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REVOLUTIONIZE OUR YOUTH!

Report on
the Work of the Chinese Communist Youth League
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Comrades!

I present this report on our work to our congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League.

We are holding this congress at a time when the rapidly developing revolutionary situation is excellent.

Internationally, great tidal waves of the people's revolution are sweeping through Asia, Africa and Latin America, and a world united front against U.S. imperialism is taking shape. The great debate within the international communist movement has enabled more and more people to see the ugly features of the modern revisionists, those revolutionaries in name and capitulationists in fact. The Marxist-Leninists of the world are regrouping and expanding their ranks under the banner of revolution.

At home, the Chinese people have displayed a revolutionary spirit by striving to attain high aims, being self-reliant, working hard and diligently and thriftily building the country. Acting in this spirit, they have overcome serious natural calamities and the difficulties put in their way by the Khrushchov revisionist clique; they have overcome shortcomings and mistakes in their work. They have rapidly brought about an all-round turn for the better in their national economy. All China's socialist undertakings are thriving.

What makes these successes of our country possible? The Chinese people have achieved these successes because, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, they have held aloft the Three Red Banners,

unswervingly adhered to the general line of building socialism, consolidated the system of the people's communes and consistently carried out correct policies and principles. Our victory is a victory for Marxism-Leninism, a victory for the thinking of Mao Tse-tung.

In the years since our last congress, the Communist Youth League organizations at all levels have rallied the youth of all nationalities and led them forward. Responding to each and every call of the Party, they have stood in the forefront of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and made their positive contribution. The youth of our country have proved themselves firm in the struggle against the subversive and wrecking activities of our class enemies inside and outside the country. The Communist Youth League organizations at all levels and League members have faithfully acquitted themselves as assistants of the Party in rallying the youth of the country closely around the Party. Our line of advance has been correct and we have done good work.

The task of this congress is to gain a deeper understanding of the great significance of our work among young people in the period of socialism and to make a serious effort to sum up our experience, augment our achievements, overcome our shortcomings, and carry the work of the entire League to a new and higher Marxist-Leninist level. We shall do this by following the behests and directives of the Party and Chairman Mao and by basing ourselves on the actual practice of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country as well as on the new situation and on experience acquired over a long period in the international communist movement.

This report is divided into five parts:

I. THE HISTORIC TASK OF YOUTH WORK IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIALISM

We live at a time when imperialism is heading towards its doom and socialism is advancing to victory. The great historic task before our people and our youth of all nationalities is to build China into a strong socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology, to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and be ready at all times to defend our socialist motherland and liberate our sacred territory of Taiwan. Moreover, we must unite with all the workers of the world, with all the oppressed peoples and nations and with all peace-loving people to overthrow U.S. imperialism and strive for the step-by-step realization of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without the exploitation of man by man.

Ours is a glorious task, a hard and tremendous one.

The productive forces of our country have developed swiftly since liberation. But it will take us scores of years of hard work to put our national economy on a modern foundation and completely change the face of our country from its old poor and blank state. Our Party and the people place great hopes in our youth. As Chairman Mao once said to the youth: "The world is as much yours as ours but ultimately it is yours. You young people are full of vitality and at a stage of vigorous growth; you are like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. We put our hopes in you."

The youth of our country must carry on and develop the great tradition of arduous struggle of our revolutionary predecessors. They must do their utmost to make

themselves the shock troops of socialism. The richer and stronger we make our new, socialist China, the greater will be our contribution to the world and humanity.

Socialist society is vastly superior to capitalist society. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the broad masses of the people of the socialist countries have achieved a democracy such as has never existed in any capitalist country. Following the victorious advance of the socialist revolution, the social productive forces are developing incomparably faster than in the old society. Socialism has opened up an infinitely bright future for the people and youth of our country.

The development of socialism is by no means all plain sailing. The period of socialism is a historical period of transition from capitalist society to communist society; it is the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What distinguishes this period is that classes and class struggle still exist, that the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism continues — i.e., the question of “who will win” is still unsolved — that there is still a danger of capitalism making a comeback, and that the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labour still exist. It appears that this period of transition will take five or ten generations or even longer.

In his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao gave an all-round and systematic analysis of classes, contradictions and class struggle in a socialist society after the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture have, in the main, been completed, that is, after socialism has basically triumphed on the economic front. This is a new development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman

Mao teaches us that class struggle will continue through the whole historical period of socialism. This struggle is protracted, tortuous, complex and, sometimes, even very acute. The reason is that while the exploiting classes have been overthrown, they are not reconciled to being eliminated and always seek to stage a comeback; that the influence of bourgeois ideology and culture and the force of habit of the old society will continue to exist over a long period and, in some respects, will be stronger than our influence; that the spontaneous capitalist tendency still exists among the petty bourgeoisie whose remoulding is a long-term task; and that a number of political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may also emerge in the ranks of the working class and among the government personnel as a result of the influence of the bourgeoisie and the corrosive role it plays. The complexity of the class struggle is further increased by the fact that the forces of capitalism and other reactionary forces at home invariably collude and tie up with the forces of capitalism abroad.

In his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao also teaches us that there are two types of contradictions in a socialist society, contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and that there are many, many contradictions of the former type. Under certain conditions, these two types of contradictions can be transformed into each other. A dictatorial method must be adopted in dealing with the enemy. To resolve contradictions among the people the method of "unity-criticism-unity" must be used; this means starting off with a desire for unity and resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle so as to achieve a new unity on a

new basis. By acting in accordance with these teachings of Chairman Mao, the working class will be able to unite the broad masses in their entirety constituting more than 90 per cent of the country's population, isolate the enemy who number only a few per cent of the population, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are various classes and strata among the broad masses constituting more than 90 per cent of the population. We should rely on the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite the middle peasants and all working people as well as all other classes, strata and social groups who approve, support and take part in the cause of socialist construction, and we should oppose all the social forces and social groups who resist socialist revolution and harbour hostility to and sabotage socialist construction. This is the Party's strategic line throughout the period of socialism.

Since classes and class struggle, the three differences and the two different types of contradictions continue to exist in a socialist society, it has not one but two possible courses of development, not one, but two possible futures. A socialist country will be able to abolish classes step by step, narrow down the existing differences and ultimately pass over into communism if it persists in carrying out its Marxist-Leninist line and policies, consolidates the dictatorship of the proletariat, correctly handles the two different types of contradictions, carries the socialist revolution on the political, economic as well as ideological fronts through to the end and strengthens and develops its socialist economy. Otherwise, the bourgeois forces will get out of hand, new bourgeois elements and new rich peasants will emerge and the three differences will become more accentuated. The new bourgeois elements

and new rich peasants constitute the social foundation of modern revisionism. Once the revisionist forces occupy a dominant position, a socialist society will evolve into capitalism. It is precisely in anticipation of this situation that imperialism has never for a single moment abandoned the employment of a strategy of obtaining victory by peaceful means over the socialist countries.

The "peaceful evolution" of socialism into capitalism has long since been accomplished in Yugoslavia. Khrushchov is the biggest revisionist today and under his revisionist leadership the fruits of socialism, which the great Soviet people gained at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, are being gradually lost, the forces of capitalism are becoming rampant and the youth are being subjected to serious corruption by capitalism. This situation cannot but arouse our greatest vigilance.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the youth is an important aspect of the class struggle in the period of socialism. The proletariat demands that our young people should revolutionize themselves and take over from their elders in the class struggle as well as in the struggle for production, and so smash any possibility of a capitalist restoration. On the other hand, all the enemies of the revolution are doing everything they can to drag the youth on to a non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary path. Dulles, the late U.S. Secretary of State, and Hilsman, the former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, openly indicated that U.S. imperialism placed its hopes of staging a counter-revolutionary restoration in China on the deterioration of China's younger generation and that at no time has it given up its attempt to achieve "peaceful evolution" through the youth of the third and fourth

generations. This struggle to win over the youth will have a bearing on the issue of who will win, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, and on whether or not the revolution can be carried through to the end.

In our socialist New China, all the favourable conditions needed for training our youth to be the heirs of the proletarian revolution are to be found. We have the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by our great Chairman Mao. We have in the main completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production; we are carrying on large-scale socialist construction and conducting the socialist revolution on the political and ideological spheres in a thoroughgoing way. Proletarian ideology holds a leading position in many fields of ideology. The whole country and the whole Party have taken up the cause of educating the youth in the spirit of our revolutionary traditions. People can see in the youth of our country a spirit of warm love for the Party and for socialism, of bitter hatred for imperialism and all reactionaries and for revisionism, and a spirit of bold enterprise in the people's cause and dedication to the revolution. The great communist fighter Lei Feng was one of the best representatives of China's present-day youth.

At the same time, we must also bear in mind that, coming as they do from different social classes and strata, young people still bear the imprint of different class ideologies. Since they have been brought up under conditions of peace and stability, it is easy for them to lapse into a false sense of peace and tranquillity and to look for a life of ease and comfort. Because they have not been through the severe test of revolutionary struggle, they lack a thorough understanding of the complexity and

hardships of revolution. Thus it is that, under the corrupt influence of bourgeois ideology, a certain number of new bourgeois elements and revisionists will inevitably crop up among the young people. It is wrong and dangerous to think that, "born in the new society and brought up under the red flag", they are "born red" and can automatically be the heirs of the revolutionary cause without a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist education, without steeling in practical revolutionary struggle and without conscious ideological remoulding.

At the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party, Chairman Mao, our respected and beloved leader and teacher, strongly emphasized that it is necessary to strengthen the class education of our youth in order to ensure that the Chinese revolution will not be perverted in generations to come. This historic directive of Chairman Mao's charts the course of the work of our Communist Youth League throughout the period of socialism and illuminates the way ahead for the hundreds of millions of youths in our country.

It is a great strategic task of the proletarian dictatorship and the fundamental aim of the work of our Communist Youth League to hold aloft the red banner of the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung, so as to help the young people of future generations to become proletarian revolutionaries.

II. TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED LINES IN YOUTH WORK

In order to ensure that the young people of the coming generations will remain revolutionaries and not be cor-

rupted, it is necessary to wage an unceasing struggle to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology throughout the socialist period. At the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out that "to build a socialist and communist society, we must not only wipe out all the old systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man, but also utterly eliminate obsolete ideas and habits which are derived from and serve these old systems; we must eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, that is to say, eventually eliminate all vestiges of the exploiting classes and exploiting systems from the minds of the people". Two diametrically opposed lines exist in youth work: one is to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology, and the other is to foster bourgeois ideology and eliminate proletarian ideology.

One is to take proletarian class education as the key link, arming the youth with a Marxist-Leninist class approach, a mass approach, a labour approach, a dialectical-materialist approach, in other words, with the communist world outlook and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, so as to help turn young people into proletarian revolutionaries. This is the Marxist-Leninist line in youth work.

The other takes class conciliation and the liquidation of the revolution as the key link, corrupting the revolutionary will of the young people with the deceptive pacifism and humanism of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois individualism, doing everything possible to draw the young people away from the revolution and even lead them on to the path of opposing the revolution. This is the modern revisionist line in youth work. The modern dogma-

tists, who obey the modern revisionists' baton, also implement this line in their youth work.

The question of which line to follow is a vital question which decides whether the youth can carry on the cause of the proletarian revolution and which concerns the future of the socialist state. It is a serious fighting task of our Communist Youth League to persist in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and resolutely to combat the fallacious line of the modern revisionists and modern dogmatists in youth work.

One of the fundamental differences between the modern revisionists and ourselves concerns the question whether to arm young people with the Marxist-Leninist teaching on class struggle or to corrupt them with the nonsense of class collaboration, which means capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

The teaching of class struggle is the essence of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian class education is the basis of communist youth education. This class education is particularly important to young people growing up in the new society. Lenin clearly stated: "It (the youth) can learn Communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and the toilers are waging against the old exploiting society."

The primary question in class education is to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves. We must not only be able to recognize U.S. imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and other open enemies as well as remnant and emergent capitalist forces; we must also be able to identify those hidden enemies who persist in their reactionary stand, oppose the socialist revolution and sabotage socialist construction. Representing the advanced

forces of production, the working class is the best organized and the most disciplined, far-sighted and revolutionary class; it is the leading class in our country. Only under its leadership can the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country win victory. The poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are the most reliable allies of the working class in the countryside; they are the force on which we rely in carrying on revolution and construction.

It is not everyone who clearly understands this vital question of whom to rely upon in socialist revolution and socialist construction. For instance, some people maintain that in developing industry and engaging in other kinds of construction reliance should be placed mainly on experts, intellectuals and technology. This viewpoint is wrong. Intellectuals are needed for socialist construction, but they invariably belong to a certain social class and serve its interests. They can play a positive role in revolution and construction only when they accept the leadership of the working class, serve the workers and peasants, and identify themselves with them. There are also people who maintain that with agricultural collectivization we should mainly rely on the middle peasants, and who talk about "relying on the poor peasants in the land reform and on the middle peasants in production". This viewpoint is wrong too. In the countryside, the well-to-do middle peasants always waver and vacillate in taking the socialist road; some of them represent the spontaneous forces of capitalism. Those who were farmhands, poor peasants and lower-middle peasants during the land reform and before co-operative farming was introduced form the majority of the peasants; they suffered most in the old society, undertake revolution most

resolutely, and are firm against all exploiting systems and exploiting classes. That is why we should rely upon them not only in the revolutionary struggle and in the fight against the forces of capitalism but also during the whole course of socialist construction.

By relying on the ranks of these revolutionary classes — the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants — and closely uniting with the middle peasants and the rest of the working people, we are in a position to crush all the activities of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, which are aimed at subversion and staging a restoration, and to transform the majority of them into new men. In this way, we can also fight the urban and rural capitalist forces and prevent any evolution into capitalism, supervise cadres and prevent them from degenerating, unite with, educate and remould the great majority of the intellectuals and get them to serve socialism, and effectively educate the young people to take a firm class stand and carry on the glorious traditions of the revolution. Firm reliance on the ranks of these revolutionary classes is the basic guarantee against revisionism and a capitalist restoration, the basic guarantee for successfully completing the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Our young people must take a staunch proletarian stand, that is, they must be firmly wedded to the idea of relying permanently on the working class and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, and always identify themselves with them. Young people can become staunch revolutionaries only when they rely firmly on the working class and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, resolutely stand by the broad masses who make

up more than 90 per cent of the population, and loyally represent their interests. Should they stand on the side and represent the interests of the small number of those who form only a few per cent of the population, they would find themselves on the road of non-revolution or counter-revolution. For young people a correct solution of the question of which side to stand on and whom to rely upon means the solution of the basic question of revolutionizing themselves.

The modern revisionists do their best to spread the fallacies of "the state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people" and to negate classes and class struggle, invoking a hypocritical "love of humanity" to obscure the young people's understanding of the line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, and asserting that "man is to man a friend, comrade and brother" and so on and so forth. Chairman Mao Tse-tung put it well: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred, without reason or cause. As for the so-called 'love of humanity', there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. . . . We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them." Let us ponder this over: How can there be love between the murderous and plundering imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the exploiting and exploited classes? And how can the workers and peasants of a socialist country become "friends, comrades and brothers" of speculators, racketeers and plunderers of the state treasury, etc.? In performing this sleight of hand the sole aim of the modern revisionists is to pacify the millions of angry people, who are enslaved and oppressed, by means of the "love of humanity" and prevent them from rising

in resistance, to try to cover up the classes and class contradictions that actually exist in Soviet society, to disarm the young people in the face of the stern class struggle and, when they have become bereft of class vigilance, to make them captives of the bourgeoisie.

Another major difference between us and the modern revisionists concerns the question of whether to educate young people to love labour ardently and identify themselves with the workers and peasants or to scorn manual labour and divorce themselves from the workers and peasants.

Chairman Mao has said: ". . . the establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal state of the future, but we must work hard, very hard indeed, if we are to make that ideal a reality." The attitude towards labour for socialist construction is an important yardstick for determining whether the young people have a revolutionary consciousness and whether it is high or low.

All the wealth in the world is created by labour. Nothing can be produced without manual labour. The steady advance of science and technology greatly helps to raise the productivity of labour, lighten its intensity and progressively reduce heavy manual work to light work or mental work, thus creating conditions for the integration of manual and mental labour in the new society; that is why it is necessary to strive for the modernization of science and technology. But manual labour will never disappear. With the new developments in science and technology and the extension of man's mastery over nature, new kinds of heavy manual labour will appear in certain branches of production. The attitude of looking down on manual labour and of seeking