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CRITICIZE TENG AND BEAT BACK THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND

Introduction

The Campaign to Criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind was the major trial of strength between the revisionist and revolutionary headquarters within the Chinese Communist Party in the last years of Mao's life. The Right had done all it could to obstruct the dictatorship of the proletariat campaign; it even formulated its own program in opposition to Mao, which was embodied in the "three poisonous weeds"—documents on industrial management, science and technology, and a "General Program" (Appendices 1-3). Teng, Hua, Li Hsien-nien and others were intimately involved in drafting them.

The Right organized a series of conferences in mid-1975 to push their line in practically all major areas, circulated the weeds, made another major offensive at a "Learn from Tachai Conference," and attacked the educational reforms. It was an all-out assault. Towards the end of the year, Mao had initiated a debate on the educational front to defend the innovations of the Cultural Revolution, and as the new year arrived, he directly attacked Teng Hsiao-ping and his eclectic and revisionist formulations of putting the development of the economy, stability and unity, and class struggle on the same level.

In early April, during the mourning period for Chou En-lai, the Right staged the largest counter-revolutionary demonstration since liberation. Chou was idolized and Mao slandered. During the early part of 1976 Mao had issued a series of directives on the evolution and nature of capitalist-roaders within the Party, which represent a major contribution to the body of Marxist-Leninist theory, and at the same time he called for public exposure and ferreting out of these forces. Mao presided over the removal of Teng.

The readings focus on the Left's response to the increasingly bold

attacks from the Right which took a leap with the Tien An Men incident. The line pushed by Teng and the whole Right in science and technology, industry, education, culture, etc. was subjected to scathing criticism in articles that appeared in the Chinese media and which were studied widely. For example the article on "A New Type of Social Relations in a Socialist Enterprise" describes important reforms in the management system which were implemented by workers in a Shanghai factory in the course of criticizing this line. Changes like this have been attacked by the Right, at that time and now, as "anarchy." Today, one-man management, rules and the authority of specialists are championed.

Chang Chun-chiao's talks give some sense of how the struggle was actually unfolding during this period, and the final article indicates that the Left was stressing that even if this battle were lost, the struggle of the masses would ultimately triumph.