

ENERGETICALLY LAUNCH THE MASS CAMPAIGN FOR STUDYING
CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS, SPEED UP THE PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTIONIZATION OF PEASANTS' THOUGHT

(Kwangtung's Basic Situation and Experience in
Launching the Mass Campaign for Studying Chair-
man Mao's Writings in the Countryside)

[Following is a translation of an article by Chao Tzu-yang
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Since August last year, a mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way has sprung up in the cities and the broad countryside throughout Kwangtung. At present it is swiftly and valiantly surging forward like ten thousand galloping horses, and an unprecedented high tide is being shaped.

In the countryside of Kwangtung, this study campaign, in conjunction with the rural socialist education campaign and the current great proletarian cultural revolution, is sweeping away the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits, and all other undesirable influences which are left over from the old world, thus accelerating the proletarian revolutionization of the thinking of the peasants.

Once the Broad Masses of the Peasants are Armed with the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, They Will Follow the Road of Revolutionization

The luxuriant growth of the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings in the countryside throughout the province has further manifested the unparalleled prestige and strength of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and further elevated the strong revolutionary spirit of the poor and lower middle peasants. Facts show that so long as politics are really brought to the fore like the PLA, so long as the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writing is energetically launched, and so long as the education and transformation of man is firmly adhered to, the spiritual features

of the peasants will register profound changes and the broad peasantry can gradually become a contingent which is extremely revolutionized as the proletariat in thought.

The flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and the education and transformation of the peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung represent a profound ideological revolutionary movement for promoting what is proletarian and eradicating what is bourgeois, and for destroying selfish interests and establishing public interests.

In many places where the study movement of the masses is successfully launched, a new spectacle marked by stronger political atmosphere, higher class consciousness, more good persons and good deeds, and less bad persons and bad deeds has begun to emerge. The images of Chang Szu-te, Norman Bethune and the foolish old man are known to every household and deeply engraved on the hearts of the people. The several basic viewpoints in the "three old articles"* [See Note] have become the criteria for guiding the common action and effort of the broad peasantry.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung has broadened the peasants' field of vision as never before. They have cut themselves loose from the restrictions of the idea of private ownership and begun to solve the question of what do people live for. They know that they must "keep the fatherland in mind and set their eyes on the world," and carry the heavy burden for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. The philosophy of life of the small producer -- "three meals a day and place to sleep in" -- has been replaced by the thought of "working and planting fields for the revolution." The decadent ideological influence of the exploiting classes -- "a person is doomed if he has no selfish ends" -- has been overwhelmed by the communist thought of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self."

Thanks to the education of Chairman Mao's writings, the peasants know how to deal with life and death, how to deal with difficulties, how to deal with work and how to deal with the revolution. With Chairman Mao's instructions, methods are available for solving all problems.

These changes in the world outlook of the peasants have promptly led to a series of revolutionary changes in action

* The "three old articles" refer to Chairman Mao's "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Serve the People" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." The broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers constantly and repeatedly study these three articles, regard them as the most powerful and sharpest weapons for transforming the subjective world and the objective world, and intimately call them the "three old articles" for short. They say: "We'll make revolution and study the 'three old articles' the rest of our lives."

After studying Chairman Mao's writings, many grassroots cadres in the countryside have further heightened their revolutionary consciousness, and are determined "to work" the rest of their lives for the revolution and to render "complete" and "thorough" service to the people. They take the lead in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and carrying out work according to Chairman Mao's instructions. When they study problems, carry out work or solve difficulties, they first study the relevant instructions of Chairman Mao's, and resolutely do what Chairman Mao says. They take the lead in performing good deeds, in safeguarding the collective, in taking good care of public property and in paying attention to the living conditions of the poor and lower middle peasants. They go directly to settle down in the backward teams and help them change their features.

Cadres who are honored by the masses as "living Chang Szu-te," "living Norman Bethune," "the living foolish old man," "red housekeepers" or "good service personnel of the people" are emerging continuously.

Some persons who formerly thought it didn't pay to serve as cadres and would rather lie down than to work in that capacity have now given up their ideological burden. They have made self-criticism of their own accord before the masses, regained the confidence of the masses, and swiftly led the masses forward.

Through flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, the broad masses of the peasants have a better knowledge of the direction and are following the socialist road with greater determination. They have greatly elevated their socialist consciousness and developed the collectivist spirit, and the question of relationship between public and private interests has been correctly handled.

In the past, the spontaneous force of capitalism was rather serious and the relationship between public and private interests was rather tense in a number of brigades in Suich'i hsien. Quite a number of people were unable to fortify themselves spiritually, and a poor job was made of collective production. After studying the "three old articles" and Chairman Mao's sayings on agricultural cooperation, there has been a big change in the situation.

The broad masses of the peasants are resolved to change the backward features with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. They warmly love the collective and find happiness in helping other people. They are honest with money and energetically attend to work. They self-consciously adhere to technical specifications in production and see to it that the quality of work is guaranteed. All this has become a new vogue in the countryside.

Many old people who have basically lost their capacity for labor also strive to do something and to perform some good deeds for the collective. They volunteer to feed draft cattle, to accumulate or manufacture manure, or to plant bamboo and other trees on the roadside for the collective.

Having studied Chairman Mao's writings, the advanced become even more advanced, and the backward people are also transformed into advanced people group by group. Some persons who were formerly described as persons of "the spider type working only for personal gain" or persons "infatuated with work points" now display "a very high sense of responsibility in work. They strive to make farm work "ever better" in quality and specially pick work which is heavy or difficult to perform.

Some rural women who formerly only had an eye for the few pigs, chickens, ducks and geese in their homes and only thought of retaining land for private use now want to make a success of collective production for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution

In Hsinsheng Brigade of Paoan hsien 32 persons were formerly considered by the public as the most backward commune members. In less than four months after the launching of the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings, ten of them have become advanced elements (with some persons serving as supervising personnel in the study of Chairman Mao's writings) and 14 of them have become more energetic. The other eight persons are also in the course of changing.

Profound changes have also occurred among the broad masses of the rural youths after studying Chairman Mao's writings. In the past, some youths -- especially the educated youths -- felt ill at ease in the countryside. They thought that "there is no prospect in farming" and that "there is no future for them in the countryside." After studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have come to understand that there is no distinction between what is noble and what is lowly in revolutionary work, that farming is also carried out for the revolution and that the countryside is a broad world in which much can be done. They have come to know why revolutionary youths must become one with the workers and peasants, and are resolved to dedicate their own youth toward building a socialist new countryside.

Now, many youths have become activists playing a leading part in the flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, trailblazers in collective production, pioneers in technical innovation, and hard-core elements in the propagation of socialist culture. Quite a number of youths have also been elected by the masses as supervising personnel in the study of Chairman Mao's writings, and have become five-good commune members or five-good militiamen. A contingent of successors to the proletarian revolution, nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, is quickly growing up.

A young woman of Meilin Brigade in Paoan hsien was for a long time unable to work with peace of mind in the countryside in the past. She all along wanted to find an opportunity to leave the countryside. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, she made up her mind to spend the rest of her life in the countryside and to build a socialist new home along with the broad masses. She led a group of young women to shatter the old custom of

not sending women of the locality to plow fields and of not sending young women to cities and towns to collect manure. Now she has become an activist who takes the lead in everything and in performing good deeds as well as a supervisor in the study of Chairman Mao's writings.

Chairman Mao's writings have given the peasants sharper eyes, a keener political scent and a better understanding of classes and class struggle, and have drawn a clear line of distinction between the enemy and ourselves. The broad masses of the peasants have exposed how the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements plotted to seize grassroots political power in the countryside and carried out counterrevolutionary activities for restoring capitalism. They have exposed how the enemies made use of the idea of feudal kinship to undermine the unity of the peasants, how they put money and women at work to win over the cadres, and how they utilized obscene stories, novels and songs to corrode the younger generation. They have exposed how the enemies peddled "peaceful evolution" with various conspirational means, thus hitting hard at the enemies.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the peasants rise one after another indignantly to denounce and expose the counterrevolutionary crimes of the anti-Party, antisocialist black gang. This situation fully shows that in front of the 500 million peasants armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, all class enemies will have no way to play tricks and all demons and freaks will have no means to hide themselves.

As soon as the masses of the peasants are armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, profound changes are quickly brought to the relationship between the cadres and the masses and between commune members. Chairman Mao's instruction that we must be extremely warm to our comrades and the people and that all people of the revolutionary ranks must show concern for, take good care of and help each other has begun to form the criterion of the broad masses of the peasants in consciously handling the relationship between men. A kind of brand-new relationship is shaping among the people, and the radiance of the communist ideology and the noble quality of morality have begun to shine in the persons of some peasants of the new type.

Quite a number of cadres who had weak class feelings for and adopted a questionable attitude toward the poor and lower middle peasants in the past now come to know why they must wholeheartedly serve the revolution and the people. They promptly mend their ways, take the initiative to show concern for the living conditions of the masses and improve the method of work, thus placing the relationship between the cadres and the masses on a more intimate basis.

Among the commune members some persons were rather selfish in the past. They did not submit to the command of the team leader and constantly quarreled with other commune members, thus affecting unity. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have changed their attitude, and quite a

number of them have become advanced elements.

There is in Huangshantung Brigade of Polo hsien a commune member named Ma Kuan-mei who was called the "wasp woman" by the masses. The cadres said: "We would rather go into the mountain to hunt a tiger than to lead her." Now, she has become a good commune member who safeguards the interests of the collective, works energetically and shows concern for other people. Many cadres said: "Having studied Chairman Mao's writings, it is easy to serve as cadres."

The mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has brought the great revolution for changing customs and habits to the countryside. All kinds of feudal superstition, patriarchal thinking, evil habits and undesirable customs, old traditions and customs are breaking up and disintegrating. Socialist cultural activities spring into life, the vogue of reading red books, singing red songs, performing red plays and telling red stories is energetically promoted, and there is the smell of the revolution everywhere.

Paot'ing hsien on Hainan Island is inhabited by people of the Li and Miao nationalities. There the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has also been launched, and in many places the masses are presently engaged in sweeping away various kinds of undesirable habits left over from history. The revolutionary new vogue of preaching communist morality, class fraternity, science and public health is being established.

In some areas lying close to Hong Kong and Macau, the capitalist ideological influence spread from Hong Kong and Macau has been further swept away and has succumbed to the superior prestige of socialism.

In quite a number of places, after studying Chairman Mao's writings, the peasants are going further to liberate themselves from the leash of the "religious authority." Formerly, a few places still preached geomancy and fatalism, worshiped idols, cast horoscopes and consulted fortune-tellers. Now these things are being swept away in the revolutionary atmosphere.

Some vestiges of feudal marriages have also been opposed and criticized by the broad masses of the youths.

Thanks to Chairman Mao's writings, the peasants are in high spirits and full of fight. They are wise and brave. They have further freed themselves from the leash of Nature and have become the masters of Nature.

The change in man's spiritual features has unleashed a stupendous material force and greatly changed the natural features. It has enabled the whole province to overcome the most serious natural calamities since liberation and to reap a better early harvest this year.

Since the fall of last year, through making all-out efforts to bring politics to the fore and studying Chairman Mao's writings, Tungkuan hsien

committee has greatly revolutionized the leading organs at various levels and the thought of the broad peasantry, and there has emerged a phase in which work is performed with unprecedented initiative, and the political situation and production situation have never been so good before.

Suich'i was formerly a backward hsien in Chanchiang administrative district. Since the launching of the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings in the whole hsien, profound changes have occurred in the spiritual features of man and the features of production, and a new spectacle of prosperity has emerged.

The profound changes among the peasant masses brought about by studying Chairman Mao's writings have fully proved that the peasants and cadres armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are capable of surmounting all difficulties, overcoming all enemies and creating all kinds of miracles in the world. The era in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung is directly mastered by the peasant masses is an era in which "the six hundred million people of the divine country are as wise as Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun," an era in which we gradually proceed from "the realm of necessity" to "the realm of freedom." With the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the peasants can really become the masters of history and the masters of Nature, and our work can really enter a new realm in which "the red rains can be turned into rolling waves and the green mountains into bridges according to our wishes."

Peasants Studying Chairman Mao's Writings Have Deep Class Feelings and the Thoroughgoing Spirit of Practice

Why is there so enormous and profound a change in the spiritual features of the peasant masses once they study Chairman Mao's writings? This is because the thought of Mao Tse-tung has unlimited prestige and power and the peasants studying Chairman Mao's writings have deep class feelings and the thoroughgoing spirity of practice.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is universal truth that can be correctly applied anywhere in the world. It is the common ideological basis of the unity and revolution of the seven hundred million Chinese people, and is also the most powerful ideological weapon of the world people of the present era seeking revolution and liberation.

Comrade Lin Piao said: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung has mirrored the objective law of the class struggle in China and the international arena as well as the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is not a spontaneous product of the working people, but is a thought ingeniously inherited from Marxism-Leninism and developed by Chairman Mao on the basis of the great revolutionary practice, a summation of the new experience of the international communist movement, and the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a brand-new stage."

Chairman Mao's books, while profound in theory, are popular and easy to understand. The broad masses of the peasants feel that the revo-

lutionary doctrines preached by Chairman Mao are especially benign to them. The broad masses of the peasants, first of all the poor and lower middle peasants, mentally develop a strong response once they get in touch with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They say: "Chairman Mao's books are meant for us and we must study them." They say: "Chairman Mao tells us things about our emancipation and the revolution. All things he says are sweet to our ears, and the longer we listen to him the deeper we are impressed." They say: Chairman Mao's books are priceless treasures, and every line learned is good for the rest of our lives."

This fully demonstrates that only in the great era of Mao Tse-tung can there be a new era in which the workers, peasants and soldiers directly master theory. The thought of Mao Tse-tung must be directly mastered by the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is a natural tendency in the development of history which no force can obstruct.

The broad masses of the peasants have deep class feelings for Chairman Mao's writings. On the basis of what they have gone through in person, they deeply understand that it is Chairman Mao who has personally led them to win their emancipation, that it is Chairman Mao who has personally led them on to the socialist road, and that it is Chairman Mao who has personally indicated to them the road forward to happiness. Therefore, they closely link their own destinies with Chairman Mao and never forget Chairman Mao's kindness which is as deep as the sea. They have firm confidence in what Chairman Mao says and compare the thought of Mao Tse-tung to the red sun and the origin of life. They say: "It is most ungrateful not to heed what Chairman Mao says." They say: "In order to heed what Chairman Mao says, we must read his books."

Quite a number of commune members scolded the cadres for not organizing them to study Chairman Mao's writings and directly teaching them Chairman Mao's sayings at an earlier date. Many persons braved winds and rains in the cold weather and traveled over mud in the dark to attend classes teaching Chairman Mao's writings. Some women with many children and heavy household chores to claim their attention also regularly attended class without interruption around the year. Some illiterates learned the "three old articles" word by word and line by line. They rose early and slept late, and sometimes they knocked at the door of another person at midnight to ask questions. Sometimes, they had to make more than ten inquiries about a word, and before they could learn an article, they had to make inquiries from scores of persons. Some blind persons also asked other persons to lead them to such classes to participate in study. The broad masses of the poor and lower middle peasants eagerly studied Chairman Mao's writings in this way.

There are hidden in the hearts of the peasants deep class feelings for Chairman Mao's writings. This is deeply touching to people and is also entirely understandable. However, such deep class feelings must be energetically tapped and led before they can be fully released and greatly raise the peasants' enthusiasm for studying Chairman Mao's writings.

Before such feelings are extensively and thoroughly aroused, many persons among the peasants are not so keen in studying Chairman Mao's writings, and they often harbor various kinds of blurred understanding. For example, they are of the opinion that "work can be successfully carried out regardless of whether such writings are studied or not;" that "cadres detached from production must study, but the study of such writings is optional to those cadres who are not dissociated from production;" that "while the workers must study, the peasants are not necessarily required to study them;" that "land is tilled just the same regardless of whether such writings are studied or not;" that "they will be kept in the countryside just the same regardless of whether such writings are studied or not;" or that "there is no point for them to study since they are old." But once they are ideologically aroused -- with their class feelings tapped, their understanding rectified and their consciousness in study heightened -- many persons energetically throw themselves into the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings.

In Huanshantung Brigade there is an old poor peasant called Chang Lai-chiao who is 57 years old. At first, when she was urged to study Chairman Mao's writings, she declined on the ground that she was "old." After she was led to recall her miserable past and to compare it with the happy life today, she remembered "how Chairman Mao saved my family from under seven layers of stone slabs and bricks." When she was once again taught that in order to heed what Chairman Mao said, one must read his books, she saw light and said: "Can I be that ungrateful as to be unwilling even to read Chairman Mao's books after emancipation?" Later, when she learned the saying, "Without the poor peasants, there is no revolution," she was so moved that she said: "Chairman Mao has hit the nail on the head. If the poor peasants do read Chairman Mao's books and heed what he says, they have no way to know what is revolution." She stated: "So long as I live, I must read Chairman Mao's books and make revolution to the end."

The peasants who study Chairman Mao's writings have the thoroughgoing spirit of practice. The peasant masses stand on the forefront in the practice of the three great revolutions -- class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. They study Chairman Mao's writings with the need of practice as the point of departure and application as the goal. Their study is closely integrated with actuality, and they study in practice. Therefore, they are able to understand and accept very quickly many revolutionary doctrines taught by Chairman Mao. Moreover, once they comprehend and accept Chairman Mao's observations and viewpoints, they promptly translate the same into action. They say: "We say what we have in mind and do what we say."

In the struggle to remold their own thought, the peasants courageously put themselves "into the picture" and "put forward" their thought. They grasp the vital part and use Chairman Mao's instructions as weapon to analyze and resolve their own ideological problems. They have nothing to hide and are not as evasive and hesitant as some intellectuals are in ideological remolding.

At the study-reporting meetings and teaching-application meetings in many places, the speeches delivered by men and women, both young and old, generally make two kinds of comparison: one is to compare new society with old society, to recall the miserable life of the old society and to think of the happy life of the new society; the other is to compare things before and after study, their thoughts and deeds before and after studying Chairman Mao's writings. Many persons tell how backward and selfish they were in the past and how they have made up their minds to mend their ways. Some persons who used to quarrel and exchange blows with other commune members in the team can now keep their temper because they want to be "noble people." Some persons who used to be fastidious in work, to avoid heavy work and to choose light work now choose only heavy work and pay attention to quality because they want to display "a high sense of responsibility" in their work and "to seek ever greater refinement in technique." Some persons who have lost their capacity for labor still think of all ways and means to do some work within their ability for the collective because they want to be "persons useful to the people."

Formerly, some persons thought that it didn't pay to serve as grassroots cadres and were unwilling to serve in that capacity. Now that they have learned a profound lesson from Norman Bethune's international spirit, and are aware that "two-thirds of the poor people in the world have not been liberated," they are resolved "to serve the revolution the rest of their lives."

This kind of solid spirit and attitude adopted by the peasants toward flexible study and application has enabled them to yield prompt results in ideological remolding and improvement of work.

Study of Chairman Mao's Writings Calls for Launching Mass Campaigns in a Big Way

All revolutionary movements are revolutionary mass movements. Chairman Mao said "Politics refers to class politics, mass politics." Without the active participation of the broad masses, there is no genuine revolutionary movement. Organizing the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings thus enabling the broad peasantry to gain a direct grip on the thought of Mao Tse-tung is an ideological revolutionary movement without parallel in history, and it is the more necessary to launch mass movements in a big way.

Things are now very clear. The peasant masses can study Chairman Mao's writings and are also able to study them well. Where there are poor and lower middle peasants, there is always a strong demand for study. Provided the work is not quietly carried out, is not monopolized or underwritten by a few persons and is not left to the activists, provided the masses are freely aroused and the mass line is followed, there would quickly be an upsurge of fervency for studying Chairman Mao's writings among the broad masses.

Over the past few months, on the basis of summing up the experience of some advanced areas and units at the former stage, Kwangtung province has adopted and popularized the combined method of training hard-core elements by rotation from the top level to the basic level, of staying at selected spots from basic level up to the top level and of arousing the masses to launch a province-wide campaign. Now the various hsien of the whole province have given collective training to more than 3.6 million hard-core elements in the countryside (and it is estimated that collective training can still be given to another million persons this year). Upon their return to their production brigades and teams, these hard-core elements play the leading part in studying Chairman Mao's writings, in self-revolution and in performing good deeds, and the broad masses of the peasants quickly go into action under their leadership.

Simultaneously with this, the work teams of the socialist education movement in the countryside and the cadres of various levels coming to stay at selected spots in various production brigades and teams have intensified their work for ideologically arousing and organizing the broad peasantry to study Chairman Mao's writings. The experiences of some advanced areas and units are quickly popularized throughout the province. The number of people participating in study quickly multiplies in various places. There have emerged large numbers of better units and activists in study.

The touching scenes of teaching and learning from each other, of husbands and wives, fathers and sons and persons of three generations studying together, of an area led forward by a family in study, and of a whole commune led forward by a team in study can be seen everywhere.

Many persons who were regarded as "unable to participate in study" or unable to study successfully" -- such as the backward commune members, illiterate persons, old people, women with too many children -- also enthusiastically participate in study. Some of them are able to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings better than ordinary people and have become activists in study.

Apart from the hsien in which the mass movement has all along been launched with greater success -- such as Suich'i, Tungkuan, Paoan, and Paot'ing -- after a period of general mobilization on a province-wide scale, the greater part of several tens of hsien in which the socialist education campaign is in progress, and a part of the hsien and communes in which the socialist education campaign has not yet been carried out have also gone all-out to participate in study. In these places, the peasants' movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has become a broad revolutionary movement of the masses, and everywhere there reigns the spirited and ebullient revolutionary atmosphere.

Among the areas in which the socialist education campaign is under way, the campaign makes especially good progress in those areas which have all along studied Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, and class contingents armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and cores of leadership can

really be formed. This is of great significance to consolidating the results of the campaign and establishing a political work system with studying Chairman Mao's writings as the center.

In areas in which the socialist education campaign has not yet been launched, so long as the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has been grasped in real earnest, the big change in the situation is able not only energetically to promote the proletarian revolutionization of the thought of the cadres and the masses as well as production, but also to make good preparations for launching the socialist education campaign in the future.

In order to launch the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, it is first necessary to tap penetratingly the thought of the broad masses of the peasants, especially of the poor and lower middle peasants. This is to say, it is necessary to make full use of the method of recalling the miserable past and comparing it with the happy life they are leading so as to arouse the peasants' class feelings for Chairman Mao's writings. It is necessary, through conducting propaganda with fanfare and organizing democratic discussion, to make the peasants fully understand the great significance of studying Chairman Mao's writings, thus heightening their awareness of the need to study Chairman Mao's writings and enabling them to establish the correct idea of studying for the revolution. Such is necessary for those who have known hardship in the first half of their lives, and is much more necessary for those youths who have been brought up in happy surroundings.

To recall the miserable past and to think of the happy time, to explain thoroughly the significance of studying Chairman Mao's writings and to let the peasants hook their own destinies and the destinies of the country and the world with the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- such are the conditions of primary importance which can insure the genuine development of and protracted perseverance in the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings. The method of "making recollection and comparison in studying Chairman Mao's writings and studying Chairman Mao's writings for making recollection and comparison" as adopted by Huangshantung Brigade has been proved to be a most effective experience.

In the mass movement for organizing the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings, it is necessary to arouse the whole to action by grasping the two extremities to lead the center forward. It is necessary to lay hold of the hard-core and advanced elements as well as to arouse more penetratingly the backward stratum.

The percentage of backward persons in a production team is not high. But once they are aroused to participate in study -- especially when they have been transformed into elements through study -- they will cause a big stir, give an impetus to other backward persons, and quickly lead those in the middle state forward.

There is in Hsinsheng Brigade a young woman named Hsiao Ch'un-lan. To quote her own words, she "neither leads nor lags behind." Later, seeing that some commune members who were formerly rather backward had been transformed into advanced elements, she rose to give pursuit and finally became an activist and served as a supervisor in study. This is an example of a representative character.

Peasants must be organized to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind. With various current thoughts in mind, some basic viewpoints in Chairman Mao's writings must be repeatedly studied and applied so that the peasants may unceasingly deepen their knowledge and heighten their consciousness.

Judging from the experiences of various places in Kwangtung, the basic viewpoints which the peasants must first study are principally the viewpoints of serving the people wholeheartedly, the viewpoint of class and class struggle and the viewpoint of from where does man's correct idea come (translation of matter into spirit and spirit into matter) and of "one divides into two." Among them, the most basic one is to grasp and transform the world outlook, principally to study the "three old articles" and some sayings. In this way, the basic things can be grasped, and proficiency in one thing will lead to proficiency in a hundred things.

The mass movement for the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings will necessarily bring great revolution to the method of study. It is necessary to eradicate the academic, intellectual and organ types of study methods, and it is necessary to adopt and create the mass-line method of study which is correspondence with the mass movement and meets the need of the peasants.

It is necessary to persist in the principle of less but finer in study. Some important viewpoints in Chairman Mao's writings must be studied and applied again and again. We must not be covetous, nor must we be afraid of duplication. We must see to it that such viewpoints are memorized and thoroughly understood, that they are good for application, and that they are known to every household and deeply engraved on people's hearts.

Huangshantung Brigade has spent more than two years principally in studying again and again the "three old articles" and more than twenty other sayings of Chairman Mao's. Hsinsheng Brigade has spent several months principally in studying five sayings in the "three old articles."

The peasants must never be required to spend too long a time in a study session. In Huangshantung Brigade, each session -- including time for reviewing lessons (asking questions), reading, explanation, discussion, summing up and copying sayings -- normally lasts thirty to forty five minutes.

These peasants' supervising personnel teach lessons with an eye on

realities, ask questions and give answers in graphic language, and completely adopt the form of enlightenment. The class is animating, warm and compact.

Apart from teaching lessons in class, they also send lessons to the door and conduct study in families and the fields and through writing sayings on boards.

The stuffing type of study method which involves lengthy discourses and plenty of conventions and is divorced from realities and the masses does not work among the peasants. The peasants must be given a free hand in teaching and study, and a method of study that meets the need of the peasant masses must be created. This is a revolution.

The method of linking theory with reality and the method of enlightenment which Chairman Mao has advocated for a number of years are being applied and popularized on a broad front in a true sense in the mass movement for the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings.

The holding of "reporting meetings" (i. e., "teaching-application meetings") has an important role to play in pushing through the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings. This is an important means for realizing flexible study and application and the integration of study and application. It is an exemplary study method. It makes collective reports on study results, popularizes study experience and cites good persons and good deeds.

Last year, Suich'i hsien organized a reporting group with activists in the study of Chairman Mao's writings to make itinerant reports in the whole hsien to an audience of more than 200,000, thus giving a big push to the study of Chairman Mao's writings. This year, on the basis of having trained more than ten thousand cadres, Party members and study supervisors by rotation, this hsien again held a number of "major reporting" meetings on study on a large scale within the confines of the hsien -- with the commune, production brigade or production team as the unit. In these meetings, the cadres and the masses told how they studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings, what they had learned, their harvests, their ideological changes and their practical actions. More than 200 thousand people attended and more than twenty thousand people spoke at these "major reporting" meetings which produced good results and were very effective.

In order to launch the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, a very important question which must be solved is the question of study supervisors. It is necessary and is entirely possible to solve the question of selecting and cultivating supervisors through adopting the mass-line method in the mass movement.

The cultural level of the supervisors need not be high, but they must be high in awakening, and be able to set the example in taking the lead in flexible study and application. Some of them have gone to school



for no more than two or three years. Some were originally not advanced elements, but because they actively participated in study, revolutionized themselves and performed good deeds in the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have acquired the right to speak, won the support of the masses and become supervisors.

There are generally several study supervisors in many production teams which have made a greater success of study, and there are several dozen study supervisors in a production brigade. They constitute an important force, a propaganda team for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, a rural political work team. They can play an active role through various ideological and cultural setups -- e. g., communist evening schools, cultural rooms, etc. The majority of them are young people and they are most ideal persons for cultivation as red successors.

In the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, it is necessary to bring politics to the fore in a big way, to cite good persons and good deeds and to establish exemplary pace-setters. Citing good persons and good deeds means promoting flexible study and application and encouraging revolution. It is necessary to cite those who have reformed themselves into good persons with Chairman Mao's writings and performed good deeds. Once they are cited, they will display even higher activism in study, and more good persons and good deeds will appear. They will promote each other and set the vogue. To the backward persons, this is also an invisible form of criticism that will energetically spur them on.

To insure that the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings is smoothly developed and firmly adhered to in the countryside, the leadership at various levels -- especially the leading cadres at the hsien and commune level -- must take the lead in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings. The leading cadres must take the lead in revolutionizing themselves, in eradicating selfish thought and in thoroughly remolding their own world outlook. They must set the example by going deep into the basic level to stay at selected spots, to share living quarters, food and work with the poor and lower middle peasants and to realize the revolutionization of the leadership.

With the leading cadres setting the example in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, the broad masses of the grassroots cadres and peasants will be quickly led forward, and once the masses are revolutionized, their study efforts often surpass those of the leading cadres. By that time, the hsien and commune leaders will have a better taste of the sweetness of the power of bringing politics to the fore on the one hand, but on the other hand, they will also be forced to do better in study and application, otherwise they cannot continue to exercise leadership before such a new situation.

In the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, the leaders and the masses of quite a number of places in Kwangtung drive forward each other in this way, and they march forward in big strides together along the road of revolutionization.

The CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao call on the whole country to learn from the People's Liberation Army in a big way, and the mass movement for the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings in Kwangtung also learns from PLA. The experience of the Kwangtung peasants in studying Chairman Mao's writings is, in the final analysis, the experience of the PLA, the experience generalized and summed up by Comrade Li Piao. The PLA road is followed, although it is applied locally and in the countryside.

In China the soldiers are workers and peasants in uniform. The basic road of the workers, peasants and soldiers mastering the thought of Mao Tse-tung is one and the same. In view of this, if it is necessary to say something about the basic experience of the Kwangtung countryside in launching the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writing, such experience is that it is first necessary to emphasize the common character between the study of Chairman Mao's writings by the PLA and the study of Chairman Mao's writings by the peasants, and that it is necessary to learn honestly from the PLA and to educate and remold the peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung according to the basic road of the PLA in studying Chairman Mao's writings.

Should we freely arouse the masses and energetically launch the mass movement? Or should we exercise care and stay within the circle of the minority? This is the antithesis and struggle of the two lines and methods.

The situation of the Kwangtung countryside at the former stage shows that whenever the mass movement is energetically launched, the broad masses of the peasants are able to make rapid headway in studying Chairman Mao's writings, directly master the thought of Mao Tse-tung, assume a new spiritual outlook, and translate it into an enormous material force. Opposition to energetically launching the mass movement for the peasant to study Chairman Mao's writings is essentially to reject integrating the thought of Mao Tse-tung with the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and to oppose the direct mastery and application of the thought of Mao Tse-tung by the worker-peasant-soldier masses.

We should cordially hail the beginning of the new era marked by the direct mastery of theory by the workers, peasants and soldiers. We should freely and energetically launch the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings and work in all fields to promote the forward development of this great revolutionary movement -- that knows no precedent in history -- on a broader front and to a greater depth.

Right now, our task is to deepen, prolong, consolidate and elevate further the mass movement for the flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. This is to say, on the basis of continuously launching the mass movement on a large scale, we must make a greater success of our solid, penetrating and carefully planned ideological mobilization work. We must persist in study and application and in making good persons of ourselves and performing good deeds. Not only the activists but also the masses must persist in study. We must see to it that Party branches are

revolutionized, that the supervisors and hard-core elements in study are consolidated and elevated, and that the present thriving study movement is put on a firm basis. We must further exert ourselves in "application," and proceeding from studying what we are doing, we must elevate ourselves till the world outlook is transformed. Proceeding from learning from good persons and good deeds and striving to become good persons and perform good deeds, we must elevate ourselves till we take the class struggle as the keel and lay hold of the three great revolutionary movements.

This calls for elevating the broad masses to the present level of the advanced elements, the advanced elements to the level of supervisors, and the ordinary production brigades and production teams to the level of advanced units.

It is our belief that, on the basis of the general mobilization at the former stage, so long as we earnestly deepen, consolidate and elevate our work, put it on a lasting basis, and make a continued success of popularization work, the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings will heroically, solidly and continuously develop throughout the province.

In Order to Launch the Mass Movement for Studying Chairman
Mao's Writings, It Is Necessary To Go Through A
Series of Serious Class Struggles

Nearly one year of practice has made us deeply understand that studying Chairman Mao's writings is definitely not reading books in the ordinary sense, but is a profound revolution and a serious class struggle. Without sweeping away the numerous barriers on the road forward, this great revolutionary movement cannot be developed on a broad front to a great depth.

How is the thought of Mao Tse-tung to be handled? On this question there exist two kinds of standpoint and attitude which are diametrically opposite and antagonistic to each other and a sharp struggle.

The peasants regard Chairman Mao's writings as "the red sun," "the origin of life," "food grain" and "the compass." From what they have gone through in person they know that it was the thought of Mao Tse-tung which led them to liberate themselves from the oppression of "seven layers of stone slabs and bricks," and that Chairman Mao's writings are "lights on the revolutionary road" and "the invincible weapon for scoring a great victory." Therefore, they know no bounds in loving and worshipping Chairman Mao's writings.

However, a handful of persons, including the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, bourgeois agents within the Party and revisionists -- due to their reactionary instinct -- are extremely hostile to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They vilify Chairman Mao's writings, disparage their great significance, propagate reactionary views, and devise all ways and means to resist and undermine the mass

movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings. They even hit out at and betray the activists in studying Chairman Mao's writings.

On the question of how Chairman Mao's writings should be handled, the standpoints and attitudes of the revolutionaries and counterrevolutionary are very clearly divided and the struggle is very sharp. It is very obvious that if a tit-for-tat struggle is not launched to expose the ugly features of the handful of monsters and freaks and crush their plots and tricks, the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings cannot be developed.

On the question of whether or not the peasants can learn Chairman Mao's writing well, there is also a basic difference in view and serious struggle.

The lordly "authorities" of the bourgeoisie curse the study of Chairman Mao's writings by peasants as "over-simplification," "philistinism" and "pragmatism. In the eyes of these lords, the peasants know not many characters and have no means to learn theory.

Why must they attack the study of Chairman Mao's writings by peasants? Apart from their reactionary stupidity and prejudice, the chief reason is that they fear once the masses master the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the latter will break their monopoly in theory, smash their plots to distort and tamper with theory and to restore capitalism, make revolution against them, and drag them down from the throne on which they rule culture.

Apart from this, there are among our cadres some persons with muddled viewpoints. They think that "only the grassroots cadres can study but not the commune members;" that "only the educated can study but not those without cultural knowledge;" that "only the young people can study but not the old ones;" that "only men can study but not women;" that "only the advanced elements can study but not the backward commune members;" that "only the advanced areas can study but not the backward areas;" that "only places with concentrated population can study but not those with scattered inhabitants." Some even curtly consider that "the peasants cannot study." These notes mirror how deeply they have been influenced by the thought of the exploiting classes and how inadequate is their knowledge of the great power of Chairman Mao's writings and of the revolutionary character of the peasants.

The revolutionary action of the peasants has refuted both the attack of the enemies and the skepticism of some persons having no confidence. The broad masses of the peasants have surmounted with their dogged fighting spirit the various difficulties on the road forward. They have armed themselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and scored a great victory in transforming the subjective world and the objective world.

How should the study of Chairman Mao's writings be oriented? In

other words, how should the relationship between politics and production (business, technique) be oriented? What attitude should the leadership adopt toward the question of studying Chairman Mao's writings and promote the proletarian revolutionization of thought? There is also a very sharp struggle in this regard.

At the former stage of the movement, the overwhelming majority of the cadres in Kwangtung put up a good show and their revolutionary determination was great. Through study and discussion, they learned the far-reaching significance of studying Chairman Mao's writings, began to set right the relationship between politics and production (business, technique), and put the study of Chairman Mao's writings in command of everything.

In areas where the socialist education campaign had been launched, more than 100 thousand members of the work teams resolutely placed the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command of the whole socialist education movement, and used it to guide every step of the movement. The localities in an area firmly took concrete measures to insure the fulfillment of political work at the basic level and in the ideological revolutionization of man. Several ten thousand cadres from leading organs went to the lower level to stay at selected spots to share living quarters, food and work with the people there, and to create samples for bringing politics to the fore. All these manifested that the leadership was determined to make revolution.

Especially since this year, after implementing the "Decision of the South-Central Bureau of the CCP Central Committee on Penetratingly Launching the Movement for Studying Chairman Mao's Writings," studying Comrade Chiao Yu-lu's heroic deeds, and summing up and popularizing the experience of the peasants in the advanced units of the province in studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have further strengthened the consciousness of the leaders at various levels in studying Chairman Mao's writings and taken the lead in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and in making revolution. This has played an even more useful role in leading the masses to study Chairman Mao's writings and in pushing through the province-wide mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings.

However, among the cadres, quite a number of over-simple production viewpoints and eclectic viewpoints have also been exposed. They claim that "good in production means good in politics;" that "production cannot be delayed overnight but politics may be put off to next year;" that "production is above everything;" that "good in production can cover up a hundred ugly features;" that "politics is important but production is also important;" that "politics is brought to the fore in slack time, while production is brought to the fore in the busy season;" that "politics must serve production, otherwise it is a flower without roots;" and so on and so forth.

The influence of these bourgeois ideas on our cadres can never be underestimated because they are most harmful. Failure to put the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command means that all our work is deprived of the soul and will go astray, and that we are disarmed ideologically.

On the question of correctly handling the relationship of politics with production (business, technique), if we do not persist in placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command of everything, sharpen our scent and boycott the bourgeois and revisionist fallacies, we will slip into the capitalist or revisionist quagmire.

Apart from this, there are also a few cadres who lack enthusiasm and activism for launching the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings because they are seriously affected by individualism, are very selfish and fear revolution. As a consequence, the movement is improperly led. In the areas and units under their leadership, the movement is also very poorly developed. This is also a question which needs to be solved in the current movement.

The long and the short of all the questions discussed above is that we must consciously understand that launching the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings is a serious class struggle, and that this movement must be guided with the unambiguous viewpoint of class struggle. It is necessary to expose continuously the class enemies' plots to undermine the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings and to criticize all kinds of fallacies. As regards some muddled ideas, they must be continuously criticized and clarified. Through practice, it is necessary continuously to educate the cadres to exercise higher consciousness in study and in leading the study movement.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Class struggle works once it is grasped." The launching of the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings in the countryside throughout Kwangtung makes us deeply comprehend that the use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide the class struggle and all kinds of work will promptly lead to the emergence of a phase in which we shall occupy a favorable position and sweep everything before us.

The peasants' mastery of the thought of Mao Tse-tung means the mastery of the sharpest and most powerful weapon for criticizing the old world. With this weapon, the peasants will become an army which is extraordinarily proletarianized and revolutionized ideologically. They can thoroughly criticize the old world, batter and cleanly sweep away all filthy things left over by imperialism and the landlord and bourgeois classes. They can create a new world, and build brand-new ideas, culture, customs and habits on the economic basis of socialism.

In China, under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses of the peasants -- as the main force of the revolution -- have criticized the old world with this weapon. Now, under new historical conditions and together with the workers, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary

intellectuals, they are once again using the critical weapon to criticize the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits, and other undesirable things left over from the old world.

The arming of hundreds of millions of peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most basic hallmark of the great awakening of the Chinese people and the most important guarantee of the thorough victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution of China. This great historical event has an inestimable role to play in impelling China's socialist revolution and construction.

Long live the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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