

## LIANG HSIAO STRESSES MOBILIZING PUBLIC OPINION

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[Text of article by Liang Hsiao published in RED FLAG No 5 and reprinted in the 5 May PEOPLE'S DAILY: "Use Revolutionary Public Opinion To Smash Counterrevolutionary Public Opinion"]

[Text] Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee he heads, the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country are now deepening criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and indignantly denouncing Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes in attempting to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. They are tracking down counterrevolutionary activities in a thorough manner. The great struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is breaking through resistance with the irresistible force of an avalanche and is advancing from victory to victory.

The situation is excellent and the people are inspired. By reviewing the fighting course of beating back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and analyzing the recent counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, we are able to profoundly understand the important significance of the proletariat's using Marxism to firmly occupy the position of public opinion in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well for the counterrevolutionary class." This is an objective law of class struggle.

Revolutionary public opinion is an important weapon for the proletariat to use in seizing and consolidating political power. Counterrevolutionary public opinion is an important weapon for the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes in opposing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the period of socialism, there always exists the acute struggle between the two kinds of public opinion. This is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes, roads and lines.

In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, the bourgeoisie, particularly those in power within the party taking the capitalist road, have invariably made frantic efforts to seize the position of public opinion. They concocted all sorts of revisionist absurd arguments and spread reactionary trends of thought of all shades. They put forward counterrevolutionary slogans to confuse and poison the minds of the people and fabricated sensational political rumors with which to summon winds and waves to foment trouble in order to create pretexts suitable for them to engineer counterrevolutionary restorationist activities.

To completely defeat the bourgeoisie's resistance, the proletariat must attach great importance to grasping public opinion, line education and class struggle in the ideological sphere. The proletariat should make energetic efforts to propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and deepen criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism in order to quickly expose those counterrevolutionary rumors dished out from dark corners and to use revolutionary public opinion to prevail over and defeat counterrevolutionary public opinion in order to bring about the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all spheres of culture.

Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, took the lead in stirring the right deviationist wind. It began precisely by vigorously creating counterrevolutionary public opinion.

As soon as he regained some power, he wasted no time in dishing out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and frenziedly launched vengeful counterattack against the proletariat. At his instigation, a few unrepentant capitalist roaders in the fields of education and science and technology as well as in certain departments jumped out at the same time. They made speeches everywhere and did their best to spread poison. They disseminated a great number of absurd arguments negating the party's basic line, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the new socialist things.

He instigated a number of persons to write and mail letters containing trumped-up charges against others, to promote his line under the guise of conducting briefings, and to prepare to issue publications and concoct anti-Marxist articles in order to make noises and pave the way for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. After the article "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country" dished out at the instigation of Teng Hsiao-ping was published, they [the capitalist roaders] jubilantly said that "the publication of the article amounts to striking a blow with a fist." This "blow with a fist" meant the counterrevolutionary public opinion they molded to attack Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

What they first used at the counterrevolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square was the same "blow with a fist." Many of their vicious, counterrevolutionary slogans are identical to the language used in the article "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country." Controlled by one sinister hand, a handful of class enemies posted reactionary poems, distributed reactionary leaflets, made reactionary speeches and shouted reactionary slogans. Openly hoisting the ensign of support for Teng Hsiao-ping, they clamored in a husky voice for restoring capitalism and feverishly agitated for the setting up of counterrevolutionary groups. What immediately followed was a show of their other "fist"--their counterrevolutionary violence. In the violent disturbances, vehicles and barracks were set afire, worker-militiamen, people's police, people's liberation army men and revolutionary masses were manhandled, and daggers were brandished.

This clearly shows us that the bourgeoisie's molding of counterrevolutionary public opinion is always a prelude to its counterrevolutionary violence. However, the "two fists" it made did not go anywhere. Facing powerful revolutionary public opinion and the mailed arm of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they could not withstand a single blow and were immediately disintegrated. A salient feature of the frantic bourgeois counterattack on the proletariat is the fabrication of counterrevolutionary political rumors to viciously attack our great leader Chairman Mao and to try to split the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. This is a trend of class struggle which merits our attention.

Rumors were widely spread in society when the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was blowing last July, August and September. Numerous counterrevolutionary political rumors were again emerging this spring when the struggle to repulse the right deviationist wind was victoriously developing in depth. A handful of class enemies was so flagrant as to fabricate Chairman Mao's "instructions," "documents" of the party Central Committee, premier's "will" and "speeches" by leading members of the central authorities in an attempt to peddle their sinister dream by using the great prestige of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee among the people of the whole country. This is a very insidious counterrevolutionary tactic. The reactionary contents of these political rumors, the vicious language used and the absurd allegations together with the clumsy tactics employed to fabricate and spread these rumors were unprecedented.

But why did the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the party and the handful of counter-revolutionaries resort to the tactic of fabricating rumors to frantically attack the proletariat? This is decided by their reactionary and declining class nature. Lenin once said: When the bourgeois influence over the workers is defeated, bankrupt or weakened, the bourgeoisie invariably resorts or is prepared to resort to the most rabid means of fabricating rumors and vilification.

The bourgeoisie is a decadent, declining and moribund class. Historical experience indicates that all reactionary declining classes both at home and abroad, at present or in ancient times, invariably use the tactic of fabricating rumors and vilifying others when they are at the end of their rope and waging deathbed struggles. Confucius, Mencius, Chiang Kai-shek, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Hitler, Goebbels, Khrushchev and Brezhnev are experts on fabricating counterrevolutionary rumors, and Teng Hsiao-ping, the unrepentant capitalist roader in our party, is no exception. They are devoid of truth and lack support from the masses. They are indeed weak. They can use no weapons of any kind except rumors to compete with the proletariat.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." The workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and people, who account for over 95 percent of the total population, all want revolution. Their fundamental aspiration is to take the socialist road. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents their fundamental interests.

By practicing revisionism and reversing verdicts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Teng Hsiao-ping ran counter to the objective law of historical development and ran counter to the fundamental interests of the revolutionary masses. He put himself in a position diametrically opposed to the masses and made himself extremely isolated.

To hoodwink the masses, the class enemies cannot help but resort to rumor-mongering and engaging in stealthy and clandestine activities in some way, otherwise they cannot carry on. The rumor-mongering employed by the bourgeoisie is also determined by their reactionary world outlook of subjective idealism. In their eyes, neither objective truth nor objective facts exist at all. Facts could be fabricated at will. By repeating them a thousand times, rumors can become facts. Truth, too, can be invented at will. Everything that can serve their purpose means "truth."

Hitler once shamelessly proclaimed: "People would eventually believe in something which is a big lie because it is easier to hoodwink the masses with big lies than with small ones. They could never have imagined there are lies of such magnitude and would not believe that in this world there could exist such a big hoax utterly devoid of all sense of shame and distorting facts. They would remain doubtful and perplexed even after it was exposed. They would invariably think that 'where there is smoke, there is fire.'" This is indeed a remarkable statement very hard to find. It most incisively laid bare the decadent and dark inner sanctum of the rumor-mongers.

Renegade and traitor Lin Piao also wrote in his sinister notebook: "For reasons of prestige, one has to tell big lies, conceal what is evil and publicize what is good, distort and exaggerate, deny, fabricate rumors out of thin air, trump up charges, keep things top secret, and keep the ratio of 30 percent truth and 70 percent falsehood. All of this makes no exception as to the state, classes or individuals." It is truly an eye-opener to read the confession of these careerists and conspirators!

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Lenin noted: "When people cannot discern the interests of these and those classes from any one speech, statement and promise concerning morality, religion, politics and society, they have been and will still be foolish political sacrifices deceived by others and by themselves. We must continue to sum up the experience in class struggle, grasp the law of class struggle, and master the method of observing and handling problems from the Marxist class-struggle viewpoint. With regard to the trend of thought, slogans, grape-line news and so forth prevailing in society, we must make class analyses to see what they oppose, what they support, what they require, which class' interests they represent, and which political line they serve. Only in this way can we fully understand the nature of the current struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, explode all of the insidious tricks used by the enemies in their futile attempt to confuse the class alignment, and take the initiative in class struggle.

In order to defeat the frantic resistance put up by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party against the socialist revolution, to thoroughly criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader within the party Teng Hsiao-ping ideologically and politically, and to smash the various counterrevolutionary public opinions created by them, we must make full use of all propaganda media and all forms of public opinion. We must make all-out efforts to create revolutionary public opinion and to propagate in deepening way Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as well as all principles and policies of the party Central Committee.

At present, special attention should be paid to propagating Chairman Mao's series of important instructions on beating back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts so that the masses can clearly understand that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, and so that they can understand the nature, target, task and prospects of the socialist revolution and raise their awareness of class struggle and improve their ability to discern and combat various reactionary trends of thought and political rumors. This is precisely what the class enemies fear the most.

In his "Outline of Project 571," Lin Biao maliciously cursed "men of letters who write." The handful of class enemies who engineered the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square also rabidly cursed "those scholars." Opposing the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought among the masses of the people, all of them spearheaded their attack at the great leader Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. This was by no means an offhand coincidence. It reflects the common mentality of the capitalist roaders in the party and the handful of class enemies who have a mortal fear of the propagation of Marxist truth just as bats are afraid of daylight. This is because when the masses have grasped Marxist truth, the camouflage of the capitalist roaders and the handful of class enemies will be removed. Then, their counterrevolutionary public opinion and counterrevolutionary rumors will have no market, and they will be completely isolated.

Unfolding in-depth class revolutionary criticism in a sustained way is a powerful means for shattering counterrevolutionary public opinion. The fact that political rumors could hoodwink a number of persons during a given period of time was due to the deceptive nature of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. The tactic Teng Hsiao-ping used in dishing out his revisionist program was to distort and tamper with Chairman Mao's instructions. He preached the reactionary theory of "productive forces" under the guise of "promoting the realization of the four modernizations." Turning back the wheel of history in the fields of education, science and technology, he said he was concerned with the quality of education and the standards of science and technology.

In order to enable the masses to understand the essence of the issue by seeing through its superficial countenance, we must expose his camouflage and thoroughly criticize and totally discredit his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and the various absurd revisionist arguments he spread in the fields of education, science and technology, literature and art, public health and physical culture.

The reactionary speeches and reactionary slogans concocted by the handful of class enemies in the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square in early April thoroughly exposed the reactionary feature of Teng Hsiao-ping. They constitute valuable teaching material by negative example. In criticizing the counterrevolutionary careerist Bakunin, Marx and Engels pointed out: There is only one method--the conspiracies; that is, to bring them completely out into the open. By thoroughly exposing them, these conspiracies will lose their effect.

Grasping the essence of the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square in order to fully expose the sinister schemes of the handful of class enemies in the glare of daylight will not only bring the class enemies' counterrevolutionary political rumors and their counterrevolutionary agitation to complete bankruptcy, but will also enable the masses to understand more clearly the reactionary nature of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

Chairman Mao said: "Line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly.

It would not do to talk them over with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary people." The might of revolutionary public opinion can be brought into full play only by fully arousing the masses to make Marxism dominate all positions of public opinion. Only by so doing can we sweep away all the ideological trash of the exploiting classes from all corners.

The mass movement to study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and the worker-peasant-soldier sparetime theorist groups and theoretical discussion meetings, political night schools, criticism meetings, big-character posters, parades and demonstrations, mass meetings, mass poem contests, mass performances of model revolutionary theatrical works, and mass political and ideological work are all effective means to mobilize the masses and create revolutionary public opinion. The capitalist roaders within the party and a handful of class enemies who take an extremely hostile attitude and intensely fear the mobilization of the masses to create revolutionary public opinion have spared no effort in trying to sabotage the mobilization of the masses and have resorted to every trick in viciously attacking revolutionary public opinion. But the masses have resolutely rebuffed their sabotage activities and attacks.

An old woman over 70 years of age of the Hsiao-ching-huang Brigade remarked: "The capitalist roaders within the party who engage in restoration have attacked me for singing songs from model revolutionary theatrical plays. But the more they hate us, the more we will sing these songs until the red flag is flying over the five continents and the four seas." These simple and plain words have vividly expressed the poor and lower-middle peasants' strong determination to fight the class enemies with revolutionary public opinion and show that the vast number of workers, peasants and soldiers profoundly understand the great significance of vigorously creating revolutionary public opinion.

Facts show that in areas and units where great importance is attached to revolutionary public opinion and where the masses are mobilized to vigorously create public opinion, there the righteous proletarian spirit is speedily enhanced and evil bourgeois trends are quickly subdued, and a prosperous situation prevails in both revolution and production. On the other hand, if revolutionary public opinion is not highly regarded and the masses are not mobilized to vigorously create public opinion, evil trends will prevail and various political rumors and grapevine news will spread, and a handful of enemies will take this advantage to engage in sabotage activities and make trouble, thus causing losses in both revolution and production.

Chairman Mao has taught us that violent storms and waves are not to be feared for the human society is developed amid violent storms and waves. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is invincible. All those who engage in conspiracies and plots and all those who spread rumors are doomed to an ignominious end.

While brutally committing atrocities at the Tienanmen Square, didn't the handful of counterrevolutionary hooligans go wild with joy and shamelessly call their counter-revolutionary clamoring a "clap of thunder" and their handful of counterrevolutionary commandos "a torrential tide?" Didn't the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and Taiwan's Chiang Ching-kuo and his ilk gleefully applaud this handful of ugly scum? But their elation was short-lived.

When the CCP Central Committee's resolutions appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as first vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and premier of the State Council and stripping Teng Hsiao-ping of all posts both inside and outside the party and the report on the counterrevolutionary political incident at the Tienanmen Square were made public by radio broadcasts and the newspapers, millions upon millions of army men and people across the nation immediately took action to warmly hail the CCP Central Committee's two resolutions and indignantly denounce the crimes of Teng Hsiao-ping in engaging in verdict-reversing and restoration and hit hard at the sabotage activities of a handful of counterrevolutionaries. This is truly a "torrential tide" which propels the revolution forward as well as a real "clap of thunder" which has shocked the world.

The strong "east wind" of revolution has completely swept away the foul atmosphere created by a handful of counterrevolutionary elements at Tienanmen Square. Now Tienanmen Square has become even more majestic and splendid. The paean of victory echoes and re-echoes on both banks of the Yangtze River and inside and outside the Great Wall. The great struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has developed to a new climax. Let us closely rally around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and advance from victory to still greater victories along the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao.

#### PEOPLE'S DAILY LAUDS EDUCATED YOUTH, RED GUARDS

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[Text of 4 May PEOPLE'S DAILY frontpage article by Tan Wen (5223 5113): "Take the Road of Integrating With Workers and Peasants, Be Vanguards in Combating and Preventing Revisionism"]

[Text] In the excellent situation in which the people of the whole country are whipping up a new high tide in penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, beating back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and trampling down the counter-revolutionaries, the 4 May Youth Day has arrived.