GHOST OF CONFUCIUS, FOND DREAM OF THE NEW TSARS

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GHOST OF CONFUCIUS, FOND DREAM OF THE NEW TSARS

- Comment on the Soviet Revisionists' Contemptible Performance of Confucius-Worship and Opposing the Legalist School*

> By the Mass Criticism Group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities

Farces of worshipping Confucius (551-479 B.C.) have been staged recently in some dark corners of the world. The most clumsy of these is the vile performance of worshipping Confucius and opposing the Legalist school staged in Moscow and directed by the Soviet revisionist new tsars. From this performance by the Soviet revisionists, one can see their fierce social-imperialist features more clearly than before.

*The Legalist school, represented principally by Shang Yang (?-338 B.C.), Hsun Tzu (c. 313-238 B.C.) and Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), was an important school of thought opposed to the Confucian school during the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). It reflected the interests of the rising feudal landlord class and propagated the materialist view that "man's will can conquer Heaven" as opposed to the idealist view of "abiding by the will of Heaven." It advocated political reform and opposed retrogression. It proposed rule by "law" instead of rule by "the rites," and exercising the dictatorship of the landlord class in place of the dictatorship of the slave-owning class. These statesmen were later known as Legalists. — Tr.

The Aim of Worshipping Confucius and Opposing the Legalist School Is to Oppose China

In the past few years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has recruited a bunch of hack writers to whip up wave after wave of veneration for Confucius and opposition to the Legalist school, in the course of which sinister meetings were held and a string of articles and treatises published. As their pitch of Confucius-worship is raised higher, the pungent smell of gunpowder becomes thicker. They disgustingly extol Confucius as the "most holy sage and foremost teacher of China," an "ingenious and wise statesman," and a "respected" "activist in state affairs," and, among many other things, say that "it is precisely because of Confucianism that the Chinese people are what they are and Chinese civilization has such unique features," etc., etc. The Soviet revisionist new tsars have outdone all the reactionaries in China's history in their worship of Confucius; they are truly worthy of being the fashionable disciples of their "fashionable sage."

People can only ask: Why are they so interested in Confucius, who lived more than 2,000 years ago, that they bow down before him now? Lu Hsun long ago threw light on this question when he penetratingly pointed out: "It is said now that many people of other countries set great store by China's old culture. Are they really doing so? They are only making use of it."

The fundamental aim of the Soviet revisionists' worship of Confucius and opposing the Legalist school is to oppose China. The essence of foreign imperialists' veneration of Confucius is to oppose China or subjugate China. Lu Hsun once said: "I believe that if foreigners are to subjugate China, . . . Confucius will be even more revered."

In exposing the imperialist attempt to carve up China. Lenin pointed out that, to the bourgeoisie. China was a "choice morsel." For many years all the imperialist wolves tried to devour this "choice morsel" and now the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists want to devour it all by themselves. Only because this piece of meat is very tough has no one been able to bite into it. But the Soviet revisionist new tsars have not given up their wild ambition to subjugate China. For years, while stationing troops on the Chinese border as a military threat, they have also adopted the anti-China tactics of looking for agents to subvert the country from within, and put their hopes on such renegades and traitors as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Veneration of Confucius by the Soviet revisionists is to meet the needs of these anti-China tactics.

Confucius was a reactionary thinker who stubbornly upheld the slave system. He lived in the latter part of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-475 B.C.) when the slave system was being replaced by the feudal system. Throughout his life, his words and deeds ran counter to the direction of historical developments in his time. Confucianism is the ideology of the declining slaveowning class and a reactionary ideological system which opposes progress and revolution and advocates retrogression and restoration of the old order. History proves that all reactionaries who advocate retrogression and restoration rely on the ghost of Confucius and use it as an ideological weapon for their counter-revolutionary

restoration. All reactionaries in Chinese history and chieftains of opportunism in the Party have been worshippers of Confucius. These include Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, two left-over Confucian evils. Because they wanted to restore capitalism in China and turn back the wheel of history, they inevitably sought the aid of Confucius, the supreme master of counter-revolutionary restoration, and looked for support from imperialism and social-imperialism. The criminal aim of the Soviet revisionist new tsars in worshipping Confucius is to support such faithful disciples of Confucius as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and fan up counter-revolutionary opinion, vainly attempting to subvert the proletarian dictatorship in China, restore capitalism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. This is the sordid bargain struck behind the screen of the Soviet revisionist new tsars' farce of worshipping Confucius.

In the early 1960s when our country encountered temporary economic difficulties and the class struggle at home and abroad was very sharp and intense, Liu Shao-chi, who talked glibly about the "greatness of the old master Confucius," eagerly came into the open. While viciously attacking the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes, he stirred up a gust of capitalist wind 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 on the basis of the individual household) and san he yi shao (the liquidation of struggle in China's relations with imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries of all countries, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles of other peoples) and again dished up his sinister book on "self-cultivation" to feverishly peddle the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius (c. 390-305 B.C.). He directed a sinister meeting of worshipping Confucius in the latter's native place in Shantung Province, fanatically lauding the "benevolence" advocated by Confucius as "treating a person as a human being." In co-ordination, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also came out with a big fanfare, wildly attacking China's general line, great leap forward and the people's communes. Flaunting the ragged banner of Confucius-worship and lauding the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius as "humanism" and "fraternity," the clique openly supported Liu Shao-chi and his gang in trying to bring about "peaceful evolution" in China.

When China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique wailed laments over Liu Shao-chi's downfall. Brezhnev clamoured that ". . . we express our deep sympathy to them," while another chief of the Soviet revisionists cried that "sooner or later the healthy forces . . . will have their decisive say." They openly declared their · insistence on subverting the proletarian dictatorship in China and expressed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's desire to usurp the Party and the government and restore capitalism. The Soviet revisionist chiefs had no sooner said this than their hired hacks clamoured that "the Confucianists favoured the establishment of a humane system of government" and were "to overthrow a despotic ruler who had forsaken his paternal duties." They thus gave Lin Piao the cue to act on the will of his Soviet revisionist masters, that is, to carry out subversive

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activities from within so as to realize the Soviet revisionists' fond dream of subjugating China. Hearts which beat as one are linked. At the crucial moment of victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the "superspy" Lin Piao extolled Confucius to the skies and at the same time conspired to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. In his notorious plot for an armed counterrevolutionary coup d'etat entitled Outline of Project "571," he made it clear that he intended going over to the Soviet revisionists and seeking their "nuclear umbrella," and that he was sure his counter-revolutionary "action will get the Soviet Union's support." The Soviet revisionists dreamt of subjugating China while Lin Piao tried vainly to restore capitalism; the former wanted to be China's overlord and the latter a puppet emperor. Both prostrated themselves and offered incense before the ghost of Confucius, performing a "duet" of collaboration from inside the country and without.

By invoking the ghost of Confucius to support his faithful disciple Lin Piao, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was only repeating the old tsars' stock trick in their aggression against China. To invade China, enslave her people and bolster up China's reaction, imperialists in modern times invariably preached Confucian and Mencian doctrines, Confucius-worship and returning to the ancient ways to "turn the Chinese people into willing tools in their masters' service and let them suffer on and on," as Lu Hsun rightly pointed out. Imperialists of various countries, old tsars included, had played this trick time and again. When the Northern warlord Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) made a big noise about reverence for Confucius after the Revolution of 1911 in order to

restore monarchism, a cultural spy of the old tsar at that time zealously extolled Confucianism. He babbled that it was "China's unique and most fundamental doctrine," alleging that China would "lose her culture" and "never be able to make any progress" if she abandoned Confucianism. He even spread the tale that the destiny of China lay in the "revival of the ancient way." All this was beating the drums for a monarchic restoration by Yuan Shih-kai and an attempt to provide the old tsar with a moral weapon to be used in his counterrevolutionary adventure of aggression against China. In the footsteps of their predecessors, the Soviet revisionist new tsars now say that "Confucianism exerts influence of basic importance on the moulding of all special features of Chinese civilization, on the establishment of the unique cultural values in China" and attack the current struggle in China of criticizing Confucius as a campaign to "negate cultural traditions," peddling the contraband, "It's right to worship antiquities." This is indeed a case of a single black line running through two dynasties. However, the Soviet revisionist new tsars could not by playing the worn-out tricks of the old tsars save Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao from total destruction, and they themselves have no better chance of evading the punishment of history than their progenitors the old tsars.

Shameless Renegades to the Proletarian Dictatorship

In order to support Lin Piao, faithful disciple of Confucius, in his attempt to restore capitalism in China, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique looked upon the proletarian dictatorship in China as a thorn in its flesh. They raised the tattered banner of "humanitarianism"

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as their reactionary ideological weapon in attacking the proletarian dictatorship. Everybody knows that under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, to serve the needs of restoring capitalism, there is a flood of the landlord and capitalist classes' "theory of human nature" and "humanitarianism." They style themselves "the worthy inheritors of the great humanitarianist tradition of mankind." These inheritors of "humanitarianism" jumped with joy to dig up the so-called "humanitarian tradition" at the more than 2,000-yearold tomb of Confucius and treat it as a priceless treasure. They add to Confucius' concept of "benevolence" a lustre of "fraternity," "love of man" and "humanitarianism," and praise Confucius and Mencius who "regarded the people's interests as the ultimate and highest goal in state administration." According to their preaching, Confucius' concept of ruling a country was that the ruler should "show concern for the people," "must not rely on violence" and should "exercise government by means of virtue." On the other hand, they vilify the Legalist school as an "inhuman" "ideological system of autocratic tyranny," curse the First Emperor (259-210 B.C.) of the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) as "the most ruthless tyrant in world history" and madly defame China's proletarian dictatorship as "dictatorial," "autocratic," "tyrannical" and "totalitarian." This is nothing but the typical howling of renegades to the proletariat!

Marxism regards the state as the machinery for class rule and "the instrument by which one class oppresses another. It is an instrument for the oppression of antagonistic classes; it is violence and not 'benevolence.'" In history there is the violence of the revolutionary classes and the violence of the reactionary classes. Just as Lenin says: ". . . To talk about 'violence' in general, without examining the conditions which distinguish reactionary from revolutionary violence, means being a philistine who renounces revolution, or else it means simply deceiving oneself and others by sophistry." In talking about dictatorship and violence, we should always bear in mind the fundamental fact of history — the division of society into classes.

Confucius was a diehard apologist for the dictatorship of the slave-owning class. "Benevolence," "rule by virtue" and the other ways of ruling a country which Confucius advocated were ways of oppression used by the slave-owning aristocracy to suppress the slaves. Confucian "benevolence" upholds the hierarchy of the slave system as stipulated by the Chou rites. The essential meaning of "benevolence" is as Confucius said: "Benevolence means to restrain oneself and return to the rites." Slaves were never treated as human beings by their owners in the slave system. Confucius also said: "Punishments are not administered to officers, while the rites do not apply to the common people." No "rites" and consequently no "benevolence" were exercised towards the slaves. The reactionary class nature of Confucian "benevolence" is self-evident. According to Tso Commentary, a classical chronicle of the Chou Dynasty, when the reactionary slave-owning aristocracy put down a slave uprising and ruthlessly slaughtered the slaves, Confucius pronounced it "excellent," clamouring that "strict measures should be adopted" towards slave insurrections. To suppress the forces of the newly rising landlord class, Confucius killed Shaocheng Mao.

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a reformer, on charges of "disruptive acts against the government." Where in this can one find an iota of "humanitarianism" in Confucius or a trace of his "love of all men"? These hard facts have exposed Confucius' hypocritical talk about "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" and at the same time torn from Confucius the "humanitarian" garb the Soviet revisionists put on him. The First Emperor of Chin, an outstanding statesman of the newly rising feudal landlord class, following the trend of historical development, rejected the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius, applied laws advocated by the Legalists, unified China through war, abrogated the vassalage left over from the slave system and established a centralized dictatorship of the feudal landlord class on the basis of the prefectural system. He used this dictatorship to resolutely suppress with violence the reactionary Confucianists who were vainly trying to restore the slave system. All these were in fact revolutionary actions to defend the dictatorship of the newly rising feudal landlord class. Today, in attacking the revolutionary violence and revolutionary dictatorship practised by the First Emperor of Chin, the Soviet revisionists are sitting on the same bench as the dregs of the reactionary slave-owning class of Confucius' time.

Worshipping Confucius, opposing the Legalist school and styling itself an admirer of Confucian "rule by virtue" give the Soviet revisionist renegade clique a threadbare fig-leaf with which it tries to cover up its fascist dictatorship. According to Brezhnev, today's "Soviet society" has become the "practical manifestation of proletarian socialist humanitarianism," where "democracy" has "developed into a democracy for the whole people." How very moving! But, like Confucius, Brezhnev and his ilk are thorough hypocrites. In the present-day Soviet Union are to be found all over the country concentration camps and "lunatic asylums," where police and secret agents rampage, where people considered not so tractable are held and subjected to interrogation or, in more serious cases, imprisoned and murdered, and where the minority peoples suffer every kind of national oppression.

In a word, the Soviet Union under the yoke of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has already become one big jail for its multi-national people. When this clique speaks of "humanism," it means ruthlessly suppressing the working people while vindicating renegades, Trotskyites, counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois elements. As Chairman Mao has penetratingly pointed out, "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type." The following question may be put to the Soviet revisionist gentlemen: What essential difference is there between your "humanism" and Confucius' "rule by virtue," which was actually a dictatorship of the slave-owning aristocracy? You accuse Soviet revolutionaries of "disrupting the Soviet state and social order," and bloodily suppress them. Isn't this precisely a carbon copy of Confucius' "death to government disrupters"?

As to such shop-worn adjectives as "dictatorial" and "totalitarian" with which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique attacks the proletarian dictatorship in China in its round of Confucius-worship and flaying the First

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Emperor of Chin, the Chinese people have heard them to the point of monotony. U.S. imperialists such as Dean Acheson and his like fumed and flayed us in the same manner as far back as 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded.

Indeed, all counter-revolutionaries and revisionists of former times also cursed the dictatorship of the proletariat in the same vein. That counter-revolutionary butcher Thiers, for one, reviled the Paris Commune, calling it the "tyranny of labour" and howled for the "deliverance of Paris from the hideous tyrants who oppress it." That shameless renegade to the proletariat, Kautsky, also venomously attacked the Soviet state under proletarian dictatorship led by Lenin, calling it a dictatorial system and despotic. And now these gentlemen of Soviet revisionism can only hum the tunes of their counter-revolutionary and revisionist progenitors, unable to come up with anything new. Their hue and cry only shows the shameful extent to which they have degenerated in their betrayal of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's worn-out litany of revering Confucius, swearing at the First Emperor of Chin and attacking China's proletarian dictatorship, like Acheson's "White Paper," can only become superb negative teaching material for the Chinese people. It helps us to recognize more clearly that Soviet revisionism's aim in attacking us is to support such disciples of Confucius as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, subvert China's proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. At the same time it teaches us by negative example that we must ceaselessly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "protective talisman" which we

can no more do without than food and clothing, until foreign imperialism and internal reactionaries are thoroughly wiped out.

Diehard Champions of Old Traditions

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is also a great revolution in the ideological sphere. It has smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and further consolidated and strengthened the proletarian dictatorship. This is a heavy blow to Soviet revisionism, for it has once again failed to bring its dream of subjugating China to reality. This being so, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been having a fit of hysterical outbursts against China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, ten times more frenzied and a hundred times greater in its hatred than before. Its opposition to the Legalist school and slander of the First Emperor of Chin are among their especially shrill cries.

The pen-men in the pay of Soviet revisionism falsely accuse the Legalists of "having destroyed education and culture on all accounts" and curse the First Emperor of Chin for being so "vicious" as to have "burnt books and buried Confucian scholars alive"; from this they proceed to venomously attack China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, alleging that this revolution "has broken away from progressive tradition" and "has nearly destroyed again almost all the old books as in the First

Emperor of Chin's time." In a word, it has "destroyed culture." In order to prop up the old traditions and oppose revolution and progress, these hack writers have dished up the fallacy that "to worship antiquities is no crime" and glamourized Confucius' "reverence for the past" as "no crime." They reprimand the Legalist school for "breaking with tradition" and "bringing about sharp social crisis" which, among other causes, made the Chin Dynasty collapse.

Marxism holds that a given culture is the product of a given politico-economic system and has a reaction on the politics and economy of a given society. In history, the assumption of power by a newly rising class invariably goes hand in hand with a fierce class struggle in the realm of ideology, with "every old traditional notion" being "flung into the lumber-room as irrational." On the other hand, all decadent and reactionary classes invariably preach the "worship of things ancient" and "restoration of the old order" and use old traditions to resist the revolutionary tide and shield their rotten cause. As early as the time of Prince Hsiao (381-338 B.C.) of the State of Chin, the diehards of the slaveowning aristocracy trumpeted that "to model after the ancients is no crime" and opposed the reforms effected by Shang Yang, a Legalist statesman and prime minister to Prince Hsiao. Shang Yang denounced the ideology and political actions of the reactionary aristocrats and Confucian scholars as "six abuses." Following the unification of China by the First Emperor of Chin, the reactionary aristocrats and Confucian scholars openly used ancient things to castigate the contemporary and attack the new system of centralized political power.

With a view to consolidating the newly established dictatorship of the landlord class and striking at restorationist forces, the First Emperor of Chin decreed the "burning of books and burying alive of Confucian scholars." This was a revolutionary move to suppress the followers of Confucius and Mencius who were advocating the restoration of the old order, a revolution aimed at crushing the slave-owners' restorationist forces in the realm of the superstructure, and exercising dictatorship over the reactionary class in the ideological and cultural fields.

Ever since the division of human society into opposing classes there has never been an all-inclusive culture; there is only culture of a definite class, that of the exploiting classes and that of the labouring people, the progressive culture representing a newly emerging class and the reactionary and decadent culture reflecting the ideas of a class in decline. At all times there is a struggle between the two types of culture. **"There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest."** To oppose one culture and defend another — this has been done by all classes in history, with only a difference in nature.

In this era of ours, there is either the culture of the proletariat, or that of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. It was solemnly proclaimed long ago in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that the communist revolution in "its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas," that is, to wipe out feudal, capitalist and revisionist culture and establish and develop a brand-new culture of the proletariat in the course of revolution. With regard to the cultural

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heritage handed down by history, we must also take an analytical Marxist attitude: "It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class" and one should never swallow anything and everything.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has repudiated the fallacies of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism in the ideological field, firmly eliminated the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits while extensively fostering new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits, with the result that great, earth-shaking changes have taken place and continue to take place in the entire look of the country both ideologically and culturally. The leadership in the realm of the superstructure is now firmly in the hands of the proletariat, and the workers, peasants and soldiers have truly become the masters of the sciences and culture. Heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers occupy the stage of culture and art; model revolutionary operas have been popularized as never before. With the working class leading, schools are beginning to be places where successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are brought up. The broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and take the bright "May 7th" road, learning industrial and agricultural production and military affairs. A large contingent of proletarian intellectuals is being built up. In human history all wealth of the mind is created by workers, peasants and other labouring people, but for several thousand years this was monopolized by a handful of spiritual aristocrats of the

exploiting classes. With the resounding victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, this reversal of history has been put right. This is a very great cause never attempted by our forbears and has won universal acclaim from revolutionary people all over the world. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, however, has taken the reactionary stand of all exploiting classes and made desperate and plaintive cries, cries which betray the clique as a gang of diehard champions of the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes.

What after all is the "culture" this clique is preserving and upholding? Throughout their criminal activity of thoroughly restoring capitalism, the Soviet revisionists have taken culture as an important field to whip up allout counter-revolutionary public opinion. Every day and every hour they stuff their people with bourgeois reactionary ideas, and spread the utterly decadent culture and life-style of the Western bourgeoisie. In the Soviet Union today, under the yoke of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the ideological realm is a hotchpotch of everything from the "pan-Slavism" of the old tsars to the social-imperialism of the new tsars, from the rotten doctrine of Confucius and Mencius to the "Western culture" now so much in vogue, including religious fanaticism, sexism and robbery. The only thing banned in the Soviet Union today is genuine Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat. There, reactionary writers of every stripe and hue have become the new tsars' honoured protégés, decorated with various noble titles, while the Soviet working people including revolutionary intellectuals who dare to defy

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their superiors and "create disturbances" are the victims of the new tsars — under surveillance, in prison, exiled, or even put to death. In short, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique uses the decadent, moribund and reactionary ideology and culture of the exploiting classes to corrupt and poison the minds of the Soviet people, frantically to restore capitalism in the realm of ideology and clamp a fascist dictatorship on the proletariat.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only revived in an all-round way reactionary imperialist ideology and culture at home but, to subjugate China, it has also tried to impose the lot on China to form a reactionary alliance with China's old culture. Chairman Mao says: "Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers and have formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China's new culture." With the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution having won great victories, the Soviet revisionists and Lin Piao sang in chorus, viciously attacking China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, cursing new socialist things born of the revolution and stubbornly trying to revive old ideas and old culture already dead lest they should become extinct altogether. Their criminal aim is to protect these reactionary things in every way possible, revive feudalism. capitalism and revisionism totally, and use the old and reactionary ideology as a weapon in their attack on the proletariat so as to open a breach in the cultural and ideological field through which to restore capitalism in China and turn the country into a colony of the Soviet revisionist new tsars. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the deepening mass struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius are precisely an ideological

revolution to thoroughly repudiate feudalist, capitalist and revisionist ideas. And as the revolution deepens and achieves greater success, the hope of Soviet revisionism for a capitalist restoration in China diminishes. This explains why the new tsars have expressed such despair in the face of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius in China.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's rabid attacks on China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution fully betray the new tsars' morbid fear of revolution. They are afraid that its tremendous impact will arouse the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses in their own country to rise in revolt against them and endanger their tottering rule. The Soviet renegade clique's picking up the frayed banner of worshipping Confucius and opposing the Legalists and its nervous cursing of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution cannot but reflect this clique's own reactionary and decadent nature. The Revolution of 1848 that shook the whole of Western Europe and spurred the revolutionary verve in Russia to new heights scared the tsarist government out of its wits. Swearing that he would bar the door to the revolution, Nicholas I feverishly carried out counter-revolutionary intervention to deal with the intrusion of "the epidemic of revolution." He made a mixture of the native Russian "official popularism" supporting despotic serfdom and the imported Prussian conservative system of philosophy to use as the old tsars' ideological weapon in resisting the revolutionary influence from Western Europe and liquidating the Russian revolutionary movement. History has a way of

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mocking, and the Soviet revisionist new tsars are taking the same old disastrous road as the old ones. The only difference is that in the old tsars' time, frightened by the Revolution of 1848 in Europe, they picked up the weapon of the reactionary philosophy of Prussia from the West, while today's Soviet revisionist new tsars, frightened by the Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China, use Confucianism-Mencianism from the East as their magic wand. But the impact of the proletarian revolution cannot be brushed aside. The broad masses of the people in the Soviet Union, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, will surely hold aloft the fighting banner of Marxism-Leninism, persevere in protracted struggle, demolish one obstacle after another, overthrow the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist new tsars, re-establish the proletarian dictatorship and bring the Soviet Union back on the road of socialism

EXPOSE THE "HUMANITARIANISM" HOAX

- Comment on the Farce of Confucius-Worship and Opposition to the Legalist School by the Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique

> By Liu Tse-lin and Other Students of Anhwei Teachers University

In recent years, a farce of worshipping Confucius and opposing the Legalist school directed by the Brezhnev renegade clique has been on show in Moscow. At the bidding of their masters, Soviet revisionist hack writers have eulogized Confucianism to the skies. They claim that "Confucius and Mencius declared the interests of the people to be the ultimate and loftiest aim of government," and that "benevolent government" as advocated by Confucius and Mencius "laid the foundation for the traditions of humanitarianism over many centuries." In their eyes, Confucius was precisely the progenitor of "humanitarianism."

However, history makes unsparing mockery of this farce. No matter how much the Soviet revisionist renegades try to dress Confucius up in the mantle of "humanitarianism," they cannot alter the true features of this representative of the decadent slave-owning class. Confucius openly declared his life-long goal as to "revive states that are extinct, restore families that have lost their positions, and call to office those who have fallen

into obscurity," which meant to revive the extinct states of the slave system, restore the hereditary privileges of the declining slave-owning aristocracy and reinstate aristocrats who had lost power. All his life Confucius ran around touting his programme. He uttered the nonsense that "benevolence means to love all men." But he loved only the slave-owning nobles, and the slaves not at all. He viciously slandered the working people as "birds and beasts" and shouted that "the common people should be directed to do things but not made to comprehend them." This meant that the slaves should be docile before their owners' orders. When they dared to rise in revolt, Confucius revealed his ruthlessness, declaring he would not be satisfied until they were put to death. When Yu Chi, a high-ranking minister of the State of Cheng, bloodily suppressed a slave uprising. Confucius immediately applauded. "Excellent!" he shouted, giving free vent to his deep-seated hatred for the slave class.

Mencius, like Confucius, also worked all his life for a comeback of the fallen slave owners. Each was as hostile as the other towards the people. The concept of "benevolent government" advocated by Mencius was in fact a set of measures to "rule the people" based on the Confucian counter-revolutionary dual tactics of "leniency and harshness complementing each other." Mencius said: "Let the people be used in the way which is intended to secure their ease, and though they be toiled, they will not murmur; let them be put to death in the way which is intended to preserve their lives, and though they die, they will not murmur against the one who puts them to death." He would have the working people, the slaves, used and put to death, but their use and putting to death should be artfully done so as not to leave a trace.

Is there the slightest hint of serving "the interests of the people" in the theories and actions of Confucius and Mencius? As Lu Hsun rightly said: "Confucius devised many marvellous measures to govern the state. But all these measures were designed for the rulers, that is, those who lord it over the people. None was for the people." The so-called humanitarianism preached by Confucius and Mencius was only a means by which the slave owners ruthlessly exploited and cold-bloodedly suppressed the slaves. The Soviet revisionist renegades brazenly laud Confucius' and Mencius' concepts of "benevolent government" and do not hesitate to deck them out as representing the interests of the people. In doing this they show themselves as present-day Confucians and Mencians and a pack of bourgeois overlords who, garbed as champions of the people's interests, actually oppress the proletariat and other working people.

Those who worship Confucius must naturally oppose the Legalist school. In the eyes of the Soviet revisionist renegades, the Legalist school's advocacy of "rule by law" was "open totalitarianism" and "inhuman." They therefore label the First Emperor of the Chin Dynasty, who practised Legalist principles, as "the most ruthless tyrant in world history" and condemn his "burning of books and burying alive of Confucian scholars" as "ruthless actions" to "oust" "Confucian humanitarianism." The First Emperor's unification of China which led to the establishment of a centralized feudal state was a historically progressive act. He burnt books and buried Confucian scholars alive in order to hit hard at the

reactionary scholars who attempted to restore the slave system, and to further consolidate the rule of the newly rising landlord class.

The Marxist theory on the state holds that a state, as the instrument by which one class oppresses another, is invariably built upon violence. The state apparatus of a ruling class can never be "benevolent" to the ruled. In this sense, the Legalist "rule by law" was the same as the Confucian "benevolent government," which was not "benevolent" at all. When Confucius had been minister of justice of the State of Lu for only seven days he killed Shaocheng Mao, a reformer of the newly rising landlord class, on charges of "disruptive acts against the government" and had his corpse exhibited for three days. Doesn't this smack of fascism? What is more, the fact that the slave-owning class had Shang Yang, a Legalist serving Prince Hsiao of Chin as minister, torn asunder between chariots and Wu Chi (?-381 B.C.), a Legalist reformer serving Prince Tao of Chu, shot to death with arrows also shows that there was no trace of "benevolence" in the so-called benevolent government. The Legalist school's open declaration that "to rule by law" required violence shows that the landlord class this school represented was at that time a progressive and revolutionary class. On the contrary, Confucius' and Mencius' attempt to camouflage the counter-revolutionary violence of the slave owners' dictatorship with the veil of "benevolence" testifies that the class they represented was on its last legs and, to prolong its existence, could only resort to subterfuge. The Soviet revisionist renegades' gross vilification of the Legalist school and their lavish embellishment of "benevolent government" only show that they stand on the side of all decadent, reactionary classes.

It is not just to kill time or to try to settle scores with people who lived two thousand years ago that the Soviet revisionist renegades distort history, oppose the Legalists and vilify the First Emperor of the Chin Dynasty. While furiously cursing the First Emperor, some of them "call particular attention" to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, alleging that it has "destroyed" all the past culture as in the time of the First Emperor of Chin. Others clamour that China makes the past serve the present in the sense that it makes the ancient Legalist "totalitarianism" serve the proletarian dictatorship of today. It is not difficult to see from all these facts that this gang of renegades go out of their way to worship Confucius and oppose the Legalist school for no other purpose than to attack the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the hundreds of millions of Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers as well as revolutionary intellectuals criticize and repudiate the reactionary cultures of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and heroically àttack the ideologies of all exploiting classes, including Confucianism. What we call revolutionary mass criticism the Soviet revisionists say is "destroying" culture. It is clear that what is treasure to them is precisly the dross we are discarding.

To exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, the proletariat must effect the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. Our struggle to destroy Confucianism, the ideological prop of exploiting classes for thousands of years, is gathering momentum and will develop in depth. Destruction comes first and construction follows in its wake. We are writing a new chapter of proletarian culture in the great struggle to utterly destroy the reactionary cultures of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the proletarian revolution in Chinese literature and art has seized back the stage, which for thousands of years had been dominated by the exploiting classes -lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters and enabled the splendid images of workers, peasants and soldiers to shine forth in literary and art works. The proletarian revolution in Chinese education is changing the situation where for years bourgeois intellectuals dominated our schools and colleges; energetic students of worker, peasant and soldier origin have been admitted into the new-type socialist colleges. "Barefoot doctors" have been trained in ever larger numbers and medical workers make rounds of the countryside, vastly changing the backward conditions where doctors and medicines were lacking in the rural areas.

To sum up, a deep-going change advantageous to the proletariat is occurring in the various cultural spheres of China, and a prospect is unfolding in which work in these spheres flourishes as never before. Absurd lies, such as "destroying culture" in China, painstakingly fabricated by the clumsy rumour-mongers of the Brezhnev type, serve only to further show themselves up as apologists for the culture of the exploiting classes; they can in no way stem the surging tide of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This Cultural Revolution in China is a great political revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which has demolished the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, dealing fatal blows at the counter-revolutionary restorationist forces of the bourgeoisie, greatly consolidating China's dictatorship of the proletariat and smashing the Soviet revisionists' plots to carry out counter-revolutionary subversion from within. In a fit of impotent rage, the Soviet revisionist renegades call China dictatorial. We say yes, you are right. The historical experience of the proletarian revolution, particularly the painful lesson drawn from the usurpation of the Soviet people's revolutionary fruits by you renegades, shows that if, after winning the victory of the revolution, the proletariat does not strengthen its dictatorship and firmly suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie seeking a comeback, disaster will befall it and other working people, and a socialist state will change its political colour.

As early as 1875, Marx said that, in the entire historical epoch of transition from the capitalist to the communist society, the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin made recognition or non-recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat the criterion of genuine or sham Marxism. The Chinese people persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which protects the most extensive democratic rights of the broad masses of people while resolutely forbidding and suppressing the counter-revolutionary activities of

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the reactionaries. This is adherence to Marxism-Leninism. The more the Soviet revisionist renegades attack us the more they reveal their vile features as traitors to Marxism-Leninism. It proves by negative example that, for the revolutionary people, the dictatorship of the proletariat "is an excellent thing, a protective talisman, an heirloom, which should under no circumstances be discarded before the thorough and total abolition of imperialism abroad and of classes within the country."

It is evident what forces the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is trying to bolster when it wildly decries China's proletarian dictatorship and Cultural Revolution. Both Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, counter-revolutionary revisionist chieftains, were faithful disciples of Confucius. Liu Shao-chi's sinister book on "self-cultivation," warmed over and dished up in the 1960s, reeks of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Lin Piao and his gang also took Confucianism as their reactionary ideological weapon for restoring capitalism. They declaimed that "of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites." Basing themselves on Confucius' reactionary preaching that "if the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight," they obdurately held to their anti-Party political programme in a vain attempt to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state. They mouthed the stale Confucian and Mencian absurdities about "benevolence and righteousness" and "loyalty and forbearance," and prated that "when two sides fight, they become enemies; when two sides live in harmony, they become friends," seeking to conceal their fascist means of usurping power and restoring capitalism behind the smokescreen of the theory that "class struggle is dying out." All this won for these renegades and traitors the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's wink of approval.

As the Lin Piao anti-Party clique intensified its counter-revolutionary activities, the Soviet revisionists raised to a higher pitch their worship of Confucius and opposition to the Legalist school. The main theme of their counter-revolutionary chorus was to slander China as "dictatorial," "totalitarian," etc., etc. While the Soviet revisionists were extolling Confucian and Mencian "humanitarianism," slandering the Legalists for their "inhumanity" and calling the First Emperor of Chin a "tyrant," Lin Piao was gnashing his teeth and cursing in his hide-out that China's dictatorship of the proletariat was "enforcing the laws of the First Emperor of the Chin Dynasty" and was "autocratic." While the Soviet revisionists were blowing that "the Confucianists favoured the establishment of a humane system of government," Lin Piao raised his signboard of "benevolent government," clamouring that the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists "shall all be politically liberated." While the Soviet revisionists were attacking China's Cultural Revolution, alleging that it "strangled culture," Lin Piao and his gang were reciting a poem by Chang Chieh of the Tang Dynasty, which distorts the historical fact of the burning of books and burying alive of Confucian scholars. They were insinuating that the same occurred in the Cultural Revolution, vainly attempting to seize power and change China's socialist system.

A comparison of the Soviet revisionists' worship of Confucius and opposition to the Legalist school with Lin Piao's programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat reveals the Soviet revisionists' aim as one of opposing China, to make the likes of Confucius' disciples Liu Shaochi and Lin Piao their puppet emperors and turn China into a colony of the new tsars of Soviet revisionism. Little did they think that Lin Piao would self-detonate before he even had time to have his "decisive say," as the Soviet revisionists wished.

Lin Piao the "superspy" ended his career in a desert, to the lamentation of his foreign masters. Though the new tsars teamed up with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao to make a lot of trouble, all they did was as Lu Hsun described years ago: "Their trouble-making is ingenious and it works, but only with limited results. Therefore, to attain anything great by trouble-making is unheard of since ancient times."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The foreign reactionaries who accuse us of practising 'dictatorship' or 'totalitarianism' are the very persons who practise it. They practise the dictatorship or totalitarianism of one class, the bourgeoisie, over the proletariat and the rest of the people." Such is the Soviet revisionist renegade clique today. Since they usurped leadership and staged a comeback, they have turned a fine socialist country into a paradise for the new-type bureaucrat-capitalist class and a hell for the millions of working people. Madly intensifying their fascist dictatorship by setting up large numbers of prisons, concentration camps and "lunatic asylums" to frantically suppress the resistance of the revolutionaries and working people, they have at the same time set in motion all their propaganda machines harping on "humanitarianism" in an attempt to cloak their fascist dictatorship with "benevolence." But, the more they recite the worn-out lingo of "humanitarianism" the more hypocritical and despicable they look.

A play entitled *The Man from Outside*, recently staged in the Soviet Union, is supposed to expound the "modern and exact conception" of "humanitarianism" and has, therefore, been loudly advertised by the bigwigs in Soviet revisionist cultural circles. But the hero of the play turns out to be a "little despot." With a streak of tyranny in his character, he compares favourably with Confucius. The whole stage resounds with his rancorous curses at the workers. Confronted by indignant workers, he flies into a rage and cries hysterically: "Sit on them! Throttle them!" What a true-to-life portrayal of the fascist features of the new bourgeois aristocrats that run amuck in the Soviet Union today!

It is the favourite tactics of the bourgeoisie as well as of all opportunists to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat by playing the trick of "humanitarianism" so as to hoodwink the people. Kautsky and company, traitors to the Second International, behaved like this. Mercilessly mocking at these "despicable heroes," Lenin said: "Less chatter about 'labour democracy,' about 'liberty, equality and fraternity,' about 'government by the people,' and all such stuff; the class-conscious workers and peasants of our day see through these pompous phrases of the bourgeois intellectual and discern the trickery as easily as a person of ordinary common sense and experience, when glancing at the irreproachably 'polished' features and immaculate

appearance of the 'fain fellow, dontcher know,' immediately and unerringly puts him down as 'in all probability, a scoundrel.'" This statement of Lenin also reveals the true features of Brezhnev and his fellow swindlers. However hard the new tsars seek help from the ghost of Confucius and from "humanitarianism," they can never cover up their nature as social-imperialists. Invoking the spectre of Confucius "the sage" has long ceased to have effect, and it cannot save the Soviet revisionist renegades. What is in store for them is an end even more ignominious than that of the renegades to the Second International.

SOVIET REVISIONIST RENEGADE CLIQUE AND CONFUCIUS

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

Like all the reactionaries in Chinese history and chiefs of the opportunist lines in the Party, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique worships Confucius.

In criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the Chinese people have exposed the Soviet revisionists' reactionary features and vicious motives in their worship of Confucius. This has hit the Soviet revisionists on a vulnerable spot. They have hastened to quibble and counterattack, saying they "have not in any way talked about Confucius with great relish" and that in appraising Confucius, they "first of all follow the Marxist-Leninist principle of class analysis." But what has been put down in black and white cannot be erased.

Is it true that the Soviet revisionists have never "talked about Confucius with great relish"? Haven't they demanded that we "point out exactly what materials the Soviet Union has published in praise of Confucianism"? Well then, let's look at the facts!

As far back as 1956 when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique came to power, its hack writers sang the praises of the Confucian cosmogonical theory which, they maintained, "contained materialistic ideas." Since then, the Soviet revisionists have lavished praise on Confucius to meet the needs of their revisionist line of capitalist restoration, "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people." The History of Sociological Doctrines of the Ancient East, which was published in 1959 in the Soviet Union, says: "Confucius had firmly put forward the idea about the necessity for peace and tranquillity in the world and found the root cause of the people's calamities in war." It maintains that "the democratic nature of certain political ideas of the founder of Confucianism should be highly appraised." Volume I of the Selected Works of Chinese Literature, which was published in the same year, openly lauds Confucius' concept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." It says that "to 'return to the rites' is to abide by the norms of organized social life" and acclaims as "courageous" the stubborn stand of Meng Ko (Mencius), one of Confucius' followers, in defence of the slave system. Volume IV of the Lesser Encyclopaedia of the Soviet Union asserts that Confucius' doctrine has "progressive and enlightening trends."

In the early 1960s, when the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi stirred up the evil wind of capitalist restoration, he again dished out his sinister book on "self-cultivation," energetically peddling the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and directed a sinister meeting to worship Confucius in the birthplace of this "sage" in Shantung, feverishly lauding the "benevolence" advocated by Confucius as a doctrine to "treat a person as a human being." What he actually wanted was to do away with the dictatorship of the proletariat and practise benevolent rule towards the reactionary classes. He was not alone in this. At that very time, in 1962, Volume II of the Soviet revisionists' *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* came off the press. It extols Confucius' "benevolence" as "humanity, humanitarianism and love of mankind," a doctrine "to treat all persons as human beings."

Since coming to power Brezhnev has taken over the mantle of Khrushchov in worshipping Confucius. Volume VII of the *Soviet Historical Encyclopaedia* published in 1965 praises Confucius and his like for giving attention to "bettering the people's welfare."

During China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the Soviet revisionists evoked the ghosts of Confucius and Mencius time and again in their attack on China's dictatorship of the proletariat and the Cultural Revolution. In 1967 the Soviet magazine Historical Problems glorified Mencius as "a tireless fighter against all that he considered to be social evils of his time." The following year the same magazine carried a special article entitled "Confucianism of China," extolling Confucius in every respect and asserting that "Confucianism exerts influence of basic importance on the moulding of all special features of Chinese civilization, on the establishment of the unique cultural values in China." The Soviet revisionists echoed from afar the feelings they shared with Lin Piao when this bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor and his gang were plotting in a dark corner to subvert China's dictatorship of the proletariat, viciously attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat as "relying on force" instead of "on virtue," and blustering that "of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites." In

December 1969 the Soviet magazine *Novy Mir* carried a special article claiming that Confucius "was unequivocally opposed to the tyranny of the rulers," that Mencius "insisted on their practising benevolent rule," and that there was "another possibility of treating men in a more humanitarian way."

The Soviet revisionists have been further unmasking themselves ever since the Chinese people launched the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. TASS, Pravda, Izvestia, Literary Gazette, Historical Problems, Problems of the Far East and other Soviet journals have all taken the field, books have been published and meetings held to vilify and distort this great struggle of the Chinese people and to glorify Confucius. The Soviet magazine Problems of the Far East even went so far as to describe Confucius as an "ingenious and wise statesman." It disclosed that almost every year over the last few years the Soviet revisionists had held "scientific meetings" on "China's society and state." China: Society and State, a collection of reports delivered at these sinister meetings published in 1973, openly acclaims "the Confucian doctrine in the Middle Ages" as having "militant spirit." A Soviet Study on Chinese Literature published at the end of 1973 even claims that the "tradition" of the slave system advocated by Confucius was to "perfect and raise" man's "moral level to that of gentlemen."

All this is far more than "talking with great relish" about Confucius, and the above is only a fraction of the innumerable facts about the Soviet revisionists' worship of Confucius. In the light of these facts, would it not be more fitting to say that the Soviet revisionists have prostrated themselves before Confucius? Now let us see how the Soviet revisionists "follow the Marxist-Leninist principle of class analysis" in their appraisal of Confucius.

First, they try their utmost to prettify the "benevolence" and "benevolent government" advocated by Confucius. "Benevolence" is the nucleus of Confucian ideology. As Confucius himself explained, "Benevolence means to restrain oneself and return to the rites." The so-called "self-restraint and return to the rites" means to turn back the wheel of history, restore the slave system and prop up the tottering rule of the slave-owners. The "benevolent government" advocated by Confucius means the dictatorship of the slave-owners. The so-called "benevolence is to love all men" is mere humbug to cover up the real nature of the dictatorship of the slave-owners. Yet the Soviet revisionists assert that "benevolence" means "humanity" and "love of mankind," that " 'benevolence' is a lofty ideal almost beyond reach," and that the "benevolent government" advocated by the Confucian school "had laid the foundations of the humanitarian tradition of many centuries."

Second, they extol the representative of the declining slave-owners Confucius as a defender of the interests of the people. Confucius openly slandered the working people as "rustics," "inferior men" and "birds and beasts" with which "one cannot mix." As for one who dared to carry out reforms in the interest of the people, Confucius ordered him killed on charges of "disruptive acts against the government." Yet the Soviet revisionists allege that Confucius and his like "regarded the people's interests as the ultimate and highest goal in state administration," that they "treated the people in a humanitarian way,"

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that they "for the first time made an appeal that all men be treated as human beings" and that they "reflected the interests of the broad masses of the people."

Third, they describe Confucius' activities of restoring the slave system as "progressive." All his life Confucius had worked for the restoration of the slave system and against social reforms. After the unification of China by the First Emperor of the Chin Dynasty, reactionary Confucianists continued to engage in counter-revolutionary activities to restore the slave system. Yet the Soviet revisionists allege that "the Confucianists had done a lot of work in altering ancient institutions and traditions to meet the various conditions of a developing social organism," that "their positions in the political struggle of their time were most suited to reality" and that "progressive aspects may be found in the early Confucianists."

Fourth, they laud to the skies the reactionary economic proposals of Confucius and company, describing them as "positive." At a time when the slave system was collapsing and the feudal economy was developing in China, Confucius tried to turn back the wheel of history, openly opposing feudal ownership of land and advocating the restoration of the nine squares (*jing tian*) land system. The Soviet revisionists are full of praise for this. They say that "there is also a positive social-economic programme in the doctrine of Confucius," that "Mencius" theory concerning the restoration of the nine squares system should be considered as the real concern of the Confucian school for the millions of peasants with little or no land," and that Confucius and Mencius had put forward a "number of proposals for the betterment of the well-being of the people."

Fifth, they describe Confucius' undertakings in education with a view to saving the moribund slave system as education "for the whole people." The objective of Confucian education was that "he who excels in learning can be an official," that is, to train slave drivers serving the politics of the slave-owning class. Yet the Soviet revisionists extol Confucius as "an ancient Chinese thinker, educator and statesman," "the most holy sage and foremost teacher of China" and "the teacher for generation after generation." Confucius, they say, "set up and administered the first private school in China where anyone irrespective of family background could attend. This broke for the first time in history the aristocrats' monopoly of education," and thereby "played a brilliant role in the history of Chinese education," they say.

What, one may ask, have these utterances of the Soviet revisionists in common with Marxism-Leninism? On the contrary, they are identical with those of the old tsars, Chinese renegades and traitors. The *Encyclopaedia* compiled by the tsar's hack writers at the end of the 19th century said that "the desire of the Confucianists" was "to restrict imperial prerogatives in the interest of the people and their spokesmen." The Chinese arch-traitor Wang Ching-wei said: "All codes and regulations as well as cultural objects originated from the ancient teacher Confucius." After having been driven to Taiwan by the Chinese people, Chiang Kai-shek continues shouting that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were an "excellent cultural tradition of the nation." The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi maintained that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were "a bequest useful to us." The bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counterrevolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao raved that "the Confucian doctrine is historical materialist." The Soviet revisionists are in complete harmony with these reactionaries in their utterances!

Why is it that this gang of Soviet revisionists, like all foreign and Chinese reactionaries, treasure and revere as gods Confucius and his ilk who stubbornly defended the declining slave system? This is because they are all representatives of reactionary classes going against the historical tide and stubbornly trying to turn back the wheel of history. In lauding Confucius, the Soviet revisionists are trying to justify their restoration of capitalism and their policy of social-imperialism; they are trying "to justify the meanness of today with that of yesterday."

More than 2,000 years ago, Confucius and his disciples failed to stem the historical tide that took China from slave society to feudal society, and they themselves were swept on to the garbage heap of history. Today, when the revolutionary torrent of the world's people is surging forward with the momentum of an avalanche, Brezhnev and his like will fare no better than Confucius in evoking the latter's ghost and trying to turn back the wheel of history

孔老二的亡灵和新沙皇的迷梦 *

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