

# "Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful" Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line

(An Investigation of How the Work Team at Tsinghua University  
Carried Out the Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question  
Of Cadres in June and July of 1966)

by "Hongqi" Editorial Department Staff Members

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**T**SINGHUA UNIVERSITY formerly had 11 leading cadres at the university level (1 Party committee secretary and concurrently the president, 5 deputy secretaries of the Party committee and 5 vice-presidents), 145 middle level cadres including former deputy section chiefs of the Party committee, deputy secretaries of the Party general branches and deputy directors of the administrative departments and teaching departments. It formerly had more than 400 cadres at the basic level including deputy secretaries of the Party branches of the faculty and staff and deputy heads of the teaching research groups. In all, the university had more than 500 cadres.

When the work team came to the university to announce the "seizure of power" and to exercise the power and functions of the Party committee on June 9, 1966, all the former Party and administrative cadres at the university level and of teaching departments and teaching research groups were "set aside." Political instructors and secretaries of Party branches (even Party branch committee members) in classes were not excepted.

## **After the work team came to the university, its measures in treating the cadres divided roughly into three stages:**

**The first stage**—from June 9 when the work team came to the university to June 23. The work team "dismissed" all cadres "from office" and "set them aside." Then every cadre was told to make a self-criticism so as to "pass the test," and this was done on a big scale. The work team carried out a line of "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful."

**The second stage**—from June 24 to July 15. The work team carried out on a big scale the "anti-Kuai" struggle [Kuai Ta-fu is a revolutionary student who was among the first to rise up and criticize the work team for following the bourgeois reactionary line]. At the same time, it made use of the cadres to struggle against the masses and incited the cadres to carry out an

organized attack on the revolutionary Left in order to "make amends for their crimes by good deeds."

**The third stage**—from July 16 to early August when the work team was withdrawn from the university. The work team carried out large-scale "criticism and repudiation" and "struggle" against the sinister gang. The cadres continued to make self-criticisms. A section of the cadres were "shelved" [meaning their problems would be dealt with later on].

## **The concrete measures taken by the work team were:**

**(I) Not to make a class analysis of the cadres, excluding and overthrowing them all.**

On the morning of June 11, after the work team came to the university, its deputy leader Yang—called a meeting of all the cadres of the university to announce that the work team had come to "seize power" at Tsinghua and demanded that the cadres present should "make an honest confession."

Members of the work team spread these ideas among the students: "Since Chiang — is rotten, everything is rotten, from the Party committee and Communist Youth League committee down to the Party general branches of the teaching departments, Communist Youth League sub-committees and Party branches. None of the cadres at any level is good"; "Tsinghua is a devils' den"; and "the whole Party organization at Tsinghua is a huge royalist party." They even said: "The Party at Tsinghua is a gangster party"; "the cadres at Tsinghua are all of one cut"; and "the cadres at Tsinghua could not be reformed even in eight years."

The work team forbade the cadres to read big-character posters, take part in the movement or attend any meeting. It isolated them completely from the masses and made them stay all day long in their rooms to pore over a certain book on self-cultivation of Communists. The work team told the cadres to study this book over and over again and, taking it as a criterion, to write a self-criticism. The work team said that "you committed errors in the past precisely because you studied this book too little."

The posts of secretary of the Party general branches and Party branches in different teaching departments were filled concurrently by members of the work team or those they appointed. And the people they appointed to these posts were mainly those they regarded as "the Left."

On July 12, the Provisional Party General Branch of the Department of Mechanical Engineering was set up. At the inaugural meeting the work team announced and had approved that Ho —, Hu —, and Chang — [candidate Party members] had become full-fledged Party members (Ho and Hu, two months before the time of their candidation was up), then appointed Ho — to be deputy Party secretary and Chang —, Hu — and Chang — to be members of the Party general branch committee. When this was announced Chang — herself felt this was all too "sudden." When other people asked her about this, she denied it and this went the rounds as a joke.

In the Automatic Control Department, the work team hastily made Liu — a full-fledged Party member before her time of candidation was up and appointed her to be deputy secretary of the provisional Party general branch. This evoked a host of dissenting views from among the masses.

**(II) Confuse the two different types of contradictions so as to "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful."**

Problems of the ordinary cadres were dealt with like contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Thirty-nine out of the 55 cadres including Party branch committee members and heads of teaching research groups and above in the Mathematics and Mechanics Department were branded by the work team as members of the "sinister gang," or following a "sinister line," accounting for 71 per cent of the total. All 12 members of the Party general branch committee in this department were branded as members of the "sinister gang."

As soon as the work team arrived at the university some students posted a "ten-point order" to the cadres in the form of a big-character poster. The work team described this big-character poster as "boosting the morale of the proletariat and deflating the arrogance of the bourgeois royalists." The work team also had it broadcast throughout the university, announced in every teaching department and conveyed to all the cadres. Its main contents were: the cadres

(1) must make a thorough confession of the "sinister organizations";

(2) must confess the false uprising and expose the plotters behind the scenes;

(3) hand over the "black list" to the work team before June 14;

(4) without the permission of the work team, to stay in their living quarters and be ready to turn up for interrogation whenever they are wanted;

(5) obey the orders of the work team unconditionally;

(6) do nothing to hamper the members of the work team.

It followed that all the cadres were confined indoors, writing self-criticisms and reports on their ideology and activities and other matters all day long. Whenever they wanted to step out of the university grounds they had to first ask for leave. Even those teachers and students who acted as political instructors and heads of grades had to do the same.

On the other hand, the work team did its utmost to protect the handful of people in authority who were truly taking the capitalist road. Chiang — stayed all the time at the Ministry of Higher Education and never returned to the university. On July 23, Wang — had this to say: "The nature of Chiang's case has yet to be decided." Liu — (first deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) and Hu — (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) attended the city's three-level cadres' conference at the Peking Hotel between May 25 and June 28. Ho — (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) was then convalescing at Hsiangshan [Fragrance Hill] and did not return to the university until July 18. After their return to the university, there was only one "struggle meeting" against Liu and Hu. The work team tried by every means to protect Ai — (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) who remained at the university. Owing to mounting public indignation, the work team was compelled to hold a perfunctory "struggle meeting" against him.

**(III) Make every cadre at the basic level do a self-criticism.**

All the cadres were set aside. In this way, those in authority taking the capitalist road did not find themselves isolated.

Cadres at the basic level were indiscriminately made to do a self-criticism. Liu — got this instruction from someone on June 18: As for the question of Party member cadres "passing their test," let the students discuss whether it is necessary to criticize all Party member cadres and make them do a self-criticism. So Yeh — and others in their report to the Municipal Party Committee on June 20 put it in clear-cut terms: As for the cadres at the basic level (including political instructors, Party branch secretaries and committee members), "the general practice is to let them make a self-criticism and let the masses help them with criticism." In the Mechanical Engineering Department, some heads of grades had to make self-criticisms four or five times before they were reluctantly allowed to "pass the test." Even some committee members of the Communist Youth League branches and activists were placed by the work team among those who needed to "pass the test."

The policy of the work team towards cadres at the basic level was, in their own words:

"to peel layer after layer" (meaning level by level from below upwards, exposing the cadres at the basic level first and then the university's Party committee);

"to clear up the outlying areas first and then attack the sinister line"; and

"to let the little devils expose the big devils" (meaning from below upwards).

The work team spread this among the masses: "The cadres at Tsinghua all belong to the 'M' category" (meaning "monsters"). Tsinghua cadres at the lower and upper levels had joined together as "sworn brothers." The work team members even said: "Those at the lower levels are even worse than those at the upper levels."

Guided by the bourgeois reactionary line, Yang —, deputy leader of the work team, personally made arrangements for meetings at which cadres at the basic level were to make self-criticisms. He said: "Attention must be paid to combining the deflating of their arrogance with the tactics of getting them to repent." He added that there should be no "leniency" towards the cadres. "The utmost efforts should be made so that not a single bad person sneaks away."

In fact, almost all Party member cadres were made to make self-criticisms. The work team demanded: "Any Party member who blindly carried out the directives of the former Municipal Party Committee must make self-criticism," and "any Party member who blindly carried out the directives of the university Party committee must make self-criticism."

Therefore, people remarked: In Tsinghua, "Party members are not as good as Youth League members and Youth League members are not as good as non-Party masses."

In the Mathematics and Mechanics Department, this kind of extraordinary thing happened: Soon after it came to the university, the work team asked a non-Party member "old professor" Tu — (an old bourgeois intellectual) to call a meeting of the Party general branch committee of the department. This Tu told the committee members: "The work team wants you to confess honestly." The work team even designated a Party member to act as Tu's secretary and take notes for him.

**(IV) Make use of cadres to struggle against the revolutionary masses.**

Between June 24 and July 15, the work team waged the so-called "anti-Kuai" struggle. And this time they used cadres to direct the spearhead of their struggle against the revolutionary masses.

Taking advantage of the cadres' eagerness to "pass the test" and "be liberated," the work team encouraged them to "oppose Kuai," saying that this was "a golden opportunity" for the cadres to "touch themselves to the very soul" and to "make amends for their crimes by good deeds." To meet the needs of "opposing Kuai," the work team let Tseng —, head teacher of Kuai Ta-fu's class, "pass the test" ahead of time.

Some cadres failed to obtain the approval of the work team though they made self-criticisms a number of times. But if they "made contributions in opposing

Kuai," they could "pass the test" very quickly. In order to "oppose Kuai," Wang — — urged cadres to "show their support for the work team by concrete actions." Wang wanted the Party and Youth League organizations to resume activities when "debates" with Kuai Ta-fu began, and asked the Party members to clarify their position, so as to "pass the test." Those cadres who did not "oppose Kuai" would be "shelved" for a long time and have no chance to "pass the test."

On July 10, this Wang said that the criticism and repudiation of only a few typical persons would serve to educate the great majority and that this was not contradictory, for this would help elevate their consciousness in the course of struggle and liberate a number of Party members and cadres.

**After the work team withdrew from the university, the "three provisional organizations" in Tsinghua fostered by the work team (the Provisional Preparatory Committee for the Cultural Revolutionary Committee, the Provisional General Headquarters of the "Red Guards," and the Provisional Presidium of the Cultural Revolutionary Congress, which were all headed by Ho — — and Liu —), continued while they were in power to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres.**

**(I) In the name of opposing the work team's "Rightist trend" towards cadres, continue to spread the idea of "overthrowing all."**

They said: "Revisionism in Tsinghua University is a rotten tree. The trunk is the university's Party committee and the branches consist of all the cadres under it," and therefore they must be "overthrown en bloc," otherwise "the roots cannot be eradicated."

**(II) The formation of the so-called "groups of the sinister gang to reform through labour" and widespread enforcement of "reform through labour."**

They divided the cadres into three categories:

members of the sinister gang — cadres at the university level, and secretaries and deputy secretaries of the Party general branches;

people following the sinister line — committee members of the Party general branches and secretaries of the Party branches;

henchmen of the sinister gang — staff of the Party general branches and activists.

Then three groups for "reform through labour" were formed.

Some of the political teachers and political instructors were also forced to "reform through labour."

Of all the 500 and more cadres in the university, 70 per cent were required to "reform through labour." Those exempted were mostly the elderly or in poor health.