

SOME OPINIONS ON THE PRESENT CADRE PROBLEM

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language newspaper, Hung-kan Pao (Red Cadre News), No. 3, Peking, 10 June 1967, pp. 1, 4. The newspaper is published by the Liaison Center to "Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate the Liu-Teng Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Cadre Problem," Capital Universities and Colleges Revolutionary Rebels.]

1.

Chairman Mao said: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are for the seizure of political power and the consolidation of political power. At the same time, the desperate struggle of counterrevolutionaries against the revolutionary forces is also entirely for the purpose of maintaining their political power."

Under the personal leadership of our great leader, Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered the stage of great revolutionary criticism and repudiation, the great revolutionary unity, and the revolutionary "combination of three forces." This stage is the decisive stage of a life-and-death struggle between the proletarian revolutionary group which is resolutely fighting for the seizure of power and the bourgeois counterrevolutionary group which is desperately fighting against the seizure of power. The present cadre problem is directly the focal-point of this decisive battle.

Look at the smoke of the gun, and listen to the sound of the gun. On the cadre problem, the struggle between the two lines is intensely developing. By raising high the great flag of revolutionary criticism and repudiation, and by whipping their mighty pens, the proletarian revolutionary group is

forcefully criticizing Liu-Teng's bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre problem. Many revolutionary cadres also whipped out the mighty club of Mao Tse-tung's thought to break the spiritual bondage of Liu's "Cultivation of the Mind," to break through the barriers of the reactionary bourgeois line, and to get out courageously the encirclement. A handful of persons who are in power and taking the capitalist road are getting bogged down in the vast ocean of the revolutionary masses.

However, the class enemies "are never willing to accept their defeat." In fact, they are now all the more outrageous. Some of them are openly fighting against the revolutionary cadres. Others changed their faces to penetrate into the "combined three" forces. Still others are secretly manipulating and utilizing the conservative forces to upset the direction of the struggle and to counter the revolutionary rebelling group in every respect.

The proletarian revolutionary group has firmly observed Chairman Mao's teachings. It is making a complete class analysis. Those who belong to "the handful" will be resolutely struck down; those who belong to "the vast ocean" will be courageously liberated. The conservative forces have never made any class analysis of the cadres. Instead, they adopted a policy whereby "those who obey me are leftists and those who are against me are rightists." Through a simultaneous practice of pulling and pushing, they forced the cadres to express their attitude in favor of the conservative forces. Those who are in favor of the revolutionary rebelling group are accused of "restoring capitalism," "agitating the masses to struggle against the masses," etc. They listed these cadres as "the handful" and avowed to strike them down.

The proletarian revolutionary group permits cadres to make mistakes in the course of expressing their attitude. It holds profound class feelings for those cadres who have made mistakes. "It looks after them and gives them help." The conservative forces, on the other hand, attack the revolutionary cadres at one point and disregard all other points. They take the cadres' general mistakes too seriously and give them severe punishment.

The proletarian revolutionary group advocates a complete revolution and is against reformism. However, the conservative forces insist to invite those "mediators" who have not drawn a line of demarcation with those who are in power and taking the capitalist road, or to invite those who are originally taking the capitalist road to join the show on the stage and to operate "another combination of three forces." The proletarian revolutionary group ruthlessly fight with the handful of Party persons who are in power and

taking the capitalist road, and chase them to their ultimate supporters, Liu and Teng. The conservative forces, on the other hand, do not criticize and struggle against this handful of persons on the pretext that they are "dead tigers," not worth our beating. What deserves more attention is the fact that some conservative forces have now acted beyond the limits of individual units and collaborated with one another through certain "authoritative" organizations and their individual responsible persons' patient persuasion. To society, they expressed no interest in criticizing and struggling against Liu-Teng. Day in and day out, they shouted that they wanted to drag out one or two cadres from certain revolutionary organizations. Their real intention is not to criticize and struggle against Liu-Teng. Thus, their intention is extremely vicious. First, they want to strike down the vast real rebelling group. Secondly, they intend to aim the point of their spear at the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee.

All this shows that the struggle between the two lines is extremely grave. It is a struggle of life-and-death, a struggle for the seizure of power and a struggle against the seizure of power, a struggle for the restoration of capitalism and a struggle against the restoration. Those of us in the proletarian revolutionary group raise high the great red flag of Chairman Mao's thought, educate and unite those masses who have been misled into the conservative forces, ruthlessly assault the "handful" of persons who manipulate the conservative forces, and pledge that we will carry the two-line struggle to the end.

2.

Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat can liberate itself only after liberating the entire mankind." Chairman Mao also advised us that we must trust and rely upon the majority of the cadres.

As the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered into today's stage, the question facing those of us in the proletarian revolutionary group is an important one: whether or not we dare to liberate the vast ocean of cadres and how to liberate them. On this question, there are different opinions and suggestions among our revolutionary rank-and-file. In our opinion, the vast ocean of cadres must be liberated through the great struggle and the great criticism. Thorough criticism and repudiation of Liu-Teng's bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre problem and complete elimination of its poisonous influence is the key to realization of the liberation. At present, some of us are unable to continue their criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre problem. Instead,

they have concentrated on the liberation of cadre organizations. This method is wrong.

"Liberation" and "the combination of three forces" are not identical. "Liberation of the vast ocean of cadres" does not mean that we are to recruit all of them into the temporary power organs without discrimination. We can by no means use the requirement of cadres in "the combination of three forces" as the condition for the liberation of them. Otherwise, we shall not be able to liberate them, nor shall we be able to deal a blow to "the handful." In our opinion, we should take caution against the left on the question of "liberating the vast oceans of cadres," and against the right on the question of "combining the three forces." In other words, we should have the courage to liberate them; at the same time, we should be very careful about the combination of three forces.

On the question of how to "liberate the vast ocean of cadres and to deal blows to the handful," we maintain that only by liberating the vast ocean of cadres can we better deal blows to the handful. Or, in other words, only by ruthlessly hitting the handful can we really liberate the vast ocean of cadres. The present situation requires us to be courageous. In the course of criticism and repudiation, we must liberate the vast cadres with courage. At present, some unilaterally emphasized that only by hitting the handful can we liberate the vast ocean of cadres. This is wrong, because some conservative forces are savagely assaulting the most revolutionary cadres in the revolutionary rebelling group in the name of "dealing blows to the handful." In reality, these conservative forces are applying tactics which kill one bird in order to warn others. They are in fact continuously dealing blows to the vast ocean of cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary. We must expose this sort of conspiracy.

In the work of liberating the vast cadres, we cannot merely rely upon a few persons who quietly spend their days preparing materials or who keep themselves busy with one or two cadres' work. Instead, we should mobilize the broad masses and aim at the vast ocean of cadres. We should encourage all cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary to stand together with the broad masses, to participate in the great revolutionary struggle and criticism. Through this sort of struggle and criticism, we then let the cadres show their "living faces" and "real faces."

The real proletarian revolutionaries should get united in the course of the great criticism and repudiation, display their fearless revolutionary and rebelling spirit, liberate the vast ocean of cadres, and unite the great majority.

Chairman Mao said: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses, stay with the masses, and carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution in a better way."

This is a great combat call issued by Chairman Mao to all cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary. Therefore, all of them should be concerned with state affairs and come out to join the revolutionary struggle of the masses, to plunge themselves into the struggle between the two lines, to participate in the great criticism and repudiation of the handful of Party persons who are in power and taking the capitalist road, to join the struggle, criticism, and reform in their own units, to ally themselves with the revolutionary masses, and to achieve new results in the revolutionary mass movement. In the revolutionary mass movement, they should destroy the private and establish the public, touch the people's souls, strive to reform their own non-proletarian world outlook, and successfully go through the stage of socialism.

Some of the cadres have done so. They have been making contributions to the great cultural revolution. Others who have made some mistakes in the previous or the present mass movement are still hesitating to join the masses. They sit in their small houses, negatively wait for criticisms of their own behaviors, wonder whether or not their own reviews can be accepted, and ignore state affairs and the movements in their own units. These problems are rooted in the words "private" and "fear." The whole attitude is based on Liu's method of cultivating the mind, which does not regard oneself as a revolutionary target. It is deceiving. Revolutionary cadres must regard themselves as the targets of the revolution as well as the motive force of the revolution. This can be realized only by plunging themselves into the revolutionary mass struggle.

Those cadres who have taken the initiative in the movement should raise higher the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, continue to advance, and make new contributions to the great revolutionary criticism, the great revolutionary unity, and the revolutionary "combination of the three forces." What has made our heart aching is that some of these cadres who have taken the initiative are now contented with their "leftist" titles and living their days on the basis of their past achievements. They feel that their little contribution is great. Consequently, they have become vain. Under the influence of the reactionary anarchic thinking, they have become enthusiastic about the interests of their own small groups, interested in the establishment of individual authorities, in the issuance of orders, in delivering speeches, and in making reports. Thus, they have ignored the proletarian

revolutionary authority of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the calls of other revolutionary organizations and revolutionary masses. With respect to their subordinates, they have suppressed the different opinions among leftist organizations. They have recruited one group and beat the other. In relation to those who are above them, they have spread rumors to split the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. In this regard, we want to serve a serious warning: You must come back quickly before you get further deviated. Otherwise, in the rapid development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, you are bound to go to the opposite direction and to be abandoned by the real proletarian revolutionaries.

Combat friends of the proletarian revolutionary group, and the vast revolutionary cadres! The revolution is moving ahead rapidly. Let us raise higher the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought and study, propagate, execute, and defend the great historical document--the May 16 Notice. Let us take hold of the major contradictions and the major direction of the struggle. Let us get united and organize an enormously strong revolutionary army. Let us fight courageously in the battlefield of the revolutionary criticism and repudiation.