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

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1965

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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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

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[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 parliamentarian 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-steeled 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

good cadres nor can they become good revolutionary successors unless they push ahead with their ideological remoulding and actively take part in the struggle for socialist revolution and construction.

At the present stage of the revolution, how are we to understand Comrade Mao Tse-tung's five requirements for becoming a revolutionary successor?

A genuine Marxist-Leninist must make his action consistent with his words. He should not merely support Marxism-Leninism in words, but resolutely carry out the work of socialist revolution and construction in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking. All the victories won by our Party in the past forty years and more are victories of Marxism-Leninism and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking. If we want to carry on the socialist revolution to the end and continue to win victories we must hand down Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking to our descendants of the next ten thousand years. Revolutionary successors must take over the weapons of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking. In the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, in the practice of carrying out the socialist revolution and construction, only those who act truly in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking can be called true Marxist-Leninists, good cadres and successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Those who support Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking and socialism in speech but oppose them in action are not true Marxist-Leninists and can never be revolutionary successors. These people include those who give verbal support to the Marxist-Leninist theory

of class struggle but, in practice, do not struggle against capitalist forces — they even propagate the theory of class conciliation; those who give verbal support to the socialist transformation of agriculture but actually help certain people to take the capitalist path; those who nominally stand for revolutionary dialectics but actually disseminate the metaphysical theory of "two combining into one"; those who avowedly support the policy that literature must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers but really pay tribute to emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars, beauties, lords, dowagers, young gentlemen and ladies; and those who profess belief in historical materialism but refuse to study the history and realities of China from the standpoint and approach of the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle.

To whole-heartedly serve the vast majority of the people of one's own country and the whole world is the implacable class stand of a proletarian revolutionary. To emancipate themselves the proletariat must at the same time emancipate all the working people. The highest interest of the greatest number of people should be kept in mind as our basic point of departure and our final goal in considering all problems and in carrying out all kinds of struggle. To serve the vast majority of people in China, under present conditions, means to stand on the side of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants — on the side of over 95 per cent of the people. It means to persistently march along the socialist road, serve the cause of socialist revolution and construction, and give active help to the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world. Over 95 per cent of the Chinese people want to take the socialist path. It is only by resolutely working for so-

cialism that our cadres can really stand on the side of the vast majority of people. To profess socialism in speech and oppose it in practice or to give no support to the people in building up socialism means that one is not on the side of the majority but on the side of the minority, that is, like Khrushchov, on the side of an exceedingly small percentage of the people. Some cadres of a non-proletarian origin support the socialist cause under ordinary conditions. But when the socialist revolution impairs the interests of their exploiting-class families, or those of their relatives and friends, they try to protect and shield them. They are then really standing on the side of a minority that is antagonistic to socialism. Some cadres think they are loyal to the socialist cause. But when their subordinates or those they know and trust turn away from socialism, they not only fail to differentiate between themselves and these people and carry out a resolute struggle against them, but try to find all kinds of pretexts to exonerate and accommodate them. On such occasions, these cadres, too, are actually standing on the side of the anti-socialist minority. There are also a small number of cadres who, finding themselves involved in the anti-socialist activities of their subordinates, not only fail to squarely face their own mistakes but try to shield the culprits, encourage them and even collaborate with them in doing detrimental things to socialism. These people have definitely stepped out onto the anti-socialist path. Only those who, under all kinds of conditions, persistently work for socialism, show a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, and stand on the side of the vast majority of people, can be revolutionary successors. They who have forgotten the classes, the workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants,

the overwhelming majority of people in China and the whole world, the socialist revolution and construction, the communist ideal, who are solely concerned about their won interests and those of a small number of persons — these people are definitely unable to be revolutionary successors.

To unite and work together with the overwhelming majority of the people means, under present conditions, to unite with them in carrying forward the socialist revolution and construction. Revolution and construction is the common cause of the broad masses of people. To successfully carry out the revolution and construction we must be able to unite the overwhelming majority of people. By unity we mean only unity on principle, and not unity at the expense of principle. To work for socialism during the period of socialism is the highest principle on which unity must be based. We should, therefore, make a serious effort to unite with any comrade who works for socialism. If he has different views on some specific problems or has shown certain shortcomings or even made mistakes, we should still unite with him through criticism and self-criticism. As for those who do not take the socialist road we must wage serious struggles against their erroneous views and actions — even if they are former superiors, colleagues, subordinates or cadres who have given us the greatest help in the past. We can only unite with them when they admit their mistakes and are willing to correct them. It would be an unprincipled unity if one talked about unity without distinguishing between what is right and what is wrong on the major question of working for or against socialism. We must exercise great vigilance and resolutely struggle against the handful of

anti-Party conspirators, alien class elements who have wormed their way into the Party and hopelessly degenerated elements. However, we must draw a correct line between contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly deal with them; we must rely on the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who resolutely take the socialist road, win over as allies all that can be own, and unite with over 95 per cent of the people in order to jointly deal with the enemy of socialism. If we can unite with the overwhelming majority of the people we shall have strength and a solid foundation, and the cause of our Party and revolution will enjoy greater prosperity. Then we will be able to cope with any kind of hideous monsters or dangerous situations that might appear. Those who have no idea about uniting with the overwhelming majority of people or who do not know how to unite with them are not thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries and cannot be revolutionary successors.

To guarantee correct Party leadership and the promotion of the proletarian revolution we must persist in democratic centralism, follow the mass line, promote democracy within and without the Party, enthuse the vast majority of people to the full and unite the Marxist-Leninist core of leadership with them in order to carry out the socialist revolution and construction together. If we do not persist in democratic centralism and follow the mass line, opinions from below will not reach the top. Then correct views will not be known to leading organizations and the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and the people will suffer unjustified suppression. If the leading organizations are ill-informed and cannot see a clear picture of the situation and, what

is worse, if they allow themselves to be hoodwinked by disreputable cadres and mistake falsehood for truth, they will be unable to formulate and carry out a correct policy. Class enemies, too, may deceive them and exploit their ignorance in order to damage the socialist cause. Proletarian revolutionaries, therefore, must be democratic. They must let people express different opinions and hold discussions with them. They must frequently listen to the opinions and demands of the masses and sum up the correct views after analysis. Nothing will prove insurmountable if the power and wisdom of the masses is really brought into play. To enthuse the masses, we must resort to democracy, not bureaucratism; to the mass line, not arbitrariness; to reason, not force. Decisions made by a large number of people may, of course, be wrong. But there is no need for anxiety, it is easier to correct a mistake if a large number of people draw a lesson from it and collectively put it right. To correctly practise centralism and exercise leadership on the basis of democracy, reason and the mass line is the Party's worthy tradition formed under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In the past we adhered closely to this tradition and thus ensured the victory of the revolution. Today, we have taken over state power and set up a strong proletarian dictatorship. We must be always on our guard to make sure we do not lose this tradition. We must let every generation of successors understand it so that it can be handed down to posterity without fail. Revolutionary successors must be models in carrying out the Party's democratic centralism. Those who suppress democracy and act in a totally unreasonable and autocratic man-

ner are neither true proletarian revolutionaries nor qualified to be revolutionary successors.

Whether to practise self-criticism earnestly is an important criterion for distinguishing a proletarian political party from other political parties. Our Party is the party in power and has scored great achievements in socialist revolution and construction. This makes it all the more necessary for our Party members and cadres to be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity, ever ready to be self-critical, and brave enough to correct shortcomings and mistakes in their work. Any speech or action, be it great or small, is wrong if it does not help to strengthen the Party's leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the interests of socialist revolution and construction and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. People guilty of such mistakes should be subjected to criticism and self-criticism and make up their minds to correct their mistakes. All criticisms which are in the interests of socialism should be accepted with sincerity. Some comrades are proud, complacent and do not want to make any progress. They cannot see the merits that other people, localities or working units may have. Nor can they see their own shortcomings or those of their own localities and working units. They lack the modesty to learn from the more advanced. Some comrades feel elated when praised for achievements but greatly depressed when criticized for shortcomings. Because they are unwilling to recognize shortcomings or to accept criticisms they even use every pretext to defend themselves and try to find fault with the correct opinions of other people. All this harms the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses and hampers the progress of so-

cialist revolution and construction. Everyone can make mistakes. Only through frequently checking one's work, accepting criticism, making self-criticism and boldly rectifying mistakes and shortcomings can one hope to resist political "dust and germs", make fewer mistakes in one's work, and be able to prevent a small mistake from becoming a big one. Proletarian revolutionaries alone can be thoroughgoing in self-criticism. Revisionists can never do it. It is precisely for this reason that proletarian revolutionaries are always marching in front of the masses and promoting the revolution, while revisionists will inevitably be buried by their mistakes and abandoned by the people. It is excusable to make mistakes through lack of experience. But it is unpardonable to persist in doing the wrong things through the lack of a self-critical spirit. Revolutionary successors must be strictly self-critical. Only thus will they be able to accumulate rich experiences as the old revolutionaries have done. Proud and complacent comrades, who do not want to make any progress and are unwilling to be self-critical, are not thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries and cannot be successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

So long as we choose and train revolutionary successors strictly according to Marxist-Leninist standards, the proletarian revolution will vigorously develop. So long as the vast number of revolutionary successors fulfil Comrade Mao Tse-tung's requirements they will certainly weather all storms and successfully smash all the underhand plots of the revisionists — even if there are twists and turns in the course of the revolution and revisionism appears at certain junctures.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's requirements clearly point out the path which all cadres must take if they want to be revolutionaries. The requirements serve as the guiding principle for the Party's work concerning cadres and all revolutionary workers and their successors must fulfil them. Only when this has been achieved can comrades more successfully master professional knowledge, acquire technical ability, learn the art of administration in the fields of politics, economics, science and culture, give better service to socialism and become socialist-minded and professionally competent proletarian revolutionaries. Party organizations at all levels must seriously study and discuss these requirements put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and thoroughly propagate them among cadres, Party members and the people in order to educate them. They must, in accordance with these requirements, educate all cadres and observe their conduct in order to bring up and choose successors to leading positions at all levels. Similarly, they must urge the large numbers of cadres, Party members and everyone devoted to the revolution to consciously fulfil these requirements, and remould and improve themselves accordingly. They must also make these requirements known to the rank and file, within and without the Party, so that they can elect leaders and supervise their work accordingly. This achieved, we will be sure of the advance of the revolution and its constant victory.

3. TRAIN SUCCESSORS IN THE THREE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

The old proletarian revolutionaries were bred up in mass struggles and steeled in great revolutionary storms.

Now, new revolutionaries must also acquire experience and steel themselves in mass struggles and great revolutionary storms if they are to gain the revolutionary character and ability of their predecessors. There is no other way out.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in his comments made on May 9, 1963 on the "Seven Well-written Materials Concerning Cadres of Chekiang Province Who Take Part in Manual Labour":

> Class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building up a powerful socialist country; they are a sure guarantee for enabling the Communists to be free from bureaucratism, revisionism and dogmatism, and always to stand up to all attacks; they are a reliable guarantee for enabling the proletariat to unite with the broad masses of working people to carry out democratic dictatorship.

It is only through the three revolutionary movements that the material and spiritual factors of socialism and communism can emerge and develop. It is also through these movements that the new forces of the revolution — the revolutionary successors — can be continuously trained.

The three revolutionary movements prepare the ground for everyone to be tested and remoulded. All devoted revolutionaries should take part in these movements. In doing this, they should follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's directions, that is, while changing the objective world they should change their own subjective world. They should firmly establish their class, mass, labour and dialectical materialist points of view in

order to steel and transform themselves into qualified proletarian revolutionaries.

Many comrades among our cadres still lack personal experience of the three movements of the socialist period. The experience some comrades gained in the struggles of the period of the democratic revolution may not be entirely useful in the socialist period. Therefore many comrades will have to consider the question of learning all over again in face of new problems and the new revolutionary situation. As for the younger comrades, many grew up in a peaceful environment following the victory of the democratic revolution. They have no personal experience of serious class struggle. They do not know the real meaning of class oppression and exploitation; they do not appreciate the insidious and malicious tactics used by the class enemy; nor do they know what landlords and capitalists are really like. In short, they have to start learning right from the beginning. So all cadres, young and old, should steel themselves in the three revolutionary movements, in particular at the foremost front of these movements, that is, in the various organizations at the grass-roots level. All cadres should try to pass this test. Even comrades who were experienced in work at the grass-roots level in the past but lack experience in the present period of socialist revolution should try to make up for this deficiency.

It is important to be steeled in work at the grass-roots level and settle down there to acquire first-hand experience in the three revolutionary movements. Without doing this one can have neither a true understanding of the socialist revolution nor the right to speak on the problems of the revolution. Nor can one become a strong, reliable mainstay of the Party in the period of

socialist revolution or be qualified for leadership in the socialist revolution. In short, one would lack the requisites for becoming a proletarian revolutionary successor. If one has not acquired first-hand experience in the three revolutionary movements and insists on doing the work of leadership, one will undoubtedly make a mess of the job. If one carries out the work of leadership by merely listening to reports, reading figures and diagrams and using the telephone instead of drawing upon first-hand experience gained during one's stay at grass-roots level one will not be able to recognize the real conditions of things and, in particular, discover the key problems in the work. One will not even be able to understand reports from those who have settled down at the grass-roots level. Nor will one be able to give instructions when one is asked to do so and if one gives instructions they would probably turn out to be wrong. In any case, it is very dangerous to give directions at work when one is out of touch with reality and the masses. As a matter of fact, if one does not work for a certain period of time in a grass-roots unit and gain first-hand experience one cannot give leadership to grass-roots organizations. If a grass-roots unit has serious problems or has degenerated, it will take advantage of bureaucratic leadership and direct it along harmful lines, thus causing greater damages.

In order to be steeled in a grass-roots organization, one must settle down there for a long period, become one with the masses, and, together with them, take part in labour, revolutionary struggle and the socialist education movement. One must actually go deep into the workshops of the factories or the production brigades and teams in the countryside, and go through the entire

movement from beginning to end so as to gain a full range of experience. Some people pay a hasty visit to the countryside or a factory and leave after a quick round of inspection. Some people, acting like an imperial envoy, go to the masses, deliver a speech, collect some material and return to their offices. After their arrival at the grass-roots organization some people still continue to work by relying on oral and written reports or materials instead of by going deep among the masses and making first-hand studies and investigations. Others merely transmit instructions given by their superiors instead of seriously studying and solving the problems in accordance with those instructions. Some stay for a long time at hostels or in offices and do not want to live with the masses. Some do not take an active part in manual labour, loaf around in a leisurely manner and do not get their muscles used to toil. They are even unable to tell the difference between the various kinds of grain crops. Some are indifferent to the fiery class struggle and struggle for production although they are living among the masses — these people cannot be said to have stayed and worked at the grass-roots level nor to have steeled themselves in mass struggles. At best, they can only be said to have made their rounds or paid their visits to these units. If one loves ease and leisure, detests hard life and does not want to stay and work among the masses at the grass-roots level then one has already begun to degenerate under the influence of bourgeois ideology.

In organizing the vast number of cadres to take part in the three revolutionary struggles and the socialist education movement, the most important thing is to arm them with Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-

tung's thinking so that they can solve various kinds of practical problems with the proletarian stand, viewpoint and method. At present, a mass movement is being launched for studying Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It is characterized by the use of the method of creatively applying what one has studied and of combining study with practice. The Party organizations at various levels should continue to give strong and adequate leadership to this movement. They should help all comrades who have practical experience in work to raise their rich perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge. All comrades who have only got book knowledge and lack practical experience in work are required to take part in revolutionary practice so that the revolutionary theories they have studied can be translated into action. In this way cadres will become mature more quickly and revolutionary successors will be brought up more quickly.

In the course of the three great revolutionary movements a large number of outstanding revolutionaries have appeared or are appearing. The duty of leaders is to discover and train them. This means we must take several effective measures concerning our organizational and ideological work.

1. Organize large numbers of cadres to take part in the socialist education movement. The movement now being launched throughout the country, with the participants organized in batches and in successive periods, is the most widespread and thoroughgoing socialist revolutionary movement our Party has launched since it gained state power. It is the best school for training cadres and successors to the proletarian revolution. All cadres — apart from the aged, the physically weak and

the sick, should take part in the movement group by group. Leading cadres at all levels should head the working teams. Led by veterans who are ideologically sound, have a good style of work and experience in mass work, all cadres should steel themselves, remould themselves and raise their ability in this great struggle. Comrades who have not been tested and steeled in acute class struggle and in work at the grass-roots level should take part in the movement for a longer time. This will give them the chance to make up for what they have missed and will lay a firm foundation for further revolutionizing themselves. The practice of organizing cadres into grass-roots organizations for personal participation in revolutionary struggles among the masses should be persistently carried out in the future and made into an established custom.

2. Earnestly keep up the system of cadres taking part in collective productive labour to enable them to keep broad, regular and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. This is an essential requisite for ensuring the revolutionization of cadres. The practice of cadres taking part in manual labour should not come and go like a gust of wind — it should be regular and institutional. This is a basic requirement of the socialist education movement. It is a fundamental institution of our country, a permanent institution, and it must be carried out even after the advent of the communist society. The old cadres and leading cadres should take the lead in persistently carrying it out.

3. Take further steps to reform the systems of education and labour. We must gradually create conditions so that workers and peasants can study political theories, science and culture. We must combine school

education with productive labour in a more satisfactory way. Apart from those who will continue studying in higher institutions, students should be better organized and sent to work in the agricultural and industrial fronts. Thus, gradually intellectuals will at the same time be manual workers, and workers and peasants will at the same time be intellectuals. And large numbers of brilliant, cultured workers and peasants as well as revolutionary intellectuals with close ties to workers and peasants will be brought up. This is a safe and reliable way of cultivating fresh revolutionary forces and training revolutionary successors. In this way a new type of cadre will emerge who will maintain close relations with the masses and who will be fit for both high and low positions, qualified to be a cadre or an ordinary worker, and be familiar with both book knowledge and the skill of production.

4. Make a regular and close examination of the cadres and activists and try to know everything about their personal records and work. Every leading cadre should be a Po Lo.[1] He should be as skilful in discovering new talents born of mass struggles as Po Lo was skilful in discovering swift horses. In examining a cadre we must judge him in the light of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's five requirements. We must judge a cadre by his essential qualities and his stand on matters of principle. In order to make an accurate judgment we must examine a cadre with great thoroughness, not only by listening to his words, but, above all, observing his behaviour.

5. Freely employ the cadres. Don't hesitate to promote, and assign important tasks to new comrades who

[1] Expert on horses in ancient China.

have steeled themselves in work at the grass-roots level and in manual labour. Meanwhile, strict demands should be made of them while concrete help and guidance should also be given them.

6. Teach the cadres, especially the old ones, to welcome the new cadres with enthusiasm and to take good care of them in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions. In the final analysis, the work of training revolutionary successors should be done by old cadres. All thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries should feel happy at the growth of new forces and should train successors by acting as their model. The enthusiasm and concern a cadre shows for the new forces and the zeal he displays in training revolutionary successors is a yardstick for measuring his Party spirit.

7. Make the vast number of cadres clearly realize the great importance of training revolutionary successors and overcome the conservative ideas and habits in work concerning cadres. These conservative ideas and habits are manifested in the fact that some comrades' ideas lag behind reality. They have no clear idea about the new situation in the class struggle going on at home and abroad nor a clear knowledge or deep understanding of the great strategic task of training revolutionary successors put forward by the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung under the present situation. These ideas and habits are also seen in the fact that some comrades know little about the development of new forces. They make no active effort to train them nor take the initiative to discover them but, when in need of new cadres, they stretch out their hands and ask their superiors for them. Furthermore, these ideas and habits are seen in those whose work concerning cadres

is governed by a strict set of rules involving qualification, seniority and rank and other restrictions. Obviously, if these conservative ideas and habits are not overcome as soon as possible the growth of new forces will be stunted and it will be impossible to speedily train revolutionary successors.

8. Regularly supervise the implementation of democratic centralism in Party organizations, government offices, mass organizations at various levels, enterprises, and government undertakings. Make life in the Party healthy and sound, and carry out criticism and self-criticism. Steel and train the cadres in active, spirited political life and put them constantly under the supervision of the Party organizations and the broad masses of the people.

9. Set up political work organizations at all levels and in all fields. Effectively strengthen the regular ideological and political work involving the vast number of cadres and the broad masses of the people and energetically promote the task of making them revolutionaries. Try to gain a better understanding of cadres through regular ideological and political work and the views of the masses, and educate cadres with a definite object in mind.

10. A long-term and comprehensive plan must be drawn up in order to carry out the above-mentioned measures. In accordance with the needs of socialist revolution and construction, satisfactory plans must be mapped out for training new forces and revolutionary successors, especially successors to the chief leading cadres at all levels in the Party and government. Improve and strengthen the cores of leadership at all levels — including the grass-roots level — and in all fields and

be sure they become headquarters which are truly in the hands of the proletariat and have the power to command. Where a strong core of leadership has not yet been formed the work of reorganization, readjustment and reinforcement must be systematically carried out. Cores of leadership must be proportionately staffed with hardened old cadres and young and brilliant new cadres. The chief leading cadres at all levels and in all fields must decide on the question of successors, taking concrete steps for the selection of candidates and the methods of training them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given us the great strategic task of training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. He has explained the requirements they must fulfil. We must follow his directions and make a success of the work of training revolutionary successors — the work must be done at both high and low levels, in all places, at all times, and in all sincerity and earnestness. Under the guidance of the Party's Central Committee and our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung and with the effort of the whole Party, our Party will certainly be able to fulfil this great strategic task set by history. As we shall see, batch by batch and generation after generation, large numbers of revolutionary successors will grow to full stature and our revolution will advance triumphantly along the correct path of Marxism-Leninism.

CULTIVATING AND TRAINING MILLIONS OF SUCCESSORS TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(August 3, 1964)

Cultivation of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is an important question of strategic significance set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. To guarantee the final victory of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the cause of communism, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies, but must bring up and train millions of successors.

Our proletarian revolutionary cause is vigorously developing. Great victories have been won in the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country. The forty-three years since the founding of the Communist Party of China and the fifteen years since the founding of the People's Republic of China have provided vivid and powerful proof that the Chinese people can surmount all obstacles on their revolutionary road and advance triumphantly. This is because they have the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and are guided by a line that combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. It

is also because the nucleus of Party leadership at all levels is tempered through rectification campaigns and class struggle. Now the pressing task is to cultivate successors who will carry on the revolution from generation to generation and strengthen constantly the nucleus of Party leadership at all levels so that the Party's correct line and correct policies will be carried on at all times.

Generally speaking, to bring up successors to the proletarian revolution is to cultivate a powerful force that will be able to persistently carry on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat from generation to generation. In particular it means the cultivation of a nucleus of the leadership of the Party and the state at all levels, which is capable of leading the revolutionary cause of the proletariat from generation to generation. It is this leading nucleus that decides the direction for the advance of the revolutionary cause. And whether it consists of real proletarian revolutionaries or not is a decisive matter for the success or failure of our whole revolutionary cause.

The cause of socialism and communism is the greatest and most arduous in human history. Achieving the complete victory of socialism is a matter not for one or two generations, but for five or ten generations, or even longer. Throughout this historical period, storms of class struggle will break out in various forms. The bourgeoisie and all other overthrown exploiting classes always attempt to stage a comeback. The class enemies both at home and abroad understand that to make a socialist country degenerate into a capitalist country, it is necessary first to make the Communist Party degenerate into a revisionist party. And to do this, it is necessary first to make the nucleus of the Party leadership at various levels degenerate. The grave danger of capitalist resto-

ration in the Soviet Union several decades after the October Revolution is, first of all, the result of the degeneration of the leading Khrushchov clique. Just before his death, the U.S. reactionary ringleader John Foster Dulles was still thinking of a capitalist restoration in China, but when he saw there was no hope among the nucleus of the leadership in the present and the next generation of our revolutionary ranks, he pinned his hopes on our third and fourth generations. The imperialists' wishes, the lessons to be drawn from the modern revisionists' damage to the Soviet Union and the facts of the present class struggle in our country underline one warning: In long, complicated class struggle, we must constantly strengthen the nucleus of Party leadership at all levels to resist corrosion by the class enemy, and we must pay greater attention to choosing, cultivating and training the successors to the proletarian revolution, especially the successors to the nucleus of the leadership at all levels.

The great majority of the members in the nucleus of our Party leadership at all levels were tempered in the grave class struggles in the past, especially in the revolutionary civil wars and the War of Resistance Against Japan. Most of them are armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It should be noted, however, that the revolution in China has long since passed from a national-democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. The nature of class struggle in the period of socialist revolution is fundamentally different from that in the national-democratic revolution. The national-democratic revolution was directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The socialist revolution has as its task the elimination of capitalism in its entirety, in addition to carrying on the revolution

against imperialism and feudalism at the same time. Not only must the capitalist system of exploitation be eliminated on the economic front, but the remnant capitalist forces on the political and ideological fronts must be also completely eliminated. The bourgeois world outlook, bourgeois political influence and the force of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits must be condemned and done away with thoroughly. The socialist revolution is an uninterrupted process which must be ceaselessly carried forward more widely and deeply on all fronts. Therefore, the broadening and deepening of the revolution call for the re-education of cadres and readjustment in the revolutionary ranks. We cannot rest content with the fact that the nucleus of the Party leadership at all levels was good in the past, nor that it is good at present. We must make higher demands on them and their successors: They must be able resolutely to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and stand the test of still greater storms of class struggle.

What are the standards for choosing the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat? The experiences and lessons of the communist movement and the dictatorship of the proletariat show that these successors must meet the following five requirements.

First, they must be genuine Marxist-Leninists.

Members of the nucleus of leadership at every level of the revolutionary ranks must have a better understanding of Marxism-Leninism, especially a true understanding of its essence. In philosophy, the essence of Marxism-Leninism is dialectical-materialism, the law of the unity of opposites in particular, and in politics, it is the thesis on class struggle, particularly the thesis of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat. Genuine Marxist-Leninists must apply the law of the unity of opposites to the handling of matters and persist in the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

To become genuine Marxist-Leninists, the successors to the proletarian revolution must integrate their study of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism closely with the concrete practice of the revolutionary struggles — with the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, with the summing up of experience gained in all fields of socialist revolution and construction, with the solution of questions in actual work, and with the remoulding of their own ideology.

The thinking of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed in the epoch when imperialism is heading for collapse and socialism is advancing towards victory — Marxism-Leninism which, during the great revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. If they want to be genuine Marxist-Leninists, the successors to the proletarian revolution in China must perseveringly study Mao Tse-tung's works and be good at creatively applying what one has studied.

Secondly, they must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world.

Essentially, the question of serving the overwhelming majority of the people is a matter of class stand and world outlook. In observing and dealing with any problem, the proletarian revolutionary must always stand on the side of the working people and all the exploited and oppressed people in the world, who comprise the

overwhelming majority of mankind, and not on the side of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who constitute only a very small minority.

The successor to the proletarian revolution must selflessly serve the common good and unremittingly oppose individualism. He must, under all circumstances, place the interests of the whole above all others and firmly oppose departmentalism; he must persist in proletarian internationalism and firmly oppose national-egoism. Individualism, departmentalism and national-egoism are as incompatible with the utterly unselfish revolutionary cause of the proletariat as water is with fire. Both departmentalism and national-egoism have their roots in bourgeois individualism. To be a successor to the proletarian revolution, one must, under all circumstances, put the interests of the overwhelming majority in first place and not be a prey to the temptations of bourgeois individualism. When the situation demands, he should be ready to sacrifice his personal interests, even his blood and life, in order to defend the interests of the greatest majority of the people.

Thirdly, 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.

In any leading group or any unit, there may be different views on a question. This is a good thing and not a bad thing. Members of the nucleus of leadership must be good at making the best use of collective wisdom, listening to all useful opinions and working with people with different views. They must be good at creating an

atmosphere in which problems can be earnestly discussed and studied so that comrades with differing views can freely express their opinions, thrash them out in debates and discover what is right and wrong. In these discussions, they must raise comrades' ideological level of Marxism-Leninism and their ability to discover errors and so strengthen unity among them on Marxist-Leninist principles. There may be some incorrigible elements, but they will only form a very small minority. When the majority is united, the few die-hards will be isolated. Vigilance must be maintained at all times against careerists and conspirators so as to prevent such bad elements from seizing the leadership.

Fourthly, 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.

The mass line "from the masses, to the masses" is a fundamental line of our Party in all kinds of work. We must be good at systematically summing up the experience and opinions of the masses and at bringing them back to the masses so that the masses stand up for them and act on them. Commandism and the practice of doing things all by oneself, which are detrimental to the initiative of the masses, should never be allowed. We must be good at using the form of revolutionary struggle created by the people of our country, i.e., full and frank expression of views and debates, and rely on the masses to resolve contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy.

The Party's democratic centralism is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy with centralized

guidance, namely the unity of democracy and centralism. Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat must be trained to adhere consciously to the Party's democratic centralism and to strictly abide by the principle of integrating collective leadership with individual responsibility. It is absolutely necessary to oppose the arbitrary style of "do as I say", the rude style of not treating others as equals, and the style of those who welcome flattery but turn like a wounded tiger on those who raise criticism. All these are the rotten style of bureaucracy, remnants of long rule by the exploiting classes. Such a style is the greatest enemy that hampers the Party's ties with the broad masses.

Fifthly, 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.

A modest and prudent proletarian revolutionary should not see his own merit only, and should not be arrogant and complacent, and content with things as they are. A good leader is not one who does not have any mistake and shortcoming in his work, but one who constantly tries to prevent mistakes and shortcomings and strives to make as few mistakes as possible or no mistakes at all on major questions of principle. It is necessary, too, that after having committed mistakes, he can seriously examine and correct them and have the courage to accept responsibility for them. He must not cover up his errors in his own interest, claim all credit for himself and shift all the blame on others.

To carry out criticism and self-criticism seriously is one of the criteria for serious political parties and serious revolutionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung always reminds

us that a person should treat his mistakes and shortcomings in the same way as he washes his face every day or goes to the doctor when he falls ill without concealing his illness and avoiding treatment. The successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat should, therefore, have the courage to carry out self-criticism and be good at overcoming shortcomings and correcting mistakes, and should constantly remould themselves in the course of transforming the world.

All successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat who measure up to these five conditions will be able to meet the tests of all class struggles and carry the socialist revolution resolutely to the end. They will be able to create and maintain an animated and lively political situation in which there are centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind. Then the socialist revolution and construction will advance vigorously along a correct road.

To select successors to the nucleus of leadership at all levels in strict conformity with the five conditions, special attention must be paid to implementing the Party's class line. The focus of selecting and training the successors should be on advanced cadres of worker, poor peasant and lower-middle peasant origin. With their history of severe exploitation and oppression these people from the proletariat and semi-proletariat have the most revolutionary political attitude and thus most readily accept Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. They can work most resolutely for the overwhelming majority of the people in China and the rest of the world, rally the overwhelming majority of the people for the revolutionary cause, consciously carry out the mass line and have the courage to carry out self-

criticism. Of course, successors to the revolutionary cause should not be selected and cultivated only from the viewpoint of class origin. A few persons of good class origin who are subject to corruption by the ideology of the exploiting classes will not be able to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. On the other hand, some persons who do not come from families of labouring people can, through education by the Party, forsake their original class and be tempered through revolutionary struggles into proletarian revolutionaries. But attention must be paid to ensure that people of good class and family origin, who have been tempered for a long period through class struggles, account for the great majority of the nucleus of the leadership in the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat. This is the class basis for guaranteeing that the revolutionary ranks and the nucleus of leadership will never change colour.

In choosing successors to the revolutionary cause in accordance with the five conditions, attention must also be paid to testing and examining them for long periods in fierce and complex class struggles. Whether a person is a genuine proletarian revolutionary cannot be judged by his profuse use of revolutionary phraseology or by his daily routine work, but in the storm and stress of class struggle. Therefore, cadres at all levels and revolutionary young people must be organized to take part in a planned way in revolutionary mass movements, which at the present time means taking part in the socialist education movement in the cities and countryside. This is to enable them to weather the storms of mass struggle, see its magnitude and be tested and tempered in class struggle.

The five conditions laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung indicate qualifications needed by the successors to the revolutionary cause for the nucleus of leadership at all levels. All new and veteran cadres throughout the revolutionary ranks should strive to live up to these five conditions, accepting them as a goal to be attained through tempering themselves.

In choosing and cultivating successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the nucleus of the Party and state leadership at all levels, especially those with positions of primary responsibility, are confronted with a heavy task. While directing the revolutionary struggles on all fronts, they are responsible for cultivating and training people who will carry on the revolutionary cause. They must successfully carry out this strategic task which concerns the great, everlasting cause of socialism and communism, and help to raise the level of leading cadres holding positions of secondary responsibility so as to create a strong nucleus of leadership for generations to come.

To cultivate and train successors to the revolutionary cause in accordance with the five conditions is a question of great theoretical and practical significance put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and an important development of Marxism-Leninism in the historical stage of socialism. We must pay serious attention to this question. All fronts, departments, areas, enterprises, people's communes, government organizations and schools must, from top to bottom, universally and continually, pay attention to this question. All work should be so arranged as to aid the cultivation of the revolutionary ranks, especially successors to the nucleus of leadership at all levels. If this link is firmly grasped

and the work is done successfully, it will enable the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause, started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, to have qualified successors. It will guarantee that the leadership of our Party and state continue to be in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries. And it will enable our descendants to march triumphantly forward along the correct road of Marxism-Leninism from generation to generation.

TRAINING SUCCESSORS — A LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

Hongqi Editorial

(No. 14, 1964)

The training of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is an important strategic task put before the whole Party by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is a task that bears upon the consolidation and development of the revolution as well as the fate of the Party and nation.

The heavy and protracted tasks of revolution and construction undertaken by the Party and the people need a long-term plan. During the time of the democratic revolution Comrade Mao Tse-tung expressed the revolutionary will of the Chinese Communists by using the parable of "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved the Mountains". He meant that to remove the twin mountains of imperialism and feudalism the Chinese Communists were ready to work like the Foolish Old Man who planned the removal of the mountains through the work of one generation after another. After the people's war of liberation had won fundamental victory Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out: "But we still have much work to do; to use the analogy of a journey, our past work is only the first step in a long march of ten

thousand *li*."[1] The task facing us now is more stupendous, more difficult and more complex than that of the democratic revolution. It involves carrying on the socialist revolution to the end, consolidating and developing the socialist economy, ridding China of poverty and backwardness and turning it into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology. It means struggling for the realization of communism in the future. Internationally, we must unite with the proletarians and oppressed people and nations throughout the world so as to win complete victory in the gradual realization of the world proletarian revolution and establish a new world free from imperialism, capitalism and the system of exploitation. This task cannot be accomplished, of course, by one generation of Marxist-Leninists. It must be taken up by revolutionary people of the successive generations to come.

Viewed from the angle of class struggle at home and abroad, the problem of training successors becomes all the more urgent and important. The imperialists abroad headed by the United States pin their hope on the "peaceful evolution" of China through the degeneration of our third and fourth generations. Who can dismiss this view as entirely groundless? So long as there are classes and class struggle and a conflict between the socialist and capitalist roads throughout the transitional period from capitalism to communism, there will not be one road and one prospect, but two roads and two pros-

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[1] Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 422.

pects, for future social development. It will be possible to successfully achieve socialist construction and then realize communism if the revolution is carried on by true proletarian revolutionaries who adhere faithfully to Marxism-Leninism, firmly stand for proletarian dictatorship and persist in carrying out the socialist revolution to the end. However, if we allow the Party and government leadership to be usurped by people imbued with the ideas of the exploiting classes and revisionism and by those who stand apart from or oppose the revolution or, if by neglecting to give education and training, we make revolutionary successors of young people who have been influenced and corrupted by bourgeois and revisionist ideas, then the revolution will stop half-way, socialism will "evolve peacefully" into capitalism, and capitalism itself will be restored. The international communist movement has already provided us with such lessons. Modern revisionists are trying to turn the younger generation into pleasure-seeking worthless persons by hamstringing their revolutionary will through the dissemination of bourgeois ideas of individualism. These people, of course, can only be successors to the exploiting class and not to the proletariat.

Now, in every sphere of life in China there is the class struggle with the overthrown reactionary classes plotting to stage a come-back. There are frantic attacks by the old and new bourgeoisie and degenerate elements who, like the imperialists and reactionaries abroad, are fighting and resorting to every means to win the younger generation from the proletariat and lead them onto the non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary path. The fact that some leaderships in grass-roots organizations have been usurped and some cadres have degenerated

underlines this truth: if the leadership of an organization is not in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries but usurped and controlled by members of the old or new bourgeoisie or by degenerates, it will inevitably become a haunt for landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the like and a source of corruption, robbery, thievery, speculation, profiteering and immorality. The socialist cause will be seriously damaged by the unchecked growth of the capitalist forces which will inevitably lead to the ruin of the socialist economy and the corruption and degeneration of some of the youths in the organizations concerned. This cannot but arouse us to special vigilance.

The Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has been established during the long revolutionary struggle in China. Applying the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism Comrade Mao Tse-tung has summed up China's practical experience, studied the positive and negative experience of other countries and put forward systematic theories and policies concerning the proletarian revolution and dictatorship, standing firmly for the thorough completion of the socialist revolution in the economic, political and ideological fields and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This fundamentally guarantees the prevention of a capitalist come-back and enables the younger generation to devote themselves for ever to revolution without going astray. But, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, to ensure that our Party and government will not change colour we must not only have correct lines and policies but also train millions of rev-

olutionary successors. It is only by continuously and successfully training revolutionary successors in all organizations at all levels and by firmly placing the leadership of all departments into the hands of proletarian revolutionaries from generation to generation that we can definitely avoid the contamination of revisionism and always defeat the imperialists' plot of "peaceful evolution".

It can be seen, therefore, that the training of revolutionary successors provides an important experience in the proletarian revolution and dictatorship; it is a basic revolutionary measure for ensuring that our Party and nation will not change colour. Thus, the article "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World" points out:

> In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our Party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China. In short, it is an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary

cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years.[1]

For this reason, to us revolutionaries, the question of whether or not we pay close attention to the training of revolutionary successors becomes an important criterion for judging whether or not we are politically far-sighted, whether or not we have grasped the concept of class struggle and how firmly we have grasped it, whether or not we have a feeling of revolutionary responsibility and how strong that feeling is.

We notice with satisfaction that many cadres in grass-roots organizations, thanks to their political far-sightedness and their feeling of responsibility to the revolution have earnestly taken up the exceedingly important task of training revolutionary successors. They have analysed conditions, discovered problems, and adopted measures in order to inject new blood into the ranks of Party members and cadres and reinforce the teams of leading comrades.

Since the law of the new superseding the old applies to all things, our revolutionary ranks must undergo the process of the younger generation replacing the older: in this way they can maintain and strengthen their fighting power and be endowed with infinite vitality. Revolutionaries should consciously observe this nature's law and actively train the outstanding members of the younger generation so that the ranks of Party members and cadres, as well as the teams of leading comrades, may be replenished with new blood and a new backbone

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[1] *The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 477-478.

of cadres. At present, the average leading cadre in the grass-roots organizations is more than forty years old while the number of Party members over forty is very large. Of course, a man over forty is still fit and strong and capable of doing a lot of work. But what will happen in ten or twenty years' time? Bearing this in mind, we shall see that the problem of training successors and adding new blood merits great attention and its solution must not be delayed.

Revolutionary cadres of the older generation are the great assets of the Party and nation. They have played their part in the revolution and are respected by the people. In the past they have stood the test and steeled themselves in great storms of class struggle under the most trying conditions. With a firm proletarian stand, a strong revolutionary will and a good understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking, they have carried on the Party's excellent tradition and style of work. Furthermore, they have gained rich experience during the long process of revolutionary work. To take the revolution to the end, cadres of the older generation should, despite their age, gird themselves and try to do more for the people. But they must also know that one's span of life is limited, but the road of the revolution is extremely long, and therefore things must be considered from a long view. Like the long-distance relay runners, they should make preparations to hand the revolutionary work over to the younger generation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung once said to the youths: "The world is as much yours as ours but ultimately it is yours." This means that the younger generation has to assume the glorious mission of shaping the future destiny of the world. It also means that revolu-

tionaries of the old generation have the great responsibility of training new people. Cadres of the older generation should be far-sighted and give more consideration to the future of the revolution, to the revolution of ten or twenty years ahead or even more. They should regard the work of training successors as their bounden duty. They can be said to have fulfilled their final duty only when they have duly handed over to the younger generation the difficult revolutionary task, their glorious revolutionary tradition and rich experience of revolution, and when they have seen the younger generation grow into maturity, hold aloft the red flag of revolution and shoulder the heavy responsibility of carrying on the revolution.

We often say that leaders should be skilled in the work concerning man. This work is mainly of an ideological and political nature. It involves bringing into play the enthusiasm of the broad masses in revolution and construction and ensuring that all work smoothly develop along correct Marxist-Leninist lines and in accordance with the Party's principles and policies. The problem of training successors is an important part of this work. "A great revolution," said Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "requires a great party and many first-rate cadres to guide it." He also said: ". . . we must also regard it as our duty to discover many more new cadres and leaders in the Party and the country."[1] We must steadily train large numbers of outstanding men and women from among the younger generation to strengthen and rein-

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[1] Mao Tse-tung, "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 291.

force the leadership of the grass-roots organizations, so that these will become sound, competent and real commanding posts which are full of revolutionary fervour and militant ardour. Only then can we continually bring into play the revolutionary zeal of the masses and ensure the smooth progress of every department of work not only now but also in the days to come. A working unit may have done all its work but failed to train its personnel. From the short-range view, this unit may be said to have achieved successes, but from the long-range view, it will not produce reliable young people ready to carry on the work and this means that it has failed to accomplish the work concerning man and failed to fulfil the task of building the Party.

The training of revolutionary successors cannot be completed in a few days nor in a few months — it requires a long time to educate and train them. Because of this, all people in the leading positions must give serious thoughts to this question: either they choose promising young people, begin to train them and help them to mature before they are too old to work or they do so when they are too old to work — in other words, when it is too late — and so risk depriving themselves of successors. All Marxist-Leninists with a deep sense of responsibility to the revolutionary cause should adopt the first attitude and rule out the second. In this respect we should follow the example of Comrade Wang Chang-hsiu, former secretary of the Party branch of the Nanliu Production Brigade of the Nanfan People's Commune in Chianghsien, Shansi Province. As far back as the days when the land reform had just ended, the Party branch of the present-day Nanliu Production Brigade and Comrade Wang Chang-hsiu had already begun to train suc-

cessors for work in the Party branch. "Can man be immortal?" Wang said. "But the progress of the revolution must not be interrupted. Somebody has to do the work in the village and there must be successors." The Party branch saw that Chou Ming-shan, the son of a poor peasant, was eligible. First, they sent him to study at a senior primary school and later made him a teacher at a village school. After some training, they admitted him into the Party and made him the head of an agricultural producers' co-operative. After a long period of education and training Chou Ming-shan matured. His political and ideological level rose, his working ability greatly developed, and he became a worthy revolutionary successor. In 1957 he succeeded Wang Chang-hsiu as secretary of the Party branch. In 1959 the elder revolutionary Wang Chang-hsiu died, nevertheless the revolutionary work of the brigade continued to develop vigorously. After many years of difficult struggle waged by the local people under the leadership of the Party branch and Comrade Chou Ming-shan, the backwardness of the brigade was radically overcome and Nanliu became a model of transformation from poverty to wealth throughout the whole province. Commenting on the change in Nanliu, members of the provincial Party committee said Wang Chang-hsiu and other comrades who had rid themselves of the bourgeois trammels of caring about their own position and fame, possessed the great political foresight of the proletariat and the noble communist character. They began to look for and train revolutionary successors as far back as at the end of the land reform, steeling would-be leaders in class struggle and the struggle for production. When they saw a successor had matured they would gladly say: "You are a better

man than us. Come and be the leader." In all sincerity they gave up their position of leadership. Having done that they zealously support and help their successors, act in strict obedience to the young leaders and successfully fulfil all the tasks assigned to them by the Party branch.

The attitude of certain comrades to the problem of revolutionary successors is the opposite to that of comrades like Wang Chang-hsiu. They lack a strong sense of revolutionary responsibility, and communist consciousness and style of work. They fail to pay attention at an early enough stage to the extremely important problem of training revolutionary successors. Some comrades are unenthusiastic about helping to steel and develop young people because they feel they are young and inexperienced. A few other comrades are uninterested in helping the younger generation to mature and in choosing and training the new forces from among promising young people because they put status and seniority above all else and fear being replaced by them. This attitude is exceedingly harmful. It reveals a preoccupation with immediate and personal interests and a disregard for the future and the interests of the revolution. Unless this attitude is abandoned it will become a serious impediment to the growth of new forces and cause incalculable losses to the revolution.

It is true that all younger cadres have shortcomings of one kind or another. But these can be gradually overcome through being educated and steeled in revolutionary struggle. Besides, one should acknowledge the strong points possessed by younger cadres. They are in the prime of life, full of vigour, sensitive to new things and highly enthusiastic about their work. If they are willing to work hard, bring their strong points into play, over-

come their shortcomings and learn from the older revolutionaries, they could make rapid progress and catch up with older cadres in the not too distant future. In judging younger cadres we must not note their shortcomings and present level alone and ignore their strong points and rate of progress.

An old saying goes like this: "Never trust a man who has not yet grown a beard." In one respect this is true. Lacking experience and training, young men are liable to make mistakes in their work. But this makes it all the more necessary for us to be concerned with and ready to help them. If, from the above saying, we conclude that young men are unreliable and cannot be trusted with any important work, then we are using it as a pretext for paying insufficient attention to the new forces and obstructing their progress. This is entirely wrong. No one is born talented. Leaders, however able, have to make their mark by learning and steeling themselves in practice. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

> Both cadres and peasants will remould themselves in the course of the experience they gain in struggle. Let them get into action, and they will learn while doing and become more capable. Large numbers of excellent people will come forward in this way.[1]

Young people will never gain experience and become mature if we don't let them steel themselves in practical work and test themselves in big storms. We must never discourage them with the above saying and increase their worries. We should give them real help so as to boost

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[1] Mao Tse-tung, *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p. 2.

their courage and confidence in shouldering responsibilities to work. It is only in this way that we can speedily bring up thousands upon thousands of revolutionary successors.

To train people of the younger generation to become outstanding revolutionary successors we should give them a long-term class education, exhorting them to seriously study Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking. We must also let them work and steel themselves for a long time in the grass-roots organizations and among the masses. Grass-roots organizations are the battle fronts of the three revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. They are the best places for being steeled and remoulded because it is there that one is in direct contact with the broad masses and directly under their supervision. Most cadres of the older generation emerged from and matured in mass revolutionary struggle and prolonged work in grass-roots organizations. They got their knowledge, experience and professional ability mainly from working among the masses in grass-roots organizations. Their revolutionary character and excellent style of work were also developed mainly through actual struggle and close contact with the masses. In order to help the younger generation mature quickly and become outstanding revolutionary successors we must see to it that they steel themselves for long periods in grass-roots organizations, take root in the masses, undergo storm and stress, withstand tests and gain the widest possible experience. This is the fundamental method of training revolutionary successors. Attention, therefore, should be paid to training and promoting young cadres in grass-roots organizations. Young

cadres in government offices should be regularly sent, in turn, to steel themselves in grass-roots organizations. As a rule, school graduates should first go to grass-roots organizations in order to steel themselves in struggle and gain experience in actual work. At present, a socialist education movement is being launched in towns and countryside. It is a socialist revolutionary movement of profound significance and all cadres should actively take part in it. Young comrades who have not yet steeled themselves in class struggle should not miss this wonderful opportunity.

Young comrades who aspire to be revolutionary successors should clearly see the importance of working in grass-roots organizations. They should voluntarily, resolutely and enthusiastically go to these organizations. They should go into the midst of real life, become closely linked with the masses, amass practical experience and undergo all kinds of hardships and difficulties, especially tests in the storm of class struggle. As flowers cultivated in green-houses are usually unable to stand wind and rain, so are cadres brought up in a comfortable environment unable to weather the ordeals of storm and stress. It is impossible to become a worthy revolutionary successor unless one is determined to work and be steeled in grass-roots organizations.

Patient help and guidance by revolutionaries of the older generation is indispensable for the upbringing of revolutionary successors. The younger generation should voluntarily take the initiative to learn the strong points of older revolutionaries, try to enlist their help, and regard their guidance as a favourable condition for their rapid growth and progress.

The training of revolutionary successors is a common task of the whole Party as well as an urgent task calling for the attention of all grass-roots organizations, which number by the thousand in all regions, fronts and fields. The Party's policies must be propagated and thoroughly carried out by these organizations before they can be accepted and acted on by the masses. The political direction and level of efficiency in such organizations vitally affect the entire socialist cause. Besides, they are also important centres for training and steeling cadres. The Party and government largely depend on them as the source of personnel because outstanding cadres must be chosen from among those who have long been hardened and tested in practical work. For this reason, in training revolutionary successors we should direct our attention to the grass-roots organizations. The Party committees at various levels should help and instruct all such organizations under their control — including the people's communes, production brigades, factories, offices, and schools — to regard the training of revolutionary successors as an important part of socialist construction and Party building and to have it listed as an important item in their programme of work.

培养革命接班人是党的一項战略任务

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外文出版社出版（北京）
1965年第一版
編号：（英）3050—1293
00035
3—E—695P