

New Revolutionary Relations Between Cadres and the Masses

UNDER the direct leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries and the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have won great decisive victories on all fronts after more than a year of sharp struggle with the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party. At the same time, the old relations between cadres and masses have come under heavy fire and have been thoroughly transformed in the storm of class struggle, and new, proletarian, revolutionary relations between cadres and masses based on the teachings of Chairman Mao have been established. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as an important factor in the excellent revolutionary situation prevailing throughout the country.

Cadres and masses are now 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 in depth and improving and developing production.

This cadre-mass relationship is marked by several characteristics.

Under the Great Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The new revolutionary unity between cadres and masses comes into being under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Since seizing power, the revolutionary committees have been giving first place to the study of Chairman Mao's works, and this is true of revolutionary committees at all levels, in the cities, counties, rural people's communes, factories and schools. One hour every day and two additional half-day sessions every week are allocated to this study. Such study has become an inseparable part of the people's daily life which "even thunderbolts cannot disrupt," as the people say.

Many cadres are now studying and applying Chairman Mao's works together with the masses, arming themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and placing it in command of their actions, including handling relations between the higher and lower levels.

Take the case of Li Chun-chiu, the secretary of the Party committee of the Tsingtao No. 9 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 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 had time to go among the workers. When the workers sharply criticized him as an "overlord" and a "bureaucrat" during the cul-

tural revolution, he found this hard to swallow. Only when the workers cited instance after instance and reasoned with him did he come to see the seriousness of the problem. Following this, he went to work in a workshop and lived and ate with the workers and studied with them. After a few months, he came to realize how correct the various opinions put forward by the workers were. He saw how wrong his past attitude and style of work were when he lightly threw charges left and right, such as criticizing workers for "individualism" when they made comments or criticisms. This made him more determined to resolutely learn from the masses, be their pupil and always make revolution together with them.

Li Chun-chiu is now chairman of the revolutionary committee, i.e., head of the provisional organ of power in the cotton mill. No matter how busy, he has made it a rule to work two days every week in the workshops. Since he has shed his bureaucratic ways, the workers' dislike of him has been replaced by warm proletarian, revolutionary feeling.

Playing a great part in the creation of these new relations between them has been their earnest study of the following teachings of Chairman Mao:

"Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly 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."

Serve the People Wholeheartedly

The cadres are giving priority to the establishment in their own minds of the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly as being fundamental to the establishment of the proletarian world outlook, and are working hard in the practical application of this principle.

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 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 takes the other point of view, he will act high and mighty and cut himself off from the masses."

During their studies the cadres and the masses frequently refer to such great characters as Chang Ssu-teh, Norman Bethune and "the Foolish Old Man" described by Chairman Mao in the "three constantly read articles," or to present-day heroes like Chiao Yu-lu, Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh, Liu Ying-chun, Tsai Yung-hsiang, Nien Ssu-wang and Li Wen-chung. They are determined to learn from them the spirit of utter devotion in serving the people.

Cadres Take Part in Collective Labour

The cadres regularly take part in collective physical labour, either on a full-time or part-time basis. This is regarded as an important measure to ensure 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, 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. Heaping praise on individual members of the revolutionary committees is discouraged. Cadres are required to go among the masses and solicit their opinions and criticisms. Periodical rectification campaigns are carried out. Extravagance is prohibited, as is presenting and accepting gifts in the name of individual cadres. They are not allowed to use public funds for the entertainment of guests or use publicly owned automobiles 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."**

The Mass Line

The cadres maintain close links with the masses, have faith in them, rely on and learn from them. For example, in the Shanghai No. 4 Bleaching and Dyeing Mill, the members of the revolutionary committee were so busy for a time that they seldom went to the workshops to meet the rank and file, and they almost dropped the study of Chairman Mao's works. They became wor-

ried when they realized that workers' criticism of them had increased.

With this problem in mind, they turned to Chairman Mao's works and after some study 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 guarantee that they would no longer be swamped by office work. They went and took part in productive labour and in the study classes in the workshops and listened to the criticisms and opinions of the workers, particularly of those who had the most to say against them. They worked out draft plans for improving the work on the basis of mass opinions and consulted the workers on the necessary changes, and how to carry the plans out. Through this working method of **"from the masses, to the masses"** advocated 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 those 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 other units at the grass-roots level, stay and work there for a fairly long period or alternatively make a fairly wide-ranging fact-finding tour. They interview the masses, and deal with problems raised by them in letters.

They have many other ways for maintaining close contact with the masses, all of which have greatly improved work, brought cadre-mass ties closer, and speeded up the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in depth.

Collective Leadership and Unity of The Leading Core

Cadres at the grass-roots level and leading cadres at all levels act according to this teaching of Chairman Mao: **"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 work they stress collective leadership and pay attention to strengthening the unity of the leading core. At the No. 1 Machine-Tool Plant in 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 no individual is allowed to act arbitrarily. Their policy is to place different opinions on the table for discussion, and gossiping behind people's backs is forbidden. They encourage mutual help and learning from one another, but forbid mutual attack. Leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations learn from old cadres' rich experience in struggle, help them to see their past mistakes and encourage them to take new responsibilities. Old cadres learn from the revolutionary spirit of the young revolutionary rebels, describe their own experience in struggle to the young rebels, and explain the methods of work.

Constant ideological remoulding is the method used in strengthening unity among the members of the leading core. They place high demands on themselves in taking the lead and setting the pace both in work and in study, and strive to set a good example in plain living and hard work and in fighting self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest.

Fighting Self and Repudiating Revisionism Together With the Masses

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 being a servant of the people and a willing pupil of the masses. It is the key to the establishment of a relationship of mutual support, mutual confidence and close co-operation 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 organizations 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 old Municipal Party Committee of Tsingtao, recently said: "There is nothing fearful about old age. What is fearful is political degeneration. A few years ago I became a high official who received a big salary and I swagged around so that the gap between the masses and myself grew wider and wider. I no longer sought to make political progress, and the idea of doing less work, living longer and enjoying my late years in comfort grew on me. I was comfortably going revisionist. 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, regardless of his age."

Old and new cadres at the Kweiyang Electric Motor Plant 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 criticize their own selfish ideas. Wherever they take part in physical labour, they join with the masses in fighting their own "self-interest." They fight self-interest at their workshop meetings, and at meetings of the entire factory. They publicly expose their own selfish ideas and tell others how they intend to overcome them. In heart-to-heart talks with people they also fight self-interest, frankly admitting their own thoughts based on self-interest and seeking people's help in combating them.

They are carrying on ceaseless revolution, constantly remoulding their world outlook in the revolutionary interest of the proletariat so as to prevent revisionism and smash the idle dreams of the class enemies who vainly hope for the degeneration of China's third or fourth generation and, thus they guarantee 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 solving 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 ahead and our socialist motherland is more stable and more powerful.

Of all the characteristics of the present excellent situation in China, most outstanding and fundamental are the fearlessness of the people and the communist spirit generated by selflessness. The masses fear nothing. They are fully confident that armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, they can overcome any obstacle or difficulty on their way forward. With the growing comradeship in the revolutionary relationship between cadres and masses the militant unity between the broad masses of revolutionary cadres and the hundreds of millions of Chinese people has grown stronger in their common aim to destroy what is bourgeois and foster what is proletarian. As the workers of Shanghai say, "Let the class enemy tremble and howl 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."