
**TRAINING SUCCESSORS
FOR THE REVOLUTION
IS THE PARTY'S
STRATEGIC TASK**



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

**TRAINING SUCCESSORS
FOR THE REVOLUTION
IS THE PARTY'S
STRATEGIC TASK**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1965

0077-4. 30

Printed in the People's Republic of China

CONTENTS

TRAINING SUCCESSORS FOR THE REVOLUTION IS THE PARTY'S STRATEGIC TASK An Tzu-wen	1
CULTIVATING AND TRAINING MILLIONS OF SUCCE- SORS TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, August 3, 1964	33
TRAINING SUCCESSORS — A LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE <i>Hongqi</i> Editorial, No. 14, 1964	45

TRAINING SUCCESSORS FOR THE REVOLUTION IS THE PARTY'S STRATEGIC TASK

An Tzu-wen

(Hongqi, Nos. 17-18, 1964)

1. THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF TRAINING SUCCESSORS FOR THE REVOLUTION

The problem of training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat has been recently placed as an important item on the agenda by Party committees at all levels in accordance with directions given by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is a vital issue in the life of our Party and government.

At all critical moments during the development of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stressed the importance of training and bringing up new cadres. In the past the solution of this problem enabled our Party to prepare an adequate supply of cadres, ensuring the successful development of the revolution.

Now, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has again put forward to the whole Party the problem of training revolutionary successors. Compared with the past the present problem has a still greater strategic significance.

The development of socialist revolution and construction requires a huge number of new cadres both "red and expert", that is, socialist-minded and professionally

competent. This is, of course, very clear. Sooner or later old revolutionaries will have to retire and there must be successors to carry on their work. This is also very clear. But it is quite inadequate to consider this problem only from an ordinary point of view. If we want to deeply understand its great significance we must view the problem against a background of opposing imperialism and modern revisionism, preventing revisionism, ensuring the proletarian leadership in the revolution, carrying on the socialist revolution to the end, struggling for the victory of communism, and making sure our Party and government will never change colour.

Many lessons are taught by the history of the international communist movement showing how the leadership has fallen into the hands of revisionists with resultant setbacks for the proletarian revolution. Two lessons stand out most conspicuously: one involved the appearance of the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky and the other that of the revisionism of Khrushchov. They have caused great harm and taught us grim lessons. One important lesson we have learned is to consider the problem of how the leadership in the proletarian revolution should be firmly put into the hands of Marxist-Leninists, in other words, a problem of training revolutionary successors.

Marxism began in the 1840s. At that time there were many types of socialism in Europe and the petty-bourgeois socialism of Proudhon and Bakunin had a much greater influence among the workers than Marxism. It was only after a struggle lasting several decades that Marxism won the support of the enlightened members of the working class. After Marxism had gained the upper hand over the various types of non-proletarian

socialism in the workers' movement, the bourgeoisie and all anti-Marxists came to realize it would be very difficult to oppose socialism and Marxism by openly upholding anti-socialism and anti-Marxism. Lenin said:

Instead of carrying on an open, principled and direct fight against all the fundamental tenets of Socialism and in defence of the complete inviolability of private property and the freedom of competition, the bourgeoisie of Europe and America—as represented by its ideologists and political leaders—is coming out ever more frequently in defence of so-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of social revolution.¹

This means that “theories” which outspokenly defended the bourgeoisie were meeting with less sympathy among the working class. Therefore, the bourgeoisie and all anti-Marxists changed their tactics and adopted the method of “revising” Marxism in order to oppose Marxism. Using Marxism as a cloak, they appeared to support Marxism. In reality they were its enemies.

Marx and Engels saw that revisionism and opportunism were already beginning to appear in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and carried out a resolute struggle against them. At that time the revisionists and opportunists had to be cautious and, on the whole, their activities were covertly carried out. After Marx's death, Engels assumed the responsibility of leading the international communist movement, which continued to develop. However, after the death of Engels, Bernstein, the well-known leader of the German Social-Democratic

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 264.

Party, openly supported a "revised" Marxism. Subsequently, Kautsky, another well-known leader of the party, also took up a stand as an out-and-out revisionist. Some other leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, neglecting the teachings of Marx and Engels, failed to launch a struggle against the opportunist trend in the party. They were entirely caught off their guard by the underhand game played by the phoney Marxists. Besides, capitalist society was then undergoing the period of peaceful development and the opportunist attitude of blind faith in legal movements and parliamentary struggle was very popular in the party. Therefore, soon after the death of Engels, Bernstein, Kautsky and their ilk usurped the leadership of the German party and taking advantage of the prestige of the party founded by Marx and Engels, seized control of the Second International's leadership. They devoted all their effort to carrying out the revisionist line of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and opposed proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the eve of the First World War, at the critical moment when contradictions between the imperialists were unusually acute and the situation was highly favourable for revolution, they completely yielded to the pressure of international imperialism and to that of militarism at home. They betrayed and sold out the cause of proletarian revolution and stooped so low as to become henchmen of the imperialists in partitioning the world and launching a world war. As a result, the Second International became utterly bankrupt and the revisionists, including Bernstein and Kautsky, were expunged from the international communist movement.

Lenin, who carried on the work of Marx and Engels, waged a fierce struggle against the revisionists and opportunists of the Second International and crushed their attack on Marxism. He defended and developed Marxism, founded the first socialist country in the world and wrote a new page in the history of mankind. After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin carried on his work. Bourgeois agents in the Party, such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and Rykov, vainly attempted to take advantage of Lenin's death to replace Marxism-Leninism with Trotskyism and Bukharinism and usurp the leadership in the Party and government. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, headed by Stalin, the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people saw through the revisionist and opportunist views of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites in good time, frustrated their counter-revolutionary conspiracy, defended Leninism, and ensured that the leadership of the Party and government continue to remain in the hands of the Bolsheviks — the loyal protagonists of Lenin's cause. Because of the great victories of the struggle against Trotsky and Bukharin the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union became more and more consolidated and socialist construction made big strides. At the same time, the class struggle in the Soviet Union underwent a radical change as open class struggle became tortuous and concealed. Consequently the revisionists in the Party no longer used Trotsky's and Bukharin's method of organizing an opposition group within the Party and openly making a stand against the Central Committee. Pretending to be honest Bolsheviks they paid lip service to Marxism-Leninism to win the confidence of the Party and masses and thus were able to stay under cover in

the Party for a long time. The revisionist Khrushchov clique is composed of a handful of these fake Marxist-Leninists. After Stalin's death they gradually usurped the leadership in the Party and government. On the one hand, they have unscrupulously trampled underfoot the cause which Lenin and Stalin spent a lifetime struggling for, tampered with Lenin's theory of revolution, and done everything to change the proletarian character of the Soviet Party and government. On the other, they have taken advantage of the prestige of the great Lenin and the great Bolshevik Party to peddle by every means their revisionist line in other countries in order to split the socialist camp and international communist movement. In this way they brought the serious danger of a capitalist resurgence to a country already on the road of socialism, played a destructive role in the world revolutionary movement, and rendered great help to the imperialists.

These two great setbacks in the international communist movement show that a political party, like everything else, tends to divide itself into two. The development of a Marxist-Leninist political party necessarily implies the emergence of its opposite, a revisionist group, and vice versa. The history of the growth of the communist movement is largely a history of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism, between revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who hold the leadership of revolution and fake Marxist-Leninists who conspire to usurp the leadership. This is true not only of one country but of all countries; indeed, it has been so since proletarian political parties first appeared in the world. This is an inevitable reflection of the class struggle be-

tween the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the communist movement.

At any time, however, the number of men like Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin and Khrushchov is invariably very small. For it is always the majority who want revolution. The reason why a very small number of persons who oppose the Party, the people and socialism can rise to power, is because they are able to take advantage of the fact that many people do not clearly recognize their anti-Marxist character and are not on guard against their anti-Marxist activities.

The lesson of the two great setbacks of the international communist movement teaches us that to carry out the revolution to the end the proletariat must know how to distinguish true Marxist-Leninists from false ones. They must very carefully choose and train their successors and ensure that the revolutionary leadership is in the hands of true Marxist-Leninists and not usurped by fakers. However, it is not easy to distinguish true Marxist-Leninists from fake ones for misjudgments of character are commonly made. It often happens that when a hidden enemy is uncovered, many people are surprised because they did not notice him before. Bearing these lessons in mind, not only men in leading positions should exercise great vigilance but, what is more important, the vast numbers of Party members and cadres should be taught to maintain the same kind of vigilance and be able to detect and resist all fake Marxist-Leninists and hidden enemies. When this collective vigilance has been aroused there will be no place for sham Marxist-Leninists to hide. And even if they succeed in concealing themselves for a short time they will be immediately recognized and resisted the moment they

raise their heads. Thus, if we neither keep a watchful eye on every kind of enemy nor make great efforts in training revolutionary successors, and instead, let the revisionists usurp the revolutionary leadership, then the party of the proletariat will degenerate into a party of the bourgeoisie; the dictatorship of the proletariat will become a dictatorship of a small privileged bourgeois stratum over the broad masses of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals; the economic foundation and upper structure of socialism will deteriorate and collapse, and capitalism will be reinstated. In that case, history will be rolled back and the revolution will have to be started anew.

Fifty years ago the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky appeared in the German Social-Democratic Party. At that time, the proletariat had not yet acquired political power. Lenin clearly pointed out that the appearance of revisionism in a capitalist society is unavoidable. Is its appearance in a socialist society only accidental then? No, it has a class origin all the same. This is proved by the appearance of the revisionist Tito clique and, especially, the revisionist Khrushchov clique. Therefore, it behoves a proletarian political party either in a capitalist society or in a socialist society, such as the Chinese Communist Party, to consider the problem of successors in connection with the struggle against revisionism.

Today we are in the midst of a class struggle which may be described as follows: The imperialists all over the world, especially the U.S. imperialists, and the class enemies within the country are constantly conspiring to overthrow the socialist system and stage a capitalist comeback. Apart from using violent means the impe-

rialists also resort to the stratagem of "peaceful evolution" which involves an attempt to corrupt and assimilate certain unsteady elements in our country through political, economic and ideological infiltration. Meanwhile, the modern revisionists also try to use revisionist thinking to sap the revolutionary spirit of our people. In order to stage a comeback, class enemies within the country use all sorts of disguises to worm their way into the Party and government offices. Playing a counter-revolutionary double game they will often struggle against us with legal means. We still remember how in 1921 when the Whiteguards were carrying out a counter-revolutionary mutiny at Kronstadt in Russia, they put forward the malicious slogan: "Soviets without Communists!" Camouflaging themselves behind this slogan they succeeded in deceiving a number of people. Now, our class enemies have gone a step further. They not only "support the Soviets" but also "want the Communist Party". By wearing the hats of Communist Party members and carrying banners of the people's government they try to usurp the Party and government in certain departments, carry out a counter-revolutionary policy and protect the interests of the exploiting class. Compared with the method used by the Whiteguards this kind of manoeuvre is yet more malicious and deceitful.

One of the main methods the modern revisionists and all adventurists use to seize the leadership is to take advantage of the youths' lack of experience in class struggle and their inability to distinguish true Marxist-Leninists from fake ones. Through deception, flattery and the dissemination of bourgeois ideas they push some of them onto the path of capitalism. To achieve their aim of restoring capitalism, the imperialists abroad and

class enemies at home particularly pin their hope on the degeneration of our youths, and this they do not hesitate to admit.

When our class enemies within the country saw revisionism appear in the Soviet Union they thought their day had come. Predicting a future for China on the basis of a temporary set-back in the progress of history, they said: "Poverty leads to change, change to wealth, and wealth to revisionism." They also said: "If we can control the youths we shall regain our lost domain." On the one hand, they instilled reactionary thoughts into the minds of their children, trying to pass to them the mantle of capitalism and feudalism. On the other, they used every means to corrupt and exert a baneful influence on our revolutionary cadres and youths in general, thus hoping to undermine the foundation of socialism and sow the seeds of revisionism. In short, they will not easily give up in their struggle to win over our successors.

Our class enemies in other countries are making a similar plan. They know quite well that it would get them nowhere if they pinned their hope of "peaceful evolution" on the present generation in China of long-stepped revolutionaries. Therefore, they have decided to turn their attention to our third and fourth generations. The notorious John Foster Dulles held that "peaceful evolution" was possible in China. He said: "I would say it is absolutely certain in terms of centuries. It is probable in terms of decades."¹ Walter Lippman, the idea man of the American imperialists, said: "Looking ahead, what is it possible to discern in the dim, far

¹ At press conference, October 28, 1958.

distance? The eventual (in ten or twenty years?) evolution of communist China into something like present-day Russia.”¹

What our class enemies within and without the country are saying and doing is as clear as day. Our problem of successors is precisely one of the main objects of their attention.

Having studied how revisionism emerged in the international communist movement and knowing what our class enemies within and without the country are up to, we are able to take proper measures to cope with the situation.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has opportunely analysed and summed up the lessons history has taught us. He has analysed the class struggle going on at home and abroad. While putting forward the correct line and policy he also underlined the problem of revolutionary successors. He instructed us to intensify our vigilance under the new conditions of class struggle, adopt effective measures and successfully train revolutionary successors, so as to ensure the continuous progress of the revolution and prevent the appearance of Khrushchov revisionism in China.

To build up socialism and realize communism requires a long historical period. To fight and prevent revisionism is also a long-term task. The seizure of political power by the proletariat may be accomplished in a country through the effort of one generation of revolutionaries. But a persistent and indefatigable struggle by revolutionaries of many generations is needed to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry on the socialist

¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, April 10, 1964.

revolution to the end and realize communism throughout the whole world. In training successors one must be far-sighted — one must take, at least, five or even ten generations into consideration. The training of successors is a major question for the next thousand or even ten thousand years. The most important thing is to prevent the emergence of revisionism during the period of socialism in order to avoid a reversal of the revolution. The accomplishment of the task of training successors is the best organizational guarantee for carrying out the revolution to the end.

2. REQUIREMENTS THAT REVOLUTIONARY SUCCESSORS SHOULD FULFIL

What are the requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat? According to principles advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung they are as follows: (1) They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists. (2) They must be revolutionaries who whole-heartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world. (3) They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong. (4) They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses", and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. (5) They must be

modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work.

These five requirements proposed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung are the Marxist-Leninist criteria for choosing and bringing up revolutionary successors. They were drawn up with the main tasks of the proletarian revolution in mind and are, therefore, applicable to all stages of its development. In different stages of the revolution, of course their specific contents will vary according to the revolutionary tasks of the time.

In the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism during the democratic revolution, a cadre was mainly judged by his behaviour and the level of his political consciousness. During the period of socialism he is judged by his attitude towards socialist revolution and construction. In other words we must see whether he stands on the side of the proletariat and socialism or on that of the bourgeoisie and capitalism in the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads; whether he is devoted to the cause of socialism or is engaged in the work of restoring capitalism. If a person does not work for socialist revolution and construction he can never become a successor to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat despite his long years of service and membership of the Party and distinctive merit. Some cadres were active during the democratic revolution and were then good cadres. But they are not mentally prepared for the new stage of socialist revolution and lack the resolve to consciously remould themselves. Thus, they tail behind the times. These cadres cannot be called