

TEXT 24

ON TENG HSIAO-PING'S COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE IN PUBLIC OPINION (Excerpts)

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In a country of proletarian dictatorship such as ours, poisonous weeds must be criticized whenever they are found and counter-revolutionary public opinion should in no way be allowed to spread unchecked. Just when Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary offensive in public opinion was becoming more and more rampant, Chairman Mao on August 14 gave this important instruction on the criticism of *Water Margin*. Chairman Mao said pointedly: "The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies in its portraying capitulation. As a teaching material by negative example, it makes capitulationists known to all people." "*Water Margin* opposes only corrupt officials, but not the emperor. It excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 persons. Sung Chiang capitulates and practices revisionism. He changes Ch'ao's Chu-i T'ing into Chung-i T'ang and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Ch'iu is the struggle between one faction and another within the landlord class. After Sung Chiang surrenders, he sets out to fight Fang La." Chairman Mao's instruction exposes the reactionary essence of capitulationists like Sung Chiang in practicing revisionism, providing people of the whole country with a powerful ideological weapon to recognize and criticize the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts which was then becoming rampant. Both the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Hung-ch'i* published editorials and short commentaries on Chairman Mao's important instruction and elucidated the vital immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance of criticizing *Water Margin*. Thereupon, on the basis of Chairman Mao's directive, the people of the whole country unfolded the mass movement to criticize *Water Margin*.

With a guilty conscience and becoming increasingly apprehensive, Teng Hsiao-p'ing feared that criticizing *Water Margin* would affect his Right deviationist verdict-reversing activities. He therefore went to battle to carry out rabid sabotage and obstructions—

One, to play down the important meaning of Chairman Mao's directive. Teng said: Making comments on *Water Margin* "has nothing to

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines #880 (76-21). (Translation of excerpts from an article in Hsueh-hsi yu P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism] #6, June 14, 1976.)

do with the realities of the current struggle inside the Party” and “plays no important role.”

Two, to put out the fierce flames of the mass movement to criticize *Water Margin*. Teng said, “Some people are confused by what they have heard and think that something is happening. When it comes to criticizing Sung Chiang’s capitulationism, some people take the view that a campaign is coming, but do not know where it comes from.” He even viciously attacked the criticism of *Water Margin* and charged that some people tried to “make an issue” out of it and “hatch a plot.”

Three, to keep the group blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts from falling into disarray. Teng said to people everywhere: “What are you afraid of? You are not Sung Chiang nor a capitulationist.”

With their master’s backing, Teng’s followers began to spread gossip and hearsay.

Some people said: “All you have to do is go back and transmit Chairman Mao’s instruction on criticism of *Water Margin*.” Basically they didn’t take it seriously.

Some said: “The *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial on *Water Margin* has not been discussed by the Central Committee.” They dismissed it as false.

Some said: “Don’t listen to *Hung-ch’i*.”

Among Teng’s followers, that “theoretician” appeared quite sensitive as he acted on the instinct of protecting his master. He was particularly mindful of comments on *Water Margin*. He spent a great deal of time scanning and poring over press articles having anything to do with *Water Margin*, and he made copious excerpts from them so he could find the direction of the trend. On one occasion, that “theoretician” selectively copied down some parts of press comments on Sung Chiang’s attempt to cheat Ch’ao Kai and passed them on to Teng. The “theoretician” said: “This is clearly an oblique reference to you, and I won’t be wrong saying so.” Teng tried to keep calm and said, “It isn’t,” but he was visibly upset when reading these materials.

Why did that “theoretician” go out of his way to gather data on “Sung Chiang’s attempt to cheat Ch’ao Kai”? This is because Chairman Mao’s criticism of *Water Margin*’s “excluding Ch’ao Kai from the 108 persons” lays stress on the importance of leadership power and on the danger of altering the correct line by capitulationists operating inside the revolutionary ranks. To usurp the leadership of the Liangshan revolutionary cause, Sung Chiang tries every means to cheat Ch’ao Kai, even going so far as to employ the vicious means of “purifying the emperor’s entourage” to exclude and hit hard at those revolutionary generals who are determined to carry out Ch’ao Kai’s correct line. In criticizing the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao

pointed out: "Since Prince Liu Pi of Wu in the Han Dynasty invented the well-known tactic of purifying the emperor's ranks to press home his request for the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o (the principal strategist of Emperor Ching of Han), quite a few careerists have regarded it as treasure." Sung Chiang was one and so is Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng's rumor-mongering mill fabricated counter-revolutionary political rumors to mislead the public and provoke splits, aiming the spearhead directly at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. They did not hesitate to employ such despicable means as framing charges and shifting the blame onto others, vainly trying to trap those comrades who are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The vast masses of revolutionary people exposed Sung Chiang's counter-revolutionary tactic of cheating Ch'ao Kai and this was unfavorable to people like Teng Hsiao-p'ing who were then vigorously whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This could not but arouse the concern of that "theoretician."

When the "theoretician" told Teng about the "oblique reference" implied in "Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai," the latter said, "It isn't." Here, the master and the servant are in obvious plight. Is it an "oblique reference" or "insinuation"? No, it isn't. The proletariat has never found it necessary to conceal its own viewpoint and always carries out political struggles open and aboveboard. We expose the ancient capitulationists by criticizing *Water Margin*, and we do so for the purpose of summing up the laws and experience of class and line struggles so we can deal with modern capitalist roaders in a better way. In this sense, criticizing *Water Margin* serves the purpose of ideologically preparing us for repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. In mentioning "oblique reference," that "theoretician" unwittingly betrayed the weaknesses of Teng and his ilk as well as their fears. When Lu Hsun published his well-known novel *The Story of Ah Q*, it will be recalled, it caused a storm of some sort among the gentlemen and ladies and other prominent people in society. They were apprehensive lest their "private affairs" might be exposed by Lu Hsun. As a matter of fact, Lu Hsun merely touched some people where it hurt through his artistic summation of types and he was not making any "oblique reference" at all. The fact which worried these gentlemen and ladies is that they did have "secrets" they would like to keep away from others. When that "theoretician" gingerly told Teng about the "oblique reference," he and his master were indeed worried lest their "secrets" would have been brought out by others. What is noteworthy is that when Teng was serving as Secretary of the Southwest Bureau in the early period of liberation, he re-enacted the farce of "Sung Chiang assumes the reins of the mountain stronghold."

He conferred "titles" on his lieutenants after the fashion of the "Liangshanpo heroes" such as "Leopard's Head Lin Ch'ung," "Big Sword Kuan Sheng," "Black Whirlwind Li K'uei" and "Thunderer Ch'in Ming," with himself assuming the title of "Welcome Rain Sung Chiang." As a matter of fact, Teng followed Liu Shao-ch'i since liberation in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and after he went back to work, he continued to practice revisionism and capitulationism and indeed is the modern Sung Chiang. Therefore, when the people of the whole country commented on *Water Margin* and repudiated Sung Chiang in line with Chairman Mao's directive, Teng could not but feel apprehensive. That is why the "theoretician" could not help denouncing the revolutionary people's criticism as an "insinuation."

Revolutionary public opinion based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is powerful and full of strength. The movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and to comment on *Water Margin*, with the people of the whole country participating, crushed every resistance and kept deepening. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, irreconciled to defeat, continued to hit back at revolutionary public opinion with counter-revolutionary public opinion.

When Teng's rumor-mongering mill, which had ground out counter-revolutionary political rumors, met setbacks everywhere, he turned around and hit back. With ulterior motives, he said: Political rumors in society "are mainly brought about by press articles commenting on *Water Margin*." He vainly tried to use this remark to kill two birds with one stone, on the one hand viciously attacking Chairman Mao's important instruction on making comments on *Water Margin* and the mass movement launched by the revolutionary people to comment on the novel and, on the other, shifting the target of tracking down counter-revolutionary rumors so as to protect Teng's rumor-mongering mill.