

RESOLUTELY SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY CADRES IN COMING FORWARD

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung Hsiao-pin in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 58-60.]

As the great proletarian cultural revolution enters into the crucial stage of a decisive battle between the two classes and two lines, on the question of cadres, it is essential that we resolutely support the revolutionary cadres in coming forward, unite with the great majority, and strike at the few. This is a major problem with a bearing on whether or not we will grasp the general orientation of struggle and realize the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination." It must not be overlooked in any case. We must firmly execute Chairman Mao's cadres policy and thoroughly criticize the theory of "attacking the many in order to protect the few," a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line.

On the question of cadres, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should carry out the bourgeois reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few" in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is absolutely not a "new question encountered by veteran revolutionary." Consistently going his own way, he is incorrigible. Way back to the land reform in 1947, he had smeared the rural basic-level organizations and cadres as being bad and threatened to kick away many rural cadres. In the socialist education movement of 1964, he resorted to his old tricks again by advocating attack against the majority of basic-level cadres in order to protect the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has thrown out a reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few." This is another big exposure of his stubborn adherence to the bourgeois reactionary stand.

The broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres have recognized ever more clearly the criminal features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line. One after another they have risen to expose and criticize him. Many

revolutionary cadres have come forward and thrown themselves into the great torrent of the mass revolutionary movement. This is a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great victory for Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

The 16-point decision formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao stresses: Under normal conditions, good and comparatively good cadres constitute the majority while the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists are in the minority. The practice of the vigorous and great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year and more has shown that the majority of our cadres are behind Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and socialism. Counter-revolutionary revisionists who have sneaked into the Party represent but a minority.

We must be good at judging cadres and must understand them fully and take their histories into account. Chairman Mao has this to say: "We must not only look at a thing a cadre does at a time, we must also look at his entire history and work. This is the principal method of judging a cadre." In dealing with a cadre we must distinguish between major and minor issues. First of all we must give attention to major issues: Whether he supports Chairman Mao, whether he puts proletarian politics to the fore, and whether he shows revolutionary enthusiasm. Some cadres are good or basically good on major issues, but are not so good on minor issues because they have quite a number of shortcomings and mistakes. In regard to these cadres, we must also support them in coming forward and approve their participation in the revolutionary "three-way combination" provisional organs of power.

Chairman Mao has always taught us that we must trust and rely on the majority of cadres, unite gradually with over 95 percent of the cadres and with all those cadres who can be united with. In regard to those cadres who have made mistakes or serious mistakes, we also do not finish them off with a stick, but instead adopt the policy of "learning from past mistakes to guard against future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the formula of "unity -- criticism -- unity". Says Chairman Mao: "Those Party members and cadres who have made mistakes but still can be educated and who are distinguished from those incorrigible, should, whatever their origin, be educated and must not be given up." Proletarian revolutionaries must distinguish between the "many" and the "few," dare to get close to cadres guilty of mistakes, and patiently and enthusiastically help them correct their mistakes, unite with the majority, attack the few, and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

At present, on the question of dealing with revolutionary cadres, some erroneous notions and practices are gaining currency.

"It is a serious matter to protect the wrong people, but a small matter to attack the wrong persons." This is a theory without political principle. In view of the people adhering to this view, the greater the number of cadres they overthrow, the stronger their revolutionary character will

become. Whether we should support or overthrow the leading cadres is a serious political question. It is important that proletarian revolutionaries be responsible to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and regardless of whether they support or overthrow a cadre, they must deal with the matter seriously and not rashly.

Revolutionary leading cadres should be protected by the proletarian revolutionaries. They have experienced prolonged struggle, and are the precious assets of our Party and State. In protecting the revolutionary leading cadres, we should support their revolutionary action and not protect their shortcomings and mistakes. Their shortcomings and mistakes must, of course, be severely criticized, and they should be given help in rectifying these shortcomings and mistakes. But under no circumstances must we overthrow them on the ground that they have this or that shortcoming and mistake.

The rebel spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries is shown not only in their daring to overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road but also shown in their daring to support the revolutionary leading cadres in coming forward. "Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." We should, in the spirit of fearlessness, resolutely and unambiguously support the revolutionary leading cadres.

Yet we cannot discuss "protection" and "revolution" apart from the class stand. If you take the proletarian stand, you will surely protect the revolutionary leading cadres and resolutely oppose the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. If you take the bourgeois stand, you will naturally oppose the proletarian power holders and protect the bourgeois power holders. If you dare not protect the revolutionary leading cadres, you cannot completely oppose the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. This is the objective law of class struggle. The practice of overthrowing everything without class analysis is an expression not of the proletarian revolutionary spirit but of the petty bourgeois anarchism.

"In showing their colors, cadres must lean to one side." Leaning to one side is leaning to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. But at present, some people do not mean this. They judge a cadre as to whether he is a revolutionary or not by whether he leans to their mountain stronghold. In their view, all those cadres who lean to their mountain stronghold are revolutionary cadres, whose mistakes they defend. Those cadres who do not lean to their mountain stronghold are to be condemned and their activity restricted. This is wrong.

In defining whether a cadre is a revolutionary or not and whether he should be overthrown or not, we should decide the issue not on the sectarian principle but on the political principle of the proletariat. We should see whether he supports or opposes Chairman Mao, stands on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or stubbornly adheres to the bourgeois reactionary line.

To thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres and a hundred percent carry out Chairman Mao's cadre policy, it is imperative to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, to arm our heads with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, reform the bourgeois world outlook, and set up the proletarian world outlook. Only by eliminating selfish and impure ideas can we set great store by the revolutionary interests and deal with the cadres on the basis of seeking truth from facts and not on the basis of sentiments in substitution of policies. Only thus can we uphold the principle, correctly execute Chairman Mao's cadre policy, courageously liberate the "many," and dare to support the revolutionary leading cadres in coming forward. It is wrong to place self-interest in the fore, let heaps of worries disturb us, not to dare to protect those whom we should promote, or become self-righteous and obstinately cling to our views, and support those whom we should not support.

All revolutionary cadres must courageously come forward to expose and criticize the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. They must eliminate selfish and impure ideas and rid themselves of the fears that the masses might not trust them, that they would be condemned and suffer encirclement and attack. They must actively throw themselves into the heat of the mass struggle, temper themselves, reform themselves, breathe the same breath and share the same destiny with the broad revolutionary masses, and perform new services in the proletarian cultural revolution.

Under the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres must close their ranks to thoroughly crush the bourgeois reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few" on the question of cadres, realize and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination," and jointly strive for new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

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