

Integrate With Workers and Peasants and Be Vanguards in Combating Revisionism

by Tan Wen

WHEN we restudied on May 4*, China's Youth Day, *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* written by Chairman Mao in 1939, we are filled with an exceptionally warm feeling for this brilliant work. In it Chairman Mao profoundly and from the high plane of the two-line struggle summed up the historical experience gained in the youth movement. It is a sharp weapon for us in the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

Chairman Mao pointed out in *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* that the young people can march in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks and can in a way play a vanguard role in the revolutionary struggle. This has been confirmed by the historical facts since the May 4th Movement in 1919.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and with his support, the Red Guards in their tens of millions rose in rebellion against Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and played the role of vanguards in the struggle against the capitalist-roaders. In the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revolutionary young people were also bold and able pathbreakers. Today they are fighting in the forefront of the great struggle to criticize the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt. This is an indication that the revolutionary tradition of the May 4th Movement has been carried forward and further developed.

The Only Correct Orientation

The Orientation of the Youth Movement has expounded the relationship between youth who are "an important army" and the workers and peasants who are "the main force," and stressed that the young people "must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, and only then can a mighty force be created." For the first time in the history of the international communist movement Chairman Mao advanced the thesis that, in the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary youth and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary youth is whether or not they integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and that this is the only valid criterion in judging them. These brilliant concepts of Chairman Mao's not only lit up the path of the youth

movement in the period of the democratic revolution, but remain to be the only correct orientation of the youth movement in the period of socialist revolution. The great contribution made by the Red Guard movement lies precisely in the fact that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, it has not only played a vanguard role in the struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party, but persisted in taking the historically inevitable road of integrating with the workers and peasants on an extremely broad scale. In response to the great call of Chairman Mao that "it is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants," more than 12 million school graduates have gone to settle in the countryside since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, thus writing a magnificent chapter in the annals of the youth movement. Fighting in the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in the countryside, this vigorous revolutionary new army is braving the storms and facing the world, criticizing capitalism and revisionism, persevering in taking the socialist road, and making great contributions to the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture as well as various other work in the rural areas. This is the great march of a mighty contingent to combat and prevent

* "May 4" refers to May 4, 1919, when the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement broke out. In the first half of that year, Britain, France, the United States, Japan, Italy and other imperialist countries that had emerged victorious from World War I held a conference in Paris to divide the booty. A decision was adopted which stipulated that Japan would take over all the privileges previously held by Germany in China's Shantung Province. On May 4 that year, the students in Peking took the lead and held rallies and demonstrations to protest against the decision. When the government of the Northern Warlords resorted to suppression, the Peking students suspended classes in protest. Students in other parts of the country quickly rose to express their solidarity. The Northern Warlord government made mass arrests in Peking, which aroused still greater indignation among the people of the whole nation. The patriotic movement so far participated mainly by the intellectuals rapidly developed into a nationwide movement participated by the proletariat, petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. As the patriotic movement surged ahead, the new cultural movement against feudalism and for science and democracy unfolded prior to the May 4th Movement developed into a mammoth revolutionary cultural movement with the propagation of Marxism-Leninism as its main current.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, May 4 was officially proclaimed China's Youth Day.

revisionism. It has shattered the fond dream of class enemies both at home and abroad who vainly pin their hopes for a "peaceful evolution" on China's third and fourth generations. While tens of millions of school graduates have gone to settle in the countryside, more and more college graduates and large numbers of demobilized soldiers have volunteered to work in the countryside and the frontier regions and where the conditions are hardest. This has powerfully pounded away at the old traditional ideas and the force of habit, and is a bold declaration of war on the capitalist-roaders in the Party who obdurately cling to bourgeois right.

One incurable disease common to all revisionists is their downright opposition to the workers and peasants.

History has shown that "in opposing the workers and peasants they are in fact opposing the revolution" and that no matter what a colossus he may be and no matter how arrogant he is for a time, he will inevitably be swept away by the torrents of the revolution of the worker and peasant masses. The revolution is forging ahead and the struggle developing. The workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants have never stopped for a moment; they are advancing every day under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only by integrating themselves with the workers and peasants can the educated young people keep pace with the onmarching times, and only when they join the ranks of the workers and peasants can they truly dedicate themselves to the proletarian revolution.

Chairman Mao has time and again pointed out that it is often the young intellectuals who are the first to come to an awakening in a revolutionary movement, but they invariably tend to waver and lack the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. So if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants, these weak points will develop and what little revolutionary spirit they have will quickly vanish like the morning dew. It is by no means accidental that, after a vigorous development, youth movements in the past often split over the question of what attitude should be taken towards the workers and peasants. Following in the footsteps of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping tried to obstruct the educated young people from integrating with the workers and peasants. His aim was to turn them into instruments for restoring capitalism. We must seriously guard against this.

Fighting Tit-for-Tat Against the Revisionist Line

As millions upon millions of school graduates go to the countryside, the road of integrating with the workers and peasants has become broader and broader. This is a profound socialist revolution. Teng Hsiao-ping and the others who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, however, openly attacked this great movement and opposed this revolution. If we let them have their way, there would not be revolutionization of the youth, nor could there be modernization of the national economy; and the only result would be that the differences between industry

and agriculture, between town and country and between mental and manual labour would be enlarged, and this would lead to capitalist restoration.

What Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers who whipped up the Right deviationist wind grieved most is the fact that, in the excellent situation in the youth movement brought about by the Great Cultural Revolution, the students and other young people have become workers and peasants and ordinary labourers. They clamoured: "What's the use of running universities" if they don't train "cadres"? "To train workers and peasants amounts to liquidating these schools." Because there was no Marxist-Leninist truth on their side, they could not but borrow from the Confucian Shop the tattered banner that "he who excels in learning can be an official" and flaunted it after a little trimming. In *The Orientation of the Youth Movement*, Chairman Mao had already criticized Confucius who looked down upon manual labour and the working people and who never taught his students to cultivate the land and grow vegetables. Chairman Mao highly praised the youth movement in Yen-an which followed a direction opposite to what Confucius had preached and acclaimed their campaign for production and integration with the masses of workers and peasants as "the model for the youth movement throughout the country." Times have moved far ahead since then, yet Teng Hsiao-ping tried to reverse even this old verdict. If things were handled in the way he wanted, the great cause of educated young people going to settle in the countryside would surely have been strangled halfway.

The issue provoked by Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers is still the same old one over which we struggled with Liu Shao-chi for 17 years, namely, to guide the young people to become successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution or to inveigle them into becoming bourgeois intellectual aristocrats. According to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the young people should become "workers with both socialist consciousness and culture" in the course of integration with the workers and peasants. Successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause must be such ordinary workers. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the revisionist line of "studying in order to become officials" advocated by Liu Shao-chi was scathingly criticized. Important changes have taken place, such as educated young people going to settle in the countryside and selecting workers and peasants with practical experience to study in colleges, thus blocking the old path of training bourgeois intellectual aristocrats institutionally. This is a strategic measure adopted by our Party to combat and prevent revisionism and to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Historical experience tells us that whether the young people are trained to become ordinary labourers who are both socialist-minded and professionally competent or induced to become bourgeois intellectual aristocrats lordling it over the workers and peasants is a question which will not only affect the mental outlook of the younger generation but has a bearing on the future of the Party and state. This is an important issue concerning

whether Marxism is upheld or revisionism practised. The process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union serves as a mirror. In the Soviet Union, the majority of the young people have become wage slaves, while new bourgeois intellectual aristocrats have emerged one group after another. Sitting on the backs of the Soviet workers and peasants, they subserviently serve the reactionary policies of the bureaucrat-monopoly clique in suppressing and exploiting the people at home and in carrying out plunder and expansion abroad. They are the instruments and the social basis of the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionists. Today, Teng Hsiao-ping and those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind tried to foster a bourgeois intellectual elite among the young people. Their attempt has fully revealed their wild ambition to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists and restore capitalism in China.

School graduates settling in the countryside, students "coming from the communes and returning to the communes after graduation," and college graduates becoming peasants — all these are socialist new things having communist elements. With such courageous actions the young people have made a most radical rupture with the traditional ideas regarded as inviolate

for several thousand years by all the exploiting classes. These socialist new things have restricted bourgeois right, promoted the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, strengthened the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, speeded up the construction of socialist new villages and steered a new generation of people fighting for the realization of communism.

We must see through Teng Hsiao-ping's scheme and act in direct opposition to his revisionist line. As he opposed our integration with the workers and peasants, we must be more determined in doing so and always be pupils of the workers and peasants, receive re-education from them and make a lifetime effort to remould our world outlook. Many outstanding young people have already done so. All revolutionary youth should learn from them, strike root deep among the masses of the workers and peasants, persist in going to settle in the countryside, which is a great revolution to combat and prevent revisionism, and carry it through to the end, and strive for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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