

YOUNG INTELLECTUALS MUST INTEGRATE THEMSELVES WITH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS
(4 May 1967)

[Full text]

Full of revolutionary enthusiasm, the youth of China are celebrating their own militant festival — the "May Fourth" Youth Day — in the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution and amid the triumphant symphony of successive victories won by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Throughout the history of China's youth movement there has been an acute struggle between two lines. The proletarian revolutionary line, represented by Chairman Mao, has kept consistently to the general orientation of integration with the workers and peasants.

The highest generalization of this proletarian revolutionary line is to be found in Chairman Mao's two brilliant, historic articles, "The May Fourth Movement" and "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," published in 1939 in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the "May Fourth" movement.

Chairman Mao stated: "In the Chinese democratic revolutionary movement, it was the intellectuals who were the first to awake," "but the intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and nonrevolutionary or counterrevolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so."

Chairman Mao sharply criticized and repudiated the adverse current in the youth movement represented by Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao, and he indicated a clearcut, forward path for China's revolutionary youth movement. However, the number one party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who clung to the opportunist line, had the effrontery to counter Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Just two months after the publication of Chairman Mao's two brilliant works, he brought out his big poisonous weed, the book on self-cultivation by communists, urging the youth to divorce themselves from the acute national and class struggles of the time and to engage in bourgeois individualist self-cultivation.

After the liberation of the whole country, Chairman Mao once again stressed the integration of intellectuals with the workers and peasants. He said: "Since their task is to serve the masses of workers and peasants, the intellectuals must, first and foremost, know them and be familiar with their life, work, and ideas." He pointed out: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants."

The number one party person in authority taking the capitalist road made intensified efforts to push through his bourgeois reactionary line. In league with a handful of revisionists who had entrenched themselves for a long time in leading positions in our cultural and educational departments, he did everything possible to enforce a whole series of U.S. imperialist and Soviet modern revisionist "theories" and systems of education, in a vain attempt to bring up the younger generation as bourgeois successors, divorced, from proletarian politics.

In the last 17 years, the struggle between the two lines has been particularly vigorous and acute on the question of winning over the younger generation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The galaxy of young revolutionary pathbreakers who have emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution are an entirely new generation that has grown up under a long period of nurturing by the party and Chairman Mao. These young people have inherited and developed the fine tradition of China's revolutionary youth of the period since the "May Fourth" movement. They have resolutely defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They have broken through the network of obstacles and barriers created by the revisionist educational line and the bourgeois reactionary line, which the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road imposed on them, and they are marching ahead in the direction of integrating themselves with the worker and peasant masses.

Many revolutionary students and intellectuals have gone to the factories and villages to join the workers and peasants in physical labor,

in study, and in revolution. In the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, they have not only contributed to the proletarian revolutionary endeavor to bring about a united seizure of power, but have also achieved fruitful results in remolding their own ideology.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up broad new vistas for the large number of young intellectuals on the question of integration with the worker and peasant masses.

We must realize that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the younger generation, the struggle between the two lines in the youth movement, is a hard, long-range class struggle. For the revolutionary young people, integration with the worker and peasant masses is not a matter of expediency, a matter of a day or night, but a revolutionary orientation in which they must persist all their lives. Only by tempering and remolding themselves through long periods of participation in the mass struggle can young intellectuals develop into staunch and reliable proletarian revolutionary successors.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking, and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them."

At present, the existence of such nonproletarian ideas as individualism, the tendency to seek the limelight, the small-group mentality, and anarchism in certain revolutionary mass organizations has its roots in the fact that comrades there have not sufficiently remolded their world outlook. They still need to go through a long and arduous process of mass struggle in order to become really well integrated with the worker and peasant masses.

All young revolutionary intellectuals must always regard the working people as their mother, learn from them, and serve them sincerely and devotedly. We should learn from their firm proletarian class stand and deep proletarian feeling, from the magnificent breadth of vision, that they can finally emancipate themselves only by emancipating the whole of mankind, and we should enthusiastically help those cadres who have made mistakes, and those of the masses who have been deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line, to rise in revolution. We should learn from the plain living, hard struggle, industry, and unpretentiousness of the working people.

We should learn from their revolutionary quality of implacable hatred toward the enemy and kindness to their own comrades. We should learn from their fine proletarian revolutionary spirit, their scientific approach, and their proletarian sense of organization and discipline. We should learn from their revolutionary characteristic of holding fast to truth, correcting mistakes, and boldly making self-criticism.

The great People's Liberation Army is composed of soldiers who come from the ranks of the workers and peasants, sons of the people. It is a people's army without parallel in the world, an army created by Chairman Mao and led by Comrade Lin Biao. The PLA embodies the best qualities of the workers and peasants. The revolutionary young people who are persisting in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line should resolutely support the PLA, learn hard from it, always fight shoulder to shoulder with it, and be at one with it, if they want to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and learn from them.

The masses of revolutionary teachers and students must keep firmly to the revolutionary orientation Chairman Mao has charted for the youth movement, participate in the mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and, step by step, fulfill the tasks of the struggle against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the schools, criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities," and transform the educational system. They should coordinate these tasks effectively. Only so, will we be able to bring the rule of the bourgeois intellectuals in the field of education to an end, once and for all, and transform our schools from the very foundations upward. Only so, will we be able to train millions upon millions of proletarian intellectuals who are integrated with the workers and peasants in accordance with Chairman Mao's educational policy, and turn our educational institutions into great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought like the former "Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College."

Young revolutionaries! Comrades! Let us advance courageously along the road of integration with the workers and peasants charted for the intellectuals by Chairman Mao!