

# **New Relations between Leaders and the Masses**

**From Hsinhua, Dec. 16, 1967 (Full Text)**

A wholly new type of relationship is growing up between the cadres and the masses of China based on Chairman Mao's teachings. The new relations reflect the development in depth of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and are an important factor in the excellent situation prevailing throughout the country.

In the fight against the handful of capitalist-roaders in the party during the past year and more, the proletarian revolutionary forces have everywhere won decisive victory. At the same time they have gained new ground in the struggle to eliminate old ideas and practices, old customs and habits left over by the exploiting classes.

All this has helped to create the climate for a new kind of relationship between the cadres and the masses.

Now cadres and masses are helping one another politically and ideologically, learning from one another in their work, and showing concern for each other's well-being. In turn, this is pushing the cultural revolution forward and stimulating production.

This cadres-masses relationship is marked by the following characteristics:

1. The new unity between cadres and masses is under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is taking command everywhere and on every front.

Since seizing power, the revolutionary committees have been giving first place to the study of Chairman Mao's works, and this is true of the revolutionary committees at all levels, in the cities, counties, rural communes, factories and schools. An hour every day and two additional half-day sessions every week are allocated to this study. Such study has become an inseparable part of daily life almost everywhere, and "even thunderbolts fail to interrupt it."

Many of the cadres take part in the study of Chairman Mao's works together with the masses.

The most important aspect of this study is application. People are arming themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and using it to command their actions, including the handling of relations between the higher and lower levels.

Take the case of Li Chun-chiu, the secretary of the party committee of the Tsingtao

number nine cotton mill. Before the Cultural Revolution, he was busy doing two things—having meetings with comrades at the higher level where directives were received concerning the work and assignments were made; secondly, having meetings with comrades at the lower level where he listened to reports and allocated work assignments. He was so busy that he hardly ever had any time to go among the workers. During the cultural revolution when the workers sharply criticised him as an "overlord" and "bureaucrat," he found this hard to swallow. Only as the workers gave instance after instance and reasoned with him did he come to see the seriousness of the problem.

For several months he went to work in a workshop; lived and ate with the workers and studied together with them. He realized the truth of the various opinions put forward by the workers. He saw how wrong he was in the past when he lightly charged workers with "individualism" for strongly arguing one point or another.

Li Chun-chiu is now chairman of the revolutionary committee. In other words, he is head of the provisional organ of power in the cotton mill. However busy he is, he has made it a rule to work two days every week in the workshops and the workers now have a good feeling towards him. Their disgust with him has vanished as completely as he has shed his bureaucratic ways.

Playing a great part in the creation of these new relations between them has been their joint effort in applying such teachings of Chairman Mao as the following:

"Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the party."

"All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?"

"Wherever our comrades go, they must build good relations with the masses, be concerned for them and help them overcome their



difficulties. We must unite with the masses; the more of the masses we unite with, the better."

2. The cadres are giving priority to the establishment in their own minds of the concept of serving the people whole-heartedly, and to the practical application of this principle. This is recognised as fundamental in the establishment of the proletarian world outlook, and as an issue affecting their philosophy of life, the purpose of their lives.

This is how Wu yi, a naval cadre with 30 years' experience in revolution, put it recently at a class for the study of Chairman Mao's works. "My own experience is that the question of how a cadre sees himself is a very important one; that is, whether he sees himself as someone officiating over the people or as a servant of the people. If he solves this correctly, he will always identify himself with the masses and behave just like an ordinary soldier in an army company, or an ordinary member of a rural commune or an ordinary worker in a factory. If he adopts the other point of view, he will act in a high and mighty way and cut himself off from the masses."

3. The cadres regularly take part in collective, physical labour, either as full-time or part time workers. This is regarded as an important measure which ensures that the leadership does not become divorced from the masses and that the leading cadres will not degenerate into bureaucrats.

The cadres take care to maintain a fine tradition of plain living and hard work, one of not accepting special, preferential treatment. In some places, decisions have been taken by the revolutionary committees to make sure that cadres always remain servants of the people. The heaping of praise on individual members of the revolutionary committees is discouraged. Cadres going among the masses are expected to invite people to express their opinions and criticisms. Periodical rectification campaigns are undertaken. Extravagance is prohibited; likewise the presentation and acceptance of gifts in the name of individual cadres. They are not allowed to use public funds for the entertainment of guests or use publicly-owned motor-cars for private purposes. Regulations are made along these lines in order to prevent corrosion by bourgeois ideology, and they are strictly observed by the cadres.

All this represents practical application of Chairman Mao's teaching that "the cadres of our party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people." By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome

bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism."

4. The cadres are making a great effort to apply the mass line.

For example, in the Shanghai number four bleaching and dyeing mill, the members of the revolutionary committee were for a time so busy that they seldom went to the workshops to meet the rank-and-file and they almost dropped study of Chairman Mao's works. When they realised that the workers' criticism of them had increased, they became worried.

With this problem in mind, they turned to Chairman Mao's works. They came to the conclusion that, however busy they were, the study and application of Chairman Mao's works must be given priority and they took measures to ensure that they would no longer be buried in office work. They joined the productive labour and study classes in the workshops and listened to the criticisms and opinions of the workers, particularly of those who most strongly opposed them. They worked out draft plans for the improvement of the work on the basis of mass opinions, consulted the workers on the necessary rectifications, and on the basis of their suggestions, made plans to carry them out. Through this working method of "from the masses, to the masses," recommended by Chairman Mao, they turned their relatively backward workshop into the most advanced unit in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, pushed forward the mass repudiation of revisionism throughout the whole mill and dealt successfully with the problem of former cadres who had committed mistakes. They now understand Chairman Mao's teachings much more profoundly. Chairman Mao says: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history" and "the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge."

The members of the revolutionary committees in many places maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the masses. They go to either communes, factories, or some other units at grass roots level, stay and work there for a fairly long period or alternatively make a fact-finding tour covering a fairly extensive range. They have interviews with the masses and deal with problems raised by them in letters.

They maintain close contact in many other ways. For example, recently in the Kanchow area of Kiangsi province, 300 people drawn from the P.L.A. and the revolutionary mass organisations went, in small teams, to 18 counties and towns to publicise Mao Tse-tung's thought, learn from the masses, and help them



in every possible respect. Other ways of ensuring close ties include regular meetings and forums, and the selection of certain factories or schools as "bases" for constant contact and cooperation.

5. The stress is on collective leadership and on constantly strengthening the unity of the leading core.

Chairman Mao says: "the secretary of a party committee must be good at being a 'squad leader.' A party committee has ten to twenty members; it is like a squad in the army, and the secretary is like the 'squad leader'.... to fulfil its task of exercising leadership, a party committee must rely on its 'squad members' and enable them to play their parts to the full. To be a good 'squad leader,' the secretary should study hard and investigate thoroughly.... if the 'squad members' do not march in step, they can never expect to lead tens of millions of people in fighting and construction...."

Chairman Mao also says: "the unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."

In the number one machine-tool plant, Chinghai province, the revolutionary committee holds that only when there is unity of the leading core in a factory can there be unity of all the workers in that factory and only then can the tasks of revolution and production be fulfilled well. They also agree that there must be collective decisions on important matters and one person is not allowed to make the final decision or act arbitrarily. Their policy is to place different opinions on the table for discussion; gossip behind people's backs is forbidden. They encourage mutual help and learning from one another but forbid mutual attack. Leaders of the revolutionary mass organisations learn from old cadres' rich experience of struggle, help them to see their past mistakes and encourage them to take up new responsibilities. Old cadres learn from the revolutionary spirit of the young revolutionary rebels, relate to the young rebels their own experience in struggle, and explain the methods of work.

It has been found that one way of strengthening unity among the members of the leading core is by constant ideological remoulding. They place high demands on themselves in taking the lead and setting the pace both in work and in study, and try to set a good example in plain living and hard work and in fighting self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest.

6. The cadres and masses are working closely together for the transformation of any section of the superstructure unsuitable to the

new socialist economic basis.

Many units are making big thorough going changes in administration and management. This is being done on the following principle: the changes must give prominence to proletarian politics. They must be convenient for grasping revolution and promoting production. They must be in line with the idea of "better troops and simpler administration", and they must be suited to serving the people at the grass roots level.

Offices are being merged and non-productive staff reduced. Now that administration and management have been simplified and made more flexible, it is much easier to put the mass line into practice.

Many members of the technical staff have been transferred to the workshops, where they take a direct part in production while still continuing their original job of designing or research. Designing and research are thus linked more closely with production and at the same time the revolutionisation of the minds of the technical personnel is facilitated.

7. The cadres and the masses are together in the campaign to "fight self, repudiate revisionism."

It is generally accepted that to remould people's world outlook through fighting self and repudiating revisionism is the key to establishing a correct basis for the individual cadre—that of a servant of the people, a willing pupil of the masses. It is the key to the establishment of a relationship of mutual support, mutual confidence and close cooperation between new and old cadres and between the higher and lower levels.

Rectification campaigns are often conducted by the revolutionary committees, and the leaders of the revolutionary mass organisations and young red guards sometimes participate in them. During these campaigns there is criticism and self-criticism against any bourgeois influence among them.

Wang Ming-fei, a leading political cadre of the former municipal party committee of Tsingtao, recently said: "There is nothing fearful about old age. What is fearful is political degeneration. Not many years ago I became a fairly high official in receipt of a fairly high salary. I swaggered about and the gap between the masses and myself grew wider and wider. I no longer sought to progress politically, and the idea of doing less work, living longer and enjoying my late years in comfort grew in me. I was going revisionist comfortably. Chairman Mao reminded us that we must carry the revolution through to the end and not stop half-way. Now I'm studying with the young people. It's made me feel young again. That is how a revolutionary should always feel—young, re-



ardless of his age."

At the Kweiyang electric motor plant old and new cadres made a serious study of Chairman Mao's latest instructions and reached the conclusion that to maintain close ties with the masses, it is imperative to go among the masses in the "fight self, repudiate revisionism" campaign and put oneself under the supervision of the masses. They attend classes for the study of Chairman Mao's works with the masses, and expose and criticise their own selfish ideas. Wherever they take part in physical labour, they join with the masses there in fighting their own "self." They fight self at their own workshop meetings, and at meetings of the whole factory. They publicly expose their own selfish ideas and tell others how they overcame them. In heart to heart talks with people they also fight self, frankly admitting their own thoughts based on self-interest and seeking the help of other people in combatting them.

They are carrying on ceaseless revolution, constantly remoulding their world outlook in the interest of the proletariat so as to prevent revisionism, combat the class enemy which vainly hopes for the degeneration of China's third or fourth generation and ensure that China's political colour will never change.

The new kind of relationship growing up between cadres and masses is indicative of the excellent situation in the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution. The revolutionary masses are ideologically aroused. In every field of activity, they are learning to use Mao Tse-tung's thought in the solving of problems. Successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are steadily maturing, and the ranks of the cadres are being purified. As a result of all this the collective economy has been greatly consolidated, production is leaping upward and the socialist state is firmer and stronger.

Of all the characteristics of the present excellent situation in China, the most outstanding and fundamental one is the fearlessness of the people, the communist spirit generated by selflessness. The masses fear nothing. They are fully confident that armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they can overcome any obstacle or difficulty on their way ahead. With the growing comradeship in the revolutionary relationship between the cadres and the masses, the several hundred million people of China are becoming united as one man in the single purpose of destroying what is bourgeois and fostering what is proletarian. As the Shanghai workers say: "Let the class enemy tremble and wail in despair, we'll make the leap, as Chairman Mao has said, from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom, and, under the brilliant guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, go forward from victory to victory."

## Revolution in Education

Letter From China by Anna Louise Strong, No. 54, Dec. 23, 1967

Every school system in history has aimed to train its new generation to serve the interests of the ruling class. The contradictions of education under capitalism produce among American students a rising discontent that I shall not here discuss. Mao Tse-tung has many times stated the aims of education for China under the dictatorship of the proletariat; a recent book of quotations by Mao on education gives over 500 on this subject alone. The shortest and simplest may be unofficially translated: "Our educational policy must give moral, intellectual and physical education so that those receiving it become working people with socialist consciousness and with culture."

This is so simple and brief that its full meaning becomes clear only by contrast to the

opposite view which it challenges. China's education had been based on a feudal, dynastic past in which education, tested by examinations, produced a governing elite. This system was modified by importations from the capitalist West and patched over with ideas from the Soviet Union. Even after Liberation the schools had to rely on "bourgeois intellectuals" for teachers. These were reinforced by people in high authority who sabotaged Mao's ideas for years. His view, for example, that all education should be combined with productive labor, was twisted to apply to a second-rate education for peasants and workers, while "the real education" still aimed to produce a governing elite by pushing ahead a "bright minority", usually of "bourgeois" or intellectual origin, and test-