

HU YAO-PANG

**REVOLUTIONIZE
OUR YOUTH!**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This report is divided into five parts:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED LINES IN YOUTH WORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

gains without doing any work is the common characteristic of all exploiters and the source of all evils. Manual labour is not only a necessary means of creating wealth and transforming the objective world but also an extremely important condition for carrying out our ideological remoulding and permanently guarding against degeneration. Only those who ardently love labour and always stand together with the workers and peasants in weal and woe can be staunch revolutionaries to the end and be immune to degeneration under all circumstances. It must be noted that the idea of loving leisure and hating labour, of holding manual labour in contempt — an idea consistently spread by the exploiting classes — has a deep-rooted influence, and a prolonged struggle is therefore necessary before this poison can be removed from society. Revolutionary young people should set an example in ardently loving labour and make themselves pioneers in changing old social habits and customs and implementing new ones.

The difference between manual and mental labour still exists in a socialist society. The Marxist-Leninist approach to this problem is to strive to reduce this difference instead of aggravating it. We maintain that intellectuals should become habituated to manual labour and that the worker and peasant masses should master knowledge, both for the same purpose: to enable them to work still better in their socialist labour. By the need for “intellectuals to become habituated to manual labour”, we mean that they should become closely linked with the worker-peasant masses, serve them wholeheartedly, respect manual labour and manual workers, learn from the workers and peasants and become one with them in thought and feeling. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said:

“The ultimate line of demarcation between the revolutionary intellectuals on the one hand and non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary intellectuals on the other lies in whether they are willing to become one with the masses of workers and peasants and actually do so.” The fundamental road leading to the revolutionizing of educated youth is for them to make themselves working people, to become one with the workers and peasants and to turn themselves into socialist-minded and cultured workers.

Modern revisionists look down on manual labour. They are opposed to intellectuals becoming habituated to manual labour, alleging that for intellectuals to engage in manual labour is simply a waste of talent and that for cadres to take part in labour means a lowering of efficiency. Modern revisionists buy over a part of the intellectuals by offering them high positions and fat salaries, thus making them lord it over the labouring people and turning them into props supporting their revisionist policies. They use this as a bait to make their young people despise manual labour and avoid becoming one with the workers and peasants, while setting as their goal the acquisition of handsome salaries and special privileges. In effect, what the modern revisionists uphold is the very thing practised by the exploiting classes — the principle that “those who work with their minds govern others, while those who toil with their hands are governed by others”.

Yet another major difference between us and the modern revisionists concerns the question of whether to educate young people in the great collectivist spirit of the proletariat or to corrupt them with bourgeois individualism.

In the history of mankind the cause of the proletariat is an unprecedentedly great and arduous one. Its accomplishment calls for the endeavours of millions of people filled with the revolutionary spirit which defies all difficulties and which is undaunted by any sacrifice. The long-cherished goal of such people is not the happiness of one person or one family only, but a happy and prosperous life shared by all the working people of the world. Their outlook is worldwide and they regard dedication to the emancipation of mankind as the highest honour and the greatest happiness. They always give first place to the interests of the people; they have an ardent love for the collective, a deep concern for their comrades; they never work for their own interest but always for that of others. In time of emergency, they come forward without hesitation and sacrifice themselves in the interests of the public. They conscientiously subject themselves to the collective and subordinate everything to the needs of the revolution. They always work with a will and are always eager to make innovations. Yet they live simply, are modest, and never show off. Such men uphold the loftiest morals of mankind and are great fighters for communism. Lei Feng is precisely such a model. The Party wants us young people to become men of this type.

The modern revisionists revile Lei Feng, the communist fighter who was wholly dedicated to serving the people, as "mindless", "absurd", and so on and so forth. We would like to ask: What sort of person then are you contemplating who is not "absurd" and who has the finest "mind"? Pavlov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Youth League, says: "What is important is to make all young people under-

stand that everything they do is for themselves." The modern revisionists even consider that the times of Pavel Korchagin have gone for good, saying that "We have too zealously and too long heroized the figure of the puritanical Communist and the selflessness that ends up by being fanatically self-sacrificial. . . ." This is a deep insult to young Soviet heroes of the type of Pavel Korchagin, Zoya and Matrosov, a deep insult to revolutionary Soviet youth. The modern revisionists have done their utmost to negate the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Soviet people and youth in order to uphold the bourgeois creed of "everybody for himself and the Devil take the hindmost", a creed bitterly denounced by Lenin.

Yet another major difference between us and the modern revisionists concerns whether to educate youth to cherish the great ideals of communism and to carry the revolution through to the end, or whether to try hard to propagate the "philosophy of survival" which places a vegetative existence above everything else and use intimidation and deceit to make them forsake their great revolutionary ideals.

To build a new world of communism, a world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man, is to raise human society to a prosperous and happy state such as has never been seen before. This is not something that can be done by the people of a single country. Its realization depends on the awakening of the people of the world, on their mutual encouragement, mutual support and joint struggle. The communist cause has always been an international one. For this reason, in striving for communist ideals, national egoism must be absolutely rejected, and the long-term

objective must under no circumstances be forsaken in exchange for immediate, momentary gains.

All victories demand the paying of a certain price. Temporary sacrifices are made to achieve long-range gains. The sacrifices of the minority are made to win happiness for the millions. Such sacrifices are glorious and noble. Lenin pointed out long ago that those who thought that the proletarian revolution could be made only where everything would be plain sailing and with no setbacks and sacrifices were not revolutionaries, but would in fact slip back into the counter-revolutionary bourgeois camp. Our victory today was won only after our revolutionary predecessors made untold sacrifices and fought bloody struggles. If our youth are to carry on the revolutionary cause of their predecessors, they must carry forward the latter's revolutionary spirit which feared no sacrifice and which dared to struggle and to seize victory; they must further develop their predecessors' glorious tradition of tireless struggle.

The modern revisionists are cowed by imperialist pressure. They are scared out of their wits by the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. From being afraid of war, they have passed to being afraid of revolution. From giving up the revolution themselves, they have passed to opposing the making of revolution by others. They have substituted bourgeois personal enjoyment and national egoism for the communist ideal of the emancipation of all oppressed peoples. They frighten the youth with: "A single spark can touch off a world war!" "Young people are the first victims of a war." "At all costs, no revolution!" Khrushchov loudly declared that goulash is something worth fighting for. The modern revisionists attack our struggle for the revolution as a

policy of "suffering on earth to win 'a place in paradise' ". They have even shamelessly said: "Just because a chicken isn't eaten in China doesn't make it any easier for someone in Africa." The modern revisionists dare not harm a single hair of imperialism and capitalism. They just want to survive, they don't want revolution. They have utterly cast away communist ideals. If this is not downright selfish philistinism seeking nothing but to keep alive and to keep clear of death, what is it?

But it should be pointed out that the patent rights for the invention of this philistine philosophy do not belong to the modern revisionists. Ever since the birth of the communist movement, there have been scum in the revolutionary ranks who stopped at nothing in inveigling people to give up their great goals for immediate interests. The old-line revisionists said long ago that it would be better for the young people to spend their money on sausages than on the *Communist Manifesto*. More than 60 years ago, the leaders of the "Economists" in Russia also raised the cry that an increase of a kopeck on every ruble of wages was more practicable and valuable than any kind of socialism or politics. But since neither the lure of "sausages" nor of a "kopeck increase" could stop tens of thousands of young people from choosing the revolutionary road, how can such talk about "goulash" now halt the advance of the revolutionary ranks which have become mightier than ever before?

Comrades! From the foregoing we can see clearly that the Marxist-Leninist line in our youth work is aimed at bringing up our young people as staunch and reliable heirs of the proletarian revolution, enabling them to uphold the revolutionary red banner from generation to generation, until the complete victory of communism.

The aim of the modern revisionist line in youth work is, on the contrary, to turn young people into captives of the bourgeoisie and tools to be used by the modern revisionist groups in carrying out their rule. This constitutes one part of the whole fallacious line of the modern revisionists who are rejecting the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and are effecting a capitalist comeback. The appearance of this modern revisionist line, which denies and opposes revolution, in the socialist camp is something extremely pernicious, poisoning the minds of thousands upon thousands of young people. But a bad thing can be turned to good account. If we thoroughly expose this revisionist line which does such great harm to the young people and turn it into a lesson by negative example, it will be of great help in educating all cadres who are doing youth work and all our revolutionary youth, making them more alert and clear-minded and better able to rally with still greater awareness under the banner of Marxism-Leninism so as to struggle still more resolutely to carry out the proletarian line for revolutionizing themselves.

III. STEELING ONESELF AND GROWING UP IN THE THREE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

How do we carry out the Marxist-Leninist line in our youth work? Our experience can be summed up in a nutshell: Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, firmly adhere to the integration of revolutionary education and revolutionary practice, mobilize the broad masses of the youth to play their role, steel themselves and grow up in the three great revolutionary movements

—in class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiment.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stressed the great importance of these movements. He has pointed out that while they are great revolutionary movements for building a strong socialist country, they are also reliable guarantees against bureaucracy, revisionism and dogmatism—thus making our position for ever invincible—and also reliable guarantees of proletarian unity with the broad working masses to put democratic dictatorship into practice. Fiery revolutionary struggles are the best crucible for steeling revolutionaries. Our revolutionary predecessors were tempered in the stress and strain of mass revolutionary struggles. If young people want to join the new generation of revolutionaries, they too must go and steel themselves in the stress and strain of socialist, mass revolutionary struggles.

How should the Communist Youth League do its work in helping young people play a positive role and get a revolutionary education in these three great revolutionary movements?

First, it must lead the youth in joining the class struggle and in actively participating in the movement for socialist education.

The socialist education movement now being unfolded all over the country is a profound development in our socialist revolution; it is fundamental to the political, economic, ideological and organizational work in a socialist country, and is another great movement for re-educating and remoulding men on a large scale. It is also the best school for class education among the youth. In this movement, face-to-face struggles are waged against our class enemies and their criminal activities are

exposed; by comparing the miseries of the past with the happiness of today, the poor and lower-middle peasants bring out the sharp contrast between the old and new societies; dangerous bourgeois ideas and activities are criticized and the perils of taking the capitalist road brought out. Experience shows that in places where such class education is earnestly carried out among the youth through the socialist education movement, the revolutionizing of their ideology has been greatly promoted. League organizations should, first and foremost, effectively mobilize the youth among the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, help them raise the level of their class consciousness, and rely on them to rally other young people. These organizations should give guidance to the mass of young people in conscientiously studying the directives and policies concerning the socialist education movement issued by the Central Committee of the Party, help them to master the correct handling of contradictions among the people and of the relations between the state, the collective and individuals, to develop production, consolidate the socialist economy and the system of the people's communes, and smash the attacks of the forces of capitalism and feudalism.

In unfolding the socialist education movement, we should make extensive use of the histories of villages, people's communes, factories and families to educate the young people. Experience has proved that educating the youth in these "four histories" helps them to carry on the cause of the proletariat and is a good way of educating young people; it is a good way of relying on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants to educate them; it is a new development in carrying out the mass line in class education. In order to help

the young to maintain the cause of the proletariat generation after generation, education in the "four histories", in the history of class struggle and in revolutionary tradition should be made compulsory political subjects for the youth and children of our country.

In the socialist education movement, the Communist Youth League must work earnestly to win over, educate, and remould the youth who come from the families of landlords, rich peasants and other exploiting classes. These young people did not take a direct part in exploitation, so they are not exploiters. However, as they have grown up in the homes of the exploiting classes, they have been influenced by members of their families in varying degrees and in this respect they are different from the sons and daughters of the working people. We should organize them to take an active part in the socialist education movement and teach them to turn against the classes they were born into, resolutely go over to the side of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and take the road of socialism. Although they were not free to choose their class origin, they are certainly free to chart their own future. They are certainly free to take their destinies into their own hands, and they have bright prospects before them so long as they take the Party's teachings to heart and strive to remould themselves.

A mass of facts that came to light in the course of the socialist education movement in various parts of the country reveal that in competing with us to win the youth the class enemy often tries to make a breakthrough on the cultural front. If proletarian ideology does not take over the cultural field, bourgeois ideology is bound to take over and cultural activities will be aimed

at restoring capitalism. In co-operation with the departments concerned the League organizations should energetically and systematically organize educational and recreational activities for the youth, induce them to read revolutionary books and papers, sing revolutionary songs, stage revolutionary dramas, and promote cultural, recreational and sports activities which are healthy, colourful and rich in content so as to cater to their hobbies and spare-time interest and develop a noble revolutionary spirit among them.

The Communist Youth League must always teach the youth to maintain revolutionary vigilance, defend their socialist motherland and safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat. Huang Chi-kuang, Lo Sheng-chiao, An Yeh-min, Tu Feng-jui, Lo Kuang-hsieh, Samuil Mukhamed, Ouyang Hai and many, many other great revolutionary fighters who were trained in the People's Liberation Army and who were loyal to the motherland and to the people are noble examples who should be emulated by the youth of the whole country. The young officers and men of the People's Liberation Army must keep their weapons at the ready, continuously raise their ideological level, master the art of destroying the enemy, and strive to have more "Five Good" soldiers and "Four Good" companies. The youth of the whole country must take an active part in militia training, study the military arts hard and be ready at all times to defend the motherland arms in hand. U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. It still occupies our territory of Taiwan and repeatedly carries out provocations against us. We must completely shatter U.S. imperialism's criminal, aggressive acts. We must liberate Taiwan! We will never lay down our arms so long as im-

perialism exists in the world and class struggle exists at home.

Secondly, the Communist Youth League must guide the youth to take part in the struggle for production so that they become the shock troops of the socialist construction of our motherland.

Today we are no longer working for landlords or capitalists, nor merely to support our families. We are working for the great cause of the working class, for the well-being of the people and also to give more powerful support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of other lands. The various jobs to be done in every sphere of work are all indispensable to the cause of socialism. Every revolutionary youth should ardently love ordinary labour, cheerfully accept the work he is assigned, willingly assume difficult tasks, and show revolutionary will and revolutionary heroism in his ordinary daily work.

Revolutionary emulation movements to learn from the People's Liberation Army, the oil workers of Taching and the peasants of Tachai, and to "compare oneself with the advanced, learn from and overtake them, and help the less advanced", are unfolding throughout the country. These have greatly stimulated the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of the people and the youth; they have steadily pushed the movement for more production and economy to a new high, opening up broad perspectives for the rapid growth of our country's productive forces.

The Communist Youth League must mobilize the broad masses of the youth to take part in the movement for more production and economy by "comparing, learning, overtaking and helping", to take an active part in the drive for technical innovations and the technical revolution, and to introduce all kinds of organizational forms

and lively working methods in order to bring the labour enthusiasm of the youth into full play.

As important shock troops in socialist construction, the broad masses of young workers and peasants in the past few years have produced many model and outstanding workers such as Li Jui-huan, Wu Ta-yu, Chang Hung-chih, Chen Liang, Ting Chang-hua, Teng Yen-tang and Hsu Jen-hua. The League organizations should attach great importance to their experience and organize the broad masses of the youth to learn from them. The main and most usual method the Communist Youth League uses in carrying out its productive labour activities is to mobilize its members and the youth to work together with the middle-aged and the old, and to play an active role in this co-operation. Sometimes, in accordance with the needs of production, it is possible to organize the youth alone, under the unified leadership of the Party committees and with the support of the middle-aged and the old, to accomplish difficult new tasks which are rather urgent. In the course of these activities, we should foster the initiative of the youth, support their rational proposals, and pay attention to maintaining a proper balance between work and rest.

The most important and outstanding task in our country's socialist construction is to modernize agriculture. At the present time hundreds of millions of our peasants are changing the face of nature and working to modernize agriculture. This provides a golden opportunity for our youth to gain honour in socialist construction. By relying on their own efforts and hard work the young people in the countryside, together with the middle-aged, must strive to develop agricultural production, forestry,

stockbreeding, side-occupations and fishery, and so build a new socialist countryside.

In recent years, large numbers of educated young people have been taking part in agricultural production. This is an important measure to reinforce agricultural construction and to carry through the cultural and technical revolutions in the countryside. In addition, it is an important means for revolutionizing our educated youth. In the period of socialist construction it is also a new development of our educated youth's glorious tradition of becoming one with the workers and peasants. We are pleased to see that tens of millions of educated youth have already made worthy contributions on the agricultural front. Everywhere outstanding young people like Hsing Yen-tzu, Chao Yun, Chou Ming-shan, Tung Chia-keng and Han Chih-kang have emerged. Today throughout the country educated youth make up over 80 per cent of the staff of tractor stations, drainage and irrigation stations, seed stations, and stations for popularizing new techniques. The part they play in agriculture will become ever greater with continued progress in the technical transformation. In the countryside educated young people are an active force of agriculture in propagating the Party's principles and policies, introducing socialist culture, brightening village life, toppling superstitions and changing old customs and habits. All this proves the truth of Chairman Mao's statement that "in our vast rural areas there is plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full".

The educational policy of our country is to train our young people to become cultured labourers with a socialist consciousness. For a relatively long period to come, apart from those who will continue their studies

or take up work in industry, commerce and the service trades, the majority of middle school graduates will take up work in agricultural production. This need arises from the development of the national economy, and it is the main way for young people to join in socialist construction. All students in school should study conscientiously and well, no matter whether they will continue their studies later or go straight to work in industry or agriculture. Study hard and love labour; have a "red heart" and so be prepared for two possibilities. This is the right attitude for educated young people to take with regard to the question of whether they will carry on with school studies or go straight to work.

The Communist Youth League must strenuously exert itself in the political mobilization of the educated young people to take part in agricultural labour, and actively co-operate with the departments involved to make proper arrangements for them so that they can settle down and work. League organizations should show keen concern for the educated young folk who go to the countryside or to the mountain areas; they must pay attention to using this force effectively, develop their strong points, support their reasonable proposals and demands and enable them to settle down happily in the countryside.

We are confident that the transformation of our countryside will be speeded up with the co-operation between peasants who have rich experience in production and the educated young people who have some knowledge of science and culture, together with all kinds of aid from the working class and the state.

Thirdly, the Communist Youth League must lead the young people in taking part in scientific experiments

and working hard to raise their cultural, and scientific and technical levels.

Young people are most sensitive to new things and most willing to learn; they are least conservative in their thinking and, besides, many have a certain store of scientific and cultural knowledge. They are a most active and vital force in the mass movement for scientific experiment. This is a revolutionary movement to search for objective laws in a scientific way in order to make our transformation of nature more effective. League organizations must foster on a wide scale the interest of the youth in the study of science and technology, and so enable them to play a fuller role in the mass movement for scientific experiment.

In organizing young people to take an active part in mass scientific experimental activities, we must advocate the fusing of a revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude. Youth should be encouraged and taught to develop a bold, creative spirit, to break down superstitious beliefs and to emancipate their minds, refusing either to be tied down by old conventions and prejudices or to give up in face of difficulties or temporary setbacks. Science is a down-to-earth business and must be approached in a serious and strict way. We must respect practice, respect the experience of the masses, and respect those truths that have really been tested and proved. Only by integrating the revolutionary spirit which dares to think, dares to speak and dares to act with a scientific attitude which seeks truth from the facts will we be able to discover objective laws and achieve results of real value.

In order to bring about a continuous rise in the cultural and scientific level of young workers and farmers,

League organizations must take a keen interest in the spare-time education of young people, actively cooperate with the cultural and educational departments, and on the basis of the summing up of their experience go on to organize young people to persevere in long-term spare-time studies and build up, step by step, a relatively comprehensive system of spare-time education in the cities and countryside.

The young scientists and technicians of our country are a new emerging force trained by the Party and the state. Young scientists and technicians should aim high, have lofty ambitions and make outstanding contributions in accordance with the state plans for scientific work. We hope many more red and expert young scientific and technical workers like Hsu Yung-chi, Wang Lin-ho and Chou Hsiu-chi will appear.

Students in our institutes of higher learning and in specialized secondary schools must work hard to master the basic theory, specialized knowledge and skill in production required in their respective fields. League organizations in the schools should strengthen ideological and political work, develop the students' initiative and capacity for independent thinking in the course of their studies, and enrich extra-curricular activities in order to enable students actively to develop good political qualities, increase their knowledge and improve their physique.

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. The class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—the three great revolutionary movements in our country—are guided by invincible Marxism-Leninism and the great thinking

of Mao Tse-tung. In order to guide the youth in undergoing conscientious tempering in these three great revolutionary movements and to train them to become staunch, reliable heirs of the cause of the proletarian revolution, the movement to study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Chairman Mao must press ahead so as to lead the broad masses of the youth to work hard and master the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great Marxist-Leninist in the contemporary era. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction in the course of the great struggle of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. The thinking of Mao Tse-tung is the Chinese people's guide in carrying on their revolution and socialist construction; it is a powerful ideological weapon against imperialism, modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, and Chairman Mao's works are the best textbooks for revolutionizing the youth of our country. The movement for studying the works of Chairman Mao which started a few years ago and which has been growing day by day among our young people is an ideological revolutionary movement of the youth of China who want to make progress and to master Marxism-Leninism.

Today, among the young people on the industrial and agricultural fronts, in the armed forces, schools and trading departments, a large number of activists studying Chairman Mao's writings have appeared, young people such as Liao Chu-chiang, Feng Fu-sheng, Huang Tsu-shih, Yu Ching-hsien, Wei Shu-chin, Li Su-wen and others. They have a certain common experience. Firstly,

they have a clear aim in their study, that is, they are studying for the sake of the revolution, to revolutionize themselves ideologically. Secondly, they have a correct method of study, that is, they adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice; they study in order to find solutions to specific problems; they study so creatively that what they have learned they can apply well. Thirdly, they have the will to persevere in their studies. In studying the works of Chairman Mao the youth of our country should study this experience well.

The Communist Youth League should promote the movement for studying Chairman Mao's works and develop it widely, deeply, solidly and on a long-term basis. The principle of voluntary and conscientious study must be strictly observed in organizing this movement. Help should first be given to the activists in study and the more advanced groups that most urgently wish to study, helping them to raise their standards, popularizing their experience in study and, on this basis, gradually inducing more young people to take part in such studies. In organizing these studies attention must be paid to actual results and not just to quantity. Communist Youth League members, and especially League cadres, should take the lead and work hard to become activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

It can be confidently expected that the development of the movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works will have most far-reaching effect in furthering the revolutionizing of our youth. It will greatly enhance their revolutionary consciousness, and make them red and expert revolutionary fighters filled with a vigorous revolutionary spirit and good at mastering objective laws.

IV. STRENGTHEN EFFORTS TO BUILD THE YOUTH LEAGUE AND RAISE THE FIGHTING STRENGTH OF LEAGUE ORGANIZATIONS

In order to carry through the Party's Marxist-Leninist line on youth work and promote the revolutionizing of the youth of our country, it is necessary to build a stalwart revolutionary nucleus, to organize the advanced sections of the youth, and, through them, to unite and educate the middle and backward sections of the youth for a common advance under the leadership of the Party. This revolutionary nucleus is the Communist Youth League. The stronger the League organizations we build, the greater the Communist Youth League's ability to play its role as a nucleus in uniting and educating the youth.

We must also strengthen our efforts to build the League because, existing as it does in an environment of class struggle and with members brought up in families from different social strata, the League is inevitably subjected to corrosion by bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies; moreover, our class enemies invariably try by every conceivable means to worm their way into the Communist Youth League in an attempt to disintegrate it from within. Consequently, it must constantly strengthen its efforts to build itself up, resist corrosion by bourgeois ideology and attacks from class enemies, and check over and consolidate its organization; only in this way can it develop its fighting strength and victoriously fulfil its mission of promoting the revolutionizing of the youth.

Persevere in maintaining the advanced character of the League and strengthen its close ties with the mass of

young people—these are two basic requisites for increasing its fighting strength. The League's advanced political character means essentially that it must ensure the absolute leadership of the Party, take Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking as its guiding ideology, and give first place to ideological and political work in relation to all other work. Organizationally it must adhere to democratic centralism, uphold the class line and always preserve the purity of its ranks.

Party leadership is the lifeline of the League. The Chinese Communist Party is a great, glorious, correct and long-tested Marxist-Leninist political party, it is the organizer and leader of the Chinese people in their revolution and construction. The entire history of China's youth movement proves that only the Party can chart the correct orientation and course for the youth of our country, and give them the best care and education. To ensure the Party's absolute leadership the Communist Youth League organizations should, under the leadership of the Party committees at all levels, mobilize and organize their members and young people resolutely to carry through the Party's line, principles and policies, to take an active part in fulfilling the central task of a given period, and thus to strive for the fulfilment of the Party's political task. At the same time the League should pay attention to launching and improving its day-to-day work in co-ordination with the central task, and to carrying out certain independent activities in keeping with the characteristics of youth. Only by doing all this can we make the League a loyal assistant of the Party.

The Communist Youth League's advanced character manifests itself most constantly, directly and massively through its members. The masses normally judge a

League organization by the thinking and actions of its members. Every League member must conscientiously fulfil his obligations and constantly improve himself so that he will become a genuine revolutionary fighter. League members should actively publicize the Party's principles and policies, and take the lead in their application as well as in the struggle for production and in various social movements. League members should resolutely safeguard the interests of the Party and the people; they should bravely expose and combat evil-doers and such evils as corruption and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, and breaches of the law and public order; they should bravely expose and combat all other action and talk detrimental to socialism. Along with the masses, they should resist all feudal superstitious activities as well as all old ideas and habits which are not in keeping with the interests of socialism. They should honestly report to the Party problems in production, shortcomings and mistakes in work, and such misdeeds as bureaucracy, extravagance and waste and, together with the masses, make active efforts to rectify them.

A fundamental question for the Communist Youth League is to keep close contact with the mass of young people. We should unite and organize them to the fullest possible extent. All League cadres and members must show concern for other young people, approach them, find out their views and needs, and become their bosom friends. In essence, the needs of youth are in accord with those of the masses of the middle-aged people. However, as the former are going through a period of physical growth and accumulating knowledge, they have certain special needs. The Communist Youth League should give full consideration to the two aspects of the

life of young people — their work and study, and their recreation, physical culture and rest; it should take all-round care of their growth. We should do our work in a more lively and dynamic way. We should be adept at guiding the youth in initiating and developing healthy, small-scale and diversified cultural, recreational and sports activities so as to enrich their life after working hours. When contradictions arise between their work and other aspects of their life, between their personal interests and the interests of the revolution, we should be adept at persuading them to abide by the principle of giving first place to the revolution, work and the interests of the state and the collective.

The integration of the checking over of League organization with various political movements is an important experience gained in building our League. We must resolutely expose and struggle against bad elements who have wormed their way into the League and the degenerate elements, and clear them out. As for cadres and members of the League who make mistakes because the class enemy has deceived and corrupted them, we should persuade them to “wash their hands and take a bath” [meaning to rectify their mistakes by self-criticism — *Tr.*] taking as our approach “curing the sickness to save the patient” and “taking warning from past mistakes to avoid future ones” and earnestly to mend their ways. We must give timely praise to those cadres and members who stand firm in fighting the class enemy, who know the things to love and the things to hate, and who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and people, and we must pay attention to promoting them to take charge of certain work in the leadership. League organizations at all levels must also undertake the unfolding of the struggle to

foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology as a militant day-to-day task in building the League.

Organizations at the grass-roots level are in the most constant and most direct contact with the masses of young people. All directives, calls and plans issued to League members and the youth by the Party committees and the higher League committees have to be carried out through the organizations at the grass-roots level. Today, a movement for socialist education is being unfolded in the cities and villages all over the country and therefore we should take this as an excellent opportunity to check over the League organizations at the grass-roots level in real earnest and strengthen the building of the basic organizations. In checking over the League, we must distinguish between the two kinds of contradictions which are different in nature, and find out exactly where the trouble lies in a matter-of-fact way. As long as the issue is not one between the enemy and ourselves, we should mainly employ educational methods and disciplinary measures should only be supplementary. An important condition in perfecting a basic organization is to have a good nucleus of leadership — this involves the vital question of whose hands hold the leadership of a basic organization. In selecting people to take up the work of leadership in Youth League branches, we must choose young Party members and League members who have a good family background, who are ideologically sound, whose style of work is beyond reproach and who are enthusiastic in serving the young people. Without exception, League organizations at all levels must pay attention to the work of fostering and promoting young cadres; to keep on replenishing the leading bodies of

the League organizations at all levels, they must select and promote promising young cadres who have a sound ideology and a good working style, who are politically progressive and hard-working.

In recent years many local League organizations have started being active in the creation of "Four Good" League branches in order to improve and reinforce the basic organizations. The Four Goods are: (1) being good in ideological and political work, (2) being good in the "Three Good" activities (for good health, good studies and good work), (3) being good in having a healthy and regular organizational life, (4) being good in the working style which keeps contact with the masses. Our practice shows that being active in the creation of "Four Good" League branches has greatly enlivened the League's life, strengthened its ties with the young people and augmented its fighting strength; such activity is the central link in strengthening the building of the League and getting all the other work going. League organizations working in every sphere of life must develop such activities in a planned and down-to-earth way in the light of their own specific conditions and by using the method of "one leading another" or of "one leading two others", so that "Four Good" League branches will grow in number year by year and step by step.

The work of consolidating the League must go hand in hand with that of expanding it. The Communist Youth League is an organization with an age limit; it is like a reservoir of flowing water with each year a batch of over-age members leaving the League, while a batch of progressive youth are drawn into it so as to maintain its specific feature of being a youth organization. In addition, with the movement for socialist education,

large numbers of young activists have emerged on the various fronts and are now qualified to join the League. In the next two to three years, the number of League members must register a fairly large increase. This is of great significance for enlivening the League's life and increasing its fighting strength. At present, since the League has a relatively small proportion of female members and of young people under 20, we must strengthen the work of recruiting new members among these groups.

In order to carry out the Party's leadership in the League still better, League committees at all levels must pay attention to day-to-day work, to the strengthening of systematic leadership and the satisfactory integration of the central task of the Party with the work of the League. The Central Committee of the Party has given us the directive that all work pertaining to the central task of the Party must be placed under the unified leadership of the Party committees and arranged in a unified way, and that the Communist Youth League must assume systematic leadership in all work pertaining to young people through its organizations at various levels. To improve the League's systematic leadership, its higher committees must give concrete help to its committees at lower levels in solving problems in their work, so as to end the situation to be found in some localities where the League's higher committees exercise no leadership over the lower ones and there is a lack of contact between them. In this respect, the primary task is to perfect the League committees at county and commune levels.

Our great and ultimate objective demands our paying still more attention to the healthy growth of the children

of our country. To educate them in a communist spirit, to guide them in studying well and making steady progress day by day, to enable them to root themselves in the revolution while they are still young — these are important political tasks of the Communist Youth League. Without exception, League organizations at all levels must give due importance and interest themselves in the work of the Young Pioneers, strengthen the building of an army of instructors for them, and pay particular attention to the work of strengthening the building of Young Pioneer organizations in the countryside.

The Party has constantly taught us that the Communist Youth League must establish a good working style and guide the mass of youth in acquiring good habits and ways of doing things. A style of work is a silent call, an intangible force. The working style of the League, good or bad, has a direct influence on revolutionizing the youth. The young look up to League members, and League members look up to the cadres. Cadres must set an example for League members and all young people.

What kind of working style should we develop as cadres of the Communist Youth League. In a word, it should be a style which is full of vitality and which seeks truth from the facts.

By being “full of vitality” we mean a cadre should have the revolutionary drive to grapple courageously with difficulties. The cause of the proletariat, be it revolution or construction, always develops and grows by surmounting difficulties of all kinds. A revolutionary fighter should, under all circumstances, advance bravely, undaunted even by repeated setbacks.

By being “full of vitality” we mean that one should use one’s brains, have the courage to raise questions and be adept at raising them and have a creative spirit and a sense of responsibility towards the revolution. Anyone with a real sense of responsibility should regard the cause of the advance of the revolution as supreme. This does not mean that such a person will never commit mistakes, but that he has the courage to uphold the truth and rectify errors. Only people with such an attitude can be full of vitality and creativeness and free from negligence and slovenliness, and can avoid getting into a rut in their work.

By being “full of vitality” we mean aspiring to learn diligently and never getting conceited. Study is of especial importance for Communist Youth League cadres. We should be adept at learning from the Communist Party and the people, from our neighbour and from anyone with experience and knowledge, and from reality and books. Only by paying constant attention to absorbing new things, acquiring new knowledge and continuously raising one’s ideological level can one sustain one’s revolutionary vitality.

Cadres of the Communist Youth League must strictly abide by the system established by the Party and Government under which cadres take part in physical labour, a system which is a basic measure enabling cadres to maintain their revolutionary vitality and never to degenerate. We must always uphold the fine tradition of hard work and plain living and keeping in close touch with the masses, and guard against corruption by bourgeois ideology. Extravagance and waste corrupt one’s mind and the pursuit of personal material comforts

saps one's revolutionary will. We must guard against being divorced from reality and from the masses and avoid contamination by the bad habits of bureaucratism.

Such vitality must be built on the basis of a thorough understanding of the situation; it must be combined with the spirit which seeks truth from the facts. The overwhelming majority of our Communist Youth League cadres have tremendous enthusiasm and drive, but they often suffer from the weakness of not being sufficiently down to earth. This is something we should be particularly vigilant about. The greater our revolutionary drive the better, but we must proceed from reality and respect objective laws. We should not be afraid of difficulties and should scorn them, but we should concretely analyse them and treat them seriously. We must have great ideals, but we must be willing to do ordinary work in a practical spirit. This is what Chairman Mao has often taught us: we must have warm hearts and cool heads and, combining the two, must be level-headed enthusiasts. We should bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that men's correct notions can come only from the practice of the masses, and make sure of going deep into reality, conduct surveys and investigations, sum up experience and constantly enhance our ideological level and professional proficiency.

By "seeking truth from the facts" we mean that one should be an honest person, speak and act honestly, speak nothing but the truth, neither exaggerating nor understating. We must apply the dialectical method which recognizes that everything tends to divide itself into two and recognize achievements as well as short-

comings. We must start from reality and handle matters according to the Party's policies. We should never act rashly or recklessly, nor should we be untruthful. We should adopt a serious and earnest attitude, cherish the spirit which gets on with the job and does sound work, make our deeds tally with our words and our bearing with our thoughts.

By "seeking truth from the facts" we mean that one should work conscientiously and with revolutionary perseverance. We should do more spade-work and try to get solid results. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has time and again taught us that the cadres of the Communist Youth League should learn to work meticulously, and especially that they should be adept at doing ideological work painstakingly and gradually. He said that in the last analysis painstaking and meticulous work is most rewarding. We should study the Party's policies seriously and attach importance to surveys and investigations of youth work and youth problems. Once we have a firm grasp of policy, a thorough knowledge of the situation and a good understanding of the problem involved, we should bring our revolutionary perseverance into play and tackle the problem on hand firmly and persistently until it is solved.

All League cadres should foster devotion and a sense of responsibility to the revolution; they should live up to the Party's trust, be strict with themselves, work hard to develop a fine working style which is full of vitality and which seeks truth from the facts, strive to give a good account of themselves and become splendid youth workers for the Party.

V. RAISE THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF UNITY, ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND INTER- NATIONALISM STILL HIGHER

The Party and Chairman Mao have consistently taught us that we should not only be concerned with the destiny of our own people, but should share weal and woe with the people of the world. We have always regarded the revolutionary cause of our country as part and parcel of that of the world and considered the victories achieved by other peoples in their revolutionary struggles as our own. As a big socialist country China should make greater contributions to mankind. We should always be modest, treat the people of all other countries as equals and with friendliness, be highly vigilant and be on strict guard against great-nation chauvinism. Great-nation chauvinism is an expression of bourgeois ideology and is most harmful to our common cause of unity against the enemy. Taught by the Party, Chinese youth has always engaged in international activities in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. In supporting the people of other lands to build their countries, many young men and women have worked selflessly and shared the happiness and sufferings of the local people. Chinese youth should always maintain this internationalist spirit.

U.S. imperialism which is the sworn enemy of the people of the world, is also the sworn enemy of the youth of the world. Not long ago, Chairman Mao in a number of statements expressing support for the struggles of the American Negro people, the peoples of south Viet Nam, Panama and Japan called on all countries and nations subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression,

oppression, control, interference and bullying and on the people of the whole world to unite and form the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace. Chairman Mao's call received an enthusiastic response from the people and youth of all countries. The task of our country's youth is to unite with all the peace-loving, progressive, and revolutionary youth of the world and wage a common struggle against U.S. imperialism, for the safeguarding of world peace, for the progress of mankind and for a bright future for the youth.

It is our firm and unshakable principle to strengthen the unity and friendship of the youth of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We should study and learn from the experience of the socialist countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction, and this includes their negative experience. Every victory won by the youth of the socialist countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism greatly inspires and gladdens us. The Khrushchov revisionist clique and its followers, the leaders of the Soviet Communist Youth League, are carrying on anti-Chinese activities on a large scale. They wantonly slander the youth movement of our country and, by distorting facts and concocting rumours, vainly try to sow dissension between the Chinese youth and the great Soviet youth and undermine the profound friendship established by the youth of our two countries in prolonged revolutionary struggle. But all this will surely come to naught.

It is with fraternal feelings that our Chinese youth closely follow the struggle of the youth of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and for national liberation. Asia, Africa and Latin America are the focus of the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world; they are the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at U.S. imperialism. The youth movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America constitutes a most active, most revolutionary and most militant force in the present-day international youth movement. We firmly support the struggle waged by the youth of all Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism headed by the United States and for winning and safeguarding national independence, and for developing their national economies and national cultures. In the common struggle, we young Asians, Africans and Latin Americans will always be united, support each other and march forward shoulder to shoulder.

We are also deeply concerned about the sufferings of the young people in all the capitalist countries in Western Europe, in North America and in Oceania. Aggression and control by U.S. imperialism and the reactionary rule of monopoly capital pose a serious threat to the sovereignty of these countries and do great harm to the broad masses of the people and youth there. We young Chinese resolutely support all the progressive struggles of the youth in these countries for social progress, for the safeguarding of national and democratic rights, for the improvement of the people's livelihood and for the defence of the vital interests of the broad masses of the youth.

We Chinese youth are ready to unite and co-operate with all the young people and youth organizations of the world that love peace, stand for national independence and wish to be friendly with China; we are ready to join hands with them in the common struggle to defend world peace and oppose our common enemy — U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism. We have friendly relations with 384 youth and student organizations in 130 countries. We have friends all over the world.

The youth of our country firmly uphold the traditional line of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, that is, the tradition of uniting the youth and students of the whole world to oppose imperialism and colonialism, defend world peace, win national independence and democracy, strive for a bright future for the youth and the democratization of education, and defend the rights of the youth. In recent years, the Khrushchov revisionist clique and its followers — the leaders of the youth organizations of the Soviet Union — have renounced the fundamental interests of the people and youth of the world and imposed on these two international organizations an erroneous line which means a sham peace and actual capitulation, a line of opposing the people's revolution in all countries and splitting the forces of international solidarity. They are trying by hook or by crook to turn these two international organizations into their tools in enforcing the modern revisionist foreign policy and splitting the unity of international youth. As a result of the modern revisionists' manipulations, control and divisive activities, these two organizations have increasingly failed to reflect the will and demands of the

youth and students of all countries. That is why the last few years have witnessed the unfolding of a fierce struggle in the international youth movement to uphold the correct line and oppose the erroneous line. Through this struggle, the youth of the world have more and more clearly seen the ugly features of the modern revisionists acting as apologists of U.S. imperialism and colonialism.

The imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, and the modern revisionists comprise only a tiny minority of the population. Over 90 per cent of the people and youth of the world will always want revolution. In the face of the awakened, united and organized people, all the imperialists, reactionaries, and modern revisionists as well as those nuclear weapons which they use to intimidate the people are only paper tigers in the last analysis. So long as we stand with the over 90 per cent of the people, we will always be invincible. We look forward to the prospects of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world and of the international youth movement with full confidence. Now, from Cuba to south Viet Nam, from Japan to the Congo and Cyprus, from south Korea to Venezuela and Panama, the people and youth of all countries are tightening their nooses around the necks of the U.S. imperialists. Various signs indicate that a still more powerful storm of world revolution is fast approaching. Neither imperialist repression nor modern revisionist deception can stop its coming.

Comrades! Looking back into the past and forward into the future, we are full of revolutionary pride. The great political unity of our people has never been so firm as it is today. Our power to build socialism in-

dependently and self-reliantly in China has never been so great as it is today. The revolutionary militant will and drive of China's youth have never soared so high as they do today. In our country a new revolutionary generation is maturing in struggle. The youth of the different nationalities of China will rally still more closely around the Party and raise the torch of revolution still higher.

Let the coming storm of revolution be fiercer! The future belongs to eternally revolutionary youth!

Long live our guide, invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live our great socialist motherland!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live our great leader, our respected and beloved teacher, Chairman Mao!

为我国青年革命化而斗争

胡耀邦

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