

## This is the Greatest Unjust Case 这是最大的冤案

In the more than two years since the "Gang of Four" was defeated, the people of the whole country have responded to the call by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Hua [Guofeng] to "govern the country by grasping key principles and achieve initial results within three years." Through practical actions, they have saved the national economy, which was on the verge of collapse. The 11th Party Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress put forward the general task of building a powerful socialist country with the "Four Modernizations." The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee decided to shift the work center of the whole party and the whole country to the track of modernization. To realize this transfer smoothly and to speed up the construction of the "Four Modernizations," a stable and united political situation is necessary, and the people of the whole country also eagerly hope to have a stable and united political situation. When this situation is realized, the people's democratic rights will be fully guaranteed, and the people will be able to bring up their opinions and speak their minds as well as feel comfortable, be lively, and have a strong fighting spirit. This situation is currently taking shape. The people of the whole country will not accept anyone who undermines this situation, and neither will the Educated Youth!

The communique of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out: "Only by resolutely rehabilitating criminal cases, correcting misjudged cases, and making clear statements about unjust cases can we consolidate the unity of the party and the people and maintain the lofty prestige of the party and of Comrade Mao Zedong." To achieve genuine stability and unity and to convince the people of the whole country to willingly fight with one heart and one mind, we must follow the Party's principle of seeking truth from facts, follow the communique of the Third Plenary Session of the

打到“四人帮”两年多来，全国人民响应党中央，华主席“抓纲治国，三年初见成效”的号召，用实际行动，挽救了濒临崩溃的国民经济。党的“十一大”和“五届人大”提出了建设四个现代 x 的社会主义强国的新时期的总任务。党的“十一届三中全会”决定把全党、全国的工作中心转到现代化建设的轨道上来。要顺利的实现这个转移，要加快建设“四化”就必须要有有一个安定团结的政治局面，全国人民也迫切希望有一个安定团结的政治局面。实现这个局面，人民群众的民主权利得到充分地保障，有意见能提，有话能讲，心情舒畅，生动活泼，斗志昂扬。目前这个局面正在形成，谁破坏这个局面，全国人民不答应，我们知识青年也不会答应！

10th Party Central Committee, resolutely set things right, and boldly rectify the situation.

What is an unjust case? We maintain that the issue of the Educated Youth on the farm is a major unjust case. There may be some things that are misunderstood, so let us look back on history and study the facts. There are three injustices:

The first injustice:

We were forcibly deprived of the right to education by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four." Due to the Cultural Revolution, our elementary school [education] only lasted five years. The standard length of middle school is three years, but we only went for two years. And in those two pitiful years, "learning as the focus" was upturned to become "learning as the supplement," with "learn from the workers," "learn from the farmers," "learn from the the military," "accelerated harvesting," "optimized rice harvesting," and "campaigns" taking up nearly half of the time. In a year, we never really got the chance to study peacefully. It was pitiful; "middle school students" such as this were rare in the world. After two years of this, we graduated. "Graduated," and then what awaited us? Either "Gan, Ah, Liang" [three ethnic minority autonomous prefectures—Ganzi, Aba, and Liangshan—in Yunnan Province] or the "production and construction corps"; we had one of two choices! On December 21 [year missing], a special commentator's article in People's Daily titled "Long Live the People" pointed out that "...teenagers who are studying are being forcibly deprived of learning opportunities..." Who didn't know? We were those teenagers. Let us ask: Was it an injustice to be "forcibly deprived" of learning opportunities and to "graduate" in this way?

The second injustice:

We were deceived by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four." As we all know, in the early 1970s, Lin Biao set up 11 provincial-level "production and construction corps" and proposed two "vigorous developments," luring naive young people under the banner of the "liberation army." Who knows if

党的十一届三中全会公报指出：“只有坚决的平反作案，纠正错案，昭宣冤案，才能巩固党和人民的团结，维护党和毛泽东同志的崇高威信。”要达到真正的安定团结，要使全国人民真正心悦诚服，同心同德的去奋斗，就必须按照党的事实求是的原则，按照十届三中全会的公板，坚决地拨乱反正，大胆地正本情况。

什么是冤案？我们认为：农场知识青年问题，就是一大冤案。也可能有的不能理解，那就让我们回顾历史，看看事实。请看，其冤有三：

一冤：

我们是被林彪“四人帮”强行剥夺了受教育的权力，由于文化大革命的 x 音，我们的小学仅读了五年。中学，正规学令是三年，但我们只有两年。而就在这可怜的两年中，“以学为主”也被颠倒成了“以学为辅”“学工”“学农”“学军”“学枪”“双枪”“运动”，又几乎占去了一半。就是这仅有的一年时间，也没有得到真正安宁的学习。可怜，少见，世界上竟有这样的“中学生”，就是

he was acting for the sake of vigorous development or to usurp the party leadership? On the one hand, we were forced to "graduate"; on the other hand, those petty crooks were allowed to recruit soldiers. At that time, one factor was that we were young and ignorant, another was that our families had difficulties, and the third was that we had no other path we could take. We didn't have the "wonderland" of "pineapples at their feet and bananas over their heads." We were deceived by ideals, compelled by national difficulties, and forced by fate. Regardless of family difficulties or what illnesses we had, and without going through a "physical examination," we were cajoled and rushed, and then all of us were "cleared out" and taken to Yunnan. I would like to ask: Is this kind of cajoling, rushing, and "clearing out" an injustice?

The third injustice:

The local bureaucrats regard us as "a bunch of hoodlums," and society treats us coldly. To this day, some people even see us as "a superfluous generation" and "obsolete waste." We know that interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" caused us to suffer greatly and brought about "Educated Youths going to the countryside to receive reeducation from the poor and lower-middle peasants..." The historical outcome was that, to lighten the country's burden, we responded to the historical call to "accept reeducation" and made the greatest personal sacrifice—losing the right to education and offering up eight or nine years of our youth, the most precious time of life. We have gritted our teeth and withstood heavy physical labor that should be unbearable for teenagers. We have survived the challenging life of the "25,000 miles" [like that of the Long March]. We fully expected that the historical "outcome" of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" would be collapse. The history of an era will also disappear, and our problems shall also be resolved. When we heard the news that the National Conference on Educated Youth had convened, we, who had been imprisoned and suffocated by an empty, boring life for eight years, were almost ecstatic... We never expected that the "representatives" of the farm, whose names we had never even heard and who rely on

这样过了两年，于是，我们就毕业了。“毕业”了，等待我们的又是什么呢？要么“甘啊、凉”要么“建设兵团”，两条路任你选！x 人民日报一十二月二十一日特约 x 论员文章，“人民万岁”指出“……正在求学的青少年，则被强行剥夺了学习机会……”谁人不知？我们就是这批青少年。试问：这样被“强行剥夺”学习机会，这样“毕业”冤不冤？

二冤：

我们受了林彪“四人帮”的骗。众所周知，七十年代初，林彪搞了十一个省级的“建设兵团”，还提了两个什么“大力发展”，打着“解放军”的旗号，引诱天真的青少年。谁知道，他是为了大力发展还是为了篡党夺取。一方面，强迫我们“毕业”，另一方面，就让那些小骗子来招兵。当时，一是我们年幼无知，二是因家里有困难，三是我们无其他路可走，我们并没有眼 x 谁“脚踩菠萝，头顶香蕉”的“仙境”。我们是被理想所骗，被国家困难所迫，被命运所逼。不问家庭困难，不管本人有什么病

the issuance of "money for Educated Youth" to keep their official positions, would still be playing those "Gang of Four" tricks of lying, talking big, deceiving, "reporting good news but not bad news," concealing the truth, raping public opinion, and making false and exaggerated reports to the Party Central Committee about the situation of the Educated Youth on the farm. They spoke about us with shameful and disgusting words, like the aforementioned members of society who think that we are a "superfluous generation" and "obsolete waste." As a result, the issue of the Educated Youth on our farm was "finalized." The great hatred of the times seems to have dragged me into the abyss of the Pacific Ocean... May I ask, is this type of treatment just or unjust?

Listen, the people's response is: Unjust! Unjust! Unjust!

Deciding the fate of millions of people in this unreasonable manner is the greatest injustice!

However, we "red flag" Educated Youth will not endure the oppression of local bureaucracy forever, and we will never be at the mercy of an unfair fate. That's it. This is precisely the reason we issued a call for rehabilitation: Strike! Petition! Hunger strike! However, under these circumstances, the local bureaucrats are still playing their deceitful tricks. On the one hand, they invent facts and slander [us as] "a small group of people making trouble" to deceive the central authorities. (How dimwitted is this group of bureaucrats who don't read books or newspapers?!) On the other hand, they exert pressure, pretend to be the "central investigation team," and even set vicious traps to try to lure young people into taking the bait, to find reasons to suppress the masses and make a bloodbath of the farm... All of this, all of this, how could anyone tolerate it?! In everything these bureaucratic overlords do, is there even a whiff of true communists, servants of the people? The Educated Youth who have been baptized in the battles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are enlightened. Years of experience in being cheated guided them to rationally avoid this bloody tragedy. Facts have fully

x · 更没有经过什么“体检”连赶带骗，“一锅端”到了云南。试问：这种连赶带骗“一锅端”冤不冤？

三冤：

地方官僚主义者视我们为“群 x”，社会上给我们以冷眼，至今，甚至还有人把我们看做“多余的一代”“过时的废物”。我们知道，由于林彪“四人帮”的干扰，破坏，使我们深受其害，也就产生了“知识青年到农村去，接受贫下中农的再教育……”。这个历史产物，为了给国家减轻负担，我们响应了“接受再教育”这个历史号召，做出了最大的个人牺牲——丢掉了受教育的权力，献出了人生中最宝贵的八、九年的青春年华。青少年难以忍受的繁重体力劳动，我们咬着牙挺过来了。想“二万五”的艰苦生活我们熬过来了。我们满指望林彪“四人帮”这个历史“产物”垮台了。一定历史时期的历史，也要随着历史而消失了，我们的问题也应该得到解决了。当听到“全国知青工作会议”召开的消息，被空虚、无聊生活禁锢、窒息了八年之久的我们，眉开

demonstrated that the Educated Youth on the farms are useful and promising.

The people feel that, if this unjust case is not rehabilitated, stability and unity will suffer. Why do we say this? There are three reasons:

The first is emotional instability. The problem of Educated Youth involves thousands of households. The reason is very simple. The cases of the Educated Youth who were sent to rural areas as farmers have been properly resolved. We don't need to wait and see. Educated Youth on the farms number over a million. Millions of them are constantly worried about their children, parents, brothers, and sisters. If this problem is not resolved, then how can their hearts be "stable"?

The second is economic instability. Those of us Educated Youths on farms are living in remote places far away [from our hometowns]. Frequently traveling back and forth to visit our families causes transportation congestion and creates great expenses for the state: In some places, there are suddenly thousands more people, and the localities cannot afford it, resulting in difficulties. The state needs to run shipments; families want to send parcels by mail; individuals must carry things. As a result, goods cannot circulate in an orderly manner. This makes it difficult for the state to control; the expenditure is too great, and the market is chaotic. How can the economy be "stable"?

The third is instability on the farm. Although we young people were deprived of learning opportunities by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," the five years of school life we experienced before the Cultural Revolution automatically sowed the seeds of ambition and aspiration in our hearts. Through tenacious self-study, many people have passed the university entrance exam. We yearn for the "Four Modernizations," yearn for a brilliant tomorrow, and hope to contribute to the "Four Modernizations," and we are absolutely unwilling to use hoes to work the earth for the rest of our lives! Eight or nine years

眼笑，差点欣喜若狂……没想到，那些我们连名字也没听说过的农场“代表”，那些靠发“知青财”保住官位的“代表”，还在玩弄“四人帮”那套说假话、说大话、欺上瞒下、“报喜不报忧”的骗子手段，隐瞒真情，强奸民意，虚假浮夸的向党中央汇报农场知青的情况，如上社会上那些认为我们是“多余的一代”是“过时的废物”的xxx活。于是乎，我们农场知青问题，就被“定了案”。时代的大恨，好像就把我淘进了太平洋的深渊……试问，这样对待冤不冤？

听吧，人民的回答是：冤！冤！！  
冤！！

of empty life, the stupidity of local bureaucrats, and the atmosphere of bureaucracy have already caused us to lose confidence in the farm. No one can rebuild this confidence, and besides, it is in their nature to retaliate. After this fierce struggle, they will take revenge, and nobody can change this. If this continues, the struggle between retaliation and counter-retaliation is inevitable. How can the farm be "stable"?

We believe that the "complete clearing out" of the Educated Youth on the farm is the product of a certain historical class. Since the historical period that produced it has passed, it should be restored to its original state. Educated Youths who were resettled on farms under the current historical conditions should not be compared to us. Facts have fully proved that we are by no means obsolete waste, our youth is not over, and we can still become a strike force for the "Four Modernizations." Those who think that we are "obsolete waste" are raping public opinion, mocking the people, and being obstinate, and they will be punished by history. If the "bureaucratic" working style of the "step-by-step solution" method is followed, by the time it gradually gets to us, our hair and our beards will probably be gray.

Our "case" is the greatest unjust case. It is reasonable for us to demand the same treatment as the Educated Youth sent down as rural farmers. We are by no means making trouble for no reason. Right now, the "Four Modernizations" are taking majestic strides. We do not believe that this majestic contingent for the new Long March cannot accommodate only a few hundred thousand people! If this unjust case is not rehabilitated, genuine stability and unity cannot be achieved, and achievement of genuine stability and unity will be mostly empty talk.

We believe in Chairman Hua [Guofeng] and the Party Central Committee, and we hope that, for the sake of genuine stability and unity and to accelerate the pace of the "Four Modernizations," the investigation team will carefully consider the legitimate wishes and reasonable demands that affect the lives of hundreds of thousands of

这样不合理地决定百万人的命运，是最大的冤案！

但是，我们这些“扛旗杆”的知识青年，绝不会永远忍受地方官僚主义的压迫，绝不会听任不平的命运摆布。就是这样。也正因为这样，我们就发出了要求昭雪的呐喊：罢工了！请愿了！绝食了！……但就在这种情况下，那些地方官僚还仍旧在玩弄骗子手腕，一方面捏造事实，诬蔑是“一小撮人闹事”（这批不读书，不看板的官僚。昏庸到何种程度？！）欺骗中央。另一方面，施加压力，冒充“中央调查组”，甚至设下恶毒的圈套，企图引诱青年们上钩，好找到镇压群众，血洗农场的理由……这一切，这一切，岂能令人容忍！！这帮官僚老爷们的所作所为，哪里还有一点共产党人——人民公仆的气味？但是，经过无产阶级文化大革命战斗洗礼的知识青年，是有觉悟的。多年受贿的经验，引导了他们理智的避免了这次血的惨案。事实充分说明：农场知青是有用的，是有希望的。

people and involve the emotions of millions of people.

-- 13th Team, Third Branch Farm

人心所向，这个冤案不昭雪，安定团结就有后患。为什么这样说呢，其理也有三：

一是人心不能安定。知青问题涉及千家万户，道理很简单，插队知青已得到妥善解决，且不待言，农场知青本身只有一百多万，这个人心是不能安定的，我们的父母、兄妹、就是几百万，上千万，对他们的儿女、父母、兄妹时时担忧不安。这个问题不解决好，他们的心岂能“安定”？

二是经济不安定。我们这些农场知青，地处偏远，路途遥远，经常往返，探亲造成运输拥塞，国家开支甚大：有的地方突然增加成千上百万人，地方负担不起，致使产生困难，国家要运送，家庭要邮寄本人要带，造成物不能有序地流通等等。这样，国家难以控制，过大，混乱，经济岂能“安定”？

三是农场不安定。我们这批青年，虽然被林彪“四人帮”剥夺了学习机会，但是，文化大革命前五年的学校生活，自动就在我们心中播下了志向、抱负的种子。很多人经过顽强的自学，考上了大学。我们向往四个现代化，向往光辉灿烂的明天，希望为“四化”做贡献，决不甘愿一辈子用锄头修地球！八、九年的空虚生活，地方官僚的昏庸和官僚主义的x气，早已使我们农场丧失了信心。这个信心，谁也没有办法再树立起来，况且，打击报复是他们的本性。经过这次剧烈的斗争，他们一定会报复，这是任何人都改变不了的。这样下去，报复与反报复的斗争势不可完。这样，农场岂能“安定”？

我们认为，农场知青的“连锅端”是一定历史阶级的产物。产生它的历史既已过去，就应该还他本来面目，在现在的历史条件下来安置农场知青，不应该和我们相提并论。事实已经充分证明，我们决不是过时的废物，我们的青春并没有完结，我们还可以成为“四化”的突击力量。那些认为我们是“过时的废物”的论调，是强奸民意，嘲弄人民，顽固不化，必定要遭到历

史的惩。“逐步解决”的办法，照这种“官僚们”作 x 下去，逐步到我们头上之日，大概头发胡子都白了。

我们的“案子”是最大的冤案。我们要求与插队知青享受同等待遇是合理的。我们决不是无理取闹。当前，“四化”正在迈开它雄伟的步伐，我们决不相信，这雄伟的新的长征队伍，竟容纳不下我们这区区几十万人！？这个冤案不昭雪，都达不到真正的安定团结，实现安定团结在很大程度上就是一句空话。

我们相信华主席，相信党中央，我们寄希望于调查组，为了真正的安定团结，为了加速“四化”的步伐，慎重考虑这关系几十万人性命，涉及这几百万人人心的正当愿望，合理的要求。

三分场十三队

## Let the Mind Break Free From the Cage and Take a Step With the Courage of Conviction 让思想冲破牢笼，走理直气壮的一步

The rousing article "To Be a Citizen" was published in the Worker's Daily on 25 February 1979. Listen, this is liberating; it breaks through decades of ideological cages with incisive lines that smash the shackles of the spirit. It is like the sounds of "The Internationale," wheeling in our hearts with great impact! Tens of millions of young people, tens of millions of waves, all rush into the sea of history. We are the descendants of the excellent Chinese nation; we are young people who grew up in New China; and I am still proud of this lofty sense of history. As early as the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, Mr. Sun Yat-sen put forward the ideas of the people's livelihood, civil rights, and democracy—the Three Principles of the People—which sprouted in the hearts of the Chinese people 70 years ago. However, China's semifeudal and semicolonial society imprisoned the people's thoughts. For thousands of years, the servility and inertia of the Chinese gradually extinguished the spark of democracy. In this way, year after year, day after day, people's hearts cooled down and their minds became numb. After Liberation, these numb hearts began to warm up. The socialist Constitution and democratic guarantees made us happy. Hundreds of millions of people spoke from their hearts with a common voice: "Spring is here." At this critical time when things were in bud, however, the cold wave of autocracy of the "Gang of Four" disrupted the warm message of spring and destroyed the newly blossoming buds of democracy. Now, the springtime momentum of the "April 5th" movement will gradually dispel the cold wave of autocracy of the "Gang of Four," and 800 million people will surely wake up. Fight for democracy, fight for human rights, follow in Mr. [Sun] Yat-sen's footsteps, and fight for freedom. Struggle hard to enable our minds to achieve a second surge of momentum! Work hard! Our generation will become a great generation for ourselves, for the next generation, and to fight for civil rights. Be a real citizen of New China and enjoy real civil rights!

“去作一个公民”这篇激动人心的文章，于一九七九年二月二十五日在《工人日报》上刊登了。听听吧，这解放了的，冲破几十年思想 x 笼的，砸碎精神桎梏的犀利的 x 句吧。它犹（由）如《国际歌》的音浪，在我们心中回旋冲击！亿万青年啊，亿万朵浪花，极速的汇入奔腾向前的历史海洋，我们是优秀的中华民族的子孙，我们是生长在新中国的青年，崇高的历史感使我仍感到骄傲，早在辛亥革命时代，孙中山先生就提出民生，民权，民主，三民主义的思想 x 十年前就在中国人民心中萌芽，然而，中国的半封建，半殖民的社会，禁锢了人民的思想，几千年来，中国人所贯有的奴性和惰性又渐渐的熄灭了民主的火星，就这样，年复一年，日复一日，人们的心冷却了，思想麻痹了，解放后人们冷却麻痹的心开始有了几丝暖意，社会主义的宪法和民主的保障条例使我们感到幸福，几亿人从心里发出了一个共同的心声“春天来了”就在这个含苞欲放的关键时候，“四人帮”这股专制的寒流搅散了春天温暖的信息，摧残了初绽的这朵民主的花蕾。而今，“四五”运动的春机将渐渐驱散“四人帮”专制的寒潮，八亿人民必将觉醒。争民主，争人权，步中山先生之后尘，争自由，要让思想得到第二次解决，努力奋斗！奋斗努力！我们这一代将成为伟大的一代，为了我们，为了下一代，为争公民权利，作一个真正的 x 中国的公民享受真正的公民权利！

After the Party liberated China, in the first few years, the Party's documents and newspapers always made us feel convinced and happy, and they always felt reasonable. Even if something unreasonable could occasionally be found in them, this was understandable since bias is unavoidable in the process of seeking truth. It could be corrected promptly, and the Party did indeed continuously correct deviations. Back then, Party meetings and the political life of the masses always carried the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. It really was "correcting any mistakes you make but maintaining your good record if you did not make mistakes" and "speaking without fear of reprisals and knowing that the listeners will take you seriously." The people's democracy was indeed not empty talk... Later, some inconceivable things happened, but overall, things were good later on... Over the past few years, there have been more and more strange occurrences. Good people have been oppressed, and bad people have been in power; telling lies has led to promotions and wealth, but telling the truth has caused misfortune. The Constitution was promulgated but could not be implemented; any spontaneous action was prohibited... During the "May 4th" movement, signs were made about all kinds of points to make a fuss. Did you just choose and adhere to whatever doctrines young people followed? At that time, of course it was great to shout slogans calling for democracy and science, but the reactionaries couldn't do something to you all of a sudden. Now, whether it's Chen Boda, Lin Biao, or the "three people with 10 eyes," they are all carrying the banner of the Communist Party, but they are pursuing feudal autocracy and policies that ignore the people and keep them in the dark. The pretense that is revealed, however, is the Marxist-Leninist truth of the "dictatorship of the masses": If you oppose them, hey, they will say that you oppose the Communist Party because you want to be bourgeoisie, and democracy is wanting to engage in "sending satellites into the sky while the red flag falls to the ground." They will impose dictatorship against you at every turn.... Can socialist modernization be separated from "sending satellites into the sky"? Is

党把中国解放后，在最初的几年里，党的文件，党的报纸，听着看着打心眼里服气，高兴，总觉得有道理，就是偶尔发现，有不合理的地方也想得通，探求真理的过程总免不了偏差嘛，只要及时纠正就好，党的确不断地纠正偏差，在那时候，党的会议，群众的政治生活，总是带着批评和自我批评的精神，真是“有则改之，无则加勉”“x者无罪，x者足x”人民民主确实不是一句空话……后来出了一些让人想不通的事儿，可大体来说，后面还是不错的……这些年来怪事越来越多，好人受压，坏人当道，说假话升官发财，说真话若x遭殃，宪法公布了实行不了，认为全是自发的行动，全得加以终止……当年“五四”运动那阵，各种注意x出了牌子闹腾，青年人追随什么主义你就尾随着挑么？那时候喊出要民主，要科学的口号，当然了不起，可反动派一下子也不好把

modernization the inevitable result of the "red flag falling to the ground"? Therefore, we Chinese youth in the 1970s must be able to distinguish between the real and the fake Communist Party branding.

It turns out that we believed whatever people told us. It seems that we forgot that we are living people of flesh and blood who have a conscience. We have been suppressing the desire and hope that poured from our hearts, believing that the only signpost of life must be caution, caution, and more caution. We believe that we must follow orders from the "top bosses" and never make suggestions or express our opinions to our superiors; even when we were pressured by evil influences, we could not naturally suggest slogans of "down with so-and-so." If there are reactionaries and you don't fight, such leaders will not fall. However, in my own practice, I have come to this conclusion: It is still safe to follow the strategy of "when it comes to reactionary things, if they don't collapse, I won't fight them."... Now, we are not so stupid; we must investigate and study; we must use our brains to think; we must defend what should be defended; and we must strive for what should be obtained... There are two roads before us: either the bright road of the "Four Modernizations" or the dark path of rule by the four major families. There are tens of millions of us young people, and we have the right to safeguard the dignity and the interests of the Chinese nation. We cannot keep living like this. To realize the "Four Modernizations" announced by Premier Zhou [Enlai], we have to head for the place where the sun rises, knock down the obstacles, and take a step forward... So, we think that we must work with millions of people to regain the civil rights that have been lost. From now on, whoever wants to be a good member of the Communist Youth League or the Communist Party should start by being a good citizen!

Oh, young people! When you step out of this door, don't fear the wind or the rain, don't fear the thunder or the lightning—just go, and puff out your chest! Go, join tens of millions of ordinary people to become a righteous citizen of socialism!

你怎么样，如今陈伯达也好，林彪也好，还有那“三人十只眼”也好，挂的全是共产党的牌子，他们搞的是封建专制，x民政策，亮出的幌子可是“群众专政”马列主义真理：你要反对他们，嘿，他们可就说你反对共产党，是要资产阶级，民主是要搞“卫星上天，红旗落地”动不动就要对你专政……难道社会主义现代化能离开“卫星上天”吗？现代化又是“红旗落地”的必然结果吗？因此，这就要求我们七十年代的中国青年，能从清一色的共产党牌子里，把那真的和假的分出来。

You have the right to distinguish between true and false Marxism!

You have the right to expose the conspiracy of the national traitors who trampled on the rights of party discipline and national law in the name of the party.

You have the right to vote and to be elected, and you can choose real Marxists and public servants as your leaders. You can cast votes opposing the villains and their fakery!

Go! Take the first step in this life, go! Go and be citizens!

What a bright road, what a confident first step! Our awakened youths have taken this firm step and headed off bravely in the end. From 4 May 1919 to 5 April 1976, how many Chinese youth have stepped over the threshold of life illuminated by the torch of scientific truth and the people's democracy?! Don't fear opposition, don't fear people's hesitation, don't be discouraged by people's ignorance. Go forward, go forward. For the prosperity and strength of socialism, say what you want to say and do what you should do. Go on, go and be a citizen!

-- Propaganda Group of the General Petition Committee of the Educated Youth of Mengding Farm  
9 February 1979

原来，人家告诉我们什么，我们就信什么，似乎忘记了自己是一个有血肉，有良心的活人，总是压抑住从心里往外x的那么一种渴求和希望，认为生活的路标只能是谨慎，谨慎，谨慎，谨慎，认定一切应当服从“顶头上司”永远不要向顶头上司提出什么意见，即使确实深受那恶势力的压挤，也绝不能自然提出打倒谁的口号，固然有反动的东西，你不打，他就不倒的领袖领导，但是，从本身的实践却得出了这样的结论：还是按“凡是反动的东西，他不倒我就不打的路数说话办事保险……现在，我们不那么傻了，我们要调查研究，我们要动脑筋思考，我们要去保卫应该保卫的，争取应该获得的……摆在我们面前的道路有两条——不是光明的“四个现代化”，就是黑暗的四大家族统治。我们年青人有千千万万好几亿，我们有权维护中华民族的尊严和利益，怕什么再也不能窝窝囊囊活着了，为了实现周总理宣布的“四个现代化”，我们要朝着太阳升起的地方，踢开障碍迈出足去……所以我们想，我们要和千千万万人民在一起，把失掉的公民权利夺回来，今后，谁要想作一个好的共青团员，一个好的共产党员，就应该先从作一个好的公民开始！

青年人啊！你迈出这个门去吧，风不要怕，雨不要怕，雷不要怕，闪电不要怕，去，挺起你的胸脯！去，汇同千万个老百姓去作一个社会主义的理直气壮的公民！

你有辨别真假马克思主义的权利！

你有把 x 贼的阴谋戳穿，或许他们假借党的名义，践踏党纪国法的权利！

你有选举和被选举权，你可以选那真正的马克思主义 x 和社会公 x 作你的领导，你可以对假 x 假事的坏蛋提反对票！

去！迈出这生活的第一步，去！去作一个公民！

多么光明的路，多么理直气壮的第一步！我们觉醒了的青年迈定了这坚定的步伐，勇敢地走到 x 吧，从公元一千九百一十九年五月四日，到一千九百七十六年四月五日，多少中国青年迈入了那被科学真理和人民民主火炬所照亮的生活门槛！不怕有人反对，不怕还有人犹豫，不灰心于还有人蒙昧，向前

	<p>走，向前走，为了社会主义的繁荣富强，去说想说的话，去作该作的事，去啊，去作一个公民！</p> <p>孟定农场知青请愿委员会</p> <p>宣传组 七九、二、九</p>
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## A Telegram to the General Office of the State Council 给国务院办公厅的电报

<p>General Office of the State Council:</p> <p>We are the Educated Youth of Mengding Farm in Gengma, Yunnan Province. We came here in 1969, 1970, and 1971 from the cities of Kunming, Shanghai, and Chengdu, respectively.</p> <p>We responded to Chairman Mao [Zedong]'s call, and, like Educated Youth across the country, we have worked and lived here for eight, nine, or ten years with an attitude of accepting the poor and lower-middle peasants. During this time, we have worked hard without complaint. We profoundly understand that the country was ruined by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," and the national economy suffered unprecedented catastrophe. We follow the laws of economics, do not trifle over personal gains and losses, and continue working diligently here.</p> <p>We were ecstatic about the convening of the National Conference on Educated Youth Going</p>	<p>国务院办公厅：</p> <p>我们是云南耿马孟定农场的知识青年，是六九、七0、七一年分别由昆明、上海、成都来的。</p> <p>我们是响应毛主席的号召，同全国知青一样，以接受贫下中农的态度，在这里劳动生活了八年、九年、十年。在这期间，我们兢兢业业，毫无怨言。因为我们深深知道，国家被林彪“四人帮”糟踏得不像样子，国民经济受到空前浩劫。我们遵循着经济规</p>
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Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside. We anxiously awaited the Party Central Committee's call. However, the documents produced by the meeting greatly disappointed us. Why have we not received the same treatment as those Educated Youth who were in the production and construction corps? We cannot understand it: Why is the same historical background being looked at differently now?

When Chairman Mao [Zedong], Premier Zhou [Enlai], and Chairman Zhu [De] passed away, our tears flowed along with those of the people of the whole country. When Chairman Hua [Guofeng] and the Party Central Committee smashed the "Gang of Four," we cheered along with the people of the whole country; and when Vice Chairman Deng [Xiaoping] came back to work, we and the people of the whole country endorsed it together. Our hearts are as passionate as those of the people of the whole country.

Now, many of the Educated Youth in the rural villages have entered the ranks of industry and started to contribute to the Four Modernizations. Why are we considered unworthy of doing this? Why can't we do this? Could it be that the vast number of mining and industrial enterprises cannot accommodate us? Why should others be treated better than us in terms of reassignment?

Those who recruited us for the farm used the pretense of Lin Biao's two "vigorous developments" and the slogans of "troop recruitment [to many youths, joining the army was considered the highest honor at the time]," but they fooled us with deceptive means. However, we focus our enmity on Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four." We are the people who were most persecuted by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four." Can't we be rehabilitated now? Why not? We can't figure it out—we really can't figure it out!

There is only one conclusion: The farm representatives attending the National Conference on Educated Youth did not represent our wishes.

律，没有计较个人得失，依然在这里辛勤的劳动着。

全国上山下乡知青工作会议的召开，使我们欣喜若狂。我们焦急地盼望着、等待着党中央 x 的召唤。可是，会议形成的文件却使我们大失所望。我们为什么和插队落户的知青分别对待了。我们想不通，为什么是同样的历史背景，现在却被另眼相看？

毛主席、周总理、朱委员长的逝世，我们的眼泪和全国人民一起在流；华主席、党中央粉碎了“四人帮”，我们和全国人民一起欢呼；邓副主席重新出来工作，我们和全国人民一起拥护。我们的心，和全国人民，一样是火热的。

They deceived those above and below them, resorted to despicable methods, and conspired and schemed. As a result, our demands were not discussed, and our cries were not heard by the Party Central Committee.

We believe in Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Deng, and the Party Central Committee, but we can't trust those bureaucrats who lied to others and only reported good news, not bad news. They ignored our objective reality and did everything possible to suppress democracy. They made it so that what we wanted to say could not be said, our arguments could not be expressed plainly, and our wishes could not come to fruition. Under such circumstances, we have no choice but to go on strike. We know that doing so will bring certain losses to the country. However, we have done so only when we have no other choice. We hope that the Party Central Committee and the State Council will understand our behavior and know that we will be able to make up for this loss.

We were very happy that the 25 December notice from the State Council arrived. We hope that the investigation team will soon come here and listen to our voices. However, we can't resume work now because we have reason to worry that the leaders here will continue to act deceptively to keep the investigation team from meeting with us. Now we call on you by telegram and implore you to quickly instruct the investigation teams of relevant provinces, cities, and departments to meet with us as soon as possible and listen to what we have to say. We look forward to the arrival of the investigation team like children look forward to seeing their mothers. Now we have reached the point of no return.

-- The Educated Youth of Mengding Farm,  
Gengma, Yunnan Province  
4 January 1979

现在，广大农村的知识青年，已经进入工业行列，开始为四个现代化出力。为什么我们就不配这样呢？为什么我们又不能呢？难道广大的工矿企业就容不下我们吗？难道那些应走未走的就应该比我们分配的更好吗？

尽管农场的招收人员打着林彪的两个“大力发展”的幌子，以“招兵”的口号，采取欺骗的手段，愚弄了我们。但是，我们把千仇百恨都集中到林彪“四人帮”身上。我们是受林彪“四人帮”迫害最深的人，难道现在还不能给我们平反昭雪吗？这究竟是为什么，想不通，实在是想不通！

结论只有一个，出席全国知青会议的农场代表，没有代表我们的心愿。他们欺上瞒下，采取了卑劣手段，搞了阴谋诡计。致使我们的要求得不到讨论，党中央也听不到我们的呼声。

我们相信华主席，邓副主席，党中央，但是我们不能相信那些欺上瞒下，只报喜不报忧的官僚老爷们。他们无视我们的客观现实，千方百计压制民主。使我们有话不能说，有理讲不清，有愿请不成，就在这样的情况下，我们只好罢工了。我们知道，这样做会给国家带来一定的损失。但是，我们是在万般无奈的情况下，才这样做的。我们希望党中央，国务院就这样我们的行为，这个损失，我们一定能够补上。

国务院十二月二十五日的通知下来了，我们非常高兴。盼望着调查组早日下来，倾听我们的呼声。但是我们现在还不能复工，因为我们有理由担心这里的领导继续搞欺骗手段，使调查组不能和我们见面。现在我们电请您们，恳求您们迅速责成有关省市和部门的调查组早日来和我们见面，倾听我们的呼声。我们像孩子盼母亲一样盼望着调查组的到来。现在我们已陷入了绝境之地。

	云南省耿马孟定农场知识青年 一九七九年六月四日
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