

On the Re-Education of Intellectuals

by "RENMIN RIBAO" AND "HONGQI" COMMENTATORS

THE establishment of revolutionary committees in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country except Taiwan Province, indicates that the whole movement of the great cultural revolution has entered the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, mighty contingents of industrial workers, under leadership and step by step, have either entered or are in the process of entering the schools and colleges, various areas of the superstructure, and all units where struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well, so as to promote struggle-criticism-transformation in these places. This has not only ushered in a completely new situation in the proletarian revolution in education, but will inevitably accelerate the remoulding of the ranks of intellectuals by China's working class in accordance with its own outlook.

When the working class enters cultural and educational institutions, its work is primarily directed towards the intellectuals. Correct grasp of the Party's policy towards intellectuals is therefore an important guarantee for victory in the struggle.

The extremely important editor's note of the journal *Hongqi* (Red Flag) published in the press on September 5 [see *Peking Review*, No. 37, p. 13] relays the voice of our great leader Chairman Mao. This editor's note raised a very important question, namely, giving attention to the re-education of the large number of intellectuals — college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago as well as those who have just begun to work. The editor's note set forth the various proletarian policies towards intellectuals and further pointed out the only correct direction for intellectuals — integrating themselves with the workers and peasants.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that **throughout the whole course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the remoulding of the intellectuals is a question of major significance.** After seizing political power, the proletariat should remould the intellectuals in accordance with its own outlook and train a contingent of proletarian intellectuals which serves it. This is essential for consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent-

ing the restoration of capitalism; it is essential for establishing the proletariat in the position of absolute domination in all spheres of ideology and culture. To build up such a contingent of proletarian intellectuals, it is necessary to carry out a thoroughgoing proletarian revolution in education, to take the revolutionary road of training technical personnel and other intellectuals from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and to select students from among the workers and peasants with practical experience in production and from among the Liberation Army fighters; at the same time, it is necessary to re-educate the large number of intellectuals who graduated from the old schools in the past and to win over and unite with vast numbers of intellectuals. As the great proletarian cultural revolution deepens and reaches the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, people can appreciate with growing clarity the great significance of solving this question.

The editor's note raised the question of **"paying attention to re-educating the large numbers of college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago as well as those who have just begun to work."** This involves not only the schools, but also the vast number of intellectuals on our cultural and educational front and in the ranks of our cadres. Why is it called re-education? Because what they received in the past was bourgeois education and the education they are receiving now is proletarian. This is one meaning. Another is that in the past, under the pernicious influence of the revisionist line of China's Khrushchov, they received education from bourgeois intellectuals whereas now, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, **they are being re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers.** The remoulding of one's world outlook is something fundamental. We should educate the intellectuals according to the proletarian world outlook so that they can change the bourgeois ideas they formerly received from bourgeois education. Such is the content of this re-education. The fundamental road in this re-education is for them to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving them.

In conducting re-education, it is necessary to bring the positive factors into full play. The question of line is the fundamental issue. The line that is followed

produces the kind of people that are trained. We should concentrate our hatred on the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents since it is their counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education that poisoned the youth. The thorough repudiation of this reactionary line will impel people to make further efforts to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. In socialist new China, the majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools will, when educated in Mao Tse-tung's thought, be able gradually to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In the course of this, there will inevitably be wavering and reversals. But provided these people do follow and advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and accept re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers, and thoroughly repudiate and continuously change the old bourgeois ideas they brought along from home and school, they will be able to contribute their share in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. The workers, peasants and soldiers welcome such intellectuals. While there are indeed counter-revolutionaries and die-hards, they are very few in number. The vast number of intellectuals are willing to remould themselves under working-class leadership and willing to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and they have bright prospects under the socialist system. The editor's note pointed out: **"Some of them are sure to make a success of this integration and achieve something in regard to inventions and innovations. Mention should be made of these people as encouragement."** This means to encourage and in a positive way urge the great number of intellectuals to take firmly the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. People who have made a success of this integration and have made inventions and innovations are to be found everywhere. Their example should be cited to educate those intellectuals who have already gone to working posts, or are going.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has opened a broader road for the intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, to remould their world outlook and to serve the people better. The masses of intellectuals have undergone considerable tempering and testing in the great cultural revolution. They feel their shortcomings acutely — their wavering and lack of thoroughness in revolution — and they urgently want to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is most inspiring. The revolutionary committees in all parts of the country and the workers' Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams stationed in the units concerned should be good at discovering instances of such initiative by intellectuals, support them in integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and

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guide them in taking an active part in struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units. From now on, in places where intellectuals are in concentrated groups, struggle-criticism-transformation must be carried to success under working-class leadership and all types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes must be run well. It is also necessary to organize the intellectuals to go group by group among the workers, peasants and soldiers to be re-educated by them.

People should be given a way out. **"To do otherwise is not the policy of the proletariat."** Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. Proletarian policy must indicate a way out for the masses of people of various classes and strata led by the proletariat, and turn negative factors into positive ones as far as possible. Such a policy will help more in assisting those who have committed serious mistakes to own up to and correct their mistakes. As for the very few diehard capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities who have incurred the wrath of the masses and must be overthrown, they should also be given a way out, after they have been adequately repudiated. This is a question to which attention should be drawn in the final stage of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We must resolutely carry out every proletarian policy on intellectuals set forth by our great leader Chairman Mao. It is essential to distinguish between the two different kinds of contradictions. The contradictions among the people must be handled by the method of **unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity**. The way to settle questions of an ideological nature is by setting forth facts and reasoning things out and by painstaking and meticulous ideological-political work.

The excellent situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution as it approaches all-round victory opens up magnificent prospects to the revolutionary masses. We are convinced that, guided by the brilliant light of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and led by the working class, China's vast number of revolutionary intellectuals and intellectuals who can be remoulded will advance faster along the road of revolutionizing themselves and integrating themselves with the working people. **"We hope that they [China's intellectuals] will continue to make progress and that, in the course of work and study, they will gradually acquire the communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and become integrated with the workers and peasants. We hope they will not stop halfway, or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them in going backwards."** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*)

(*"Renmin Ribao," September 12*)