



**ON THE RE-EDUCATION
OF INTELLECTUALS**

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ON THE RE-EDUCATION OF INTELLECTUALS

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Commentators

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

China's great proletarian cultural revolution now witnesses a great new upsurge of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nation-wide scale. At the call of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the working class has either entered or is entering the cultural and educational institutions where its work will primarily be aimed at the intellectuals and where it will exercise leadership in struggle-criticism-transformation. Correct grasp of the Party's policies towards intellectuals is, therefore, the key to victory in the struggle.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's latest instructions on the re-education of intellectuals, this article by *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*) commentators (originally published in the *Hongqi* magazine, No. 3, 1968) expounds the necessity, the content, the road and the methods of the re-education of China's intellectuals in their vast numbers, and it explains the various proletarian policies concerning them.

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Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line, and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers.

HERE we wish to raise the question of giving 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, so that they will integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. There must be some who have done well in integrating themselves and have made inventions or innovations. These people should be publicized in order to encourage them and others. Those who are really impossible, that is, the die-hard capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities who have incurred the intense wrath of the masses and therefore must be overthrown, are very

few in number. Even they should be given a way out. It is not the policy of the proletariat to deny people a way out. The above-mentioned policies should be applied to both new and old intellectuals, whether working in the arts or sciences.

From Editor's Note of
Hongqi, No. 3, 1968

THE establishment of revolutionary committees in twenty-nine provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, the entire country except Taiwan Province, indicates that the whole movement of the great cultural revolution has entered the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nation-wide 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 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 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 **the remoulding of the intellectuals remains a question of major significance throughout the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.** After seizing political power, the proletariat should remould the intellectuals in accordance with its own outlook and build up an army of proletarian intellectuals which serves it. This is essential for consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing 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 corps 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 and colleges in the past so as to win over and unite with the vast numbers of intellectuals. As the great proletarian cultural revolution deepens and reaches the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, people can get an ever clearer appreciation of the great significance of solving this question.

The editor's note pointed out:

Attention should be paid to re-educating the large number 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 and colleges, but also the vast number of intel-

lectuals 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. To 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 way in this re-education is for them to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve 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 determines 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 by 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 who are willing to remould themselves under working-class leadership and integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers have bright prospects under the socialist system. The editor's note pointed out:

There must be some who have done well in integrating themselves and have made inventions or innovations. These people should be publicized in order to encourage them and others.

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 or 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 various units should be good at discovering instances of such initiative by intellectuals, support them in integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and 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, it is necessary, under working-class leadership, to make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation and to run all types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes 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. **"It is not the policy of the proletariat to deny people a way out."** Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. Proletarian policy must indicate the way forward 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. The adoption of such a policy will help more in prompting 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 intense 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 go-**

ing backwards. (*On the Correct Handling
of Contradictions Among the People*)

关于知识分子再教育问题

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