

How a Programme to Revolutionize Education Was Born

Our Staff Reporter

IN the nationwide upsurge to revolutionize education, Shanghai's Tungchi University, with its 7,000 students of architecture and engineering, has transformed itself into the May 7th Commune — composed of a teaching, a designing and a building unit. Inaugurated last October, the commune set itself the purpose of changing the situation in which education was divorced from production. The proposal for the new form was put forward in the spirit of Chairman Mao's important instruction of May 7, 1966.*

A new programme with this aim is now being tried out on a construction site northeast of Shanghai by a group of 150 teachers and students from the university, designers from the East China Industrial Design and Research Institute and workers from the Shanghai Construction Company. They are making an effort to completely destroy the old educational system and establish a new proletarian one in its place. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, which attaches great importance to the experiment, has assigned some of its staff to take part in it.

How the Commune Will Work

The leading body of the May 7th Commune will be a three-in-one combination of revolutionary leading cadres, leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and the militia. Existing departments and teaching groups, or teaching research groups as they are sometimes known, will be abolished and

replaced by a committee for each specialization composed of members from the teaching, designing and building units. Each committee will direct a number of classes, with teachers, students, workers, and engineering and technical personnel organized along military lines.

The commune will operate a rotation system whereby at fixed intervals a part of its teaching staff will be tempered and remoulded through participation in production. It will also set up political work departments at different levels; committees in each specialization will have their own political instructors and each class its political workers.

Courses which previously took five or six years will be shortened to three. Everyone will study Mao Tse-tung's thought and military affairs. Students will have more opportunity for practical experience early in their course; as time goes on theoretical courses needed for their specialization are increased. All students in every class will be required to take part in productive labour. In the first year half the time will be given to practical work in building and engineering. In the second year, two-thirds of the time will go into study of basic designing through practical work under the guidance of technical workers or teachers. The third year will stress specialized courses while the students continue to spend part of their time in productive labour.

The teachers and students believe that these proposals are a practical application of Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7 and have four advantages:

1. Leadership of the university will be firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries and the university will not be dominated, as it was formerly, by bourgeois intellectuals.

2. Chairman Mao's policy of combining education with productive labour will be carried out. This will enrich the content of teaching and study and promote the development of the struggle for production and scientific experimentation.

3. Since content will be linked with actual construction projects, teaching and study can be streamlined and concentrated and so end overlapping in the curriculum, preserving it from being overburdened with superfluous material.

4. They will help the ideological remoulding of intellectuals and to eliminate the differences between town and country, between the worker and the peasant, and between mental and manual labour.

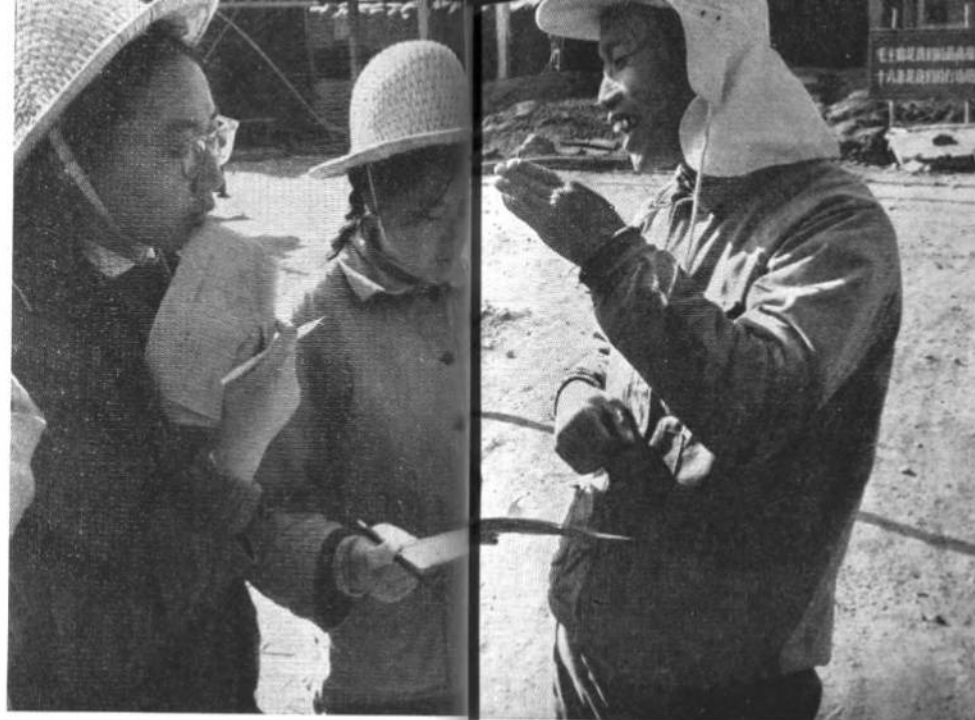
Fruit of Mass Criticism

Last July the students and teachers at Tungchi started classes based on Chairman Mao's latest instruction for revolutionizing education. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that without destruction there is no construction and that in the course of destroying the old, the new is built, they first launched a campaign of revolutionary mass criticism. This was done under the leadership of the university's Revolutionary Committee, which had been set up after the over-

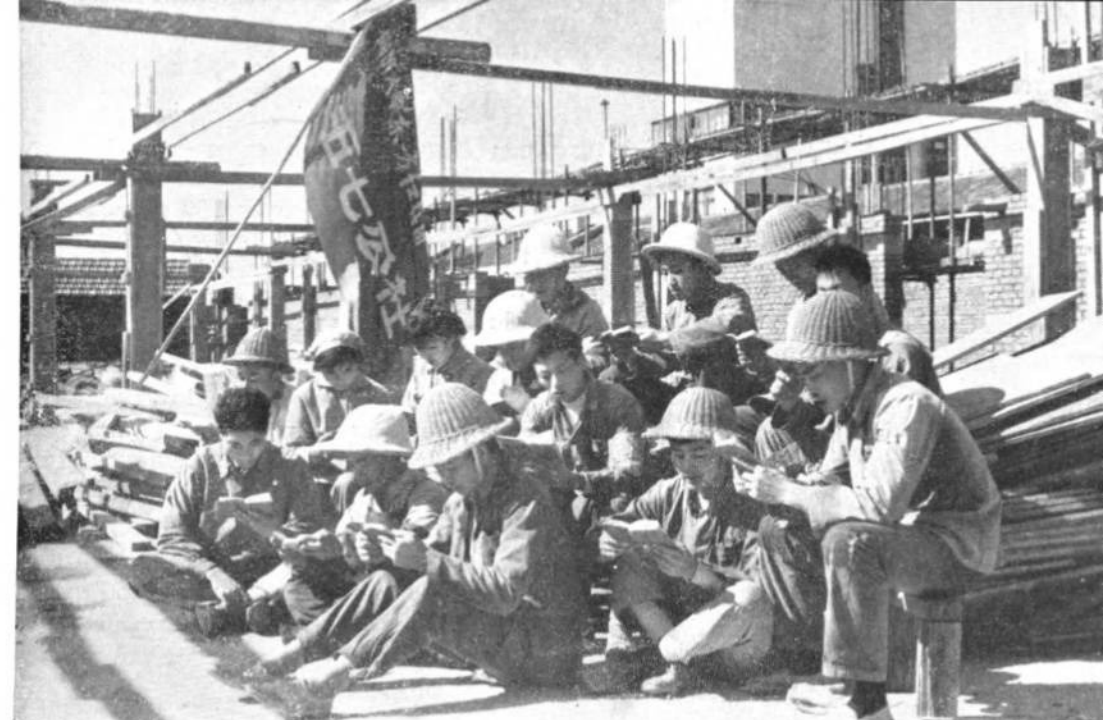
* See the quotation from Chairman Mao on the inside front cover.



Comrade Hsu You-lan, head of an agricultural production team in a south China commune, tells the students how the peasants study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way.



They consult workers on the improvement programme for revolutionizing education.



The revolutionary teachers and students study Chairman Mao's quotations every day.

GOING OUT OF THE CLASSROOM

A worker on a construction site gives a lecture to the students.



On-the-spot teaching on the No. 205 construction site. ▶



throw of the handful of Party capitalist-roaders in power.

Thousands of *dazibao*, put up in all parts of the campus, thoroughly exposed crimes committed as a result of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education. These *dazibao* struck like spears and daggers at China's Khrushchov

and his henchmen, and at the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" in the university. In each department, big and small meetings were held to denounce those bourgeois intellectuals who, when in control, had peddled revisionist ideas to poison and corrupt the young people and to educate

them as successors of the bourgeoisie. Great hatred for the class enemy was thus kindled in the masses, who came to understand more deeply the great significance of Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7. This in turn made them feel keenly the necessity for a thorough revolution in education.

The teachers and students in each department made careful investigations. They raked over the political leadership, teaching system, scientific research and administration as practised under the domination of the bourgeois intellectuals. They pulled apart the slanders against the educational

revolution of 1958 which had been killed by the capitalist-roaders, and examined denials of the achievements and significance of that revolution. A check was made of the records of graduates trained under the old system.

Students also went to factories and construction sites to get opin-

ions from the workers. "The old educational system," the students were told, "trained people to sit on the backs of the workers, to be successors to China's Khrushchov. The new system should train students to be ordinary workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, people who can plan a

building when they pick up a pen and lay bricks when they pick up a trowel."

Inspired by the words of the workers, and based on their own investigations, the students made a number of proposals for revolutionizing education.

One group of teachers and students went more deeply into the experience and lessons of the 1958 educational revolution. In 1958, they recalled, the revolutionary teachers and students in Shanghai, with the idea of doing away with the separation of theory and practice, had set up an experimental designing institute combining book learning with actual designing practice, integrating themselves with workers and peasants and combining their studies with productive labour. But this institute was closed by the handful of Party capitalist-roaders on the excuse that both teaching and learning would suffer. The result of these findings was the bold proposal to set up the May 7th Commune.

Embodiment of Mass Wisdom

Chairman Mao says, "Conclusions invariably come after investigation, and not before." Last August and September, an investi-

gation team of over 100 people visited seven construction companies and over 100 organizations in Shanghai. On worksites and in designing departments they discussed their tentative programme and listened with an open mind to the opinions of the workers, technicians and engineers. While making the investigation, they joined the workers in studying Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7 and criticizing and repudiating the revisionist line in education. By adopting the many good suggestions made, they were able to enrich and improve their own proposals.

The programme was then widely discussed under the leadership of the university's Revolutionary Committee. On the campus, in classrooms and dormitories, the revolutionary teachers and students gathered in twos and threes to examine it. Many expressed their views through *dazibao*. Whenever problems or disagreements came up they studied Chairman Mao's works and his instructions on revolutionizing education, or went out to investigate further. Several university-wide discussions were also held. After such repeated study and discussion the May 7th Commune programme

for revolutionizing education finally took shape.

Victory for Chairman Mao's Thought

The programme was born in the struggle between Chairman Mao's thinking on education and various mistaken ideas. As soon as the first tentative proposal was made, the broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students gave it their active support. But the bourgeois overlords tried to oppose it in every way. Some remarked sarcastically that the revolutionary teachers and students were "utopian communists", while others asserted that the general principle was wrong. Still others attacked the revolutionaries for "taking the reformist road". They attempted to strangle in its cradle this new-born "baby" full of vigour and vitality.

The revolutionary teachers and students, studying our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching on classes and class struggle, realized that in making revolution one inevitably meets with obstructions. They repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's instructions, "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end", and his brilliant writings such as *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* and *Carry the Revolution Through to the End*.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." The revolutionary teachers and students of Tungchi University know that the May 7th Commune programme for a revolution in education must stand the test of practice. They are ready to modify and improve it through the practical experience they are gaining on the construction site.

Proposals for revolutionizing education are discussed in *dazibao* posted throughout the campus.



"Down with the Handful of Top Party Persons in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road!" (Poster)

Down With the Chief Backer of the Revisionist Line in Education

FIERCE, sharp struggles between the two classes and between the capitalist and socialist roads continued to exist for 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, not only in politics and economy but also in education. Chairman Mao formulated for the proletariat a revolutionary socialist line in education. But China's Khrushchov, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, used the power he had usurped in the Communist Party and the government and stubbornly pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in this field. These were two diametrically opposed lines. The revolutionary socialist line aims to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and train successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line aimed at restoring capi-

talism and perpetuating the landlord and bourgeois classes.

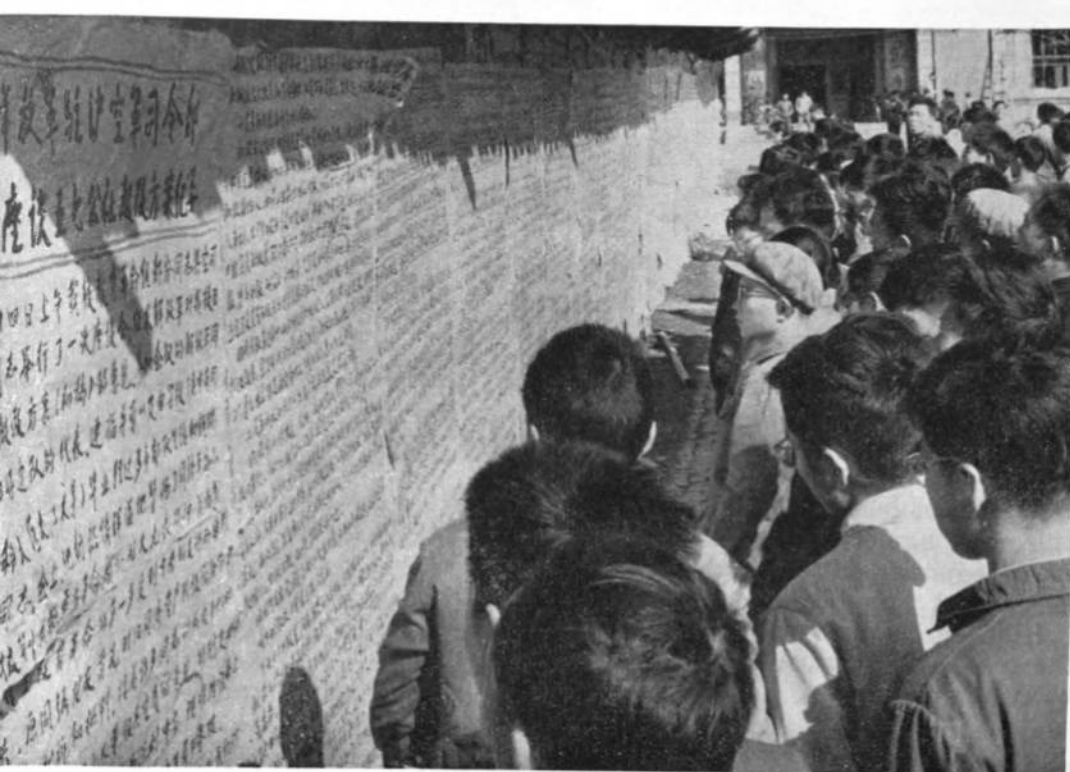
The top Party capitalist-roader was the chief person behind the revisionist line in education. He needed education to serve his scheme to usurp Party, military and government leadership. Therefore, he placed a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in key positions in the educational field and for 17 years resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian line in every possible way. The time has come to thoroughly uproot this counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education and overthrow its chief backer.

Protector of the Old Educational System

In 1949 China stood up like a giant in the East. What road should the new China take? Our great leader Chairman Mao had

clearly said that the Chinese revolution "is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie" but can only be "the establishment of a socialist society in China". But the top capitalist-roader set out to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish capitalism in China. This sharp struggle over which road to take—the socialist or the capitalist road—existed also in the educational field.

In the early days of the People's Republic, two entirely different types of education existed side by side. One was a new kind of education which had been developed in the old liberated areas under the guidance and leadership of Chairman Mao. It was a completely new and revolutionary education of the proletariat such as had



been practised in the National Institute of the Peasant Movement during the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), in Yen-an's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College under Comrade Lin Piao during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), and in the many schools in the liberated areas run according to the revolutionary traditions of these institutions. These schools produced

great numbers of revolutionary cadres.

As early as 1934, Chairman Mao had formulated the policy for proletarian education: **"To educate the broad toiling masses with a communist spirit, to make culture and education serve revolutionary war and class struggle, to link education with labour, to enable the broad masses of the Chinese people to enjoy civilization and happiness."**

The core of this policy is that education must serve the proletariat in the seizure of nationwide power.

The other type was the old education taken over from the time of the Kuomintang, when it had served to preserve the reactionary rule and system of exploitation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Institutions of the old-type education far outnumbered those of the new. In higher education, for example, only 15 per cent of the institutions were of the new type. All the rest were of the old type.

The sharp question on the educational front was whether to use the proletariat's new revolutionary education to transform the old-type education or to preserve the old-type education intact, which in reality would mean to allow it to subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism.

According to Chairman Mao, the new education of the old liberated areas was to be the foundation for reforming the old-type education in a step-by-step and careful way. He pointed out clearly, **"It is wrong to delay or be unwilling to make the reform on this question; it is also wrong to be too hasty or try to reform by harsh methods."** In response to Chairman Mao's call, more schools were set up and some reforms were carried out in the old schools.

But the top capitalist-roader openly resisted Chairman Mao's instructions. He did all he could to detract from the new education and sang the praises of the schools run by the imperialists in old China as part of their cultural aggression. Colleges "run according to the experience of the western European countries, Britain, the United States, France and Japan," he said, "have achieved a great deal in raising the Chinese people's level in culture, science and knowledge." He shamelessly announced, "Foreigners, capitalists or anyone with money, as long as they are willing to spend money in setting up and running schools,

A meeting of revolutionary teachers, students and workers at Tungchi University in Shanghai denounces the towering crimes of the reactionary bourgeois authorities in their school.

are welcome to do so. . . . Running schools is a meritorious deed." What an ugly slave to capitalism this self-styled "red com-prador" is! In fact, he even advocated learning from feudalism. Later, going all out to push revisionist wares, he instructed the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Ministry of Education to make "wholesale transformation in the manner of the Soviet Union" the "unshakable policy" for the reform of education.

Ideas and practices of feudal, capitalist and revisionist education, including the length of schooling, curricula, teaching materials and methods, and methods of examination, were given free rein.

Chairman Mao has said: **"Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."** China's Khrushchov insolently opposed this and brazenly instilled in the students the philistine philosophy of "social climbing". "As long as you do well in one specialization," he told them, "you will win fame and prestige, then you will have everything." The capitalist-roaders in the Ministry of Education followed his instructions and drafted a series of regulations aimed at corrupting the students with the idea of personal fame and fortune. It was his cold-blooded attempt to bring up the younger generation as the bourgeois successors that he needed.

Because in this struggle between the two roads for education China's Khrushchov protected the old system of education, schools which had been run like those of the old liberated areas gradually departed from the revolutionary tradition, and feudal, capitalist and revisionist stuff flooded in.

Commander of Counterattack

In 1958 profound changes took place on the political and economic fronts led by the Three Red Banners (the General Line for Socialist Construction, the People's Communes and the Big Leap Forward) put forth by Chairman Mao. There was a vigorous development of the communist spirit throughout the

country. In the same year, Chairman Mao advanced the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labour. This brought about a fierce and irresistible revolution in education.

It was the first daring attempt in history of workers, peasants and soldiers to occupy the educational field. They themselves set up many types of schools. For the first time, the bourgeois intellectuals' monopoly on education was broken and the arrogance of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" was swept to the ground. This revolution was itself a great mass criticism of the old educational system. An unprecedented and fairly comprehensive reform took place concerning the length of schooling, courses of study, teaching materials and methods, and examination systems. Schools set up and operated small factories and farms. Teachers and students left the classroom to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and to learn in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation.

China's top capitalist-roader hated this revolution bitterly. He fanned ill winds, poured cold water on it, heaped all kinds of blame on it and even attacked the guiding principles of this great revolution, Chairman Mao's educational policy.

From 1960 to 1962 class enemies at home and abroad unleashed an anti-China, anti-communist campaign, and China's Khrushchov used this opportunity to attack the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the field of education, he and Lu Ting-yi and his like pushed even harder to foster schooling which would serve their ends of capitalist restoration. They went to great pains to "sum up" the experience of the "famous" schools run by the northern warlords and the Kuomintang in the 1920s and 1930s. Copying the educational methods of the U.S. and British imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, they melted the rubbish of feudal, capitalist and revisionist

education all into one pot, put a Marxist-Leninist label on it and presented it as the general summing up of the theories of new China's education in the previous dozen years. They worked out a complete set of counter-revolutionary revisionist measures concerning the length of schooling, the curricula and teaching materials and even made detailed rules and regulations.

China's Khrushchov called these programmes the "basic laws" of education and ordered that they be followed unconditionally in all primary, secondary and higher institutions. Thus, the old bourgeois educational system as practised before 1958 was crystallized into theory, made into a system, developed into concrete measures and put into effect as law.

These programmes negated the achievements of the 1958 revolution in education by putting "education of the intellect in the first place" and "technical knowledge above everything else". They opposed putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of all activities in the schools, denied the revolutionization of man's ideology, and made no mention whatsoever of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology and cultivate proletarian ideology.

China's Khrushchov and his lackeys conspired to develop education along the lines of the preposterous "small pagoda", or pyramid, idea under which increasingly fewer numbers of young people are allowed to get to the top. This was simply a copy of the capitalist way of running schools and its aim was to rear aristocrats of the mind who could be used in the restoration of capitalism.

The many different types of schools set up by workers and peasants during the 1958 revolution in education naturally did not meet the needs of China's Khrushchov and were drastically cut or simply disbanded. Once again a great many children of workers and peasants were pushed out of the "forbidden ground" of education.

According to the educational laws decreed by China's Khrushchov, the Communist Party was



An exhibition put up by revolutionary teachers and students at the Peking Institute of Posts and Telecommunications to expose, criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education pushed by China's Khrushchov.



only allowed to "supervise and guarantee" in the schools. "The [Party] branch," he said, "must be removed by all means from the position of leadership." Power was turned over to the bourgeois intellectuals. He even went further to say that they were no longer "bourgeois intellectuals" but had become "working intellectuals serving socialism".

Instantly the social status of the bourgeois intellectuals soared. Reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and counter-revolutionary revisionists entrenched themselves once again in important leading positions in education, ruthlessly exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and turned the schools into outposts for capitalist restoration. If this situation had been allowed to continue, then, as Chairman Mao said, "it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour".

Grand Master of Fake Communist Education

In 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao issued the great call: "Never forget the class struggle." The proletariat began its counterattack in the ideological sphere.

In the 1950s and 1960s class struggle in China and the world had intensified. In the international communist movement many proletarian parties and socialist countries degenerated and slid down the road of revisionism. In particular, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded personally by Lenin, became revisionist and put the world's first socialist country under bourgeois dictatorship. This sounded the alarm to revolutionary people the world over. In China also, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had mainly been completed,

an undercurrent for capitalist restoration appeared in the Party. How to keep China from changing colour? How to keep the Chinese Communist Party from turning revisionist? This was the most important problem posed by the world's proletariat and revolutionary people.

The great Chinese Communist Party, led by our leader of genius Chairman Mao and armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, fully answered and solved this problem. Chairman Mao elucidated in a comprehensive, systematic and scientific way the theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society. His theory, line, policies and principles for carrying out revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat have advanced Marxism-Leninism to an entirely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The fight over who shall win the younger generation is an extremely vital question that affects the entire destiny of our Party and state. Chairman Mao points out that millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat must be trained through the great storms of class struggle. Soon after the Spring Festival of 1964, Chairman Mao personally took command of the battle between the two lines on the educational front and issued many instructions for educational work.

The situation now became unfavourable for China's top capitalist-roader. As Chairman Mao teaches us, "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces." He also noted that "the representatives of the exploiting classes, when finding themselves at a disadvantage, usually resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defence, to ensure their survival today and facilitate their growth tomorrow". Long hidden behind the scenes, in desperation China's Khrushchov now came out into the open. Less than three months after Chairman Mao's 1964 Spring Festival instructions, he emerged with his

brand of education masked under the communist label. He called for "two types of educational system". "One is the full-time system now being practised." "These full-time schools cannot be cut down" but will have to exist "for another hundred, two hundred or three hundred years". The other type, to be "vigorously developed", was the "part-work part-study type of school".

Why should China's Khrushchov advocate two types of schools? His answer: "Those who cannot afford to go to a full-time school will have to go to a part-time school. There are just so many full-time schools. If they want to study, then they will have to go to a part-time school." In more honest words, the full-time schools were to train a small number of aristocrats of the mind, while the part-time schools were to cope with the demands of children from worker and former poor and lower-middle peasant families "who could not afford" to go to full-time schools, training them to become "ordinary workers and peasants" to be ordered about.

In direct contradiction to Chairman Mao's instructions that education should serve proletarian politics and bring about the revolutionization of man's ideology, China's Khrushchov's conception of part-work part-study schools was merely to cut the study time by half and fill the other half with work. In the study time, students, like those in full-time schools, were to memorize dead textbooks which ran counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought and were divorced from the three great revolutionary movements. The work time was merely to make the student an additional member of the labour force. Such a system in reality was no more than a continuation of the old type of education and little different from the vocational schools of the bourgeoisie. The top capitalist-roader's "two types of educational system" were simply a version of the capitalist countries' two-track system of "talent education" and "labourer's education". What a farce to try to put it over as "communist" education, as a "development of Marxism-

Leninism", as "having great international significance"!

His "two types of educational system" would channel only the rich into the full-time schools to be trained as specialists, and it would force the worker and poor and lower-middle peasant children into the work-study schools to be trained as "ordinary workers and peasants". Such a system was meant to increase rather than reduce the differences between mental and physical labour, between town and country, between workers and peasants, and would only intensify the differentiation of classes.

The system of China's Khrushchov, of course, did not arm the students with Mao Tse-tung's thought and enable them to consciously revolutionize their ideology. It only demanded that the student "be able to do both physical and mental labour". Such a student would not become the "new man of overall development" needed by the proletariat, but only a young revisionist who would use his technical knowledge as a ladder to climb in society.

His system did not mention the struggle of the two classes and the two roads, or the necessity of strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It spread only such nonsense as "part-work part-study is itself class struggle" and led people to study divorced from class struggle. Such education can only open the road to capitalist restoration.

China's Khrushchov pushed his system not to eliminate but to increase the three great differences mentioned above, not to train communist "new men of overall development" but to train successors to the bourgeoisie, not to "prevent capitalist restoration" but to restore capitalism.

Such a system is the concrete expression in the educational field of China's Khrushchov's political line of the negation of class struggle, the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the impossible road of peaceful evolution into communism.

China's Khrushchov is, in every sense of the word, the grand



Revolutionary teachers and students from Liuhang Middle School in Shanghai, out on labour on a commune, criticize and repudiate the revisionist line in education with former poor and lower-middle peasants during a work break.



Young revolutionaries at the Teachers' Training School in Mutanchiang, Heilungkiang province, write a dazibao against the revisionist line in education.

master of false communist education.

Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7 on a programme for education (see inside front cover) pronounced the death sentence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education and the old educational system carried out for 17 years by China's Khrushchov.

The roaring torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution is

scouring away all the filth and scum left over from the old society. The proletariat has recaptured the positions in education controlled by China's Khrushchov, just as it has taken back all the other positions he controlled. He and his revisionist wares have been exposed — a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.