

Why We Must Emphasize Criticism and Repudiation Of That Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line — "Hitting Hard at Many In Order to Protect a Handful"

THE current extensive mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, comprises a most important and militant task: trenchant criticism and repudiation of their bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres — the line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This matter must on no account be taken lightly.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, both big and small, have, on the one hand, pinned the label "counter-revolutionary" on some of the revolutionary masses and, on the other, "hit hard at many" cadres. Both these manoeuvres are designed to "protect the few." If we only criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line in relation to treatment of the masses but neglect criticism and repudiation of it in relation to cadres, penetrating and thorough criticism and repudiation of that reactionary line will not be possible. It will also be impossible to carry out thoroughly Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the cadre question — the line of "uniting with the majority and hitting hard at a handful." Furthermore, establishment of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, victory in the struggle to seize power and efforts to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production" will be seriously impeded and, finally, it will be impossible to strike down the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

To make revolution, we must rely on the masses. However, as Chairman Mao says: **"If the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level."** Experience has proved that without the participation of revolutionary leading cadres who are politically mature and experienced in struggle it would be impossible for the proletarian revolutionaries to win victory in the struggle to seize power and to establish a revolutionary, representative

"three-in-one" provisional organ of power with proletarian authority. Experience has also proved that the mass of revolutionary cadres are an important and indispensable force in the struggle to expose, criticize and repudiate the handful of revisionists and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has supported this handful from behind. It must also be noted that unless this bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre question — "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" — is thoroughly criticized and repudiated, it is impossible to get a clear understanding of how matters stand in relation to the cadres, and to know what to struggle against, to criticize and repudiate, and what to transform. Thorough criticism and repudiation of this bourgeois reactionary line is an important link in closely integrating the struggle to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation in one's own department.

The cadre question is, therefore, an important and crucial one in the struggle at the present time. Criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre question — "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" — is by no means to "shift the target"; it is, on the contrary, to strike directly at the target. It is closely related to the struggle to criticize and repudiate the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. These two things are certainly not what was described as "irrelevant."

It has always been the practice of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road to take over and distort for their own purposes the revolutionary slogans put forward by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They turn right into wrong, transpose black and white and shift the blame on to the revolutionaries. At this present moment, when our Party has initiated criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, aren't there people who use this opportunity to clamour that the "revolutionaries have come to the fore by 'suspecting and overthrowing all indiscrimi-

nately"? Aren't there also people who are spreading around such nonsense as: "We followed the reactionary line of suppressing the masses, but you followed the reactionary line of hitting hard at the cadres. We protected a few, while you hit hard at many. So you are no better than we are." Such nonsense must be thoroughly refuted.

It is the handful of persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line and not others, who have advocated the indiscriminate exclusion and overthrow of all cadres. This is how they have always handled the cadre question. In criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, the main target of our attack should be the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The mass of proletarian revolutionaries have boundless love for the Party and Chairman Mao and a burning hatred for the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Right from the start, the proletarian revolutionaries have "hit hard at a handful" and have certainly not "protected the handful." In a mass movement involving fierce struggles, proletarian revolutionaries may sometimes commit certain excesses or make this or that kind of mistake. However, this is essentially different from the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This brand of the bourgeois reactionary line cannot possibly be used against proletarian revolutionaries. Their criticism and repudiation of this reactionary line is fully justified!

In order to push through the reactionary policy on cadres, that of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful," the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, besides "going to selected primary units" and assuming direct command, took advantage of the masses' hatred of the handful of revisionists to propose slogans which are "Left" in form but Right in essence, did their utmost to spread among the masses the anarchist idea of "suspecting and overthrowing all indiscriminately," and used the masses to extend the front of attack. This is their chief and most sinister means of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This anarchist tendency is often reflected in the ranks of the revolution, thus hampering some people from boldly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres. Proletarian revolutionaries must face this fact, make great efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, take a firm hold of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, relentlessly rid themselves of the concept of "self-interest," and thoroughly root out the influence of this anarchist tendency. The handful of persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line see the cadres as "one solid blotch," "rotten through and through." We must not allow such an utterly erroneous view to continue among proletarian revolutionaries. What we want is to seek truth from facts, make a class analysis and not prefer being "Left" to being Right.

The two important articles in this year's No. 5 issue of *Hongqi*, namely, "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated" and "'Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful' Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line" [see *Peking Review*, No. 15] have won the warm support of the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. This clearly demonstrates the mighty strength of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. However, there are a small number of people who, obsessed by anarchist thinking, fail to make a class analysis, fail to distinguish between the two classes [the proletariat and the bourgeoisie], the two roads [the road of socialism and the road of capitalism] and the two lines [the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line], and instead, lump people into "masses" and "people in authority." They maintain that they "should oppose whatever the people in authority support" and that "whenever cadres rise up, that means a restoration of capitalism." Therefore, they hold back in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This is utterly wrong. Proletarian revolutionaries must resolutely defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the question of cadres, and stand up and boldly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line on this question. Only when the "many" are truly liberated in the course of struggle, can the "handful" be thoroughly isolated and overthrown. Only in this way will it be possible to finally smash the schemes of the "handful" to counter-attack and restore capitalism.

Thorough criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres must not be in words only but must be carried out in action. Proletarian revolutionaries should be models in thoroughly implementing Chairman Mao's policies on cadres.

The process of carrying out Chairman Mao's policies on cadres is a process of sharp and complicated class struggle. First of all, we must know how to judge cadres correctly. Chairman Mao teaches us: "**We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres.**" Proletarian revolutionaries must firmly grasp the weapon of class analysis in testing and judging cadres amid the great storms and waves of the struggle between the two lines. This cannot possibly be done by relying on just a few people engaged in compiling data. We should advocate the method of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of putting up big-character posters and of organizing great debates. We must boldly mobilize the masses to familiarize themselves with and discuss the life and work of each cadre thoroughly and to differentiate strictly between the two different kinds of contradictions [those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves] so as to be able to reach a correct decision. Towards cadres

who have made mistakes, the policy of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"curing the sickness to save the patient"** must be carried out. **They should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds, unless they are anti-Party, anti-socialist elements who persist in their errors and refuse to correct them after repeated education.**

It must be recognized that in the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the aims of the revolutionary cadres are identical with those of the revolutionary masses. The proletarian revolutionaries must **"watch and help"** those cadres who are willing to stand up to make revolution, warmly and with deep class feeling help them to keep abreast of the situation, patiently and actively support them in making their stand clear publicly and encourage them to go among the masses and undergo the test of struggle. Through struggle, we will gradually unite with more than 95 per cent of the cadres and concentrate our efforts on hitting hard at the handful of revisionists.

The revolutionary cadres must go among the masses and plunge into the great torrent of revolutionary criticism, repudiation and strive to perform new meritorious deeds, make new achievements and really win the confidence of the masses. They must not take a passive **"wait-and-see"** attitude, divorce themselves from struggle and **"reflect on their misdeeds in private"** according to the preaching of that book on **"self-cultivation,"** hoping that some day they will suddenly be **"liberated"** and accepted into the **"three-in-one"** combination. Revolutionary cadres who really want to

make revolution must not be afraid of being attacked by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and by conservative forces of all sorts. They must stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and on the side of the young revolutionary fighters. They must carry on arduous ideological struggle and make revolution to the depth of their souls. All revolutionary cadres must undergo this test of their basic stand.

The genuine proletarian revolutionaries dare to break through, to act, to make revolution and to rise up in rebellion. They not only dare to **"hit hard at a handful"** but also dare to **"liberate the many"** and unite the majority. At present, in order to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the question of cadres and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, the proletarian revolutionaries in many places have started heated studies and discussions and have truly gone into action. The task is stupendous and urgent.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres! Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, in the revolutionary spirit of **seizing the day and seizing the hour,** thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road on the question of cadres, the line of **"hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful!"** Let us unite the masses and the mass of cadres into a mighty revolutionary army and advance courageously along the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 24.)