

## RESOLUTELY CARRY OUT CHAIRMAN MAO'S CADRES POLICY

[Following is a translation of an article by Red Rebels of Ilan hsien, Heilungkiang Province in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 52-56.]

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note: The experience of the Red rebels of Ilan hsien, Heilungkiang province, is of universal significance and worth learning by proletarian revolutionaries in other places.

The experience of Ilan hsien shows that the implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy is a process of struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line and against the handful of those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Those who laid down the bourgeois reactionary line aim to protect the small handful heading down the capitalist road by branding the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionaries", on the one hand, and on the other, by resorting to the tactics of overthrowing all cadres who want to rise and rebel against and who dare to expose those in authority heading down the capitalist road. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's cadres policy correctly, it is imperative to expose and criticize the bourgeois reactionary line thoroughly and to liberate the vast number of cadres who are being suppressed by it.

We want to give resolute support to the revolutionary leading cadres in rising and giving a lead to the revolution. But the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have viciously instigated those among the masses who have not got a clear picture of the true situation, to attack the revolutionary leading cadres who dared to be the first to come forward. We must completely smash this scheme of theirs. This is of vital importance in arousing the vast number of cadres to rebel.

In an attempt to sabotage the revolution, those Party people heading down the capitalist road make their collaborators sneak into the revolutionary "three-way alliance" organ of power disguised as a "revolutionary". We must heighten our vigilance against this scheme of theirs. -

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In the struggle to seize power, we Red rebels of Ilan hsien firmly carried out Chairman Mao's cadres policy and gradually brought into being a revolutionary "three-way alliance". On March 7, we took over power from the handful of people in the Ilan hsien Party committee who were taking the capitalist road, and declared the formation of the hsien's revolutionary committee.

In order to win over and unite with the great majority of the cadres so as to bring about a revolutionary "three-way alliance", we studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in a creative way through our struggle and waged a tit-for-tat fight against the handful of Party people who were in authority and taking the capitalist road.

## I

As soon as the movement started, that handful of people manoeuvred behind the scenes to set up in the hsien Party committee and people's council such organizations as the "Sea of Fire Regiment" and the "Joint Headquarters of Revolutionary Rebels" to act as their tools in countering the revolutionary organization, the "Red Guards Headquarters". To suppress the revolution, they brandished four cudgels [by declaring that people belonging to the following categories were] not allowed to rebel: undisciplined "trouble-makers", those from families of the exploiting classes, those who had committed errors, and those who held any official position.

The prowess of Mao Tse-tung's thought is limitless. Nor can big sticks daunt the revolutionary spirit of the cadres. Comrade Liu Ping-heng, vice-county chief, was the first to step forward. He openly supported the Red rebels and exposed the crimes of the small handful of people within the hsien Party committee who were heading for the capitalist road. Influenced by Comrade Liu's action, many other revolutionary cadres were ready to rebel. At this juncture, the "small handful" panicked. They pulled strings and caused Comrade Liu to be purged at meetings, in an attempt to force him to submit and close this gap. At the same time, they made treacherous plans and laid down many taboos for cadres from the deputy section chiefs above in the hsien organ. Over 190 such middle-level cadres were indiscriminately ordered to step aside in a vain attempt to isolate the revolutionaries and sabotage the great cultural revolution.

With Mao Tse-tung's thought we were able to see through the enemy's plot. We held that under the guidance of Chairman Mao and the Party center, the majority of cadres were good or comparatively good. The tactic of

looking at all those in authority as bad and must be pulled down is a product of the bourgeois reactionary line.

They ordered all middle-level cadres to step aside. We answer this tit-for-tat, and publicized to them Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's guidelines and policies. On February 24 we called a meeting of these middle-level cadres and organized them to study the relevant documents and declared null and void all the taboos on revolution, asked the revolutionary cadres to step out before the masses. Those who had made errors were asked "to get rid of the baggage", to expose the enemy's crimes and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. After the conduct of a series of work, these cadres were basically aroused.

In order to win over and unite with the majority of cadres and to isolate as much as possible the small handful of people who are in authority and taking the capitalist road within the Party, we waged, by fully arousing the masses, a face-to-face struggle against the handful of hsien Party committee people who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. Through this struggle, the broad masses of cadres who had been duped regained their awareness, and they exposed and condemned the crimes of the hsien Party committee people. By real action true to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they completely smashed the sinister plot of the enemy to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution.

## II

At a time when most of the revolutionary leading cadres do not dare step forward and break out from the suppression of the bourgeois reactionary line, to set before them an example of daring to struggle and make revolution is a very important thing in helping to smash the schemes of those heading down the capitalist road.

On January 25 the conservatives and rightists, collected together by the small handful of hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road, staged a sham seizure of power. At once we considered the question of whether we could work with someone among the leading cadres who genuinely supported the revolutionaries, so as to shatter the sham seizure of power by the class enemy. We made an analysis of all the leading cadres and finally decided on Comrade Liu Ping-heng. He had been isolated and attacked by those taking the capitalist road. During the cultural revolution movement he had been in close touch with and supported the revolutionaries and after many talks we had held with him, we were convinced that he was a good cadre. He resolutely pledged his support to our revolutionary action, saying, "I will not fail to do justice to Chairman Mao's teachings and to the assistance given me by all comrades.

On January 29, seeing that the revolutionaries were ever more gaining in strength and their own end was imminent, the "small handful" taking the capitalist road instigated the peasant masses who had not got a true picture

of the situation, to come to the county town in an attempt to drive away those comrades who had come from Harbin to support us, and to wreck our organization, the Red Guards Headquarters. At this critical moment of class struggle, Comrade Liu Ping-heng stepped out boldly in support of the Red rebels at a mass rally and exposed the heinous crimes of those hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. This revolutionary act of Comrade Liu's smashed the scheme of the class enemy and encouraged those cadres who were themselves about to start rebellion. The class enemy hated Comrade Liu bitterly. On the same day, someone was sent for him in an attempt to force him to give up his idea of supporting the revolutionaries. But, he was not at all cowed, saying, "Those from the Red Guards Headquarters are the revolutionaries and I resolutely support them." The class enemy bullied him and insisted that he present a "self-criticism" but he declared firmly, "I was right. What I did was an act of revolution." Embittered, the class enemy restricted his rightful personal freedom. Comrade Liu still was not cowed. He wrote this declaration on his "Quotations from Mao Tse-tung": "On January 29, 1967, in order to safeguard Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, I would not hesitate to go up a mountain of knives and jump into a sea of fire; I want to do it actively and directly. The hell with the class enemy's tricks, hard or soft!"

When the Red Flag published its editorial ["On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power"] in its third issue this year, Comrade Liu Ping-heng was greatly encouraged by the voices of Chairman Mao and the Party. At this time, the class enemy again incited a group of peasants who were not clear about the situation, to attack him. But Comrade Liu took the opportunity to reveal the underhand dealings of the enemy to his peasant brothers who had been deceived. The enemy accused him of "spitting venom", interrupting his speech three times. Learning the truth the peasants reacted by shouting one after another, "Why? Why don't you let him speak? What have you got to hide?" The result was the class enemy lifted a rock only to crush his own toes.

The revolutionaries gave Comrade Liu Ping-heng active support for his revolutionary action. When the enemy stepped up its persecution and his physical safety was threatened, we took measures to protect him. The comradeship between us was strengthened in the life and death struggle.

This revolutionary act of Comrade Liu's gave lead to the broad masses of cadres of Ilan hsien. He talked about his personal experience with many cadres who had made errors and encouraged them to rebel. One after another, the revolutionary cadres paid him visits to establish ties and were aroused to step out and join the masses in revolution.

### III

In dealing with those cadres who had made serious errors we firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient."

What kind of a cadre was Na Hsing-ya, member of the hsien Party standing committee and head of Ilan hsien?

Chairman Mao has warned us, "We must not confine our judgement of a cadre to a short period or a single incident in his life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres."

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we made an overall, historical analysis of the case of Comrade Na Hsing-ya. He had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line in the proletarian cultural revolution. He did not usually apply well the principle of bringing politics to the fore and his fighting spirit was weak. He had committed, when he was in Poli hsien, serious errors both ideologically and in his style of work. Nevertheless, judging his life and work as a whole he was basically a good cadre. For three years starting in 1962 he stayed at the selected point of Yungsing production brigade of Santaowang commune, which was known for its backwardness, and he succeeded in changing it. The errors he had made in Poli hsien were things dating back some five years and had already been dealt with by the Party organization. Though they were serious he could not be considered as an anti-Party and anti-socialist element. In the latter part of December last year, in a debate we held with the conservatives he stepped out to support us. On the basis of this analysis we made contacts with him so as to get to know him better and we helped him.

While we kept in touch he revealed to us, "I have assumed leadership work longer than Comrade Liu Ping-heng and also committed more errors than he. If I should stand up and join the revolutionaries to make revolution, would they trust me?" He indicated to him thus: "We red rebels deal with cadres with errors according to Chairman Mao's principle 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient'. If a cadre makes serious self-criticism and thoroughly rectifies his errors, we will warmly welcome him." Our discussions with him on several occasions had greatly encouraged Na Hsing-ya.

When the rightists and conservatives attacked Comrade Liu Ping-heng and even beat him up, Comrade Na Hsing-ya made public his letter to Chairman Mao in which he expressed his support for Comrade Liu Ping-heng and exposed the crimes of the handful of the hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. The principal figures in the "Sea of Fire Regiment" were extremely bitter about it. They said, "Na Hsing-ya is extremely bad. New accounts and old accounts must be squared up and we must beat him up without relent!" They branded him as one who was "in authority and taking the capitalist road." They first restricted his freedom of movement, then attacked him and detained him. After we came to his rescue, he stood with us closer than ever.

When Red Flag published its editorial "Cadres Must be Treated Correctly" in its 4th issue this year, Comrade Na Hsing-ya was greatly inspired. Tears gushed from his eyes when he read, "Our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely

to save the patient and not to doctor him to death." He said, "At every critical time in the revolution, Chairman Mao has always indicated the direction that we have to follow. He shows great care and concern for us cadres who have made errors; he advises us what to do and what not to. Chairman Mao, I'll never let you down! I will stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line, wage a struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionists through to the end, consider myself as one unit of the revolutionary force and also as an object or target of revolution so as to transform myself in the course of struggle."

After Na Hsing-ya stepped out before the masses, he made public a lot of material exposing the small handful of hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. When he was asked by the revolutionaries to give a lead in production and in general work he played a fine role. Said he, "My coming forward is due to the lessons I have learned from the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the help given me by the revolutionary comrades. I'll stand firm on the side of the revolutionaries and follow Chairman Mao in revolution for ever."

Chairman Mao has taught us: "When in a predicament, those who represent the exploiting classes usually resort to the tactic of attack as a means of defence, to preserve themselves today so as to grow tomorrow." "They are always considering what tactics to use against us and 'spy out the land', in order to employ their tactics successfully. Sometimes they 'play possum', waiting for the chance to 'counter-attack'. They have long experience in class struggle and are skillful in all forms of struggle--legal and illegal. We, of a revolutionary party, must familiarize ourselves with their tactics, make a study of them in order to defeat them.

In the struggle to win over and unite with the great majority of the cadres, we must study this teaching of Chairman Mao's repeatedly and with great care.

It is wrong to suspect, exclude, and overthrow all the cadres indiscriminately. It is contrary to Mao Tse-tung's thought. On the other hand, it is also wrong to affirm all, join with all and practice "combining two into one". This is also contrary to Mao Tse-tung's thought. We have to analyze concretely those cadres who step out before the masses and judge whether or not they are truly making revolution.

There was on the hsien Party committee a deputy department chief who was "active" in his speeches at several cadres' meetings. Did he really want to step out before the masses to make revolution? We made an overall analysis of him. He had taken part in the various plots schemed by the small handful of hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. In his speeches, he did not expose any of the plots but, instead, deceived us, saying, "I am just a deputy department chief. I am neither a member of the hsien Party committee, nor a popular one among those in authority and taking the capitalist road. I know nothing about what they do. Besides, they would

never tell me anything about what they plan to do." Facts show that this man was a dual character. We subjected him to criticism on the basis of what the masses had exposed.

In a nutshell, in implementing Chairman Mao's cadres policy, while we try to win over and unite with the majority of cadres, we must wage a firm struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line, against the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, before we can truly unite with the majority of the cadres and better realize the "triple alliance" in revolution, and carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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