enabling the peasant forces to break through the encirclement and move to a place of safety. After the failure of the uprising, the Ming ruler twice issued orders to search for and arrest Tang Sai-erh, but the enemy never found her, for she was well protected by the masses.

Great Force in Criticizing Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are spiritual pillars to uphold and restore the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and ropes to enslave and bind the working women. In their struggle against this reactionary rule, the working women of China have heavily pounded and swept away these doctrines.

During the early period of the Tang Dynasty, Chen Shuo-chen from Muchow (present-day Chienteh County in Chekiang Province) and her brother-in-law Chang Shu-yin led an armed uprising in Chekiang in 653 A.D. She proclaimed herself Emperor Wen Chia and appointed Chang Shu-yin her prime minister. She threw overboard the Confucian fallacy that women should only stay at home and cook and “not take part in political affairs,” and so by her actions she criticized the reactionary

Confucian concept that the “right to rule comes directly from heaven.” She was the first woman emperor of a revolutionary political power founded by the working people in Chinese history.

During the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement in the mid-19th century, working women actively took part in the armed struggle and in the movement opposing Confucianism.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom firmly opposed the idea and practice of male supremacy and stood for four great equalities—political equality, economic equality, equality among nationalities and equality between man and woman.

Politically, women in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom took part in extensive political activities and many held important official posts up to the highest ranks. Economically, the kingdom stipulated that “land shall be distributed according to the number of persons, irrespective of sex.” Militarily, men and women were armed alike to fight the enemy and the Taiping Army recruited a large number of soldiers from among the working women. There were about 100,000 women soldiers and many women generals, marshals and commanders. In the cultural and educational spheres, both men and women could take part in government examinations. In one special examination for women, the examinees exceeded 200 and both the chief and deputy examiners were women.

Heroines Resisting Imperialist Aggression. As a result of imperialist aggression after the Opium War in 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The calamity-ridden Chinese working people at that time shouldered the herculean task of opposing imperialism, feudalism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“The history of China’s transformation into a semi-colony and colony by imperialism in collusion with Chinese feudalism is at the same time a history of struggle by the Chinese people against imperialism and its lackeys.”** (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.*) Many working women’s heroic deeds are listed in the records of the Chinese people’s struggle against imperialist aggression.

After British troops had invaded and occupied Kwangchow in 1841, they went to pillage in Sanyuanli on its northern outskirts. Raising banners with the characters Ping Ying Tuan (Quell the British Corps), the heroic Sanyuanli people took up arms and gave the British invading troops a sound beating. Men and women, old and young, tens of thousands of people from 103 neighbouring villages joined forces to chase the retreating panic-stricken enemy. Ah Feng, wife of Chou Chun who was one of the Ping Ying Tuan leaders, was a courageous and skilful fighter in the corps and was warmly acclaimed by the masses.

The enemy dared not go near her. The women of Sanyuanli played a positive role in the struggle against the British invaders and proved through their own actions that the Chinese working women were an important force in the struggle against imperialism.

The Small Sword Society of Shanghai staged an armed uprising in 1853 to fight tit for tat against U.S., British and French imperialism and their lackeys. Chou Hsiu-ying, daughter of a leader of the rebellious army, Chou Li-chun, was adept at using a big sword and the masses called her Big Sword Girl Hsiu. At 17, she and her father joined in the struggle against the feudal landlords by refusing to pay the land rent. She was made a general after the uprising and heroically resisted the Ching government troops in the campaign to defend Chiating near Shanghai. When the Ching troops attacked Shanghai, she enticed the enemy to advance deep into a trap and large numbers of enemy troops were killed. In the fierce battle to break out of Shanghai, she fought courageously against the U.S., British and French aggressors and gave up her young life.

An Anglo-French allied army occupied Peking and Tientsin in 1860 and burnt and reduced the Yuan Ming Yuan Summer Palace in Peking's western suburbs to ashes. The British troops twice invaded Hsiehchuang Village, five kilometres from the palace. When the enemy came to the village the second time, Feng Wan-chen, a 19-year-old daughter of a hunter's family, and the village's young hunters decided to take action. By launching a surprise attack, they killed more than 100 enemy troops and made the rest flee helter-skelter, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. Not fearing a strong enemy and daring to struggle, Feng Wan-chen personified the Chinese working women's glorious tradition in fighting tyranny.

Revelations of History

First, China's working women are a great revolutionary force. Not willing to be bound by the "four ropes," they are firm in putting up resistance, in making revolution and in transforming society. That was why they took part in every one of the hundreds of peasant uprisings in Chinese history. Marx said: **"Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment."** (*Marx to L. Kugelmann.*) Although past revolutionary struggles by the working people, including the working women, did not win final victory, their struggles alone were the real force propelling the development of history in feudal society.

Second, male superiority is the product of private property and class oppression. The woman question is a question of class struggle.

Women's emancipation can be realized only by first overthrowing the social system in which there is exploitation and oppression of man by man. Working women in the past fought heroically in the forefront of the struggle, but because of the limitations of historical conditions they could not win real equality between men and women. It was only under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that Chinese women together with men overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism weighing down on the Chinese people, toppled the criminal system that caused all kinds of suffering to China's women, and fundamentally removed the class origin of exploitation and oppression of women. Today they are vigorously playing their great "one-half" role in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Third, only with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can we thoroughly triumph over the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and smash the spiritual shackles imposed on women. Working women in the past boldly pounded at these doctrines by their own actions and strove to free themselves from feudal oppression. But owing to the limitations of their times and class, they could not thoroughly expose and criticize the class content and reactionary essence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Later, the bourgeoisie took part in the struggle against Confucianism in the May 4th Movement of 1919, but it also could not thoroughly criticize these doctrines. The task of doing this is entrusted by history to the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Together with all the other working people of China, our working women are earnestly studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, taking an active part in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, thoroughly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, occupying with Marxism all of the superstructure, including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law, and carrying the class struggle in the realm of ideology through to the end.

TEXT 10

TO DEVELOP INDUSTRY WE MUST INITIATE TECHNICAL INNOVATION

Kung Hsiao-wen

Chairman Mao says: "In developing technology, we cannot follow the old road of other countries in the world, trailing behind them step by step. We must discard all conventional practice and apply up-to-date techniques as much as possible, so that we can, in not too long an historical period, build our country into a strong, modernized socialist state." Chairman Mao's instruction serves as a profound criticism of the philosophy of servility to foreign things, of the mentality of trailing behind others, and of the ideas of Chia-kuei [a character in a novel by Lu Hsun who poses as a foreigner], all of which allege that China must always trail behind Western science and technology. It also greatly enhances the initiative and creativeness of the working class, the scientific and technical personnel, and all the people of our country, giving a mighty impetus to the development of technical innovation.

To initiate technical innovation is a reliable approach to fully tapping the latent capacities of existing enterprises and to developing production with greater, faster, better, and more economical results. It also serves as an effective means for persistently developing industry along our own road, so that we can catch and surpass the advanced level of the world. To persist in revolution and adhere to the road of socialism in the realm of productive skills requires us to rely on the masses and motivate them to take part in technical innovation and technical revolution. Whether or not we emphasize technical innovation and whether or not we reform backward production techniques is a significant indicator of our adherence to the policy of working with independent effort and through self-reliance. It is also the concrete expression of the acute ongoing struggle between the two ideologies and two lines in the realm of productive skills. At present, the broad masses of workers, tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Campaign to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, display an ever-growing revolutionary enthusiasm. Confronting us is the important task of launching in greater depth and breadth a drive for technical innovation and of bringing into full play the socialist initiative of the broad masses in order to promote great strides in the socialist construction in our

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country and to further develop the excellent situation in both revolution and production.

Whenever the issue of increasing production becomes the topic of the day, some comrades tend to reach out their hands to higher authorities for more factory buildings, more equipment, and a greater work force. They hold that "the size of the egg determines the size of the chicken." To double output, we must double the input of factory buildings, labor force, and equipment. It appears that without "doublings" in these categories it is impossible to "double" production. This mentality puts a restriction on the mass drive to initiate technical innovation in a big way. Naturally, we cannot dismiss out of hand the contention that some addition of equipment, factory buildings, and labor force is required for increasing production. But the fact is that the current production level in some factories is far behind that of their more advanced counterparts. Only by digging out the potential capacity of these factories can we achieve more with less money, or even with no additional cost whatever. Besides, be it now or in the future, state funds for construction are always limited. The industrial labor force cannot be permitted, and is not permitted, to expand without restraint and without any connection to agriculture, which is the foundation of the national economy. Any factory which runs into difficulty and only reaches out its hand, "waiting, demanding, and relying on" the higher authorities for more, will merely dampen the socialist initiative of the broad masses. "The more one waits, the laxer his spirit; the more one relies on others, the lazier he grows; and the more one demands, the less enterprising he becomes." In units and departments where such a mentality prevails, the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses is barred from coming into play, and technical innovation and technical transformation become empty talk.

Will the "addition" of capital, equipment and whatnot lead necessarily to a proportionate increase in production? Not always. The experience of many units tells us that when the line is wrongly oriented and devoid of the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, the broad masses are fettered in their actions and production will not rise even when more money and equipment are made available. When the line is properly directed, when the socialist initiative of the broad masses is fully mobilized and technical innovation is in full swing, then production rockets upward although little or no equipment and labor force have been added. The Shanghai steel industry, harassed by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in the days before the Cultural Revolution, hung back from progress for many years. The steel plants remained the same in number after the Cultural Revolution and basically had no expansion in labor force. However, since they have corrected the direction of the

line, they have initiated full-scale technical innovation through their own efforts and by relying on the masses. With the application of the new technique of oxygen blast, the converters increased their smelting power by 75 percent over the designed capacity. The old open-hearth furnaces with a volume of fifty tons doubled their output following this innovation. The smaller electric furnaces with a five-ton capacity accepted more and more input until they were handling fifteen tons each. In 1973, the entire city's steel output showed a rise of 70 percent over that of 1965. This fully illustrates that there is no limit to the development of production through technical innovation and technical transformation. This insistence that "the size of the egg determines the size of the chicken," this assumption that production cannot be increased without an expansion of equipment, factory buildings, and labor force, is therefore groundless. At the same time, it also illustrates that in order to persist in reform in the realm of productive skills and to push production forward rapidly, it is imperative that we first settle the issue of ideology and line. Only by solving the ideological and political question of following the socialist road or the capitalist road from the height of the Party's basic line can we find a solution to the issue of reformation or conservatism in the realm of productive skills.

Why is it that some units seem unable to get technical innovation underway? Some comrades have argued: "The masses in our unit have great enthusiasm. A little extra work won't prevent them from accomplishing the job. Innovation or no innovation, we can get along fine." Others have held: "We are hard pressed by production tasks. We have no time for introducing innovations." All this constitutes still another mental barrier to the progress of technical innovation. It is a good thing when the masses have great enthusiasm and can accomplish their jobs even when assigned more work. However, as socialist construction in our country presses forward, production tasks gain in volume. If we fail to initiate technical innovation but rather try to complete production tasks by taxing the strength of the masses, our energies cannot long be sustained. You can "get along fine" at present, but you cannot expect to do so in the future. The great enthusiasm of the masses is a prerequisite to the launching of technical innovation. We must fully mobilize the masses and go in for technical innovation in a big way so that we can complete production tasks with better results. Is it impossible to initiate technical innovation while taxed by heavy production tasks? Not at all. The pressure of the tasks can be transformed into mobilizing power. A good many major technical innovations are rushed into being under the "pressure" of heavy production tasks. The workers in some units, hard pressed by production tasks, offered this suggestion: "Let two men take the jobs assigned to three so that one

can be spared for the work of technical innovation." Thus, technical innovation not only provides a mighty impetu and boosts production, but also raises the techniques of production to a much higher level. From this it can be seen that heavy production tasks, far from precluding innovation, make full-scale technical innovation a necessity, and thus production and innovation each serve as a stimulus to the other. Because technical innovation becomes a major force for boosting production, we must persist in our efforts toward it whatever the circumstances. The tendencies to exaggerate difficulty and let matters drift actually result from the evil influence of passive, conservative, and conventional thinking.

Chairman Mao says, "Mankind makes constant progress, and Nature undergoes constant change; neither remains at the same level." Two different mentalities are represented by those who rest content with things as they are and those who, on the other hand, persist in their efforts to change reality. Marxists hold that in a socialist society, classes and class struggle are facts. Like all other revolutionary struggles, the production struggle develops out of contradictions and conflicts. Our present-day level of productive skill represents tremendous progress as compared to that of the era preceding the Cultural Revolution. This progress did not come about naturally, but was, in simple fact, the result of struggle. As Chairman Mao's revolutionary line prevails over the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the broad masses, fostering the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, have surmounted one difficulty after another, ceaselessly seeking changes in production conditions and consequently attaining today's high level. Without innovation and change, there can be no progress. It has been so from the past to the present day, and it will remain so in the future. After there has been progress in production, new contradictions will arise and require new solutions. It will not suffice simply to continue as of old. The revisionists hold that to develop industry, science, and technology, we have no alternative but to trail behind others step by step. They have the bourgeoisie of the West on their minds, never giving a thought to the proletariat of the East. They refuse to recognize the existence of classes and class struggle in a socialist society and try to suppress the emergence of new things on the fronts of industry, science, and technology. They go by their old ways and oppose change, an attitude which actually indicates stagnation, retrogression, and restoration. The struggle over this issue will be a lengthy one.

Legalists, who represented the emerging classes in history, advocated progress and stood for change. Under the slogan "Do not copy the old or uphold what is customary," they launched a vehement onslaught on the old and backward relations of production. With the mighty strength

of the laboring people as the major force propelling history, they served as an impetus for the promotion of change in production techniques and spurred production forward. The Confucians preached that "to copy the old will lead to no harm and to observe the rites will ensure against evil." Their precept was nothing but the spiritual yoke that restrained the laboring people from changing the conditions of production. Lin Piao followed Confucius in his pursuit of the counterrevolutionary program of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" and in his advocacy of the "concept of destiny" and the "theory of the summit" in order to meet the demand of the overthrown exploiting classes for restoration and retrogression. Clearly, in the realm of productive skills, there has always been an acute struggle between two different ideological lines in the form of a conflict between progress and retrogression, between seeking change and sticking with the old. In its revolution, the proletariat aims to end the old world and the old things. It must fight politically and ideologically against the reactionary forces representing the exploiting classes and their influence. With respect to productive skills, the proletariat must combat the conservative tendency to let matters drift and must contend with the mentality of cowards and lazybones who cherish no ambition in their lives. They must be brave enough to seek change and daring enough to introduce innovations. The standardized parts industry in Shanghai is comprised mostly of small factories. They are poorly equipped and hard pressed by production tasks. In the past, some were of the opinion that these factories were in no position to plunge into technical innovation. But the workers said: "We fear no obstacle but indolence. We are afraid not so much that conditions are poor as that we lack ambition." They broke through the barrier of conservative thinking and plunged into transformation with full force. After having made several technical innovations since the Cultural Revolution, the whole industry, at no cost of capital to the state, has realized semiautomation or automation on 90 percent of their lathes. Furthermore, they have also created a batch of combined automatic lathes which have attained the advanced technical level of the world. The total number of staff and workers in the entire industry has decreased by 18 percent at present, while their output value has more than doubled. Obviously, the question is not whether changes can be made or whether there are difficulties. People need only to free themselves mentally from the bondage of conventional custom in order to be able to open up a new world of technical innovation, a world in which they can continue to discover, invent, create, and advance.

There are still other comrades who maintain that if technical innovation is to be launched, it ought to be done in a proper way. This "proper way" is no more than verbiage, an expression of their lust for

expansion and sophistication. In their eyes, only the reproduction of what has been recorded in a "foreign book" or what has been done by foreigners can be regarded as "proper." As for innovations and creations achieved by indigenous methods and coming forth from the broad masses, they hold them all in contempt, terming them "improper," "irregular," or "unreliable." If technical innovation is to be launched in the "proper way" as they define it, there will be nothing to do but imitate and copy things foreign. This will inevitably strangle innovation and creativity on the part of the masses and throw cold water on their enthusiasm. If we are to launch an extensive drive for technical innovation, it is imperative that we overcome ideas founded on blind faith in things foreign, feelings of inferiority, and contempt for the masses.

The broad masses achieve innovations and creations by simple and indigenous methods. Are their devices "irregular" or "unreliable"? Absolutely not. The masses seek innovations and creations in order to meet practical needs stemming from the progress of production. They find them by summing up their rich experience of practice and adapting them to local conditions, and thus the devices they create are marked by low cost, quick application, and effective results. These devices are handy and expedient when employed, easily applied to production, and easily popularized and implanted among the masses. They are the crystallization of the collective wisdom and experience of the broad masses, and they result from self-reliance and hard struggle. Much evidence testifies to the fact that innovations and creations that begin with the simple and indigenous methods of the masses will undergo a ceaseless process of improvement. Fragmentary innovation may result in wholesale technical revolution. The reform of a single gadget may lead to the revamping of a whole installation. The mechanization and automation of one working process might eventually shape itself into the streamlining of automatic production, which may in turn bring about a complete change in production and technology in the entire enterprise or the whole industry. Among our new devices are quite a few items that have caught up with, and even exceeded, the advanced level of the world. These are not the fruits of imitation or copying, but are achievements bearing a Chinese character and ranging from the form of products to the technical approaches employed in their making. With this in mind, we can open a new road for the development of science and technology, a road corresponding to the conditions in our own country and ensuring greater, faster, better, and more economical results. To begin to innovate by applying simple and indigenous methods does not mean that we must exclude all foreign methods. On the contrary, it will be effective to closely integrate foreign methods with indigenous ones and thus "absorb what is useful, reject what is

useless, and add what is peculiar to us," making foreign things serve our purposes and play a greater and better role. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, the sweater industry in Shanghai was engaged in a project of automation. Influenced by the revisionist line, they tried to accomplish this in a "proper way" and entrusted the project to a few persons working behind closed doors. The project continued for quite a number of years, but without result. Last year, two young electricians in a sweater factory, taking the practical needs of production as their starting point, set out to create an innovation by simple methods. At a cost of only seventy-two dollars they created a "light and electricity control box" that automated four working processes. Due to its low cost and quick effectiveness, it was warmly received by the workers. In half a year's time, the device was popularized sufficiently to be found on some 1,500 knitting machines in the industry and was responsible for raising production efficiency by 15 percent. Since the beginning of this year, this simplified process-control device has been further popularized and is now employed in twenty factories in the city, including the industries of steel rolling, steel forging, metal cutting, and rubber goods. This episode illustrates vividly that innovations introduced by the masses from simple methods have great vitality. As simple methods gain prestige, the road to technical innovation and technical transformation ever broadens. The workers said it well: "Simplicity, simplicity; we must stick to it as an unshakable method." This they said because to seek technical innovation initially through simple methods is in keeping with the objective law under which technology develops from lower to higher levels, from quantitative change to qualitative change. Simplicity comes into existence relative to complexity. In the course of the development of technology, the contradiction between simplicity and complexity will always be a fact, and they will undergo reciprocal transformation under certain specific conditions. We must seek innovation initially through simple methods under the present conditions, and we will continue doing so as the conditions of the production techniques grow even better in the future. Indeed, we will be doing the same thing ten thousand years hence—but the "simplicity" of that time will be of a higher level than the "simplicity" of today.

As a matter of course, in launching technical innovation, we must comply with objective laws and emphasize effectiveness, paying attention to combining our revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude. Technical innovation is a painstaking job, often involving many aspects of production and scientific research. Nothing will be accomplished if we fail to abide strictly by objective laws. Some units have done a fine job of technical innovation. Their experiences prove that in the course of innovation it is necessary to fully mobilize the masses and attentively

sum up their advanced experience. Simultaneously, we must also emphasize study, investigation, and repeated scientific experimentation. We can thus avoid going astray and achieve greater results in a relatively short period of time.

"The leadership must advance ahead of the movement and not fall behind it." Spurred by the Campaign to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, mass technical innovation in various industrial departments is now forging ahead. It is the pressing demand of the broad masses that we make great efforts and effect great changes. Leading cadres at different levels on the economic front should keep pace with the forward strides of the masses and lead them enthusiastically forward. They must strive to do still better in organizing the initiative of the broad masses and must voluntarily readjust those aspects of the relations of production which do not conform to the progress of the productive forces. They should deftly employ the superstructure as an energetic, impelling force and promote the drive for technical innovation more extensively and profoundly. Chairman Mao points out: "Our people should have a far-sighted, overall plan. We must strive to change economic, scientific, and cultural backwardness in our country within a few decades and quickly pull abreast of the advanced level of the world." Anyone who cherishes the socialist new China, any revolutionary who adheres to Chairman Mao's policy of independence and self-reliance while rejecting the traitorous line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, is bound to give warm support to this instruction from Chairman Mao. The existing foundation of our industry has been continually reinforced by the construction carried out during the past five-year plans, and the conditions for undertaking technical innovation have become more favorable than ever. In accordance with the General Line of "Go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results," we must foster the high aspiration of making our country strong through vigorous effort and must engage ourselves in solid, hard work. By doing this, we are certain to raise the production skills in our country to a still higher level. Each industrial department must work out its own plan, clearly defining its direction and goals for future technical innovation and transformation. And, beginning from the current, actual conditions of production, they should strive to strengthen the weak links in production. Envisioning what lies in the distant future and grappling with what arises in the present, they are to exert themselves to effect some small changes in the techniques of production each year. By the accumulated effort of several years, they can bring about major changes in production. With ceaseless change, they will move forward ceaselessly. Meanwhile, they must lend wholehearted support to the new things created by the masses and must energetically encourage

those who are more advanced. By earnestly summing up and popularizing the experience of those who are advanced and by consolidating and improving already existing technical innovations, they will ensure that mass technical innovation will surge forward in the right direction and that greater victories will be scored in the socialist construction of our country.

TEXT 11

HAS ABSOLUTE MUSIC NO CLASS CHARACTER?

Chao Hua

With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and new victories being continually won in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure, an excellent situation prevails in the country. But the class struggle and the two-line struggle on the art and literary front remain very sharp and complex. The recent weird contention that so-called absolute music has no social content but simply expresses contrasting and changing moods is a sign of a return to the revisionist line in art and literature.

Should the reactionary nature of this erroneous view be exposed or not? This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong and we cannot treat it casually. It involves the question of whether or not the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle should be recognized as a universally applicable truth, whether or not the proletarian dictatorship should be exercised in the ideological realm, and whether the Marxist critical attitude should be adopted towards the bourgeois arts or whether they should be "taken over wholesale" as the revisionist fallacies of Chou Yang and his like advocated; it involves the question of whether the proletarian revolution in art and literature can be carried through to the end.

Absolute music in general refers to instrumental music without a descriptive title as to theme or content and it usually is designated by its musical form or tempo. For example, "Symphony in F Major," "Concerto in C Minor," "Largo," "Allegro" and so on.

Bourgeois theorists have long spouted that absolute music is a form of "pure music," devoid of social content and class nature. They fallaciously contend that music is "simply fantasy, not reality" and that "music is music, and nothing else." The modern revisionists, while paying lip-service to music's ties with social life, actually blur the class distinction between proletarian and bourgeois music by describing absolute music as "of the people," "realistic" and so forth. Why should both the bourgeoisie and the revisionists concoct all sorts of arguments to obscure the class character of art? It is because bourgeois ideology, including bourgeois art and literature, serves to prop up the capitalist

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system. They dare not openly acknowledge the exploiting class character of their art and literature. Instead, to disguise the essential substance of capitalist exploitation, they pose as representatives of the whole people in order to deceive the labouring masses.

Marxist-Leninists hold that all works of music, both absolute and programme music, as a form of ideology **“are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society.”** Music without titles descriptive of their theme or content is by no means merely “a form of the flow of sounds.” Not giving their works a descriptive title is only a means by which composers cover up the class content of their works. In fact, a composer clearly has in mind what he wants to praise or oppose and what content and mood he means to convey, when he is composing absolute music.

When the German bourgeois composer Beethoven (1770-1827) was asked the meaning of his *Sonata No. 17*, a composition without a descriptive title, he replied: “Please read Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*.” That play, we know, preaches the bourgeois theory of human nature. Of course, the means of expression of music are different from those of literature. Music uses melody, rhythm and harmony to evoke scenes, tell a story or convey emotion, thereby expressing quite plainly or relatively subtly and deviously the composer’s world outlook, ideas and feelings. But in any case, the social and class content, thoughts and feelings so expressed can never be abstract, unintelligible “fantasy,” for they can be grasped by applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and method of class analysis.

Take for instance the representative work *Symphony in B Minor* (the *Unfinished Symphony*) by Schubert (1797-1828), an Austrian bourgeois composer of the romantic school. The class feelings and social content it expresses are quite clear, although it has no descriptive title. This symphony was composed in 1822 when Austria was a reactionary feudal bastion within the German Confederation and the reactionary Austrian authorities not only ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the workers and peasants, but also persecuted and put under surveillance intellectuals with any bourgeois democratic ideas. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals like Schubert saw no way out of the political and economic impasse, and lacking the courage to resist they gave way to melancholy, vacillation, pessimism and despair, evading reality and dreaming of freedom. This work of Schubert’s expressed these class feelings and social content. The opening phrase is sombre and gloomy. The whole symphony continues and expands on this emotion, filling it with petty-bourgeois despair, pessimism and solitary distress. At times the dreaming of freedom does come through, but this, too, is escapist and negative.

Absolute music composed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries are products of the European capitalist society, upholding the interests of the bourgeoisie and serving the capitalist system. The content and the ideas and feelings with which they are saturated have an unmistakably bourgeois class nature. Marx pointed out: **“Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.”** And it is this blood and dirt that bourgeois music extols. Although certain compositions were to some extent progressive in the sense of being anti-feudal, they failed to mirror proletarian thoughts and feelings of their time; and they are, of course, still more incompatible with our socialist system today under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then why dismiss their class content and extol them? Yet even today there are some who would feed our young people on these musical works uncritically and intact. Where would this lead our young people?

Some devotees of bourgeois absolute music often try to cover up its class nature by holding forth in empty terms on the contrasting, changing moods it presents. This is a reactionary viewpoint of the bourgeois theory of a common human nature transcending classes. For these moods are none other than those of delight and anger, joy and sorrow which vary, as do all men's ideas and feelings, according to the times and society people live in and the class they belong to. Lu Hsun mercilessly repudiated this bourgeois trash that all men share common emotions and feelings. He said: “Of course, it is human nature to know delight and anger, joy and sorrow but the poor are never worried about losing money on the stock exchange, an oil magnate cannot know the trials of an old woman collecting cinders in Peking, and victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen. . . .” Are there any feelings that are not stamped with the brand of a class?

“Joy” can be presented in sharply contrasted ways. Thus the music for the despotic landlord's birthday celebrations in the third scene of the modern revolutionary dance-drama *Red Detachment of Women* uses frivolous melody and erratic rhythm to expose the landlord's wanton extravagance and profligacy built on the suffering of the working people. In contrast, the magnificent stirring music of the dance by soldiers and civilians in the next scene presents the brilliant sunshine and jubilation in the revolutionary base. Did these two musical passages project the same emotions?

Again, take the subject of “sorrow.” The grief of a feudal monarch after his overthrow is expressed in the verses written by Li Yu, the last king of the Southern Tang kingdom in the 10th century, as he hankered in captivity after his former decadent life in the palace.

*Carved balustrades, jade flagstones still remain,
But those rosy cheeks are gone.
How great my lord's grief?
Endless as the spring river flowing to the east!*

But the proletarian fighter Lu Hsun portrayed sorrow of a very different kind when he wrote:

*A host of dark, gaunt faces in the brambles,
Yet who dare shake the earth with lamentation?
I brood over our whole far-stretching land
And in this silence hear the peal of thunder.*

This indignant denunciation of the savage oppression of the people by the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries conveys the class hatred and national enmity of millions of working people. This militant lamentation has nothing at all in common with the grief of a feudal monarch over the loss of his kingdom. To claim that one melody could be used to express these two diametrically opposed feelings would be sheer charlatanry.

As for empty talk about "bright," "healthy" melodies, devoid of class content, this is the metaphysical approach which the revisionists usually resort to when peddling their bourgeois wares. Chou Yang once brayed that the American bourgeoisie whom Walt Whitman extolled was "the new man," "healthy, broad of mind, with high ideals, a pair of working hands, and eternally optimistic" and that that "shiny example" was "worthy of emulating and copying." But we are aware if the proletariat really were to "emulate" and "copy" the bourgeoisie, then what awaits us is not "bright skies" but the darkness of the dungeon.

The bourgeoisie may well believe that the works of the 18th-century Austrian bourgeois composer Mozart embody "bright" and "healthy" sentiments. But we working people know clearly that these sentiments cannot compare with the exuberant and impassioned feelings expressed by the chorus *The Sun Rises* in the seventh scene of *The White-Haired Girl*. Brimming over with jubilation, this chorus extols Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people, as well as the Communist Party, and evokes the soul-stirring scene "**of the land of hibiscus glowing in the morning sun**" and the emancipation of the downtrodden peasants. No bourgeois music can even remotely compare with this unrestrained healthy burst of joy evoked by this chorus.

Chou Yang and company also raved that "music is a universal language," in order to concoct a theoretical basis for their attempt to peddle the wholesale Westernization of music. In fact, every class

speaks its own language and there is no such thing as a so-called universal language transcending classes. *The Internationale* which rings throughout the world is the common language of the proletariat only. The bourgeoisie trembles at the sound of this melody. Lenin aptly said: **“In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country—he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the *Internationale*.”**

For over eighty years this stirring song has inspired workers of all countries to unite to smash the old world and fight for the realization of communism. All reactionaries, however, regard this battle-song of the proletariat as a fearful menace and do all in their power to prevent *The Internationale* from circulating among the people. Hence, do the reactionaries share a common language with the proletariat?

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and their gang, however, shared a common language with the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries at home and abroad, for these renegades, like all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, opposed proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and vainly tried to restore capitalism in China. This was like the futile efforts of Confucius, the mouthpiece and defender of ancient China's slave-owning class, who, grieving that “the rites were lost and music was ruined,” tried desperately to propagate reactionary music aimed at benumbing and enslaving the people while frantically attacking the new rising folk music in order to preserve the collapsing slave system.

Like the other forms of art, music has always been an instrument of class struggle, and on the art and literary front the class struggle and the two-line struggle have always been extremely acute. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, great victories have been won on this front and intellectuals have made much progress, but the pernicious influence of revisionist wares peddled by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and company for a long time, such as “art and literature of the whole people” and “art and literature to nourish people,” is deep-seated and still far from being eliminated. Some people talk about bourgeois classical music with great relish, are mesmerized by it and prostrate themselves before it, showing their slavish mentality for all things foreign. They are nihilists with regard to national art. Their reverence for foreign things is actually reverence for the bourgeoisie. If this erroneous thinking of extolling foreign things and belittling Chinese things is not criticized and repudiated, then proletarian art and literature will not be able to develop and Chairman

Mao's revolutionary line in art and literature cannot be implemented.

We do not exclude foreign things indiscriminately. We should conscientiously study the revolutionary theory developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should learn from the revolutionary experience of the working class and revolutionary people of all countries and learn from and acquire advanced sciences and technology. We should critically assimilate certain techniques from classical bourgeois music, but we must not uncritically swallow anything and everything. And we must never throw ourselves at the feet of bourgeois artists. As Engels said: **"The characterization of the ancients no longer suffices today."** We must adhere to the principle of **"making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China,"** learn from the experience in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works and turn out proletarian music and art worthy of our time.

Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out in the political report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that "we should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture" and that "we should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art." The historical experience of the class struggle on the art and literary front shows that the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes cannot be buried and done away with by a criticism or two. We must conscientiously study the documents of the Tenth Party Congress, implement the spirit of the Tenth Party Congress, take the Party's basic line as the key link, further deepen the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and link them to reality in criticizing revisionism and bourgeois world outlook; we must continue to advance along the revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao, and we must never go backwards. We must be on guard and resist a return of the revisionist line in art and literature. We must resolutely defend and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry the proletarian revolution in art and literature through to the end!

TEXT 12

A DECADE OF REVOLUTION IN PEKING OPERA

Chu Lan

Led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian line in literature and art, the revolution in Peking opera has traversed a militant course over the last ten years. Though a decade is not a long time, there have been tremendous and fundamental changes on China's literary and art front.

Ten years ago the revisionist line in literature and art pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and their gang put us under their dictatorship. Under their control, the whole literary and art field was in a miasma of laying more stress on the past than on the present, worshipping what was foreign and negating what was Chinese, and praising the dead and having contempt for the living. The literary and art arena was occupied by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties as well as all sorts of ghosts and monsters. Practically everything was feudal, bourgeois or revisionist trash. It was quite an abnormal phenomenon: the landlord and capitalist classes which had been politically overthrown were still swaggering in our literature and art, while the workers, peasants and soldiers who are masters of the country as yet had no place in this field. This seriously undermined the socialist economic base and endangered the fundamental interests of the proletariat and other revolutionary people.

A decade later, this situation has been fundamentally changed today. With the revolution in Peking opera as its start and with the model revolutionary theatrical works as its landmark, the proletarian revolution in literature and art has won great victories after ten years of hard struggle. There are now 17 model revolutionary theatrical works created and cultivated by the proletariat. Like spring thunder, the birth of the first group of eight model revolutionary theatrical works in the early years of the Peking opera revolution announced that the revolutionary line in literature and art formulated by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* had obtained brilliant results through practice, the new era of socialist literature and art in China had come, the domination on the stage by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters for so many centuries had come to an end, and the era had arrived in which the worker-peasant-soldier

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heroes lift their heads and occupy the centre of the stage. This was a change of great significance in the history of Chinese literature and art.

Following the creation of the eight model revolutionary theatrical works*, many new ones have been brought forth in the last few years. They are the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing, the piano concerto *The Yellow River*, the revolutionary modern Peking operas *Song of the Dragon River*, *Red Detachment of Women*, *Fighting on the Plains* and *Azalea Mountain*, the revolutionary modern dance-dramas *Ode to Yimeng* and *Children of the Grassland* and the revolutionary symphonic music *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*. Their birth has consolidated and expanded the fruits of this great revolution and further promoted the vigorous development of the movement to create socialist literary and art works throughout the nation. Whether in literature, drama, the cinema, music, fine arts, photography, dancing or *quyi* (ballad singing, story telling and cross-talk), a large number of good or relatively good works have appeared and more and better ones will be created. The tendency in the development of the past ten years has proved that our socialist literature and art are becoming increasingly thriving year after year.

Revolution in Peking Opera—Strategic Measure to Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The tremendous changes in the last decade are by no means accidental. The revolution in Peking opera in China is determined by the fact that there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the historical period of socialism. This revolution is also an inevitable result of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and a proletarian strategic measure, under the guidance of the Party's basic line, for preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Class struggle at home and abroad tells us that when the proletarian revolution enters the socialist stage, the overthrown classes which are unreconciled to defeat always use their influence in the ideological sphere, formed over a long period, to corrupt and sabotage the socialist economic base and attack the proletariat. The literary and art sphere, in particular, is used by them as a bridgehead for propagating the reactionary world outlook and restoring capitalism. In the course of its all-round restoration of capitalism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique

*The eight model revolutionary theatrical works are the revolutionary modern Peking operas *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *On the Docks* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the revolutionary modern dance-dramas *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl* and the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*.

has made literature and art an important sector for creating counter-revolutionary public opinion. For the same purpose, representatives of the landlord and capitalist classes in China such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like spared no effort to lay hands on ideology and on literature and art.

These facts show that with socialist revolution on the economic front alone but without a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, including literature and art, the socialist system is still not consolidated and the dream of the bourgeoisie for a restoration may become a reality. To carry the socialist revolution through to the end and shatter the class enemy's plot for restoration, the proletariat must battle the class enemy tit for tat, firmly occupy the positions of literature and art, attach importance to the class struggle in the ideological sphere and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure including all cultural spheres.

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to the socialist revolution in the ideological field and has personally initiated and led all the past major struggles on the literary and art front. At the working conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao summed up in a profound way the historical experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, more comprehensively put forward the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism and called on us never to forget classes and class struggle. In 1963 the international open polemics between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists and the socialist education movement which was unfolded on a wide scale in China pushed to a new stage the proletariat's struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. With the intensified class struggle and the two-line struggle at home and abroad, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the literary and art field become sharper than before.

Against such a historical background and focusing on the existing problems in our drama and other art sectors under the control of the revisionist line in literature and art, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: **"The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest."** This set the task for the proletarian revolution in literature and art and pointed out its orientation.

At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the fields of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music. In

July 1964, Comrade Chiang Ching delivered her talk "On the Revolution in Peking Opera" at a forum attended by participants in the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. This important speech is full of the Marxist spirit of going against the tide and has become a declaration of war on the revisionist line in literature and art. For a decade it has always inspired the revolutionary literary and art fighters to march forward victoriously in their struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The old Peking opera was a stubborn stronghold of the landlord and capitalist classes in the ideological field. The main content of its repertory may be summarized as feverish propagation of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius*. Reactionary ideas such as the "Three Cardinal Guides and Five Constant Virtues**," the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues***," "loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness" and "loyalty, forbearance, benevolence and love" were all made into images to be praised on the old Peking opera stage. This was the reason why the reactionary rulers of the Ching Dynasty and the

*The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius refer to the reactionary political line and idealist system of thought of the Confucian school represented by Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and Mencius (c. 390-305 B.C.). Stubbornly defending and trying to save the slave system, both opposed social change and advocated returning to ancient times and retrogression. Modified and elaborated by successive rulers from the Han Dynasty onward, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius had become an ideological weapon for maintaining reactionary rule and the spiritual bondage of the working people for more than 2,000 years in China's feudal society and semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Even up to the present these doctrines are still used by reactionaries in China and abroad and by chiefs-tains of the opportunist lines in the Party.

**The "Three Cardinal Guides" meant that "the sovereign guides the subjects, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." That is to say, the sovereign, father and husband had absolute authority to rule, while the subjects, sons and wives could only obey unconditionally. This was said to be the will of Heaven. The three "guides" were, in other words, the political, clan, religious and masculine authorities, the four thickest ropes binding the Chinese people, especially the peasants, for more than 2,000 years.

The "Five Constant Virtues" meant the five so-called eternal principles—"benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity." They were the reactionary moral concepts used by the Confucianists to support and regulate the "Three Cardinal Guides."

***The "Three Obediences" meant female "obedience to the father and elder brothers when young, obedience to the husband when married, and obedience to the sons when widowed." Women were thus placed under rule by men from cradle to grave.

The "Four Virtues" meant women's virtue, speech, appearance and chores. Specifically, women's virtue meant a woman must know her place and behave and act in every way in compliance with the feudal ethical code. Women's speech demanded that a woman must not talk too much and not be a bore. Women's appearance meant that a woman must pay attention to adorning herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex. The meaning of women's chores was that a woman must willingly do all the household work.

later northern warlords and Kuomintang reactionaries all extolled the old Peking opera as “national essence” and “national opera,” and the imperialist robbers invading China also praised it to the skies. Though they all said they honoured this opera, it would be more appropriate to say that they made use of it. They used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius spread by the old Peking opera to corrupt and poison the minds of the Chinese people and enslave them.

Taking the reactionary class stand, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Chou Yang and their gang turned the Peking opera world into an impenetrable and watertight “independent kingdom.” They continued to poison the masses with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius on the stage and at the same time used the Peking opera form to manufacture one anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous arrow after another. Could such absurd and strange things be allowed to go on? Certainly not. If they were tolerated, it would have meant permitting them to undermine the foundation of socialism and letting China return to the dark semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. That is what the Chinese people will never tolerate.

The selection of Peking opera as the place to make a breakthrough by the proletarian revolution in literature and art is itself a major struggle to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius; it aims at dismantling the spiritual props on which the reactionary classes have relied for centuries to create a hell on earth. Capturing the stubborn fortress of the old Peking opera makes it possible for us to accumulate experience in struggle and promote the revolution in other fields of literature and art and the superstructure as a whole, so that it will conform to the socialist economic base and help consolidate and develop this base.

Laying the Foundation for Developing Proletarian Literature and Art

The tremendous changes in the last decade have not been easily won. The revolution in Peking opera is the first great campaign of the socialist revolution on all fronts in the realm of the superstructure over the last ten years. The difficulties and obstacles it met and the efforts it exerted were exceptionally large. This is a thoroughgoing revolution to firmly eliminate exploiting-class literature and art and energetically foster proletarian literature and art, the first of its kind in history. How to overcome the old Peking opera and its influence in people’s minds, how to create an entirely new revolutionary Peking opera and how to make the heroic figures of the workers, peasants and soldiers firmly occupy the stage—the solution of a series of such questions had no precedents to follow. It should be noted that after painstakingly fostering Peking opera on the stage for 100 or 200 years, the landlord and

capitalist classes had turned the old Peking opera into a dramatic art with the highest technical and artistic skills in China. Therefore, it was certainly no easy job for the proletariat to remould it, surpass it and overwhelm it in the shortest possible time.

Whether the proletariat can firmly occupy the positions of literature and art or not depends on the creation of model theatrical works with **"the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form."** Only with such model theatrical works can we convince people and firmly occupy the positions. From the very beginning, therefore, the struggle between the occupation and anti-occupation in the revolution in Peking opera raged around the model revolutionary theatrical works. In the face of this revolution, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Chou Yuang and their gang who represented the interests of the bourgeoisie considered it a big calamity for themselves and vented their anger against it. Making use of that part of the power they had usurped, they spared no effort to sabotage, openly or secretly, the revolution by every vicious means. Every step forward by the revolution at the time was made through struggle; the process of creating every model revolutionary theatrical work was a history of soul-stirring struggles. But new-born things are unconquerable. The proletariat triumphing over the bourgeoisie in the literary and art field is an irresistible law of history.

Shouldering the historical mission, Marxists leading a group of revolutionary literary and art fighters boldly pressed forward and blazed the trail, waging extremely arduous struggles, politically and artistically. In every model theatrical work, from script writing to stage production, from every rhythm in the music and singing to every dance movement, every detail was repeatedly revised and improved and carefully polished. The proletariat persevered in setting high standards and strict demands on the model revolutionary theatrical works because the latter would lay the foundation for developing socialist literature and art. The strength of models is unlimited, and the strength of the model revolutionary theatrical works will always inspire us to triumphantly march forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

The central issue in creating model revolutionary theatrical works lies in wholeheartedly portraying typical proletarian heroes in the best possible way. Historically, which class' heroic images should be created and which class' representatives should be the masters of the stage reflect in a concentrated way the political struggle in literature and art and constitute the main indication showing which class' political line they serve. The revolution in Peking opera calls for emphasis on portraying the artistic images of the proletarian heroes, making the

workers, peasants and soldiers the masters of the stage, reversing the history which had been reversed by the landlord and capitalist classes for many centuries, and thus restoring the truth of history. The proletariat has clearly put forward portraying typical proletarian heroes as the fundamental task of socialist literature and art. This draws a basic line of demarcation between our literary and art movement and that of all exploiting classes in the past.

The revolution in Peking opera has proved in practice the following: Only by portraying typical proletarian heroes well can we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in literature and art and transform the world in the image of the proletariat. Only by portraying typical proletarian heroes well can we present on the stage the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, sing the praises of the great victories won by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the different revolutionary periods and on various fronts, and inspire the masses to push forward the advance of history. Only by portraying typical proletarian heroes well can we exercise proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in literature and art. Adhering to this basic task means adhering to the orientation that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is a question of principle on which we must never waver.

The question of how to work out a good solution in inheriting the artistic form of Peking opera and introducing changes in it is a major issue closely related to portraying typical proletarian heroes. The Peking opera had always been used to depict old times and characters of the past. It can easily be used to depict negative characters, but there are numerous difficulties when it is used to portray the new era and new characters. The revolution in the ideological content of Peking opera inevitably necessitates basic reforms in its artistic form. A good solution to this question will ensure firm occupation of the Peking opera stage by the images of worker-peasant-soldier heroes, while an unsuccessful solution will bring about the reappearance of emperors, kings, generals and ministers and scholars and beauties.

It is obviously going against revolution to adopt the reformist method of putting "new wine in old bottles" with regard to old Peking opera's artistic form. If the worker-peasant-soldier heroes of our time were made to sing the old tunes and melodies suited to the ancient people and imitate the behaviour and movements of the dead, it would inevitably distort the new life and discredit the new characters. On the other hand, it would also be going up a blind alley by completely throwing overboard the special artistic features of Peking opera and adopting a nihilist attitude. To put the Peking opera's artistry in singing, acting,

dialogue and acrobatics in the service of portraying proletarian heroic images, it is necessary to proceed from life, do away with the old tunes and melodies and critically assimilate and remould whatever is useful.

The revolution in Peking opera over the past decade has adhered to the principles of **“making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China”** and **“weeding through the old to bring forth the new,”** and has correctly solved the question of critically inheriting the Peking opera’s artistic form and creating a new one. The past and the present, foreign and Chinese, and weeding through the old and bringing forth the new are examples of the unity of opposites. They manifest the relationship that puts destruction first, and in the process there is construction. **“There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution.”** The musical and dance images of proletarian heroes in the model revolutionary theatrical works all result from critically inheriting and remoulding the useful elements of the art of the old Peking opera and creating something new. In composing the arias for every heroic character, we have revolutionized the traditional melodies and singing and succeeded in bringing forth the powerful spirit of our era while carrying forward the special artistic features of the Peking opera’s melodies.

Today the masses—men and women, old and young, professionals and amateurs—all like learning and singing melodies from the model revolutionary theatrical works; the powerful and inspiring tunes sung by our heroic characters have now spread to all parts of our motherland. Could the so-called “most excellent” singing portions of the old Peking opera spread as far and wide as those of our model revolutionary theatrical works? Facts have convincingly proved that our model revolutionary theatrical works have triumphed artistically over the old Peking opera, overwhelmed it and opened for the proletariat the revolutionary road of critically inheriting and remoulding classical artistic forms.

Through sharp class struggle and arduous artistic practice in the last decade, the revolution in Peking opera has gradually trained a contingent of proletarian literary and art workers. They fight together with the revolutionary literary and art workers on the musical and dance fronts and, together with spare-time worker-peasant-soldier literary and art workers, constitute the main force of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. Contingents of proletarian literary and art workers are formed through revolutionary and artistic practice. The contingent trained in the course of the revolution in Peking opera far excels that trained by the old art colleges and schools in the past both in political and ideological level and in artistic standard. This shows that **“learning warfare through warfare”** should be our main road and method for

training contingents of literary and art workers. From now on, we should continue persevering in forming, uniting and expanding our contingents in the course of struggle. As long as we pay close attention to building up our contingents ideologically and organizationally in the course of struggle, seriously remould their world outlook and conception of literature and art, and attach importance to ideas guiding creation, we can surely develop and expand the ranks of proletarian literary and art workers.

China's proletariat now has its own model theatrical works, experience in creating them and contingents of literary and art workers. This has laid a firm foundation and opened a broad road for proletarian literature and art. In the literary and art movement under the leadership of the Party, the last decade may be said to have been the pioneering period of proletarian literature and art. Reviewing the history of mankind's literature and art, we see how many years it took the exploiting classes to create their own literature and art. The feudal class took thousands of years and the bourgeoisie hundreds of years, yet only a limited number of representative works have been handed down. By the time capitalism reached the stage of imperialism, there was complete decadence and decline. The literary and art field is filled with such degenerate rubbish as the modernist school, fauvism and strip-tease. The essence of this numerous and varied junk is to poison and numb the minds of the people. Besides continuing to develop this vicious garbage, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has in recent years shouted loudly about writing on the "theme of military patriotism" to promote militarism so as to serve its expansionism and aggression against the territories of other countries and create public opinion for its struggle for world hegemony.

Like their social and ideological systems, the literature and art of imperialism and social-imperialism resemble a dying person who is sinking fast, or like the sun setting beyond the western hills. They can no longer produce works worth anything. Contrasting our last decade with the thousands of years or hundreds of years of the landlord and capitalist classes, we find that **"the landscape here is beyond compare."**

Carrying the Revolution in Literature and Art Through to the End

While victory has been won through struggle, there will still be struggle after victory. Although the proletariat has smashed the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like, occupied the positions in Peking opera and won great victories, the struggle between occupation and counter-occupation in the field of literature and art has not ended. Amid the present reactionary trend of thought trying to

negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there are a handful of people who are pointing the spearhead of their attack against the Peking opera revolution.

Some say that “‘The fundamental task’ is not proper.” To make portraying typical proletarian heroes the fundamental task of socialist literature and art is the inevitable demand of the workers, peasants and soldiers in this field after they have become masters of the country and meets the needs of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. But some people have gone so far as to consider it “improper” and describe it as “mixing the means with the goal of literature and art.” This is an absurd argument! Throughout the ages, every class has used literature and art to portray the images of its own heroes and propagate its own world outlook so as to remould the world in its own image. When the stage is dominated by the images of heroes of a certain class, it means that class exercises dictatorship in literature and art. When some people disparage portraying typical proletarian heroes as one of the “literary and art means” and even make the slander that current literary and art creation “suffers from the ‘fundamental task,’ ” they simply are trying to negate the occupation of the stage by workers, peasants and soldiers and making a wild counter-attack against the proletarian line in literature and art.

We should like to ask: When the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties ruled the old stage for several centuries, did these people ever say this was “improper”? When, under the rule of the revisionist line in literature and art in the past, poisonous plays dominated the stage and ghosts and monsters danced on it, why didn’t they say anything about “improper”? Now, soon after the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers have mounted the stage, they shout that things are “improper.” This contrast reveals that what they consider “proper” is to put back on the stage the representatives of the landlord and capitalist classes, who were driven from it, and restore their domination.

There are others who say that “the standards of the model theatrical works are too high and they drive the others off the stage.” Are “the standards too high”? Every class has its own political and artistic standards. They want us to give up the proletarian political standards. Doesn’t this mean preserving the legitimate positions for feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art? They want us to lower proletarian artistic standards. Doesn’t this mean encouraging the production of rough and slipshod works and providing chances for the bourgeoisie to counter-attack. The so-called “standards are too high” is only a pretext to attack the model revolutionary theatrical works. Since these works came to the stage, they have indeed driven feudal, bourgeois and revisionist

sionist literature and art off the stage. This is fine. Otherwise, the situation would have been serious. Had they not been driven off, how could we have brought forth the thriving scene of socialist literature and art? The purpose of lamenting what has been "driven off the stage" by the model theatrical works is nothing but to reinstate feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art and "drive off" the model theatrical works instead. Now that the model revolutionary theatrical works have occupied the stage, we will never permit the reappearance of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art on it.

There also is the talk about "breaking down the stereotypes of the model theatrical works." This is a variety of the theory of "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy" under the new circumstances. Isn't it clear which class' language it is to slander everything—the orientation, road, principles and methods of creation followed by the model revolutionary theatrical works and the experience accumulated in practice—as "stereotypes" and to clamour for "breaking down the stereotypes"? It is precisely Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art that they want to "break down." Literature and art in the world today either serves the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Where would they go after "breaking down"? It is evident that they want to go back to the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. "Breaking down the stereotypes" means, in essence, carrying out "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in the field of literature and art and dragging history back!

It is not at all strange for the class enemies to slander and attack the revolution in Peking opera. This is an inevitable reflection of class struggle. Their reactionary hullabaloo shows by their negative example that our revolution in Peking opera has been correct and fine, and has hit them where it hurts. The more violent the enemies curse us, the more we should persist in struggle, make further efforts to popularize and develop the model revolutionary theatrical works, consolidate and expand the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry our revolution in literature and art through to the end.

TEXT 13

HISTORY DEVELOPS IN SPIRALS

Hung Yu

The People's Republic of China has triumphantly travelled a militant path for 25 years.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the past quarter of a century, our Party, by uniting the people of all nationalities in our country and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, has beaten back repeated attacks by class enemies at home and abroad and won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In particular, our Party has in the past 25 years undergone four major struggles between the two lines in which the anti-Party conspiracies of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist lines, were exposed and smashed, thereby ensuring our country to march forward along the road of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the last eight years further testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has further heightened our understanding of the laws governing class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. Practice in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has over and over again testified to this truth: Revolution invariably advances along a zigzag path by incessantly surmounting all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. New things are bound to replace the old and revolutionary forces are bound to prevail over reactionary forces. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

Unity of Opposites—Progressiveness And Tortuousness

In his work *Karl Marx*, Lenin made a vivid and scientific generalization on the law of the development of things, describing it as **“a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line.”** In many of his important works, Chairman Mao has incisively expounded and elaborated this brilliant thought of Lenin's. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Events have their twists and turns and do not follow a straight line.”** (*On Protracted War.*) Dwelling on the law of development of class struggle, he has said: **“Make trouble, fail, make**

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trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." (*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle.*) This teaching of Chairman Mao's points out the two diametrically different outcomes for the imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand and the revolutionary people on the other hand; he also points out that a tortuous course of development is inevitable in the struggle between the revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces. The disruption and failure of the counter-revolutionaries and the failure and success of the revolutionary people are two aspects which are interlinked and can transform themselves into each other. The alternate appearance of these two aspects in the course of revolutionary struggle is a concrete manifestation of the law of spiral development.

Why do things develop in spirals? It is because in each thing there is the contradiction between its new and its old aspects and the two aspects of the contradiction are united and at the same time opposed to each other, thereby pushing the development of things. The course of development of things from a low to a high stage is one in which the new things develop through continuously defeating the old. To conquer the old and replace it, a new thing is bound to meet with strong resistance from the old; only by repeated and fierce struggles can the new thing grow in strength and rise to predominance, and only thus can the old thing be weakened and forced to perish gradually. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the general direction of the development of things is a forward movement from a low to a high stage, it cannot advance in a straight line. The inevitable phenomenon in the actual process of development is that there are twists and turns of varying degrees at one time or another. Chairman Mao has said: **"Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one."** (*On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism.*) This is because there is a process of development for the revolutionary forces to grow and for the counter-revolutionary forces to perish, and it is not possible for the former to completely defeat and annihilate the latter overnight. This is also because the cognition of objective laws, the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, requires a process of accumulating experience—from without experience to having experience, from less experienced to more experienced. Only by repeated comparisons between positive and negative experiences can one achieve a correct understanding of the law of the development of revolution

and consciously apply this law to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Spiral development only approximates a series of circles, but each cycle is not a simple repetition of the previous one and does not return to where it started. As Chairman Mao has summed up: **“With each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level.”** (*On Practice.*) Superficially, reversals and zigzags look like going out of the right path, but actually every time a reversal or a twist and turn is overcome, it is invariably accompanied by a victory and progress, thereby pushing the thing to a new stage. Compared with the old stage, every new one is brought to a comparatively higher plane and by no means returns to the original place. The unity of opposites—the progressiveness and tortuousness of development of things—makes up the complicated spiral movement. The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire.

The history of development of human society over the past several thousand years is a history of spiral development full of twists and turns. Revolutions in the past, be it the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, or the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system, involved dozens or hundreds of years of repeated and tortuous struggles centring around progress and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Since the replacement of one system of exploitation by another system of exploitation involved such a process of development, the socialist revolution in which socialism triumphs over capitalism and which makes final elimination of the system of exploitation and classes its goal, will by no means be smooth sailing. The struggles involved will be more tortuous and protracted than those of any previous revolution and tremendous efforts have to be exerted. Chairman Mao has taught us: **“New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Chairman Mao said this in 1957. Practice in the past 17 years has greatly heightened our understanding of this viewpoint. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the overthrown reactionary classes refuse to take their defeat lying down. They are bound to come out to engage in sabotage and disruption to get back their lost “paradise” and look for agents in the ranks of the Communist Party as their political representatives for staging a come-back. In addition, the socialist revolution in the realm of

the superstructure will be more arduous than before owing to the thousands of years of influence of the exploiting classes' traditional ideas. It will take a considerably long period of time to decide the question of which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the political and ideological spheres. Class struggle and the two-line struggle at home always coordinate with the class struggle abroad. The domestic class enemies are bound to work hand in glove with the imperialists and social-imperialists and make trouble whenever they have the opportunity to do so. Therefore, after the seizure of political power, the proletariat faces the heavy task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting the people of various nationalities, and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much work remains to be done. The proletariat must sum up the positive and negative experiences in the protracted and repeated struggles and continue to deepen its understanding of the law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only in this way can it overcome hardships and obstructions on the path of advance, defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize communism.

Zigzag Course of Development in China's Socialist Cause

Our socialist cause in the past 25 years has developed along a zigzag course in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Chairman Mao clearly pointed to the principal contradictions at home and internationally in the period of socialist revolution and foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He thus set forth a correct line and laid down the basic steps and various principles and policies for the transition from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

In the years immediately after the birth of New China, the Party led the people of the whole country in rehabilitating the national economy and carrying out the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements (the movement against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucracy—and the movement against the five evils—bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation). It put forward the general line for socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and got the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) for socialist construction go-

ing. The vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction filled the people throughout the country with joy and elation, but at the same time it evoked bitter hatred and fear on the part of the class enemies at home and abroad.

Bourgeois careerists Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih who had wormed their way into the Party ganged up in an anti-Party alliance and wildly carried out conspiratorial activities, vainly trying to split our Party, usurp the supreme power in the Party and the state and obstruct the advance of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party to expose and shatter in good time the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and rallied all Party members and the people of the whole country to bring about an upsurge in socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production.

The bourgeoisie, however, did not take its defeat lying down. Taking advantage of the rectification campaign in 1957, it unleashed another furious attack on the Party. This fully showed that, with the socialist revolution on the economic front alone, the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat still was not secure and it was imperative to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thesis on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nation started a vigorous struggle to beat back the bourgeois Rightists and once again repulsed the bourgeoisie's large-scale frenzied attacks, thereby giving great impetus to the rapid development of socialist revolution and construction.

Having summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, of socialist construction at home and abroad, Chairman Mao put forward the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism."** Hence the excellent situation marked by the big leap forward in the national economy and the establishment of the people's communes in 1958. But the struggle in the political and ideological spheres remained very intense. At the Lushan Meeting in 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique took the field, frantically attacking the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune in a futile effort to split our Party and check the onrushing torrent of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in meeting the onslaught head-on and crushing the Peng Teh-huai Right opportunist clique whose plots fell through.

With the daily deepening of the socialist revolution, the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique ran wild in carrying out counter-revolutionary activities. During the period when China had temporary economic difficulties due to three successive years of natural disasters and sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Liu Shao-chi and his followers openly trumpeted and pushed the revisionist line of *san zi yi bao* (the

extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households) and of *san he yi shao* (the liquidation of struggle against the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists, and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries). They spared no effort in their criminal activities to restore capitalism in the political, ideological as well as economic spheres.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party in September 1962, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, advanced in a more comprehensive way the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: "**Never forget classes and class struggle.**" Immediately afterwards, Chairman Mao initiated the socialist education movement on a nationwide scale, criticized Liu Shao-chi's reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, set in motion the revolution in Peking opera and other cultural and art fields and launched the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* (a bad opera designed to reverse the verdict passed on the Right opportunists), thus ushering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The reversals and zigzags of the struggles in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were even more soul-stirring. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the entire Party and the people of the whole country, having broken through all kinds of obstacles and gone through arduous struggles, finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader. But the struggle did not end there.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao, who "lodged for a time" in the Party, jumped out to continue Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary activities. He negated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, attacked the socialist new things and plotted to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, all in a vain effort to turn socialist New China back into the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of old. With deep insight, Chairman Mao saw through all this and led the whole Party in exposing in good time the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and smashing its counter-revolutionary machinations to restore capitalism by following Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites."

The purpose of the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is precisely to thoroughly repudiate the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line, criticize the doctrines of Confucius

and Mencius—the ideology of the reactionary decadent classes promoted by Lin Piao, consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each and every victory in the socialist cause has been won through repeated struggles. The socialist revolution in the days ahead will, as in the past, move forward along a spiral course in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

Overcome Metaphysical Viewpoint of Straight-Line Development of History

In order to observe and analyse the situation in the revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint that history develops in spirals, it is necessary to do away with the metaphysical viewpoint which holds that history develops in a straight line. Lenin pointed out: **“Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral.”** (*On the Question of Dialectics.*) In class struggle, looking at problems in a straight-line way means “all struggle and no alliance” or “all alliance and no struggle.” According to Chairman Mao’s directives and in the light of the historical experience of our Party, the Tenth Party Congress once again reminded us of the necessity to oppose and prevent these two kinds of one-sidedness. If one does not know that there are ups and downs, tension and relaxation in the course of struggle and that the process of alliance involves struggles against reactionary things, splittist tendencies and erroneous ideas, one does not understand the law of spiral development. Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: **“Today our Anti-Japanese National United Front policy is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle.”** (*On Policy.*) To lead any major class struggle and two-line struggle to victory, it is essential to have a good grip on this Marxist policy. The **“unity-criticism-unity”** formula conforms to the law of spiral development and is an important method for us to correctly resolve contradictions among the people. These contradictions and those between ourselves and the enemy are two different types of contradictions. The knowledge different persons among the people have is not always the same, but they can be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through criticism or struggle and through distinguishing right from wrong on matters of line. And only by achieving unity can the correct line be implemented and the erroneous line overcome. Denying the existence of contradictions among the people and stressing unity alone but negating

struggle will of course harm the revolutionary cause. Likewise, confusing the two different types of contradictions, stressing only struggle but negating unity, and not knowing the dialectical relationship between struggle and unity and the paramount importance of revolutionary unity will also harm the revolutionary cause. Both tendencies are manifestations of seeing problems in a straight-line way and run counter to the law of spiral development. These two tendencies have occurred in our Party's history and brought losses to the cause of the Party. So we must pay attention to them and always keep in mind the historical experience of one tendency covering the other.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao used day-to-day routine such as eating and sleeping as an example to give a profound illustration of what is meant by dialectics. To those who had mistaken ideas and failed to understand the dialectical relationship between fighting heroically and abandoning territory temporarily in order to wipe out the enemy troops, Chairman Mao said: **“To eat and then to empty your bowels—is this not to eat in vain? To sleep and then to get up—is this not to sleep in vain? Can questions be posed in such a way? I would suppose not.”** (*On Protracted War.*) To see things in a straight-line way is in fact a metaphysical way of thinking and is like “eating without emptying the bowels” and “sleeping without getting up.” Anyone using this way of thinking in observing things inevitably fails to see what is the essence and what is the appearance, which is the mainstream and which is the tributary, which is the part and which is the whole. This way of thinking leads to blind optimism and loss of vigilance when revolution develops successfully, and to indolence, helplessness, pessimism and despondency when revolution faces difficulty and twists and turns. Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles, grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development to seize victory.

The reversals and twists and turns in a revolutionary struggle have a dual character. While bringing transitory difficulties to revolution, they at the same time pave the way for still greater successes for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary people invariably have to be educated and tempered by both positive and negative examples. It is the reversals and twists and turns in struggle that educate and temper us by negative example; after correctly summing up the experience and drawing lessons from it, we create the conditions for winning still greater victories in the revolutionary cause. The failure of the First Revolutionary

Civil War in 1927 was a profound lesson to the Chinese people, enabling them to understand the extremely great importance for the proletariat to take the leadership into its own hands and grasp the Marxist truth that **“political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”** Guided by Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, our Party mastered the three principal magic weapons (the united front, armed struggle and Party building) for the Chinese revolution, found the correct road for encircling the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage in its development. These historical experiences are an invaluable wealth for the revolutionary people. Chairman Mao often tells the Party cadres to bear in mind the experience and lessons of the many successes and failures in our Party’s history; in so doing he is teaching us to learn to analyse and correctly handle the reversals and twists and turns on the road of the revolution from a materialist dialectical point of view and to understand that such twists and turns are inevitable in the development of history. When we have studied how the reactionary classes in the past brought about a restoration and how tortuous the struggle was in consolidating the new social system, we can understand better the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism today.

Twists and Turns Cannot Halt the Advance of Revolution

The reversals and twists and turns on the road of revolution are only whirlpools, big and small, in the long river of history and are of little significance. As far as the entire course of history is concerned, advance and ascendancy make up the mainstream and essence of things, while twists and turns and retrogression are only branches and transient phenomena. The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie; socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism; Marxism is bound to prevail over revisionism—this is the established general trend of the development of history. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history.”** (*On the Chungking Negotiations.*) Any reversals or twists and turns, even retrogression and the repeating of history for a while, can only affect the tempo of historical development, but can neither halt the advance of history nor change the direction of its development. Both in the past and in modern times, there have been countless reversals and twists and turns in the development of history. From Confucius (551-476 B.C.) to Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) and Chiang Kai-shek, and from Chen Tu-hsiu to Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi

and Lin Piao, all were reactionaries swimming against the tide of history. None of them succeeded in turning back the clock of history. Instead, every one of them lifted a rock only to drop it on his own feet and ended up in self-destruction.

We firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can obstruct the cause of revolution from advancing; this belief is based on the historical-materialist viewpoint that **“the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.”** At all times the people are the masters of history and the people always want to make revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the broad masses are firm in taking the road of socialism. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all have profound proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao and have enormous enthusiasm for the socialist cause. As long as we have firm faith in the masses and rely on them, we can overcome any reversals or twists and turns and surmount any kind of difficulty. Both at home and abroad, class enemies all try to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system by taking advantage of the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause, but all to no avail. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the fundamental interests of the people and has won the approval and support of the masses.

“The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.” We also firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can impede the advance of the revolutionary cause because our revolution is carried out under the guidance of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; it is the fundamental guarantee for winning victory in the revolution. It is entirely due to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that we defeated imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their ringleader, that we got hold of arms and seized political power and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. When an erroneous line dominated, there were reversals and twists and turns in our struggles, causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and even leading the revolution to failure; but when the correct line dominates, the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the course of our struggle are only partial and temporary and are not difficult to eliminate. Therefore, under the guidance of the correct line, achievements are always primary and the situation is always excellent. Having undergone tests in prolonged struggles, our Party, state organs

and the People's Liberation Army can withstand any storms. After eight years of tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is consolidated as never before. As long as we strengthen revolutionary unity, unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will make the excellent revolutionary situation still more excellent.

"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." This is a scientific conclusion drawn from the summing up of countless historical experiences, and it has been verified in practice.

TEXT 14

SPEECH AT PEKING RALLY WELCOMING CAMBODIAN GUESTS

Wang Hung-wen

Coming a long way from the front to the great rear, our Cambodian comrades-in-arms have brought us the sentiments of militant friendship of the Cambodian people and happy tidings of new victories. This is a tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people who are engaged in the campaign of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Cambodian people are a heroic people with a revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism. They have waged protracted and unrelenting struggles against imperialism for the independence of their fatherland and for national dignity. Four years ago, when U.S. imperialism engineered the reactionary coup d'état and made a massive invasion into Cambodia, the Cambodian people rose up in arms with dauntless revolutionary heroism and unfolded a vigorous war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In the last four years, the heroic Cambodian people, rallying closely around the National United Front of Cambodia with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, holding high the banner of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the nation, and fearing no hardship and sacrifice, have persevered in a people's war and scored brilliant victories. The People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have grown and expanded amidst the flames of revolutionary war and become an indestructible people's army, which has rendered great meritorious service to Cambodia's cause of national liberation. With its area constantly expanding and the people's political power becoming ever more consolidated, the Liberated Zone in Cambodia presents a thriving scene. The Royal Government of National Union, which is the sole legal government of the Cambodian people, enjoys a growing international prestige and has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries. The Chinese people, as close comrades-in-arms of the Cambodian people, always regard the Cambodian people's victories as their own victories and heartily rejoice over them. Let us once again extend our warm congratulations to the

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fraternal Cambodian people.

The Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is another brilliant example in the contemporary world of a small nation daring to resist the aggression of a big nation. Cambodia is a country with a population of only seven million, and the enemy the Cambodian people face is U.S. imperialism, which is armed to the teeth. Yet the Cambodian people are resolved to take their destiny into their own hands. Daring to despise the colossus-like enemy and daring to take up arms, they have persevered in fighting and so expanded their forces from small to big and from weak to strong and achieved the great victories of today. It is just as the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao said in his statement of May 20, 1970: **"A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."**

The Cambodian people's victories have come about because the National United Front and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have closely relied on the people and adhered to the correct line of independence, initiative, self-reliance and people's war. By their victories, the Cambodian people have not only laid a solid foundation for the independence and liberation of Cambodia and done their part for the just cause of the three Indochinese peoples, but also greatly inspired and supported all other oppressed nations and peoples and made an important contribution to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world.

At present, the Cambodian people are continuing their triumphant advance and fighting heroically to seize still greater victories. The direct invasion of American ground forces was repulsed; the U.S. policy of bombing has gone bankrupt; the plan of so-called "Khmerization" of the war has also been repeatedly frustrated by the Cambodian people. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is beleaguered and fast sinking. It can only hole up in Phnom Penh and some other isolated cities, eking out its feeble existence. Though U.S. imperialism is still stepping up its aid and giving blood-transfusion and resuscitation to the traitorous Lon Nol clique, all its efforts to save the clique from its doom will prove futile.

The Chinese people firmly support the five-point declaration of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the political programme of the National United Front of Cambodia, which were reaffirmed by the Cambodian National Congress. The Chinese people firmly support the

Cambodian people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The United States must stop all its support and aid to the traitorous Lon Nol clique. The Cambodian question should be settled by the Cambodian people themselves free from foreign interference. We are firmly convinced that victory belongs to the heroic Cambodian people and that an independent, peaceful, neutral, sovereign and democratic Cambodia will surely appear.

At present, the international situation is getting better and better. The basic characteristic of the developing situation is universal great disorder. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The great revolutionary teacher Lenin said: **"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony."** There are two superpowers in the world today. Relying on the few atom bombs they possess, they are engaged in an intense rivalry for hegemony. This is something determined by the nature of imperialism. One of the superpowers is desperately trying to hold on to the many places it has occupied; the other is reaching out in every direction and worming its way into every crevice. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention. At the same time, their fierce contention extends also to the Middle East, the Arab world, the Mediterranean as well as the Indian Ocean. They talk about detente, but actually they are engaged in rivalry. Their rivalry and their aggression, subversion, interference, control and plunder everywhere have greatly sharpened the basic contradictions in the world, stimulated the awakening and solidarity of the people of the world and aroused them to strong resistance. A tidal wave of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism is sweeping the globe. Moving against the tide of history, the two superpowers inevitably run up against a wall everywhere and land themselves in ever greater difficulty. They put up a bold front and keep a stiff upper lip, but in fact they are in the plight described in the verse: "flowers fall off, do what one may." Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this is the historical trend that no one can resist.

Lenin said on many occasions that imperialism means aggression and war. War is inevitable so long as imperialism exists. While having full confidence in the future of the world, we maintain high vigilance and are prepared against a surprise attack by social-imperialism and against any trouble-making by the superpowers in the world at large. Resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's teaching of **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,"** we are making every necessary preparation. Whatever happens in the world, the Chinese people will unswervingly unite and fight

together with the people of the entire world.

We warmly hail the great victories won by the three Indochinese peoples in their wars against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and firmly support their just struggles. We firmly support the solemn and just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam for the thorough implementation of the Paris agreement as well as the six-point proposal for achieving peace and national concord in south Viet Nam put forward recently by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The United States and the Saigon administration must truly implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement and stop all their acts which violate the agreement. We firmly support the correct stand taken by the Lao Patriotic Front and the Union of the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces for the thorough implementation of the Vientiane agreement and the Lao people's just struggle to achieve national concord and build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. We are convinced that the three Indochinese peoples, holding high the banner of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, uniting closely and supporting one another, will surmount all difficulties and obstacles and realize their respective sacred national aspirations.

We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle to oust foreign interference and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, firmly support the Arab people, including the Palestinian people, in their struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and for the recovery of the occupied territories, firmly support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for the restoration of their national rights, and firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism and their just struggles to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect national resources. We resolutely support all just struggles of the people of the world.

China and Cambodia are close fraternal neighbours. There exists a traditional friendship of long-standing between our two peoples. In the protracted anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, we have always sympathized with and supported each other. Over the past few years in particular, our solidarity and friendship have been further consolidated and developed. Our friendship is one that can stand tests, and no one on earth can undermine it. The Chinese people have always considered it their bounden internationalist duty to support the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Four years

ago, when the flames of the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation had just started to rage, the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao issued his solemn statement, proclaiming to the whole world the Chinese people's solemn and just stand of supporting the Cambodian people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Recently, Chairman Mao again taught us: We are Communists, and we must help the people; not to help the people would be to betray Marxism. Bearing firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people are determined to unswervingly support the just struggle of the Cambodian people till complete victory is won.