

ARM THE PEASANTS WITH THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG

- The Basic Experience of the Tachai Production Brigade, Hsiyang hsien, Shansi Province, in Politico-Ideological Work -

Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Yung-kuei (7115 3057 6311), Secretary of the Party Branch of Tachai Brigade, in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 13, 1 October 1966, pp 32-40. This completes the translation of Hung-ch'i No 13, 1966./

Since the day of farm cooperativization, the Tachai brigade has witnessed cataclysmic changes in every aspect of its work. These changes have, in a nutshell, come as the result of ideological changes -- changes which have led to changes in the appearance of land, in techniques and in output, as the commune members say.

What will lead to ideological changes? The answer is listen to Chairman Mao's words, read his works, act according to his instructions, and use his thought to arm the commune members. Once acquired, the thought of Mao Tse-tung will enable us to conquer everything, create everything.

Arming the Peasants with the Thought of Mao Tse-tung Is the Root of Rural Political Work

Rural work, varied and numerous as it is, has one thing which is most fundamental. That is to arm the peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to raise their socialist consciousness ceaselessly, and cultivate in them the new ideas with which to build new lands and employ new techniques. Anyone who does a good job of politico-ideological work, will change and

will achieve something, no matter at what time and what they do. For this reason, we have always let the thought of Mao Tse-tung assume command and place politico-ideological work above everything else.

The task of educating the peasants is taxing. This is because the peasants for the past several thousand years used to be small private owners and their habit of thinking cannot be changed overnight. Whereas we educate them to devote themselves to the State and to the collective, some work only for their own families and for themselves. This is a very serious contradiction and can be settled only by arduous ideological work.

Commune member Chao Hsiao-ho had tended sheep since his childhood. Before liberation he was sold, together with the sheep, to P'ingting hsien by the landlord and did not return to Tachai until after the liberation. Since he did not participate in the struggle of land reform, he received little education from it, and was beset with egoistic ideas. When he tended sheep for the collective, he spent his time cutting wickers with which to make baskets as his own sideline production. As he paid little attention to the sheep, only a few scores of them out of more than a hundred survived the harsh treatment. So people called him a "man befuddled with family." We had a hard time making him remember his family history, reasoning with him and making him come to his senses. Although he has changed a little, he still does not have much love for the collective.

One day he drove for the commune a horse-drawn cart loaded with iron rods. One extra iron rod was loaded by mistake. He took it to the brigade. For this he was criticized by the Party branch. But he argued, "This is not for me; it is for the brigade to make farm tools with. You still consider me egocentric?" At this point, we told him the reason why he should love the State before he loves the collective; he should love other people's collective before he loves his own collective. Since then, he has shown considerable change in ideology. In the autumn of 1957, in his endeavor to save a horse of the collective, he suffered a fracture of his leg. People came to comfort him but he said, "This horse is the property of the collective. If I don't take care of it, who should? It doesn't matter I sustain some injury, for I have saved a good horse for the brigade." This "man befuddled with family" has now become a "man befuddled with the brigade."

Instances like Chao Hsiao-ho are many, not just one or two, in our brigade.

Ideological work on man is no easy task. It won't do if we stop after doing it once or twice. We have to do it regularly, repeatedly and patiently. It has taken more than ten years for some members in our brigade to show any change in thought. And man's way of thinking changes all the time. It may change for better and also for worse. Like a cook's chopper, it has to be sharpened constantly, otherwise it will get rusted and blunt.

The main task of a Party branch in rural areas is to do the politico-ideological work on the peasants. That is, to wipe out the bourgeois thought and establish the proletarian thought. This is easier said than done, and the work is not at all simple. The old society has lodged in man a very deep root of bourgeois thought, which cannot be rooted out at one stroke. If you do not give people constant education, they will go back to the old path. In order to establish the proletarian thought, it is imperative to remove the bourgeois thought. The new will not be established until the old is removed.

The reason why such tremendous changes have taken place in the Tachai brigade over the past ten years and more is that we have relied on the politico-ideological work and that we have put politics in command.

What is politics? Chairman Mao's words constitute the greatest politics. Members in our brigade always say, "Had it not been for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao's leadership, we would not have come to our own; had it not been for the fact that we responded to his call to get organized and took the road of cooperativization, we would not have seen such good days." One cannot go astray as long as one listens to Chairman Mao's words, because they are the most practical, suit the poor and lower-middle peasants' taste best, and represent the interests of the broad masses best.

For the past several years we have not studied Chairman Mao's works seriously enough. But since 1963 we have paid good attention to studying them, and great effects have been produced. The masses love most to listen to his words, can understand them, grasp them well, and apply them well. Some poor and lower-middle peasants said, "If we had started to study Chairman Mao's works earlier, we would have become ideologically enlightened long ago." This is true. Since 1963 up to the present, the commune members of Tachai have taken a flying leap in their ideological consciousness. This is due to no other reason than their serious study of Chairman Mao's works.

More and more facts prove that of all important things, the most important is to listen to Chairman Mao's words. In the past, when we listened to them, we succeeded in embarking on the road of revolutionization. From now on, we must all the more read his works and march uninterruptedly along this road.

Make Class Struggle and the Struggle Between the Two Roads a Principle

What should we grasp in doing political work? We should grasp class struggle and the struggle between the capitalist road and the socialist road. This is a principle. Once we lay a firm hold on it, everything else will follow. Otherwise, we can grasp nothing, and even if we grasp something, we cannot grasp it well.

In our everyday work, the struggle between the two classes and the two roads is going on all the time. Facts tell us that it is not a question of whether class struggle does or does not exist, but it is a question of whether we see it or not, whether we can grasp it or not, whether we are ready to wage it or not. Some people say that (the result) of political work is intangible but that of the work of production is. I disagree with this view. Such work we undertake as production, operation, management, livelihood, etc. all involves the question of orientation, the question of whom we serve and the question of politics.

At a casual glance, production does not seem to be related to politics and comprises only such concrete matters as cultivating the mountain slopes and hillsides, building the land, sowing, hoeing or weeding, the gathering in of the autumn harvest, manure collection, etc. But actually, every task of production involves politics. If it is not explained to the masses beforehand as to why it should be done in this or that way, for whom it is done, who support it and who oppose it, then they do not see why they do it and do not know what to do when confronted by difficulty. Hoeing? This is a task which has been done by people since time immemorial. Does it have anything to do with politics? Is there any ideological struggle involved? Yes. In 1958, when we suggested that deep hoeing be done for the corn we planted, some people opposed. Certain poor and lower-middle peasants could not understand the reason why that should be done, because they did not have the experience and could not accept new ideas right away. But why did the (former) landlords and rich peasants strongly oppose it? Because they did not like to see any increase in our production through technical improvement. This

certainly called for a great debate. To speak the truth, over the past several years each time we introduced new farming methods and techniques, there was a debate, sometimes rather serious. It is only through struggles and a grasp of politico-ideological work that we can make technical improvement and push up production.

In the matter of operation and management, there has been plenty of struggle between the two roads of capitalism and socialism. For instance, there have been frequent arguments over what we should undertake, how to do it, whom we should depend on to do it, etc. When we stood for the consolidation of collective economy, some wanted to take up private operation; while we follow the socialist road, people want to take the capitalist road. Take labor control for instance. Some advocate the giving of material benefit to stimulate labor incentive, but we disagree. What is now in practice in Tachai is "standards for work points are set; report by individuals for public assessment.

This method seems to be simple and looks easy but is difficult to carry out. It is difficult because this requires fine ideological work to be done. How has this method been put into practice then? We have depended upon politico-ideological work. How did we consolidate it? We have also depended on politico-ideological work. How are we to continue to improve it? We still have to depend on politico-ideological work. By this do I mean that with politico-ideological work, we no longer need any rules and systems? No. Systems we must have. But we want systems favorable to production and systems which everybody can follow self-consciously. In the past, there often happened that people fought over work points, saying: "The cadres are not fair-minded," "They show favor to one side," and "The system is unreasonable." Finding it difficult to settle things, cadres began to establish more systems in addition to the system already in force. This has made it difficult for people even to remember the systems, much less to carry them out. How can there be justice? Without politics as the foundation, there would be no justice even if there were one hundred systems. Because without politics there can be no justice, no truth.

Alienated from politics, no work can be accomplished. For instance, concerning the question of paying attention to the livelihood of commune members, we have acquired such an experience and learned such a lesson. A commune member, called Chia Cheng-pao has in the past never been active in work and experienced difficulty of living. The cadres felt concerned and gave him help. When the State relief funds and materials were distributed, we always wanted to ask more for him, so he could receive more, saving the cadres trouble. But, the

result was that he became less and less active in labor and his living became worse and worse. During the year 1959 he worked only a little more than one hundred man-days and his wife worked 14 days, totalling less than what an ordinary woman worker would do. More serious still, he felt more and more dissatisfied with the State. The poor and lower-middle peasants criticized him, saying, "It's all because the cadres have spoiled him."

The masses' criticism enlightened us. We said to Chia Cheng-pao, "From now on we can give you no more relief." "Why?" he asked. We explained, "By giving you relief we have committed an error, for it makes you count on our help." So, on the one hand we made the point clear to him while, on the other, we sent several women cadres including Sung Li-ying to help him with his household chore. The result: Chia and his family's living is getting better and better. And they have even become the pace-setters of the whole brigade for managing the house with industry and frugality.

Strengthen Politico-ideological Work at the Crucial Moment

Education to be given regularly is highly essential to the conduct of politico-ideological work among the peasants. The stand-the-hard-test thought is mainly cultivated through regular education. The politico-ideological work must be done every day, at all times, at all places.

Education in normal times is important but education at crucial moments is more so. Because at crucial moments the degree of vacillation of man's thought is larger and the difference between genuine support for revolution and false support for revolution is more clearly seen. To strengthen education at such times can steel the activists, can raise the level of understanding of most people, and will educate those who are unwilling to make revolution or dare not to make revolution, thus raising their ideological level.

Over the past decade and more, we have generally passed through five crucial periods, and in each period the politico-ideological struggle is developed as different conditions and problems may require, thereby pushing ahead production.

The first crucial period: The question of attitude toward opening up the mountain and tending the gullies during the year 1953 when cooperativization was first introduced here. One group of people, being very active, wanted to go ahead with work as soon as possible. Another group of people, being unable to see the strength of the collective, had many misgivings,

saying, "One cannot boast just as one cannot hand-push the train," and "As the area here is large, the mountain high and the gullies deep, to change their appearances will be impossible." This is fear of difficulty. The (former) landlords and rich peasants seized the opportunity to pour cold water, saying, "As a chicken would not fight a dog, so man must not struggle against water. If a drought-affected ditch can be brought under control, the old generation would have already done so without waste of efforts." On this point, we held a debate on the one hand, counting on the former group to convince the latter by persuasion and by exposing the intrigue of landlords and rich peasants. On the other, we drew up a ten-year program for building the land, so as to enable people to see the future prospects and to have something to look forward to. The masses' activism was heightened. They went up the mountain and built ditches. Their good efforts paid.

The second crucial period: At the higher producer cooperative stage, there existed the problem of how to assess work record. Good record can arouse people's working ardor, but it may give rise to incorrect thought if it is not properly handled. 1957 was the year when production record was the best and output of grain the highest, but it was also the year when ideological problems were the most numerous. Why? Because with more grain, people wanted to live better. Part of cooperative members cherished the "we now have enough" idea while others began to feel selfish, which was particularly evident where private interest versus public interest was concerned, thinking that too much grain was sold to the State. All this had something to do with the bourgeois rightists who started to attack the Party at the time. The (former) landlords and rich peasants were frantic in their attack, accusing us that we wanted to sell more grain to the State just because we hoped to go to the cities eating white-flour steamed rolls.

Versus this serious struggle between the two roads, we organized in good time big contention and big blooming. Through this process, everything was poured out. Who was "loyal servant" and who was "traitor" could be clearly distinguished. What can make one worry is not the size of a problem, but the difficulty to see it clearly. As soon as its nature is known, the Party branch as well as the poor and lower-middle peasants will know where to find the solution. The heated debate this time went on for more than a month and was the most penetrating ideological revolution ever seen since cooperativization. This revolution put an end to the egoistic idea of the bourgeoisie, established the collectivist thought of the proletariat, shattered the idea that production had reached the ceiling, introduced the big leap forward, further steeled the poor and lower-middle peasants.

and smashed the wanton assault of class enemy. In this way the ideological foundation was laid for the specially big leap forward of 1958.

The third crucial period: It was the time when Soviet revisionism broke its promise and tore up the agreement, which, coupled with successive years of natural calamities, caused China's economy a temporary setback. During this period, thanks to the consolidation of our collective economy, the "private farming tendency" was checked, and the years 1959, 1960 and 1961 witnessed a continued increase of production.

However, in other places the evil wind blew and the unhealthy practice spread. Bad ideas were born in certain people. They tried to fatten themselves by making profit on other collectives. Some expressed their utter dissatisfaction when they saw that the brigade loaned grain to the neighboring villages, sold them fodder and chaff at cheap prices. Criticizing us, they said that we "did not know how to operate" and did not go where there was money to make. They considered us "fools" and suggested that we go to the market and get good prices.

This was no small matter. It was a matter of utmost importance concerning whether or not one adheres to the socialist direction. We got people together and discussed the matter, trying to find a solution to it. Some poor and lower-middle peasants said, "We cannot take advantage of natural calamities to get rich. Ours is a socialist collective economy. We cannot do what people did in the old society." True, if during the calamity years we had each year sold 240,000 cattles of our surplus grain at a high price, we could have built a tall building, not to mention bungalows. But, to have a building with such money, what sort of building would it be? The poor and lower-middle peasants said, "It would be a bourgeois building, not a proletarian building." So, during the period of difficulty we supported other brigades by selling them a great deal of grain and fodder, and not a single catty of them was sold at high price.

In so doing, we made every member draw a clear line between collective economy for mutual prosperity and capitalist economy for individual wealth. This was a penetrating struggle to demolish the bourgeois thought and establish the proletarian thought. Through this struggle the communist style of work on the part of commune members was boosted, the direction of socialism was more clearly defined, and production was stepped up considerably.

The fourth crucial period: In 1963, the brigade was visited by the worst flood in one hundred years. It was like a man who, dashing forward, came across a stumbling block and fell down. In such a case should he rise, shake off the dust and keep on running ahead, or should he turn backward on account of difficulty? At the time people's minds were rather confused. Some poor and lower-middle peasants felt very pessimistic, heart-broken over what they had worked hard to build but was destroyed overnight, believing that there was little hope for them to rebuild it all. Others, though not so pessimistic, pinned their hope on the State for relief. Class enemies indulged in gossip, expecting that our collective economy this time had really crumbled. This was a crucial moment. Whether we took the right step or not would mean whether our collective economy could continue to be consolidated or not. What shall we do?

First, we organized all members to study the works of Mao Tse-tung, asking them to discuss whether a bad thing can be turned into a good thing, thus raising their understanding. Then, we discussed whom we should depend on for relief. The members analyzed the favorable conditions as well as the unfavorable conditions, studied the political impact and the economic effect, and, particularly, summed up the ten great advantages of relying on one's own effort to overcome the calamities. Finally, it was decided to find its own way for relief, build a new Tachai without asking the State for any of the three things (no relief money, no relief grain, and no relief supplies).

The poor and lower-middle peasants said, "If we can walk across the path by ourselves, we need no help from others. If our collective is able to work out its own relief, we should not rely on the State. We must not fall down before serious calamities and let class enemies laugh at us. We must fight for the glory of socialism."

People get tempered in the course of struggle and ways and means are devised amidst difficulties. Since 1963 when we overcame the great calamities, we have become more and more brave and more and more resourceful. Over the past two years and more, we have maintained the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, depending on our own efforts for betterment. Not only have we turned the broken Tachai into a new Tachai. More important still, the members' socialist consciousness has witnessed a flying leap.

The fifth crucial period: How to treat the honor granted to Tachai since 1963 by the Party center, Chairman Mao and the.

people of the whole nation. Difficulty often poses a test and so does honor. A true revolutionary can stand the test in face of difficulty and also in face of honor.

How to treat the honor? The majority of us cadres and commune members had a more correct understanding of this point. But still there were certain people who showed arrogance and self-complacency, cherishing the incorrect idea that they were the "Number One" and "unmatchable." This period was a test to us. Since the beginning of 1963, we have kept close vigilance over this question among the cadres and commune members. The following five were the main steps we took to solve this question: study, borrow, rectify, find out, raise.

"Study" means to study Chairman Mao's works, grasp the "one divides into two" viewpoint and method, sum up past experiences and lessons, and map out future policies for development. In the past, we have listened to Chairman Mao's words in developing grain production but there have also been cases where we did not listen to his words. For instance, forestry has failed to develop because we did not follow his advice.

By "borrow" we mean to borrow the East wind. Many people came to visit Tachai and was grasped every such visit as a wonderful opportunity of learning other people's experience. We asked them to make a report and introduce their good experience to us. Since 1964, a number of foreign friends have also come to visit us at Tachai. This is an excellent opportunity for us to get education in internationalism.

By "rectify" we mean to rectify the cadres' style of work to meet further the needs of the new situation. Over the past two years and more, we have come to realize that as a cadre, he can delay other things but not the study of Chairman Mao's works; he may not know other things but he must know how to follow the mass line; he may give up anything but he must not give up self-criticism. Compared with the past, our work style now is much more democratic and the habit of learning has gained much more ground.

By "find out" we mean to detect the gap. The Party branch has not only endeavored to find out the gap in work but it has paid serious attention to teaching every commune member to detect it, making every commune member see his own shortcomings. The main reason why we have achieved outstanding records these two years as compared with the past several years is just because we have detected the gaps.

By "raise" we mean to put forth higher and more rigid targets, and set the standard high for commune members and make them look far in whatever we do.

In November last year, the national exhibit of Tachai-type farm models was held in Peking. When this news reached Tachai, we immediately called our members together for a discussion.

Since the whole nation is to follow our pattern, what shall we do?

After the discussion we unanimously agreed: Let the whole nation learn from Tachai, and let Tachai find out the gap; let the whole nation learn from Tachai and let Tachai learn from the whole nation. Our commune members said, "In order to learn from others their experience we cannot just sit at home; we must go out and take a look to broaden our view." So, the Party branch sent me and League branch secretary Kuo Feng-lein to Peking, Hopei, Shantung and Honan for visits and study. After the Spring Festival, a group of more than ten members were sent to Peking to visit the agricultural exhibit, and another group of more than ten was sent to Chiachiachuang brigade, Fenyang, to see its multiple operations.

You don't realize it so long as you don't see it. But once you see it and compare, you will be shocked. As you take a look at others' record and compare it with yours, you immediately see the gap and find the way to close it.

There Must Be a Strong Bulwark--the Party Branch

The principal task for the Party in conducting politico-ideological work in rural areas is to arm the heads of the peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to bring into fruition the revolutionization of thought. However, whether the thought of Mao Tse-tung can be resolutely instilled into the masses and whether the masses can lead their work and labor with his thought all depends on whether or not we have a strong bulwark--a Party branch.

A good Party branch must first have a good Party branch committee, that is, the leading group. The leading group of the Party branch of Tachai over the past ten years and more have, under the nurture and guidance of our upper-level Party committee, been united together like one man, being synchronized in thought, language and steps. Why? Because all of us are poor and lower-middle peasants who have grown up from one and the same root of a bitter vine; we listen to Chairman Mao's words

and struggle for a common goal -- to build socialism and to dedicate our whole life to the revolution. For this reason, you do not consider my feet too big and I do not think your face looks ugly (meaning each other's shortcomings). The root is very important, for it tends to bend if it is not straight. of course, this does not necessarily mean a person of good origin will not change, but he cannot stand one test -- to remember his past. Once he recalls his bitter past and draws a comparison, he will very quickly become good again.

A cadre must be trusted by the masses. If the masses do not trust you, how can you lead them? To make them trust you, the most important thing is that you must not be selfish, you must not make yourself a special case, you must not forget to labor.

The Party has constantly taught us that basic-level cadres must not forget that they themselves are the laboring people, and this point the Party branch of Tachai has borne in mind since the days of lower producer cooperatives. Of course, at the time we did not realize the great significance of cadres taking part in collective labor, but we did learn from what opinions expressed by the masses that they entertained the fear that the cadres might not participate in labor. This question we organized our cadres to discuss. Through the discussion, we all realized: if cadres do not take part in labor but count on the masses to support them, then they are not the "regular hired farm hands" of the masses but their "masters." Therefore, since 1953 when the cooperative was first set up, we cadres in Tachai have all labored with the peasants. In 1959, there came to us a young bookkeeper who worked only on his books and did not labor much. So we let him work in the fields for two to three years. As soon as he had acquired the habit of labor, we started him on the books again. The second time he became a bookkeeper, he labored well, kept the books well, and received the warm support of the masses.

Egoism on the part of cadres often stems from non-participation in labor. If one does not take part in labor, he will have to get what he needs in some other way. Then he will take and eat too much from others, and this will lead to corruption and theft. Once he is affected by egoistic thought, he will do this or that and lose his stand completely. Since he himself has shortcomings, he will not dare to expose and struggle against landlords and rich peasants, much less to educate the masses. The (former) landlords and rich peasants of Tachai fear us cadres most. Why? Because we are completely clean, uncorruptible. Some landlords and rich peasants did try to send us some "gifts" but not only did we cadres turn them down, but we criticized and struggled against them at a mass meeting.

If the cadres had accepted these gifts, then it was not the landlords and rich peasants who would be afraid of the cadres. Instead, the cadres would be afraid of them. When the cadres were afraid of them, how could they carry out their work? How could they talk about politics? How could the poor and lower-middle peasants be united with us cadres like one heart. Just because we cadres have never done anything evil, we have earned the trust of poor and lower-middle peasants. In this way, we will have no misgivings when we carry out the political work.

Cadres' participation in labor is a very good education for the cadres themselves. We often say that "To teach by personal example is superior to teaching by words. To teach by words a hundred times is not so effective as teaching by demonstration once." When we educate commune members not to be afraid of hardship and working hard, we must first act that way. Sometimes the commune members feel that labor is a hard task but when they see that the cadres labor just as they do, they cannot complain even if they want to, and gradually they will get used to it.

Many are the advantages for the cadres taking part in labor. When they labor with the commune members, they can read the mind of the members; when they see the way the members behave, they can conduct their ideological work with a basis, to the purpose, and resourcefully.

The reason why the cadres of our Party branch have been strong in their conduct of politico-ideological work is because our Party branch has been closely knit. But our unity is not just that all is congenial without any distinction. It is sought through struggle and effected under a common goal. Democratic life, criticism and self-criticism among us is very rigid. And we do not compromise in matters of principle. A Party member, called Chia Ch'eng-fu, is one of the oldest Party members in Tachai. After land reform, his mind being a bit benumbed, he recognized the landlords and rich peasants as "clansmen" and became "in-laws" (by their children's marriage) with rich peasant Li Yung-chung who happened to escape unpurged. When the Party branch noticed this, a discussion meeting was held at the branch level. The topic of discussion is: Should a Communist Party member draw a clear line of demarcation with the landlords and rich peasants? Should he completely separate himself from them? At the meeting everybody criticized the error committed by Chia Ch'eng-fu.

However, Chia Ch'eng-fu did not admit his error. Nay, he did not attend the meeting. Would we stop right here? No. This is a matter of stand a Party member should take, and also a question of what the Party branch should promote and what it

should oppose. Therefore, we went on with our meeting and asked Chia Ch'eng-fu to be present. On the one hand, we criticized him and, on the other, we made him recall his family history, so he would be ideologically enlightened, raise his understanding, and re-examine his error before we closed the meeting.

This struggle has not only educated Chia Ch'eng-fu alone but served as a deep class education for all the Party members. It has enabled us to realize this: If a demarcation line is not drawn ideologically with the exploiting class, there would be no unity within the Party besides that its militancy would be weakened.

Nurture Successors to the Cause of Proletarian Revolution

Revolution is a task for not just one generation but for every generation and for generations to come. If one makes revolution until he dies and does not care what the next generation and the generations to follow will do, it cannot be considered as carrying the revolution through to the end. As long as our heirs to the revolution are not nurtured, we shall not die with a peaceful mind.

In nurturing successors to the revolution, the most important thing is to raise the class consciousness of the younger generation and make them never forget class struggle. How should class education be conducted? The first method is recall three histories -- family history, social history and village history. This is to increase the class hatred of the poor and lower-middle peasant youths. The second method is expose in time every bit of class enemies' subversive activities, be it a single word they have uttered, and launch struggles to let young people see with their own eyes what class struggle is. The third method is educate young people and let them know whom they can trust and should unite and whom they should guard against, so that they will in the course of actual work learn to grasp class struggle and dare to carry it out.

Some youths fear hardships. They would think life is hard when they have no first-grade wheat flour to eat, when they cannot go to movies or see operas, when they do a little heavy work, when they do a little work which soils their hands, or when they work an extra shift. What hardship is that? If all this is called hardship, then what should the hardship we suffered in the old society be called? True, they live a life of happiness, yet they do not know it. With this in view, we had to educate them by waging bitter struggles, make them realize: with bitterness there can be no sweetness, without hard work there can be no happy life, and losing the revolutionary spirit of bitter struggles means losing the revolution

and the whole State. We also made them understand for whom they suffered hardships in the past and for whom they sustain hardships today. We explained to them that the good land, high yield and good life they enjoy today have all come as the result of hard labor we performed for the past ten years and more. At first, they did not quite believe what we have told them. So we took them to see the gullies and mountain slopes which were left untended. Through education and by this comparison, they acquired a deep understanding.

In nurturing successors to the revolution, we must also train young people in acquiring the skill of building socialism. Where can they get this skill? It does not drop from heaven. It is acquired through practice. For this reason, any student, upon graduation, must without exception first take part in labor in a matter-of-fact way.

Liang Pien-liang, deputy secretary of our Party branch, has never had any schooling. When the mutual-aid team was first set up, he was the head of the children in the "old and young mutual-aid team." Because he has ever conscientiously taken part in labor, he has become so capable as he is.

Kuo Feng-lien was a higher primary school graduate. When she came back to the village in 1962, we made her take part in labor in which to increase her ability. She is now League branch secretary and very capable.

When training young people it is necessary to give them a free hand to try out things and not to fear that they are not equal for the jobs and problems might crop up. Unless they are trained in the course of actual work, they cannot become skillful. Some of our cadres hesitate to give any responsibility to young people for fear that they may make mistakes. This is a kind of conservative thought. If we do not let them try now, are we to wait until we die. After we have passed away, who is going to teach them and help them when difficulties confront them.

The young people trained by the Tachai Party branch at the time of mutual-aid teams have now already taken up important responsibilities. Some of them have become Party members and others principal cadres of production brigades. They are warmly welcomed by the masses.

Apart from training young people in general, each League branch committee has to train its own personnel for specific jobs. In some cases it trains two persons; in others, three; and in still others, four. If we do not make arduous efforts to train our successors, the revolutionary spirit of Tachai may not be carried on.

The young people we should educate and train are mainly the children of poor and lower-middle peasants. However, education for the children of well-to-do middle peasants and youths coming from landlord and rich peasant families must also be boosted. In educating these youths, we must not avoid talking about their past family conditions. Instead, we must point them up and let them know their father or brother's crime of exploiting others, so that they may rebel against their own families by themselves.

In handling the landlords and rich peasants, as well as their children, strict distinction must be made. We must work actively on the children of landlords and rich peasants. Any social activities in which they may participate, they should be allowed to participate in, they must be required to seek progress, and after a long period of nurturing, may be accepted as League members. A rich peasant's daughter has already been assessed as a "five-good commune member" for five or six years in succession. To unite with and educate landlords and rich peasants' children will not only increase our strength but also may exert a great effect on transforming the landlord and rich peasant elements.

In nurturing the successors, we must start to train them when they are young, instilling the revolutionary thought into their minds. Training a man is like growing a tree. If branches are not properly cut when they are small, it will be difficult to do so when they are large. Our Party branch pays attention to the ideological work for the young when they are in primary school. In the autumn, when schools are closed for vacation, we take them to labor in the fields and cultivate in them the habit of labor. When they labor, they are organized into several work teams. Team chiefs are chosen by democratic election. They are made to announce their own work points, and are trained in the communist style of work. During the period of their labor, they are told stories about class struggle, about the classes different people belong to, why the landlords are called such, why some are called rich peasants and who have been exploited by them, etc., etc.

Ideological work on young people should be done with patience and meticulously. Different people have different conditions and different characters, and therefore different methods should be adopted to educate them. Their achievements should be properly commended. They are young people and tend to feel proud of what record they have achieved. Those young people with shortcomings should be criticized and educated by methods suitable to their characters. You must not make them

lose face in front of people and leave them terribly upset. Unlike the adults, they lack that kind of steeling. Showing concern about young people's life means mainly concern about their political thought. Concern should also be given them about their merital problem. Although this is a small matter, it may assume serious proportions if it is not properly handled.

Over the past several years, the young people of our village have been very active and have achieved wonderful records on the various battlefronts. They have set their hearts at work in rural areas, and an overwhelming majority of them have been determined to remain there and dedicate their whole life to the revolution.

Any miracle can happen in this world but it all comes from man's effort. Ideological work on man is very important. If we do not use Mao Tse-tung's thought to arm the heads of peasants, we cannot expect to build socialism. We cannot wait to strengthen their education until people's ideological consciousness is heightened. For short of education, people will go astray.

The Party branch of Tachai has achieved something in this field in the past, but it is far from enough. In the future, it is necessary to make a serious study of the works of Mao Tse-tung, raise further the socialist consciousness of commune members and, like the People's Liberation Army, truly put revolutionization into effect.

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