

# **Political Participation and Culture of the Youth in Post-Mao China: A Case Study of Chinese Youth League**

*Thesis Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
for the award of the degree of*  
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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Date: March 10, 2017

### **Declaration by the Candidate**

The thesis entitled **POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND CULTURE OF THE YOUTH IN POST-MAO CHINA: A CASE STUDY OF CHINESE YOUTH LEAGUE**, submitted for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other university and is my original work.

  
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## CERTIFICATE


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**Rakesh Kumar**

We recommend that the thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of Ph. D. Degree of this University.

  
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I consider myself lucky to be one of the members of the Indian Youth delegation visiting China on the invitation of President Hu Jintao, organized by Ministry of Youth affairs and Sports, Government of India in 2006 and 2007. The Indian delegation was visiting under the banner of Nehru Yuva Kendra Sanghata (NYKS), which happened to be a national Youth Organization of India as Indian counterpart and All China Youth Federation was the Chinese counterpart, which is the youth organization of China. During our visit in Chinese cities, I noticed that the youth volunteers of Chinese side are more disciplined and avoid political discussion on any national or international issues. It was very unusual to me as Indian youth were freer to talk and discuss on any kind of political issues. These volunteers are more disciplined and were more submissive in front of their leaders. After staying together for few days, they started opening up with me as I was one among few who was communicating with them in Chinese language. They briefed me about their youth Organizations existing in China, Such as Young Pioneers, Communist Youth League and All China Youth Federation, which all happened to be governed by Communist Party of China. In India, there are many youth organizations having different affiliation and objectives, both national and regional. I was also told that there is no other organizations exist in China part from the said one. Communist Youth League of China was the link between the Party and youth of China since the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

Being the student of Chinese language, Literature and Culture having Interest in youth culture, it was a great surprise to me that how a most populated country of the world could have only one youth organizations. China was carrying out Economic reform and Opening up and inviting foreign Industries to invest China, made me think that how can economic reform be carried out in isolation without having any impact on Culture that too on Youth Culture. This led me to start my Journey of research.

This Journey was a combo of excitement, fear and despair, confusion etc. I am sure that without the kind and active support of my academic mentor (emotional and academic), I could not have completed this Journey. Therefore, I would like to express my

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(Rakesh Kumar)

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## **List of Abbreviations**

SOE	State Owned Enterprises
TVE	Township & Village Enterprises
PRC	People's Republic of China
CPC	Communist Party of China
CASS	China Academy of Social Sciences
CFLAC	China Federation of Literary & Arts Circles
CPCCC	Communist Party Central Consultative Conference
CYLCC	Communist Youth League Central Committee
CYL	Communist Youth League
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
GONGO	Government Operated Non-Governmental Organization
SYO	Self-organised Youth Organisation





# **Introduction**

Political Participation is a kind of activity that ordinary citizens may engage in, in order to exert an influence on the form, the operation, the rules and the policy making of the current political system through legal channels. Political participation of the youth is a significant aspect of popular activism as it often tends to shape the course of history in any given society. The activity and functions of youth organization have been important factors in the life of most, If not all, political movements of the twentieth century. This is true of totalitarian, as well as of more liberally conceived political movements.

However, special attention must be drawn to the youth organizations in Fascist and Communist Societies, where the young people have been expected to join such organizations from an early age and subjected to powerful influences designed to make them faithful and reliable tools or willing helpers of the ruling group or party. Nazi Germany's Hitler Jugend, Fascist Italy's Battelle and Soviet Russia's Komsomol are some of the best-known example of the totalitarian variety of youth organizations. In non-totalitarian societies too the young has the opportunity to join such groups such as the young conservatives in UK, Young Republican and Democrats in the US, Junior Chambers of Commerce, YMCA, YWCA etc. IN the non-totalitarian societies, youth organizations are primarily created for the sake of the young people, who join them voluntarily for a sense of participation and to have an outlet for their energies and talents which such organizations can provide. In contrast, in totalitarian societies the youth organizations are created to strengthen the goals and objectives pursued by the ruling political group in those societies, to mould the thinking of youngsters along the desired lines and to build a certain kind of political culture amongst the youth, and finally, to establish a mechanism for multi-layered control over the young members of the society. It must be mentioned, that the youth organizations within the totalitarian societies, i. e., the socialist, fascist and other systems, have their own distinctive features as the founding ideologies of these states are completely different. In other words, the theoretical perspective which provides the framework for the goals and objectives of a given youth organization may be different depending on the ideology of the totalitarian state which it propounds.

## **The Chinese Context:**

The history of China is full of uprisings that led to dynastic change. Chinese youth were voluntary participants in this process that had great impact on the political dynamics of China. The establishment of a new dynasty was then legitimized through the concept of 'Mandate of Heaven' “天命”。 According scholars of Chinese history, the concept of “天命” is an ancient Chinese philosophical belief that “天” (heaven) granted emperors the right to rule based on their ability to govern well and implied that the king is representative of the heaven and enjoys the mandate of heaven.<sup>1</sup>

In these kinds of war or uprisings, the main driving force was the dissatisfaction of the common people that motivated them to participate. However, participation was not always voluntary. There are many accounts in Chinese history about the forced participation in the past. At times, youth in thousands were forced to go to Warfield leaving their newly wedded wife alone at home. In other words, while participation of Chinese youth in bringing about political change was vital, they did not represent the core of leadership. Youth were the followers of directives and their participation of went unnoticed.

In the modern times the presence and impact of youth could be traced to the end of the First World War in 1918. The unequal treaty of Versailles and humiliation meted to China by the imperialist forces became the igniting factor that prompted the Chinese youth to rise and play a significant role in changing history. There are many occasions and incidence of the youth participation in twentieth century China, the most significant ones are the May Fourth Movements of 1919(五四运动), War against Japanese aggression(抗日战争)(1937-1939) which had played an important role in uniting youth against countering the imperialist and fascist forces. During these Movements, the nationalist as well as patriotic zeal of the youths were at its peak and Chinese people especially the youth, had shown great interest in defending their motherland (祖国) from real and perceived threat from outside. The MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT (五四运动 1919) is the watershed in the history of the

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<sup>1</sup> Kallio, J. *Tradition in Chinese Politics: The Party-State reinvention of the past and the Critical response from Public Intellectual*, Finnish Institute of International studies, 2011.

Chinese youth political participation. In the outbreak of this movement patriotic enthusiasm played a great role. It can be also considered as the outburst of frustrations accumulated in the minds and heart of youths due to bad socio-economic and political condition of China. This was the watershed in the life of the Chinese people and especially among the youths to come forward and take lead in protecting the dignity of their nation. The display of courage and power by the youths culminated into the refusal of treaty of Versailles by then government under the Qing Dynasty. Aftermath, the ' Tiananmen incidence' brought political and social consciousness not only to youth but also to the Chinese people as a whole.

It can be argued that the establishment of the Communist Party of China in July, 1921, a mile stone in the Chinese history, was a direct after effect of the May Fourth Movement. Through the 1920s and 1930s, the Party strived hard to bring awareness into the largely illiterate and poor masses and tried to extend its sphere of influence. The focus of the party was to educate and induct the youth and students into their ranks to fight for a decisive socio-economic change.

The primary reasons for the Communist Party of China to put more emphasis on youth was because that youth were the raw material out of which the Chinese communists hoped to create an entirely new society cast in the socialist mould; they were still in their formative years and are relatively malleable. The political mobilization and participation of the youth in subsequent campaigns gave an impetus to the Party and undertake different activities in various areas of politics, culture, economy, society etc. This strategy, as analysed by some scholars, was a natural move of the Communist Party of China. "Marxist-Leninist parties not surprisingly concentrate much of their effort on young people. The parties see youth as less tainted by the old society, therefore more readily captured by the new regime and able to be persuaded to work for its goals. Successfully cultivating young people as revolutionary successors can help to prevent the old society from reproducing itself and guarantee a large body of citizens to be mobilizable for the party's cause."<sup>2</sup>

The domestic and international factors combined precipitated a civil war in China from the late 1930s that ended with the establishment of People's Republic of China

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas. B. Gold, Youth and the State, in Hook, Brian(ed), *Individual and State in China*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996 p. 178.

in 1949. With the establishment of the Party-State under the leadership of Mao Zedong, all aspects of Chinese society, including political participation of youth witnessed rapid transformation. The predecessor(s) of the Chinese Youth League (CYL) had been formed under the aegis of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and they were consolidated to form CYL under the communist Party-state, with clearly laid out objectives reflective of a Marxist world view. It is this world view that made CYL the sole official representative of the youth in China through the Mao period (till 1976), where collective and egalitarian values, class consciousness etc lay at the core of political culture. From this point of view, CYL was undoubtedly the keeper of political culture of the Chinese youth during this period. CYL, over the years, assumed a status of monolithic importance, in as much as its membership became synonymous with political correctness and a means of acquiring social status and political power. Therefore, it can be argued that any worthwhile political participation of the youth came to be identified only with CYL. Moreover, since such status and role of CYL conformed to CPC's expectations and objectives, it came to function as a mechanism to realize the objectives of the Party in this era.

### **Scope and Objectives:**

Following the fall of Gang of Four in 1976, the change in balance of power within the Party brought Deng and his associates to power. The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee in December 1978 consolidated this shift by introducing the policies of Opening up and Economic Reform. This set in motion the drive for economic development and the Chinese leadership sought fresh ways and means to enlist the commitment of the youth, amongst other sections of the society, to this cause. Mass organizations, including the CYL were mobilized to implement the policy of Four Modernization and economic reform.

This shift also marked the change in the CPC's line of socialist construction. Now since the emphasis was more on economic development the youth were asked to learn new technology and master science which was not the case in Mao period. The open door policy adopted by the regime helped them to upgrade their skills which in turn would improve their socio-economic status. In other words, the Chinese leadership provided its youth an opportunity to think independently and try to bring economic

benefit to the country by all possible means. Moreover, in order to fully capitalize on the new policies, the Party and the state devised various ways to bring into play individual initiative and a sense of competition.

In the Tenth Congress of the CYL in 1978, Li Xiannian, one of the top leaders of the Party and the state, had implored the youth to be the vanguards in the ‘new long march’ and in the cause of four modernizations. He had also said that ‘CYL should redouble its efforts and make new contribution for the Party and the people’. To attain this objective, he suggested, the leadership of the Party committees over the CYL organizations of the same level was to be strengthened, and effective measures were to be taken to restore and strengthen the CYL leadership and establish a system of regular CYL activities. For this, Han Ying, the First Secretary of the CYL defined the main task of the CYL as:

- i) Pass the great banner of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong thought from generation to generations.
- ii) Raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire generation by a big margin.
- iii) The heroic shock force in the work to facilitate speedy development.
- iv) Struggle to give full scope to the communist morality.<sup>3</sup>

These guidelines of the CYL created confusion among the CYL Cadres. On one hand CYL stressed the lofty ideals of sacrifice and collectivism, while the signals from State policies, and even the party itself, glorified individual initiative and a gradual process of privatization. This led to confusion about their roles and as to how to motivate the youth to practice communist ideals while the party itself preached individualism. In the new era, in view of its own policy shifts, the Party was unable to justify the collective interest over the individual interest of the youth. The Kind of contributions, the Mao regime expected from the CYL cadres, especially at grass root level, were not possible in the era of economic reform. Because the Chinese youth, grasping the opportunity provided by the policies of the new regime, started to shift from collectivism to individualism, as personal desires and ambitions started playing major role in the Chinese society.

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<sup>3</sup>张华 (Zhang Hua), *基层共青团工作 200 题* (Jiceng gong qingtuan gongzuo 200 ti), ( *200 Problems in Grass root Youth League Work*), Beijing, China Youth Publishing House, 2009, P.1( translation down by the scholar).

The Party control over the youth became less direct than in the past. An implicit pact took shape gradually: if CYL members study and work diligently the Party guarantees improving material living standards and minimal political demands. For many youths, the CYL performed little beyond social activities such as parties and outings. With individual initiative and incentive-based income becoming the key to an improved standard of living, a career in the Party or the government gradually lost some of its attraction, and CYL membership has accordingly lost much of its appeal as a primary forte for upward social mobility. Not only have the ideological appeals fallen on deaf ears, but the economic structural reforms have compelled youth to assume responsibility for their own economic well-being. Youth attitude to official organizations and official structures of power has also changed. With the rise of new non-state mobility channels and the de-politicization of Chinese society, life membership of the CYL lost much of its allure.

Starting from the mid-1980s, the university students initiated their own organizations having no affiliation to the Party. The CYL and the CPC recognized their inability to mobilize youth towards its guidelines. The youth had tried to use different concepts hitherto unheard of in China, such as democracy, to articulate their aspirations on the eve of the Tian anmen incident in 1989. The aftermath of this incident has been debated at length by many scholars, rarely finding unanimity of opinion and analyses. However, it can be safely argued that the incident managed to alienate a large number of the Chinese youth from political participation of any kind. It will not be an exaggeration to say that most educated youth in China through the 1990s have aspired for careers as technocrats. Large section of them wishes to steer clear of political activism, joining CYL and the Party solely in order to fulfill personal career ambitions.

The transformation of China's society from planned economy to market economy has had a direct and great influence on the younger generations' political awareness and political participation. With the paradigm shift from politics to economic development finally becoming fully manifested in various facets of the Chinese society over the three decades since Mao's death, it is necessary to take stock of the political participation and culture of the Chinese youth today. Because, on one hand, it is this political culture of the youth over the first half of the twentieth century that finally ushered in a system change in China in 1949, and on the other, youth, in a rapidly

transforming society like China, represent a key factor that will chart the course of development in future.

The proposed study has analysed the role played by the Chinese Youth League (CYL), still the single most important youth organization in China, in shaping the political culture of the Chinese youth in the Post- Mao period. In doing so this study has also explored the ways in which CYL has adjusted its function to the rapidly changing socio-political and economic reality of China since the policies of Economic Reform and Opening to the outside world were introduced. To this end, this study has tried to address the following issues:

1. Where does the CYL locate itself in present-day China in terms of its social and political relevance?
2. Does CYL represent the concerns of a cross-section of the Chinese youth?
3. What are the dilemmas faced by CYL and how is it adjusting to the changing Chinese reality?
4. What are its linkages with the CPC or any other emerging youth group, if any?

### **Framework: Definition, Perspectives and Guidelines**

The word political participation is not a new term, though there are various interpretations: “To take part” comes from the Latin *pars* (part) combined with *capere* (to take or seize), and was introduced in to English alongside the Anglo-Saxon verb “to share” (derived from *sceran*, to cut or divide). Given the similar patterns of English language development, say with “justice” and “Fairness”, we might expect the word derived from Latin to be used in more “formal” and “Impersonal” ways.<sup>4</sup> The term participation has basically derived from the term of democracy, which advocates, rule by the people, for the people and by the people. Participation is the process by which, “goals are set and means chosen in relation to all sorts of social issues.”<sup>5</sup>

Conventionally participation is treated as one-dimensional phenomenon. Elections are the only way for the people to participate in political process. The leaders are selected

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<sup>4</sup> See Hanna Pitkin, *Wittgenstein and Justice : On the Significance of Ludwig, Wittgenstein for Social and Political Thought*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, pp10-11

<sup>5</sup> Jan E. Leighley, Attitude ,opportunities and incentives: A Field Essay on Political participation, *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol.48,no1.March 1995, pp.181-209



and through them, people raise their grievances. There are also various other forms of participation, the people who express their grievances or their opinion through political performances, such as street play; political speeches etc are also a mode of participation. As a form of political action, participation is seen as based upon the individual's identification with the community, a claim which may of course, be contested. In any case, it stresses freedom to act with others in order to promote shared purposes.

Various researches have been undertaken on political participation by renowned social scientists and thinkers through history of different times and in different societies. For instance, Aristotle placed participation at the center of political life, when of the citizen is "one who has the right of sharing in deliberative or judicial office"<sup>6</sup> In his view citizenship was intimately associated with sovereignty and participation, conceived in practical terms as initiating policy in a public assembly and administering justice in court of law. More importantly, citizens gained their identity through sharing in the "goods" of the *polis*, the political education provided by the participation thus took on the character of an affirmation of belonging rather than an exercise of purely legal rights and obligations. Its special function in Aristotle understanding of politics, was to stress the qualities of commonality, fraternity and communication in public relationship, rather than depicting political as having essentially to do with rule, power or a competitive struggle for advantage, this understanding/conceptualization suggested that it should be understood as the set of activities and relationships concerned with maintaining a consociational community characterized by sharing of equality, law and justice among members.

The concept of political participation as elaborated by Lawrence A. Scaffin his book is closely associated with a view of politics as the set of activities and relationships concerned with maintaining community, fostering cooperation among individuals and groups, and encouraging settlement of disputes through public communication.<sup>7</sup> As a form of political action, participation is seen as based upon the individuals' identification with the common interests of the community, a claim which may of course be descriptively correct or incorrect. In any case, it stresses freedom to act with

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<sup>6</sup> Voet, Rian, *Feminism and Citizenship*, London, SAGE Publications, 1998, p.136

<sup>7</sup> Lawrence A. Scaff, *Participation in the Western Political Tradition: a Study of Theory and Practice*, *Political theory studies*, No. 2 Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1975

others in order to promote shared purposes .This notion of political participation appears to be identified with a particular combination of performed individual and group functions. It increases political virtues such as sense of cooperation.

The second concept of political participation is more closely related to influence and power than to justice and community, for it stresses the idea of protecting one`s right and advancing one`s interest with in a competitive context. Ultimately, in this view action addresses itself to the problem of influencing the distribution of political power. Politics in turn, is understood as a struggle over scarce power resources: in Laswell`s concise phrase, “the political process is the shaping, distribution, and exercise of power”.<sup>8</sup>This phrase clearly indicates that politics is nothing but mere formulation of policies, distribution of power and its execution keeping in view of the masses.

Economic development can bring many changes in a society. One of the most important ones is that it usually creates a condition which favors higher level of political participation. Among many theories offered to explain the empirical connection between economic development and political participation, a common idea is that the process of economic development leads to clusters of social changes that will drastically alter the class, organizational, cultural, and social structure of a nation---and that these are associated with the new forms of political participation.<sup>9</sup>

The aim of the political participation is to bring the existing issues of the society in front of the people and the State. While studying the post-Stalin Soviet society, Seweryn Bialer<sup>10</sup> classifies political issues into two categories: “High –politics” and “Low –politics issues. According to his conceptualization ,high politics issues involve “the principle issues of Society, the abstract ideas and language of politics , and the decisions and actions of the society leadership,” while low politics issues concern

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<sup>8</sup> Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, P.75.

<sup>9</sup> Norman H. Nie, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Kenneth Prewitt, Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationship, Part I, *American Political Science Review*,63(2), June 1969, p 362

<sup>10</sup> Seweryn Bialer (born November 3, 1926) is an emeritus professor of political science at Columbia University and an expert on the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and Poland. He was the Director of Columbia's Research Institute on International Change.

government “decision that directly touch the citizen’s daily life, the communal matters, and the conditions of the work place”.<sup>11</sup>

There are ample theories on ‘Participation’ which talks about the various factors responsible for the Political participation by the citizens in different countries with different political structure and system. There is no unanimity among the various theories existing in the academic discourse on Participation. There is a consensus, however, that the process of economic development leads to various social changes that will drastically alter the social structure, organizational, and political culture of a nation---and that these are associated with new form of political behavior. The cause of change consists of sequences of industrialization, urbanization, education, communication, mobilization, and political incorporation, among innumerable others; a progressive accumulation of social changes acts as a stimulus and encourages people to get involved in political lives of a society.

**Definition: Western perspective :**

Some of the major and important definitions are the following:

1. Sidney. Verba defines, “Political participation affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government official about their concerns and preferences and put pressure on them to respond”<sup>12</sup>
2. International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences on Political Participation refer to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Jie Chen, Subjective Motivations for Mass Political Participation in Urban China, *Social Science Quarterly*, Volume 81, No. 2 , June 2000.

<sup>12</sup> Verba et al., *Voice and Equality. Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*, London : Harvard University Press, 1995

<sup>13</sup> David L Sills, *International Encyclopedia of social Sciences* , New York, Macmillan, 1968

3. Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson in their famous work *No easy choice: Political participation In developing Countries*<sup>14</sup> in a book, talked extensively on the political participation:
  - a. Political participation is activities, not attitudes.
  - b. Political activity of Private Citizens or precisely of individual in the role as private citizen.
  - c. There is a distinction between the political participants and political professionals.
  - d. Political participation includes the activities of government officials, party officials, political candidates and political lobbyists. It also includes the activities that are designed to affect and influence the decisions and the actions of the government irrespective of its impact.

The Western scholars have mostly defined the political participation in a democratic framework. They have focused on the freedom of individuals to exercise their constitutional rights to participate through different types of political participation no matter if it is legal or not for that particular country. They emphasized on the mode of political participation which is outside the legal or constitutional framework or not under the guidance of the government or party. However, this thesis is looking towards the political participation in a Party-State where most activities are guided by the state. Therefore, there is a need to look into the Chinese scholars' definition of political participation, especially in the contemporary context.

**Definition: Chinese Perspectives:**

The concept of political participation arrived almost 20 years late in China. It arrived in China in late 80s, when China started opening to the outside world. The important work on political participation by famous writers and scholars got translated during this time in China that marked the beginning of the research in these areas. The concept arrived from the West, and the Chinese people could not follow the Western

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<sup>14</sup> Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, *No easy choice: Political participation in Developing Countries*, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1976

frame work as China happens to be a socialist country with Marxism at its core. Therefore, a need was felt to make a clear distinction between the Western and Chinese scholar perspectives on political participation. The Chinese scholars who are working on participation has mostly emphasized on the legal mode of political participation that was within limits of, if not sponsored by the system. For instance, Wang Puqu has defined political participation in the following words:

“政治参与是公民通过各种方式参与国家政治生活并影响政治体系构成运行方式，运行规则和政治过程的行为。” (Political participation is a mode where citizen through various activities try to influence the political life and impact the political structure and functions and objectives)<sup>15</sup>

Based on the subjectivity, nature, objective and outer extension, limits, he has elaborated that political participation in the following points:

1. 从参与的主体来看，政治参与是普通公民的政治行为（from the principle of political participation, political participation is the political activities carried out by common citizens）
2. 从政治的本质上看，政治参与是公民对于国家的权利，义务和责任的关系 (From the perspective political essence, political participation is related with the right, duty and responsibility of the citizens towards their country.)
3. 从政治参与的外延来看，政治参与只限于合法手段影响政府活动，而不包括非法。(from the periphery of political participation, political participation is restricted to legal mode of influencing the government activities, does include illegal model of participation)
4. 从在政治参与的目标与对象来看，它不止是囿于政府决策，而且包括所有直接或间接同政府活动相关的公共政治生活。（From the objectives and target of political participation, political participation is not only restricted to the

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<sup>15</sup> 王蒲劬 (Wang, Puqu), *政治学基础 Zhengzhixue jichu, (Basics of Political Science)*, Beijing University Press, Beijing, 1995, p.207( translation done by the Scholar)

government policies but it also related to the any activities which is directly affecting the political life of the public.)<sup>16</sup>

The above-mentioned concept of political participation led to the creation of various modes of political participation legal and otherwise; most important modes including voting, protest, public consultation, jury duty etc. Apart from these prominent forms of participation, there are many others such as signing a petition, writing letter to a public official, blogging about a political issues, contributing money for political causes, volunteering for a campaign, joining an activist or interest group, holding a official position, serving without pay on local elected and appointed boards etc.

On the basis of this it is evident that there exist various modes and kinds of participation in different countries of the world. It is also evident that ‘Youth Culture’ is unique in each society and youth participation too has its own special characteristics in a given society. Each country has its own unique socio-economic and political issues and these issues drive its citizen to actively participate in the politics of the country.

It is often said in China“世上没有完全相同的两片树叶，同样，不同国度不同时代的政治社会化也会呈现出不同的样态和特征” (In this world no two leaves are completely identical, similarly different countries and different generations or period has different political culture and it’s having unique characteristics)<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, the tool, technologies or other organizations involved in shaping the society and its approach must be different from one society to another. Nazi Germany Hitler Jugend, fascist Italy’s Battilic and Soviet Russia’s Komsomol are some of the best known examples of the totalitarian variety of Youth organizations.

Totalitarian regimes seek to establish complete political, social and cultural control. Two types of totalitarianism can sometimes be distinguished: Nazism and Fascism which evolved from "right-wing" extremism, and Communism, which evolved from "left-wing" extremism. Traditionally, each is supported by different social classes.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid ,p.207

<sup>17</sup> 何丽君 (He Lijun), 新时期中国公民社会政治文化研究” 中共中央党校 Xin shiqi zhongguo gongmin shehui zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu “ zhonggong zhongyang “dangxiao, (*The new period of Chinese civil society and political culture, a study of "Party School of the CPC Central Committee*), PhD Thesis ,2009 (Translation down by the Scholar) <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-80000-2009116979.htm> accessed on 02/8/16 at 5:36pm

Right-wing totalitarian movements have generally drawn their popular support primarily from middle classes seeking to maintain the economic and social status quo. Left-wing totalitarianism has often developed from working class movements seeking, in theory, to eliminate, not preserve, class distinctions. Right-wing totalitarianism has typically supported and enforced the private ownership of industrial wealth. A distinguishing feature of Communism, by contrast, is the collective ownership of such capital.

Going by the literal meaning of organization, it is a group formed by those who have a common objective and to realize their objectives, they come together with certain policies and work out the modus operandi. In Chinese case, organizations are basically an instrument of the Communist Party of China for the mass communications as the party through various organizations propagates its policies and different political principles to the masses. As the Communist Party of China was extending its sphere, the meaning and objectives of youth participation became evident from the, words of Mao Zedong:

“Our meeting today is highly significant. I have said all I wanted. I hope you will all study the lessons of the Chinese revolution in the last fifty years, develop its good points and discard its mistakes that the youth will be at one with the people of the whole country and the revolution will make the turn from failure to victory. When the youth and the whole nation are mobilized, organized and united, Japanese imperialism will be overthrown. Each young person must shoulder his responsibility. You must each be different from before and resolve to unite the youth and organize the people of the whole country for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the transformation of the old China into a new China. This I expect of all of you.”<sup>18</sup>

While elaborating on the role of Communist Youth League, Mao said:

“Apart from continuing to act in co-ordination with the Party in its central task, the Youth League should do its own work to suit the special characteristics of youth. New China must care for her youth and show concern for the growth of the younger generation. Young people have to study and work, but they are at the age of physical

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<sup>18</sup> This speech was delivered by Mao Zedong at a mass meeting of the youth in Yan'an in 1939 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the May 4th movement. *Selected works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol-2, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1967, p.248

growth. Therefore, full attention must be paid both to their work and study and to their recreation, sport and rest.”<sup>19</sup>

The above quotes of Mao Zedong signify the importance the Chinese Communist leadership attached to the role of the youth in nation building as well the power of youth to bring changes in the one of the oldest society of the world. It also emphasizes the importance of healthy youth in order to build healthy nation. In the years that saw the consolidation of the Party-State, Mao Zedong , time and again, reiterated the importance of Communist youth League. He said:

“The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism. We hope that the local Party organizations in various places will help and work with the Youth League organizations and go into the question of bringing into full play the energy of our youth in particular. The Party organizations should not treat them in the same way as everybody else and ignore their special characteristics. Of course, the young people should learn from the old and other adults, and should strive as much as possible to engage in all sorts of useful activities with their agreement.”<sup>20</sup>

These quotes of Mao reflect the importance and objectives of Political Participation of youth in Chinese society. He stressed the importance of youth’s participation to gain victory over various revolutions and categorically mentioned about the Japanese aggression in China. He also urged the Chinese youth under the umbrella of Communist Youth League to shoulder the responsibility of the nation and actively participate in its reforms and development drive put forward by the Communist Party of China. In other words, Communist Youth League (CYL), was a mass organization of progressive youth under the leadership of the CPC. The basic tasks of the CYL were to unite and lead youths to focus on economic construction and, during the great practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, to temper themselves as

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<sup>19</sup>Talk at the reception for the Presidium of the Second National Congress of the Youth League (June 30, 1953). <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch30.htm> accessed on 2/8/16 at 5:56 pm.

<sup>20</sup>Introductory note to “A Youth Shock Brigade of the No. 9 Agricultural Producers' Co-operative in Hsinping Township, Chungshan County” (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. III. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch30.htm> accessed on 2/8/16 at 5:56 pm



successors who are well educated and have lofty ideals, moral integrity and high sense of discipline.<sup>21</sup>

With gradual change in the socio-economic and political environment of China after the demise of the Mao Zedong, it has now become very important to re-evaluate the political participation in China with special focus on the youth. It is indeed important to ponder over the questions if political participation brings economic reform or economic independence leads to the participation in politics. Is it the ‘Western model’ or the ‘Chinese model’ or both have played important role in political participation of youth in China?

## **Chapterization:**

### **Introduction**

The chapter has first introduced the concept of political participation by locating it in society and different political systems. Going over a brief history of political participation in Chinese history, it has spelled out the scope and objective of the study. Further, it has laid down the framework and Chapterization of the study.

### **Chapter One: Historical Background**

In this chapter a discussion of changing socio-political backdrop of China from early 20<sup>th</sup> century has been undertaken, with a special reference to the emergence and evolution of youth organizations in China. An attempt has been made to trace the process of Ideological Education and political culture of the Chinese youth in the period 1949-1976 and the role played by Communist youth league.

### **Chapter Two: Economic Reforms and Ideological Dilemmas of the Chinese Youth: Problem faced by CYL**

The chapter has focused on the Economic Condition during the Mao period (1949-77) and has analysed the shift indicated by the policy of Economic Reform and Open-door Policy as it has impacted the social fabric and social relations. The chapter has

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<sup>21</sup>共青团中央青年运动史档案馆 (The Central Archives of the Youth Movement of the Communist Youth League, “历史的轨迹中国共产主义青年团90年 *the Historical Track of Chinese Communist Youth League in 90 Years*”重庆出版社:重庆, 2012, Chongqing, Chongqing Publishing House, 2012.

further analysed the ideological dilemmas of the Chinese youth with a special reference to the problem faced by Communist Youth League.

### **Chapter Three: the Policy Adjustments of the CPC and new goals and objectives of CYL**

This Chapter has tried to explore the various measures taken by the Communist Party of China to adjust to the paradigm shift from ideological sanctity to economic development. In the face of the dilemma faced by the Chinese youth, how did the Communist Youth League reformulate its goals and objectives has also been analysed.

### **Chapter Four: Political Participation of the Chinese Youth in Market Economy and the relevance of CYL:**

This Chapter has tried to understand the concept of the Socialist market economy and how it has impacted Chinese society, especially all the youth in terms of their aspirations and activism. What had been the relevance and significance of the socialist market economy for Communist Youth League and if the Communist Youth League had to reinvent itself in the terms of its role and identity.

### **Conclusion**

On the basis of the arguments made in earlier chapters, this chapter has tried to find how the political participation and culture of Chinese youth was shaped in the period from 1978 to 2000 through case study of the Communist Youth League.

The present study has used both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. Historical analytical method has been adopted to see the developments in a comprehensive whole. An interpretive reading of both the primary and secondary source has been done. Reports of different conferences and meetings of the Chinese government, CPC and CYL have been examined. Personal interviews of academicians, government officials, CYL members and a cross-section of the Chinese Youth has been a diverse source that helped to arrive at an objective analysis.

This study has attempted to evaluate CYL and its functions in the Post-Mao era, keeping in mind that it had historically been the keeper of political culture of the Chinese youth and thus, had established a benchmark in youth participation and

involvement in all social and political issues that were considered important by the Chinese Party-State. In doing so, this study has provided a fresh outlook and added to the existing perspectives on the theme. The study has also relied on Chinese source materials in order to provide authentic data and original perspective.

*Chapter One:*

**Historical Background**

China has a long history of more than 5000 years, that witnessed a long line of dynasties starting with Xia Dynasty(2070B.C-1600 B.C) established in 2070 B.C and ending with the overthrow of the Qing rule after the 1911 Xinhai Revolution led by Sun Yatsen. The journey also witnessed the foreign interventions and China also had to fight wars against these foreign imperialist forces to safeguard its national interest.

The Industrial Revolution in the West led the manufacturing countries to look for the new market for their products. They started to explore the market in underdeveloped countries such as India, China and some African countries. The deep urge to explore market avenues led to the Opium war in China. 1840 to 1860 was the period where western powers tried to establish their strong presence in the Chinese market. The Opium War started between Great Britain and China, reason being, China under the Qing Government prohibited Opium Trade in its territory. The Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu was sent to Guangzhou to cutoff the trade. With the order of Lin Zexu all the Opium kept at Guangzhou port was burnt. This infuriated the British and resulted into the outbreak of the Opium War. The War ended with the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842(this included the cession of Hong Kong by China to Great Britain). It also marked the beginning of the system of unequal treaties which was not abolished until 1943.<sup>1</sup>

The beneficiaries of Opium trade were primarily the British merchants. China had to ban this trade as the entire Chinese population including youth were under the influence of opium had stopped participating in day to day activities that generated production. China was branded as 'sick man of Asia' and the life of the common people was worsening rapidly due to this trade. The Opium war also saw the coining of the term 'Gun Boat diplomacy'<sup>2</sup> to describe the relationship that developed between the weakening Chinese state and the commercial imperialist interests. The aftermath of the Opium War, witnessed the phase of unemployment, closure of the domestic and technologically ill- equipped industries as they could not compete with

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<sup>1</sup>Flemming Christiansen and Shirin M. Rai, "*Chinese Politics and Society: An Introduction*, London, Prentice Hall, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Gun Boat diplomacy' is a foreign policy that is supported by the use or threat of military force. Defined in Oxford Dictionary , <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/gunboat-diplomacy> accessed at 11:53 am on 18/8/16

the products from the industrialized countries. Whole China was flooded with Character “洋” such as “洋火, 洋盐 etc. i.e. everywhere. The products used in the day to day life used to come from the industrialized countries. Later, the America, Germany and other industrialized countries started demanding their share in China market. The demand of more and more share in Chinese market led to creation of a term ‘Cutting of China’s melon’<sup>3</sup> and Chinese society turned into semi feudal and semi –colonial in nature.

The unfavorable atmosphere created due to the Opium war led intellectual and other people to demand for the change in political system as well more privatization having less or no interference of the government.<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed after the defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, which led the two leading scholars Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao to predict the decline of the Qing Empire. They argued, “That Confucius was a re-former whose vision could be realized in a context of the renewal of the Chinese social and political life”.<sup>5</sup> The Hundred Days Reform (1898) started by then the Young Guangxu emperor included the modernization of the traditional examination system for the civil service, the elimination of sinecures and the creation of a system of modern education system. It led the stone for an eventual system of constitutional monarchy. It also marked the appearance of first time the idea of private citizens’ participation in the government in China. The weakening of the Qing Empire together with the Hundred Days reform led Sun Yat-sen to organize a society called “兴中会 (Revive China Society) on Nov.24, 1895, when he was way in exile in Honolulu, Hawaii. The objective of this society was to overthrow the Manchu’s and establish republican government in China. He came out with slogan, “Expel the Manchurians, revive China and establish a unified

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<sup>3</sup> “China’s attempt to ban the sale of opium in the port city of Canton leads to the Opium War of 1839 in which the Chinese are defeated by superior British arms and which results in the imposition of the first of many “Unequal Treaties.” These treaties open other cities, “Treaty Ports” — first along the coast and then throughout China — to trade, foreign legal jurisdiction on Chinese territory in these ports, foreign control of tariffs, and Christian missionary presence. By the late 1800s, China is said to be “carved up like a melon” by foreign powers competing for “spheres of influence” on Chinese soil.” cited in the “China and the West: Imperialism, Opium, and Self –Strengthening (1800-1921)”, 2009 Asia for Educators, Columbia University [http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main\\_pop/kpct/kp\\_imperialism.htm](http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/kpct/kp_imperialism.htm) accessed at 12:05 pm on 18/8/16

<sup>4</sup> Shandra Gold finger, “lasting Effects of the Opium wars” in <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/~goldf20s/politics116/effects.html> accessed at 6:28pm on 18/11/15

<sup>5</sup> Flemming Christiansen and Shirin M. Rai, “Chinese politics and society: An Introduction” London’ Prentice Hall ,1996, p.39

government (驱除鞑虏，恢复中华，创立合众政府)”<sup>6</sup> in 1890s, Sun Yat-sen founded the 同盟会 Tongmenghui (United league) in 1905. The United league members were primarily the Chinese students studying in Tokyo at that time and charter included equal rights for Citizens and a republican government. United League together with the local warlords and young officers of the Qing army protested against the nationalization of the railways by the Manchu which contradicted the ‘rights recovery’. The immediate cause of outbreak of Xinhai Revolution of 1911 the mutiny has been explained by scholars in the following words:

“There were subversive activities led by the Tongmenghui in the WuChang garrison in Hubei. When a powder key exploded accidentally, two soldiers who belonged to the banned Tongmenghui organization were arrested. This led to the mutiny by young officers which, with the support of Tongmenghui, spread to barrack across south China, and in the end became the catalyst that triggered the overthrow of the Manchu. The movement was, however, was only partially responsible for the fall of the dynasty. Military satraps played an important role in the whole affair, especially Yuan Shikai who became the power brokers between the dynasty and the revolution”<sup>7</sup>

Xinhai Revolution of 1911, indeed succeeded in the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of republican government in China but could not maintain the clean and pro-people government based on Sun Yat-sen 三民主义 (Three people’s Principle) i.e. Nationalism, Democracy and People’s livelihood. There was not much change in the socio-economic and political environment in the republican government and warlords became more powerful, which agitated the common masses. For the first time, United League and other political Parties including Liang Qichao’s Progressive Party became the main players in Chinese political stage. Fight against imperialist forces became the modern opposition ideology of that time.

This period also saw the emergence of the published media: in particular, newspapers which became vehicles for informing and mobilizing urban educated opinion. New

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<sup>6</sup> Cited in Aristeon, “Sun Yatsen: Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary” June 4,2016 <https://china-journal.org/2016/06/04/sun-yat-sen-memoirs-of-a-chinese-revolutionary/> accessed on 23/8/16 at 5:58pm

<sup>7</sup> Flemming Christiansen and Shirin M. Rai, *Chinese politics and society: An Introduction*, London, Prentice Hall , 1996 ,p.40

Culture Movement started in 1916 with the publication of the journal 《新青年》 New Youth edited by Chen Duxiu. Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi were in the forefront of this movement. Chen Duxiu was the propagator of 'Science and Democracy' and used to attack the old Confucian ideology, while Hu Shi made pioneering attempts at simplifying the Chinese language and encourage vernacular literature. The success of the New Cultural Movement was due to the advent of Western philosophy in China after the end of the Opium war. It also got a boost from the students who returned students who returned to China after studying abroad. They came back with ideas such as liberalism, anarchism and socialism, all rooted in the western philosophy.

The New literary culture and style of writing started reaching to the masses unlike the classical literature meant only for the elites. These writings and publications helped the youth and the common masses to understand the actual reality of China. There were upsurge of vernacular literature in with Lu Xun, Ba Jin, Mao Dun and Lao She , and other famous writers writing about deep rooted feudal mindset as well as social and cultural issues facing Chinese people. This movement marked the beginning of 'socialist wave' in China. Gradually, lots of youth became fascinated with the Socialist ideology which eventually gave birth to the Socialist Culture of China. However, the strengths and power of youth were realized by the elderly and by the Chinese nobility only with the outburst of youth's anger and protest during the 'May Fourth Movement' of 1919.

The World War I (1914-18) added more agony and despairs among the mind of the Chinese people. The First World War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles 1919. China was a part of the Allied forces and participated in the First World War. China was promised that Shandong (China Territory under occupation of Germany) would be returned to China after the victory. Instead was handed over to Japanese after the war. The Government led by President Duan Qirui could not counter the western political bullying, or read the mood of the Chinese and agreed to sign the Treaty of Versailles. This kind of humiliation was not well received by the youths and other social players including the merchants. On May4, 1919, more than thousands of youth and other people came out on the street and protested against the unequal treaty which forced the then government to retreat and it refused to sign the treaty.



In order to rescue motherland from the imperialist powers, numerous Patriotic youths and other Chinese people having high ideals (仁人志士) (renren zhishi 'kind and upright men') gathered at Tiananmen Square to protest against the foreign powers for the injustices meted out to China by forcing Chinese government to become the signatory of the Treaty of Versailles in June 28, 1919. This resulted into the outbreak of May Fourth Patriotic Movement of 1919. It has been argued this movement was highly influenced by the New Cultural Movement (新文化运动) and the 'October Revolution of Russia' (俄国十月革命)<sup>8</sup>.

### **Emergence and Evolution of Youth Organization in China (1919-1949)**

May Fourth Movement of 1919 is a watershed in the history of China and Chinese Youth activism. Before that, the presence of the youth in China's political stage was not so prominent and other activities of the society. There is no doubt, of the youth support to the government or any organizations, whenever, wherever, the government or any organizations needed to achieve their respective objectives in China. It was not only a unique case of China but it can be seen in other Asian countries such as India. However, the Youths were not taken seriously before the May Fourth Movement. Therefore, very few youth organizations existed in China that could have taken care of the youth's interests.<sup>9</sup>

The importance of the Youths were only realized, when they proved themselves vital in forcing then President Duan Qirui to retreat from signing of the unequal treaty of Versailles. Even before that in 1917 and 1918, with the launching of the new Literature Movements, students had started to set up study organizations. But these organizations were limited to a few active students as social organizations were not popular among the people. After the May Fourth Incident, an enthusiasm for organizations, similar to that for journal and newspapers, spread throughout the cities of China. The intellectuals carried on the business of such organizations in a more or

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<sup>8</sup> 张华 (Zhang Hua), *基层共青团工作 200 题* Jiceng gong qingtuan gongzuo 200 ti, ( *200 Problems in Grass root Youth League Work*), Beijing, China Youth Publishing House, 2009, P.1( Translation done by the Scholar)

<sup>9</sup>Lo Chia-lun, "the success and failure of our student movement during the past Year and the future path to be taken," *New Education* ,ii,(May1920)p.603 cited in Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1960

less democratic and open way which differed somewhat from previous Chinese Practice.<sup>10</sup>

The aftermath of May Fourth Movement witnessed the socialist Wave in China. It also saw the emergence of the Youth League and Communist Party of China. The formal establishment of the Youth League before the establishment of the Communist Party of China in 1921, itself reflects the importance of youth activism in the history of China after the May Fourth Movement. Therefore, it is no surprise that in the subsequent decades, Communist Party of China placed great importance of the ideological education of its young cadres, starting from the teenaged members of Young Pioneers. Mao Zedong had continuously emphasized the importance of youth on many occasions both inside and outside China :

“The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

.....

The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you.”<sup>11</sup>

According to some scholars of Chinese politics, some of the main reasons for the Communist Party of China to give importance to its youth are the following:

1. The Communist Party of China did not want to loose sight of how the Party itself had come into existence.
2. Youth as a stage is full of vigor and vitality, if not harnessed , this force could become threat to the party.
3. If guided and educated with correct ideology, youth could help to and rule of the Party and contribute to the construction of new China.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Timothy Tingfang Lew, *Chinas Renaissance, China To-day Through Chinese Eyes* , London, Student Christian Movement, 1922p.31

<sup>11</sup>Talk at a meeting with Chinese students and trainees in Moscow (November 17, 1957 ) cited in 1893-2003 A Tribute to Mao Zedong :Youth(quotations) downloaded from <http://english.cri.cn/1325/2003-12-26/90@72557.htm> on 23/8/16 at 6:37pm

Some of the student organizations established during the period of demonstration and strike turned out to be temporary in nature and was dissolved within six to twelve months. However, the Student Unions, which were established at individual schools and in different cities and provinces, continued long afterwards as did other social organizations.<sup>13</sup>

Other important student organizations which continued after the incident were; a) the World Chinese Students` Association, organized in 1905 and revived in 1919, b) the Japan Returned Students` Union for National Salvation, and 3) the West Returned Students` Union reorganized and expanded from the America returned students `union after the incident. In addition to these bodies championing the cause of self-government, students also established other intellectual`s organizations for the purpose of study, discussion, and popular education and social service, to achieve the cultural or political ends. These Organizations were; a) the Society for the Discussion of Family Reconstruction, b) the Chinese philosophical society .c) the society for Promoting the New Education. d) The Society for the Study of Socialism, e) Society for the Study of Bertrand Russell f) The Society for Lectures on the New Learning. g) The Educational Survey Society, h) the Popular Education Association. Various works have been done by these societies on realistic western dramas and novels, especially those of France, Russia, Germany, and later, Communist Literature and on western culture.

The Federation of All organization which was established after the Tiananmen Incidence with headquarters in Shanghai became the bridge between intellectuals and social organizations. It was instituted to harmonize actions of various groups and secure internal and external support for their participation in national affairs.<sup>14</sup> The Federation was composed of the Student Union of the Republic of China, the Society of Women Comrades for Patriotism, the Christian National Salvation Society, the

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<sup>12</sup> There is detailed discussion on the reasons for the Communist Party of China to give importance to its youth in A. Doak Barnett, "Mass Political Organizations in Communist China" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 277, Report on China (Sep., 1951), pp. 76-88.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Tsi C. Wang, *The Youth Movement in China*, New York : New Republic, 1927,p.184

National Chamber of Commerce, All China Journalists` Union, and representatives from gentry, labor, and other social and religious groups.<sup>15</sup>

Besides the Student`s Unions, the most active of these new organizations, were many small societies established by young intellectuals within or outside of school. The Young China Association, for example, had been initiated in 1918, did not become active until the May Fourth Incident; this movement stimulated the youth, and finally, the Association was formally established in Beijing on July1, 1919. The members of this Association were from various walks of the society, that includes students, educator, journalists and writers, which later became the leaders of modern China. The motto of this Association was “our association dedicates itself to social services under the guidance of the scientific spirit, in order to realize our ideal of creating a young China.”<sup>16</sup> “Furthermore, four watch words were adopted to guide the activities of all members, i.e., “strife, practicality, endurance, and thrift.” Although, the association was not organized very strictly, its members maintained frequent correspondence with the headquarters and among each other, expressing their viewpoints on important social and cultural issues and reporting their impressions of the economic and social situations, at home and abroad. They also held a number of discussion meetings concerning various subjects. Besides its two publications “Young Chinese” and “Young World”, the association published small magazines in several cities and a number of pamphlets<sup>17</sup>.

There were other smaller societies ,such as Dawn society, the Common Study Society ,the Association for Practical Promotion of Society ,the Society for the Progress of Youth and New people`s Study Society(新民学会)<sup>18</sup>, Patriotic Society of Students(学生爱国会 ), which later became Student Society for National Salvation(学生救国). These societies were varied in nature, being liberal ,socialist, or of other political dispensations. Many Chinese political leaders leftist or rightist started their political careers from these Organizations.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. , pp.184-185

<sup>16</sup> 王光起(Wang Gungqi), ,少年中国知创造 Shaonian zhongguo zhi chuangzao (The Creation of Young China Study association) , Juvenile China 2 (19August,1919) :1-7 cited in Marilyn A. Levine, *Chinese Communist in Europe During the Twenties*, London, university of Washington press, 1993, p.45.

<sup>17</sup> Cited in May Fourth Movement, Shared Encyclopedia accessed at from <http://www.et97.com/subview/31252/31252.htm> &:03pm on 25/8/16

<sup>18</sup> New People`s Study Society was founded by Mao Zedong and his associates in Changsha on April 18,1918

Organizations of an outright political character also attracted the youths. Some of the young men joined the Kuomintang, and others joined the numerous small political groups of that time. From the fall of 1919, many political or semi-political organizations were established or strengthened by students who later became the leaders of the Communist Party of China, though, before 1920, they only leaned to idealistic socialism or liberalism instead of adopting communism as their creed. Social Welfare Society, The Awakening, was established in Tianjin on September 16, 1919, by active boy students from the Student Union of Tianjin and girl students from the Tianjin Association of Women Patriotic Comrades. Most of the members were students at the Nankai school and the Jilin Industrial College; among the most active were Zhou En-lai, Ma Chun, Deng Yingchao, Sun Xiaoqing etc, having assumption that social progress must be based on self awakening of the individual and developed strong leanings toward guild socialism, anarchism, and humanitarianism.<sup>19</sup>

After the May Fourth Movement, the organizations above mentioned had intention to join together for achieving common objectives. These organizations came together to form strong alliances. For example, a reform Alliance was formed by the Young China Association, the Humanity Society, the Dawn Society, the Peking Awakening Society, and the Youth Cooperative Corps. Though the alliance did not live too long published a manifesto and a Charter.<sup>20</sup>

The idealism characterizing almost all of the new organizations may be illustrated by few examples of the movements which started by new intellectuals after the incident. A Japanese utopian social movement called "atarashiki mura" (new village developed by Mushakojisaneatsu had caught the fancy of some Chinese professors and students. The theory and organization underlying the new village were set forth in 1919 in both New Youth and New Tide magazines by Zhou Zuoren, his elder brother Lu Xun, and other writers. The movement was based on the philosophy of mutual assistance and humanitarianism espoused by Kropotkin, Tolstoy, and certain idealistic socialists.

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<sup>19</sup> See the series of articles reviewing problems of the corps by Hu Shi, tai Chi-tao, Lin Tachao, wang Kuang Chi, Chen Duxiu, In *New Youth*, vii,5(april 1, 1920), pp.1-17 cited in Chow, Tse-Tung, *The May Fourth Movement : Intellectual revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960

<sup>20</sup> Chow, Tse-Tung, *The May Fourth Movement : Intellectual revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960

Members of the village gave up all their private property. They aimed to carry out the ideal “from each other according to his capacity, to each according to his needs”<sup>21</sup>.

<< 新青年 >> (*New Youth*) published a letter and poem written by Mushakoji to “Chinese friend unknown”, along with the enthusiastic responses of the Chinese intellectual leaders, Cai Yuanpei, Chen Duxiu, and the Chou brothers’<sup>22</sup> As presented in this and other Chinese periodicals, Mushakoji’s idealistic socialism and humanitarianism produced a notable impression on the Chinese new intellectuals in the period after the May Fourth Incident.

These organizations which emerged during and after the May Fourth of 1919 widely carried out the programs of public education throughout the country. These programs included Academic and popular lectures. These organizations invited several prominent Western Thinkers to visit China, such as John Dewey, who stayed in China for two years and two months, travelling to eleven provinces and delivered numerous academic lectures and public speeches, especially in Beijing, Nanjing, and in Shanxi province. His five major lectures given at Beijing University and interpreted for the most part by Hu Shi were: I) Social Philosophy and Political Philosophy (explored in the light of pragmatism for the first time); ii) Philosophy of Education; iii) Ways of Thinking; IV) Three philosophers of Our Times (Bergson, Russell James). v) On the Ethics. These lectures appeared in the newspapers and periodicals, and later were published in book form from which went through fourteen Chinese printings of 10000 copies each in two years. His others lectures were also often attended not only by students and teachers but by other intellectuals and were reported fully and widely in the local and national news papers. Indeed, it was the first time that a western philosopher had made so many speeches in modern China. His books on philosophy, logic, and education were also translated and widely circulated.

After the May Fourth Movement which was initiated by the students of the National University of Peking (presently Peking University), all patriotic youths realized that intellectual reform is the preparation for reform activities in the future. By this means

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<sup>21</sup> Chan, Andrian, *Chinese Marxism*, London, Continuum, 2003

<sup>22</sup> Mushakoji Saneatsu’s “yu chih-na wei- chih-ti yu-jen ( “a letter to My Chinese Friends Unknown”), his poem “Chih i-ko Chih-na-ti hsiung-ti” ( “to a Chinese Brother” ), and answers of Tsai, Chen, and Chou were all printed in *New Youth*, vii, 3, Feb. 1, 1920, pp. 1-17 cited in Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1960.

public opinion developed rapidly and publications flourished with public support. Numerous new magazines and newspapers were established by enthusiastic youth. The movement had great impact on the society and these organizations were less bothered by the Chinese officials of that time. This kind of new 'Culture Movement' indeed reflects an unprecedented change in the intellectuals of China during that time. As per the origin of the movement, it started only by the advocacy of one or two enlightened publications at the beginning. It resulted into the rapid and glorious public opinion.; students strikes erupted all over the country; and with awakened consciousness and determination to strive unto death, almost everybody joined in the patriotic activities. "There was no doubt that the movement will produce great and everlasting effects if it continues to grow and expand. The success of the revolution which is carried on by the Party must depend on a change of thought in China."<sup>23</sup>

The Communist Party of China provided more support to the youth activists by advocating revolutionary Nationalism and increasingly determined the timing and specific demands of the students. The political protests of the student movements were supported by the various political Parties. With the rising tide of nationalism and socialism, the alliance of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, supported by the Soviet Union, developed rapidly. The catchwords "throw out the traitors" and "struggle for sovereignty" or "resist the great powers" initiated by the students were soon seized by the political Parties and expanded into formal protest and demands against warlordism and imperialism. The Great League of Anti-imperialism was created by the Student Union of China, the National Labor Union, The National Chamber of Commerce, and other organizations in Peking on July 13, 1923. These organizations received a great support from the others organizations engaged in creating new socialist wave in China that soon secured enthusiastic support from many social forces.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Sun Yat-sen, "A Letter to the Overseas Comrades of the Kuomintang," Jan. 29, 1920, in Hu Han-min, ed, Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, iii, 347-48 cited in Chow, Tse-Tung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960

<sup>24</sup> Kao His-sheng and others, comps, she-hui ko`-hsueh ta tzu`-tian (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences) (Shanghai, 1929), pp. 116-17 cited in Chow, Tse-Tung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960

The other impact of the May Fourth Movement led to the creation of labor and merchants organizations apart from the youth organizations. It can be said that the May Fourth Movement had great impact on all strata of the society. May Fourth Movement was the impetus for the development of organizations and activities of the merchants and urban workers. In a sense the May Fourth Incident taught the Chinese people that the strength of a nation lies in the organizations and their unity. After the May Fourth Movement, the girls started to join the student movement and its attendant social and political activities. Before the incident there had been very few girls' schools of higher learning. In 1922, however, twenty eight universities and colleges had girl student. They were taught to be independent citizens instead of being dependent on family.<sup>25</sup>

To summarize the development of the student movement from the May Fourth Period to the middle of the twenties, we may assert that in terms of political significance it passed through three stages. From 1915 or 1917 to 1919, it was often patriotic and intellectual movement that developed political interests and activities. The petition of May 1918<sup>26</sup> and the incident of a year later signified its active intervention in political affairs. But at that time there were very few close links between the students and existing political Parties. In 1919 political Parties were still supporters of the student movement rather than its active partners. The students' movement in this stage also enjoyed almost unanimous support from all progressive intellectual, social, economic, and political leaders.

In the second stage, from 1920 to 1921, the students' interest in politics increased along with increasing political influence from outside. They began to develop closer relations with political Parties and some of them joined partisan activities. Political Parties began to throw open the columns of their newspapers to student contributors. A number of student editors and reporters were employed by those newspapers. At the same time, most of the liberals, industrialists, and merchants gradually withdrew their support from the student movements. During May 1920, liberals like Cai Yuanpei, Hu Shi, Jiang Moulin, together with the new industrialists, expressed their opinion

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<sup>25</sup> For detail discussion see, Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1960

<sup>26</sup> Beijing Youth gathered in huge numbers to petition the Qing government to refuse to sign the Peace Treaty and to punish the traitors. Thus a nationwide patriotic movement took place.



that student demonstrations and strikes should cease and that the duty of the students should be to study.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the leftists and the nationalist became more and more enthusiastic about the student movement. Because of these new complications, the student movement had gradually weakened in 1921 and in the following years. The oppression of the government and conflicts between the right and left wings among the students themselves also contributed to this temporary decline of the student's' movements. The lack of unified, strict student organization during this period was another cause.

The period from 1922 to 1924 comprised the third stage. During this period students started to take part in the work of Party organizations. Nationwide student movements revived in 1923 and the left wing of the students, especially in South China, almost dominated the movement. The trend culminated in the adoption of the policy of enlisting students as members of the Kuomintang in 1924 with the support of that policy by the Communist Party, most of whose members also joined the Kuomintang at the same time. Student unions were henceforth formally listed as political factions in proposed government activities.<sup>28</sup> The Youth organizations, which already had it existence before May Fourth or came into being during May Fourth Movement aroused the whole nation and its citizens from all strata of society and occupations. No doubts that the contribution of Chinese youths is commendable, but other intellectuals and non intellectuals together made the movement successful.

As mentioned above, the May Fourth Movement resulted into the creation of the various youth organization in China as motioned above. Among those organizations, some progressive Youth organizations developed tremendously, especially Youth organizations with socialist ideology. For example 长沙的新民学会 (Changsha New People Study Society), 俄罗斯研究会 (Society Society to Study Russia), 天津的觉悟社 (Tianjin Awakening Society), 北京的马克思学说研究会 (Beijing Society for Studying of Marxian Theory)。 These groups laid the foundation for the

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<sup>27</sup> Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1960

<sup>28</sup> Hu Shi, *Renaissance in China*, *Royal Institute of International Affairs Journal*, London, Nov.1926, pp.265-83 cited in Chow, Tse-Tung, *The May Fourth Movement : Intellectual revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press,1960

establishment of Socialist Youth League.<sup>29</sup> In March 1920, Communist International visited China and established contact with the revolutionaries and laid the foundation for the formation of the Communist Party of China and Communist Youth League of China. Under the directives and help of Communist International and yet to formalized Communist Party of China, the first Progressive Youth Political Organization – 上海社会主义青年团 (Shanghai Socialist Youth League) was formally established in August, 1920. Yu Xiusong a student of Zhejiang Normal University became the first Secretary of the Shanghai Socialist Youth League(上海青年社会主义青年团) . After its establishment, Shanghai Socialist Youth League created a group called “外国语社 (Society for Foreign language)” and got its first cadres. Thereafter, Mao Zedong at Changsha, Li Dazhen at Beijing, Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu at Wuhan etc continued establishing Socialist Youth League across the country. The main objectives of these small branches Socialist Youth League were to penetrate among the workers and establish labor organization (工会) , establish labor Institute (工人学校) and propagate the Communist ideology.<sup>30</sup> Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist International, the Socialist Youth League held its first National Congress at Guangzhou in May 1922. The day also marked the 104<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of Karl Marx. The Socialist Youth League became one of the strong forces against the imperialist powers.

The examples of Youths activism could be seen in many large and small movements after the formation of different Youth organizations. The exemplary activism was seen during the Protest against the unequal treaties on May, 1925 and the condemnation of Japanese aggressions in Manchuria in 1931; and the demand for resistance to Japan on December 9, 1935<sup>31</sup>. By 1940s, China already had well-established traditions of student activism.

Youth leaders of 1940`s were conscious of May Fourth tradition, as they called it .They were proud of the tradition and were committed to keep it alive. They accepted the role of politically aware elites who had the right and the responsibility to

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<sup>29</sup>张华(Zhang Hua), *基层共青团工作200题* Jiceng gong qingtuan gongzuo 200 ti, ( *200 Problems in Grass root Youth League Work*), Beijing, China Youth Publishing House, 2009, P.1

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1960

speak for the Chinese people. During the period from 1945 to 1949, the competition between Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China for the control of Chinese destiny entered its critical stage and the Chinese students sought active participation in China's Revolution. A condition in China between 1945 and 1949 was also ripe to enhance the influence of the student movement and to contribute to its specific objectives. Having endured the long war of 1937-1945, the Chinese people faced multiple tragedies of civil war and economic and political chaos. The Revolution spread throughout China rapidly. Intellectuals of older generation often echoed student's cries of dismay and outrage and gave a strong verbal support.

The Communist Youth League in its different phase of development changes its name many times. In Jan, 1925 the league in its third National Party Congress changed its name to Communist Youth League of China, When China was fighting the War against the Japanese aggression. Therefore, in year, 1935 the leadership decided to bring others youth organizations together to fight Japanese and in order to incorporate the representation of other ideologies, changed the name to 《抗日救国团体》 (Resist Japan and save Our country Brigade) i.e. Patriotic groups. There came various Youth groups in different cities of China. For example In the Kuomintang dominated areas there emerged the 《中华民族解放先锋队》 (Chinese National Liberation vanguard Corp) <<武汉青年救国团>> (Wuhan Youth National Salvation Brigade) , <<广东青年抗日先锋队>> (Guangdong Youth Brigade to Resist Japan)>> etc. After the end of the War against Japanese aggression, it saw the emergence of the Democratic Alliance etc. In June 1946, The Central Committee of the Communist Party put forward its opinion to established Democratic Youth League.

“The Communist Party Central Committee on January 1, 1949 announced its decision to establish the corps nationally as the "nucleus for mobilizing China's youth, serving as both assistant and reserve strength of the Communist Party<sup>32</sup>." There followed, in the spring of 1949, a series of national conferences which set up three "All-China" youth organizations designed to encompass and merge all existing youth groups and to expand the membership of these organizations. These were the All-China

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<sup>32</sup> Feng Wen-pin , "First Year of the New Democratic Youth League (Corps)," *People's China*, Vol. I, No. 7 (April 1, 1950), p. 10.cited in Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement*, Stanford University Press,Stanford,1960.

Federation of Democratic Youth, the All-China Students' Federation, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.”<sup>33</sup> In 1957 at the third Plenary Session of the National Party Congress, the name of the organization was changed to Communist Youth League (CYL) of China.

### **Ideological Education and Political Culture of the Chinese Youth (1949-1976): Role played by CYL**

The key to the victory of the Communist Party of China and the Proletariat Revolution in China was the ‘ideology’ of the Party. As a result, the Party has always put the ‘ideology’ as a first priority in its endeavor to reform the life of the people. Since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, the Party has tried to infuse the ideology into the core of the China’s political culture as the main element of the China’s political culture.

#### **Ideology of the Party:**

After the establishment of People’s Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong on Oct1, 1949, Mao Zedong Thought became the guiding ideology of the Party, which can be broadly laid out in the following points:

1. Mao believed that people, through sheer human willpower, could accomplish practically any end. This belief developed from his experience as a leader of a guerilla revolutionary army for quarter of century. The “guerilla mentality” carried over into economic matters in his belief that people, if properly mobilized, were more important to economic development than capital or technology.
2. Unlike Marx, Mao believed in the primacy of politics over economics. This aspect of Mao Zedong Thought has been illustrated abundantly in the way Mao conceptualized and led the Cultural Revolution.
3. Following from this elevation of the role of politics was Mao’s desire to eliminate “economic man” and replace him or her with “Communist Man”. “Communist Man” would be selfless and capable of total self-denial. He/She would be one whose main motivation is to benefit the group. This is

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<sup>33</sup> A. Doak Barnett, “Mass Political Organizations in Communist China” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 277, Report on China (Sep., 1951), pp. 76-88

illustrated by Mao’s advocacy of “moral incentives” for peasants and workers and his repudiation of material incentives. To Mao, allowing any type of “capitalist” incentives (such as higher pay) would necessarily lead to a reversion to capitalism.

4. For Mao, an equal distribution of income was at least as important as economic growth. This included equality between men and women. Finally, Mao saw class struggle and revolution as a continuing process and not as a process that would end with the revolution<sup>34</sup>.

As per the above basic propositions of Mao Zedong, it is quite evident that the status of ‘Politics’ was above ‘Economy’. The following Table1’ which contains the details of courses offered and timings of the lecture will be helpful in determining the Party objectives and strategy of imparting ideological education to the university students.

Table 1: Teaching Hours of Marxist Theory Programs at Chinese Higher Education Institution in 1952.<sup>35</sup>

	On new Democracy	Foundation of Marxism and Leninism	Political Economy	Dialectical and Historical Materialism	Total teaching Hours
Comprehensive and teachers training universities	100	136	136	100	472
Specialized institutions	100	136	136		372
Three year specialized colleges	100	136	136		372
Three year specialized colleges	100	136	136		372
One- year training programs	100				100

<sup>34</sup>: Historical Overview and the Importance of Ideology- Palmor College (Written 1989; Revised 2002) [www2.palomar.edu/.../Economics%20110%20Chapter%2016%20China](http://www2.palomar.edu/.../Economics%20110%20Chapter%2016%20China) downloaded at 11:15 am on 9/10/2015

<sup>35</sup> Cited in China Education Yearbook Editorial Committee, 1984, p.422. downloaded from <http://www.aare.edu.au/02pap/yan02312.htm> 1/31/2009 at 5.12 pm.

There were some modifications to the courses as situation changed. For example, Foundations of Marxism and Leninism gradually changed into History of international Communist Movement; History of Chinese Revolution was renamed as History of the Communist Party of China. On one hand, the courses flaunted Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, advocated the cult of personality and upheld one-party system and other, it expressed strong hostility towards other ideologies, and adopted historical materialism to interpret human history, with special focus on the role of class struggle. By doing so, it legitimized the existing ruling system and ideology<sup>36</sup>.

The Communist Party of China established a dedicated university “People’s University of China” in 16 December 1949 to train communist cadres at different levels in various areas of propaganda work, party affairs and ideo-political education. After receiving training from here, these cadres were dispatched to all parts of China. The specially trained and dedicated youth were assigned job to gather information from the masses and work as propagator of the party ideology among the masses and especially amongst the youth.

Party’s basic line, guiding principle and policies as well as the current political situations constituted major part of ideo-political education in the curriculum. The teaching contents of ideo-political education were centered on Marxist theories and ideologies, efforts were always made to relate them to the current political situation. There were not much major changes took place in the courses except the names of the courses offered. The content of the courses offered were unchanged. Those courses were; Marxist Philosophy, Marxist Political Economy, Scientific Socialism, History of International Communist Movements, History of the Communist Party and Political; current affairs. On 10sept.1951, the Ministry of Education issued its instructions to all universities requiring that courses of ideo-political education be included in each department’s syllabi paralleling specialized subjects, and assessed by the dean. Since then, ideo-political education courses become electives for students of all specialties and an integral part of the university curricula. The People’s university of China became the nodal university responsible for the promotion and propagation

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid,p.4

ideo-political education in China till 1966.<sup>37</sup> Henceforth, the Communist Party of China left no stone unturned in imparting ideo-political education to its youths.

With the onset of Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, Teaching of Marxist theory and teaching per say was suspended and was replaced by political movements (class struggle), which was regarded as daily political thought work; quick witted application of Mao Zedong thought displaced regular teaching of political theories in Universities<sup>38</sup>.

Some scholars have argued that there was no distinct ‘Political Culture of the Youth’ in Mao’s China. Rather it was a preparatory stage for serious responsibility. To quote Paul Clark:

“Youth in the Maoist era was often regarded as simply a junior version of adult commitments and responsibilities. Young Pioneers put red scarves around their necks as children and joined the Communist Youth League as teenagers in preparation for adulthood in the Party”<sup>39</sup>.

During Cultural Revolution period Communist Youth League was suspended. The ‘Red Guards’ self proclaimed youth cadres took over and created chaotic environment in China. All academic institutions were closed and all the traditions books and manuscripts were burnt, intellectual were humiliated and killed during the great Cultural Revolution. None the less, these youths had support and encouragement from the Mao Zedong to carry out struggle meetings and ideological remoulding sessions. It was only after the end of the Great Cultural Revolution and initiation of the 《上山下乡》 (go to country side and mountainous areas) Movement that a distinct culture of the youth begin to appear and took shape over the next few decades.

### **Role Played by the Communist Youth League before Liberation:**

The slogan by the propaganda department of Communist Party of China, reflects the close link and task allocated to Communist Youth League “党有号召，团有行动” (Party has appeal, League has action), “没有共产党就没有共青团” (If there is no

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*,p.7

<sup>39</sup> Paul Clark, *Youth Culture In China: from red Guards to Netizens*, Cambridge University press, New York, 2012, p.5

Communist Party, the there will be no Communist Youth League) etc. In other words, Communist Youth League was regarded as an inseparable organ of the Party. Therefore, it is natural that the Communist Youth League would have played a very important role in the history of the Communist Party's political activities and various campaigns.

The Communist Youth League played a very important role in the reshuffling strategy of the Kuomintang. During call for 'the First United Front (一大) in 1923, i.e. both the Communist Party and Kuomintang agreed to cooperate together for their Common strategy of putting end to the Warlordism in China. They formed National Revolutionary Army and participated in 'Northern Expedition'. The cadres of the Party and League became the important members in the Kuomintang political organs and its drive against the Warlords. The Party and the League sent its cadres to join the 'Whampoa Military Academy' (黄埔军校) at Guangzhou in Nov, 1925 and also to attend the lectures on Peasant movement. All together there were 4746(721 graduates and 4025 attendees) and most of them were between 18 to 28 years old. Among these members, most of them were cadres of the League. These all graduates played a decisive role in the Peasant Movement, National Revolution and actively participated in Northern Expedition as well in 'Proletariat Armed Uprisings'.<sup>40</sup>

The Communist Youth League Played a very important roles in the following Movements:

1. 五卅运动 (May Thirtieth Movement), 1925

This was a major labor and Anti-imperialist Movement. The Movement was directed against the killing of a young factory labourer by Japanese Industry foreman. This incidence angered the Chinese people and specially the youth. They gathered at Nanjing road to protest against the incident in large mass. Eventually the protestors became aggressive against the foreign police. This led the police to retaliate and resulted into the death of many students and laborers. Among the dead were students of Shanghai University, Communist Party cadres and cadres of Shanghai Youth

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<sup>40</sup>共青团中央青年运动史档案馆(The Central Archives of the Youth Movement of the Communist Youth League, "历史的轨迹中国共产主义青年团 90 年 *the Historical Track of Chinese Communist Youth League in 90 Years*"重庆出版社:重庆, 2012, Chongqing, Chongqing Publishing House, 2012, p.33.



League. The Chinese people and specially the youth had participated in the movement in great numbers.

In the midst of the turmoil, The Communist Youth league through the youth organization came out on the street and briefed about the ongoing turmoil and hidden objectives of the imperialist powers to the masses. On June13, Communist youth separately came out with a publication 《告全世界青年工人书》 (Information for the Young Workers around the World) and 《告全国工人书》 (Information for the Workers around the World) and urged other youths across the world to help and assist Chinese Youths in their struggle.<sup>41</sup> The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League under the leadership of the Ren Bishi(任弼时) and Yun Daiying (恽代英) on June,26 convened the Seventh National Congress of the ‘All China Youth Federation’ and the Congress passed a resolution to protest against Imperialist activities, to support the Peasants and labor movement and addressed the existing issues in Youth organizations. The Congress also came out with a slogan for eight million students to carryout 《全国民众运动的勇猛的冲锋队》 (All China Vigorous Mass Movement Corp)。<sup>42</sup>

**Some of the other movements and campaigns in which the CYL played a major role are:**

1. “三. 一八”斗争(18 March,1926) ,i.e. March 18<sup>th</sup> Incidence
2. 动员组织团员青年参加北伐战争(Members of the Youth Organizations to participate in the Northern Expedition)
3. 投身工农运动，支北伐战争: In October, 1926, Shanghai Youth League and progress youth actively participated in the Third Armed Uprising (武装起义) under the leadership of the Communist Party of China。
4. 建设和巩固革命根据地 (construction and consolidation of the base area) and 积极参加保卫革命根据地的斗争 (actively Participated in the struggle to protect the base area of the Party).
5. 长征与陕西的共青团工作 (The League task during the long March period )

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid,p.36

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 38, 39

6. 参加与组织抗日救亡运动 : a.一二·九运动 (Resist Japan and Save the Nation movement):A patriotic student movement broke out in Peiping (now Beijing). The Kuomintang army and police suppressed the gathering of 2,000 to 3,000 students in the famous "December 9th Movement." Since December 10, students in large and medium cities and patriotic compatriots all over the country supported the students. On December 16, more than 10,000 Peiping students again hold a demonstration. More than 20,000 people participated in a citizens' meeting in which a resolution, "Oppose Japanese Imperialism's aggression against China," was passed. The "December 9th Movement" set off a new upsurge in the nationwide movement for resistance against Japan.<sup>43</sup>

### **The New role of the Communist Youth League(1949-76)**

Apart from these movements, Communist Youth League has a great role in the construction of 'New China' under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It is well known that the role and objectives of the Communist Youth League has changed many times and in many different occasions. After the success of the Proletariat Revolution and establishment of the People's Republic of China, the league started to spread its influence all over China and established Communist Youth League branches all over China. The Journal 《中国青年》 resumed its publication and was being taken seriously by the leaders. Mao Zedong came out with a call “军队向前进，生产长一寸”<sup>44</sup> in this journal points towards the importance of this Journal for the leaders of China. There was great effort by the leaders to institutionalize the Communist youth league. Special courses on youth studies were introduced in the reputed university of china and in Party School of the Communist Party of China.

Therefore, it is natural that the Communist Youth League played a very significant role in the new political system. It is well established that China after from 1949 became the 'Party State' governed by the Communist Party of China. Though the leaders including Mao Zedong did stress on the autonomy of the Communist Youth

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<sup>43</sup> *December 9 Movement* by China.Org.cn, August 24,2015  
[http://china.org.cn/china/parade/2015-08/24/content\\_36400674.htm](http://china.org.cn/china/parade/2015-08/24/content_36400674.htm) downloaded at 2:16pm on 20/10/15

<sup>44</sup>Troops to move forward, producing an inch long, strengthen discipline, victorious revolution a phrase from Mao Zedong (quoted from January 1, 1949, "People's Daily")

League but in practice had to abide by the policies of the Communist Party of China. Earlier, it had to counter or support many independent Parties having different objectives and strategies. But after 1949 it was a party-State, and the new role had to be in sync with the changed political structure of China. In other words, it was the party-state paradigm that further shaped the role of Communist Youth league as it shouldered the responsibility of consolidating the ideological foundation of the Chinese society.

In order to assume its new role and new objective of consolidating the ideological foundation of the Chinese society, the Communist Youth League put forwards the following:

1. 组织青年为恢复国民经济忘我劳动：(Movement to Organize Youth to forget 'self' and work together to revive country's economy )

After the establishment of the Party State, Youths were mobilized to forget 'Self' and work for the development of the national economy. The Chinese economy was in very bad shape and the life of the masses was in pathetic condition. Mao Zedong felt that a good 'National Economy' can only be the sole remedy for the existing issues. In June, 1950, the Third Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party clearly put forward the important slogan/call for 《为争取财政经济情况的基本好转而斗争》 i.e. (Struggle to revive financial Condition)<sup>45</sup>. The Party State urged the youth organizations to encourage youth and their cadres to work towards the development of the National economy.

In agriculture sector, the village cadres launched 《爱国丰产运动，不但比谁生产好，比谁上交公粮多，而且还比谁农业技术学习的精神》 (Patriotic Bumper harvest Movement objective ;it does not demand who is the better producer or who has given more yield to the government, but it also evaluate who has better understanding spirit of the agriculture skill and technology)<sup>46</sup>。

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<sup>45</sup>共青团中央青年运动史档案馆 Gongqingtuan zhongyang qingnian yundongshi dangangan(The Central Archives of the Youth Movement of the Communist Youth League,, “历史的轨迹中国共产主义青年团 90 年 *Lishi de guiji Zhongguo gongqingtuan 90nian the Historical Track of Chinese Communist Youth League in 90 Years*”重庆出版社:重庆, 2012 , Chongqing, Chongqing Publishing House, 2012,p.104.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.105

Having patriotic spirit in, the youths became the important production brigade of China. They were instrumental in controlling Chang Jiang river water, construction of reservoir etc. 40% of the Youth league cadres spread across the 'Huai River' participated in Huai River Project.<sup>47</sup> Youth league cadres Jin Xiulan (金秀兰) became the hero of the Huai River project.

In Industrial development strategies of the Party, the Communist Youth League cadres made remarkable contributions. The Youth League members took the task of creator, inventor, and strategist for the industrial development. In 1950 more than 16700 youth laborers of North-east region of China created a new record in industrial production. A young girl cadre 郝建秀 (Hao Jianxiu), 17 years, from one of the Qingdao state enterprises, came out with a new technique of refining sand. Her technological invention helped in the production of other materials as well. For this contribution she became the "Communist Youth League's "Youth Model". In 1952 during the Mao Zedong's call to increase production target, thousands of youth League Cadres from different places became youth model of the production drive.<sup>48</sup>

The intellectual youth actively participated in the land reform (土地改革) movement of China. There were many instances of sacrifice by the young cadres 君 (You Jun) (1931-1950) from Sichuan left the city and moved to remote village to help and participate in the land reform put forward by the Party and gave his life at the age of 19 for the service of the people.. Chinese Youth League cadres have created lots of exemplary works to prove that the Communist Youth League has a very important place among the youth of China.

## 2. 动员青年参加抗美援朝斗争 (Mobilize Youth to Resist America and Aid Korea)

With outbreak of this campaign in the wake of Korean War, the Communist Party of China gave a call for "抗美援朝, 保家卫国". The League started 'Patriotic Education' among the youths. Through patriotic education Communist Youth League created a deep understanding on the prevailing

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p.106.

international situation, and youth were desired to join the military. The Central Committee of the Party and Central Military Commission came out with a call 《为号召青年团参加各种军事干部学校高全体青年团员书》 ( Directives : Participate Communist Youth League cadres in various military and Party School Activities) 和 《为号召同学参加军事干部学校加强国防建设告同学书》 ( Directives; Comrades to participate in the strengthening Academy of Military affairs and work towards strengthening of National defence) The league enthusiastically welcomed the call of the Party and its cadres actively enrolled in the Institute of Military affairs. The number of enrolled students exceeded the expected limits .More than 70% of the enrolled were from the Party and the League. To encourage youths to participate in the Party's Mission, the league come out with slogan, “一切为了祖国”, “一切为了最可爱的人 (some for your motherland, and some for your person you love the most”<sup>49</sup>。 This slogan became the working and mobilizing slogan for all the Chinese youth. The League in order to provide and analyze the work and progress of youth, periodically came out with report in its official newspaper “Youth daily”. The League often comes out with special directives such as 《关于青年团员参加党的学习的决定》 (Youth League Cadres to participate in study programme to understand the new Party Policies) 。 These initiatives witnessed active participation from youth and created an understanding of the current situation from an ideological perspective and also about the Party. That the Communist Youth League was very important for the Party is evident from the fact, that Moa Zedong himself presided over two Party Congresses of the League and discussed about the League's work in March, 1952. In June 1953 Mao Zedong delivered an important talk on 《青年团的工作要照顾青年的特点》 (The work of the Communist Youth league is to safeguard the unique characteristics of the youth) 。 In his talk he clarified that while the Communist Youth League must supplement the Party, it should maintain its individual identity (青年团要配合党的中心工作, 但在配合党的中心工作当中, 要自

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 109.

己的独立工作，要照顾青年的特点).<sup>50</sup> (Communist Youth League must supplement the Party at the same time should maintain its individual identity) He also came out with the requirement of ‘三好’ (身体好，学习好，工作好) (‘Three Good’ (Good health, Good study and Good work), which reflected the basic tenets of an exemplary youth organization.

3. 青年团带领团员青年参加工业化建设 Under the leadership of the Communist Youth League youth should participate in the drive for Industrial Modernization of China.

In 1953, When China started the construction of Planned Economy. Youth League put forward slogan, “把青春献给祖国， “一切为了社会主义” (“Devote your youthfulness for the service the motherland” and “Everything for the Socialism”, “争取到最艰苦最需要的地方” (Strive to reach to the people residing in the most difficult region) 。 The youths in order modernize their Motherland left their comfort zone and went for the service of motherland and for realizing the objectives of Socialism.

Apart from the above mentioned slogans, there were many projects and missions where the Chinese youth actively participated under the leadership of the Communist Youth League. For Instance,(垦荒队(Sept101955)) Reclaim wasteland brigade), 青年扫盲队(1952)(Youth brigade for the elimination of illiteracy), 全国青年植树造林活动(1955)( National Youth tree Plantation brigade), 青年节约队(Aug,1954)( Practice thrift Brigade), 向科进军活动 (Jan1956)Scientifically modernize the army activity), 丰富多彩的青年文化生活(have colorful youth culture and life, 开展青少思想道德教育活动 (Feb26,1955) etc.(develop the ideological and moral education). Through these ideological education drives and social campaigns, the Communist Youth league of China created a unique Political Culture among the Chinese youth and generated a unquestioning support for the Communist Party of China.

4. 在发展工农业生产中的共青团工作 (the role of the Communist Youth league in a drive to increase Industrial and agriculture production:

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p.117

China being an agrarian economy in the past, the Party had to first focus on the rural sector in its First Five Year Plan. The other reasons of The Party to start the 'Rural reform' must have been the contribution of the peasants during the Communist Revolution and the fact that the majority of the party cadres were peasants. Through Party's policy that saw confiscation land from landlords and redistribution of land among the landless Peasants, all most all the peasant became the owner of their land and started cultivating. Eventually, yield increased and with the increase of yield, the life of people got better. The Party received great admiration of its policies from the people.

After the success of the First Five Year Plan, the Party launched its Second Five Year Plan in 1958. During this period, the Party focused on the urban sector and infrastructure development. To achieves this goal, the Party put forward the main strategy of “鼓足干劲，力争上游，多快好省地建设社会主义” (strive hard and move upward to quickly establish the socialism) and subsequently launched the “大跃进” (Great Leap Forward) and “人民公社活动” (People's Commune) 。 These economic initiatives did not bring projected results and China's economy had to pass through bad phase from 1959-1961. The total focus on industrial development led to the neglect of agriculture and China faced famine for three consecutive years. Estimated 16.5 million to 45 million people, living in rural areas lost their life.<sup>51</sup> During the terrible three years the Communist Youth League led the youth to support the Communist Party in reviving the economy of China. Common people confidence in the party started to waver. Due to the introduction of the 'People's Commune' the life of the common people were getting bad to worse. The Communist Youth League took up the mission to transform China from the status of ‘一穷二白’<sup>52</sup> and bring hope for the Chinese people. In order to carry forward its mission, communist Youth

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<sup>51</sup>Xin Meng, Nancy, Qian,Piere Yared, “ The Institutional Causes of China Great famine,1959-61” May23,2014  
[http://aida.wss.yale.edu/~nq3/NANCYS\\_Yale\\_Website/resources/papers/famines\\_20140523.pdf](http://aida.wss.yale.edu/~nq3/NANCYS_Yale_Website/resources/papers/famines_20140523.pdf)  
accessed on27/10/15 at 11:54 am

<sup>52</sup>毛泽东《论十大关系》十：“我曾经说过，我们一为‘穷’，二为‘白’。‘穷’就是没有多少工业，农业也不发达。‘白’就是一张白纸，文化水平、科学水平都不高。”(Mao Zedong<< On the Ten Major Relationships>>: “I had already said we are ‘poor’ and other side we are ‘blank’ . ‘Poor’ because we don’t have many industries and ‘blank’ because cultural and scientific standards are low).  
in <http://www.chinese-tools.com/chinese/chengyu/dictionary/detail/28680.html> at 12:07 pm on 27/10/15

League formed “全国青年工人先进经验观摩团”( Nation league of advanced youth workers for mutual experience sharing and learning) in 1959 and launched a nationwide drive from March 31 to June 9, 1959. They reached to each part of China and exchanged their views on different inventions and working experience. And the youth formed various organizations like 《青年技术小组》 (Sub –Group of Skilled Youth) , 《潜新技术改革》 (Devote Oneself towards Technology Reform) and came out with rational opinion and carried on the inventions. These groups under the Communist Youth League participated in various revival mission right from 北京市三建公司’ (Beijing No.3 Construction Company) <sup>53</sup> to 大庆油田 (Daqing oil field) to mineral and ore mines.

Communist youth league in order to motivate and inspire youth to embrace the spirit of ‘socialism’ organized 《第二次全国青年社会主义建设积极分子大会》 from Nov 21, 1958 to Feb 12, 1958. Total five thousand people attended the conference.<sup>54</sup> Zhu De representing the Central committee of the Communist Party of China gave a call to establish socialism in China (早在 1963 年 3 月, 朱德在听取中共陕西省委负责人汇报时就说过: 我们要找一条中国自己的建设社会主义的道路) (In early March of 1963, Zhu De while listening to the report of the Shanxi leader had said, China should look for its own way of Socialism).<sup>55</sup>

Communist Youth league of China not only played important role in the mission of establishing Socialism and in process of economy development but also played an important role in infusing socialist values among the youth as well as teaching Mao Zedong thought to the Youths of China.

With the resolution to put Mao Zedong thoughts as the guiding principles in the Seventh Party Congress, the Party started various activities to teach and propagate Mao Zedong thought. In 1952, Communist Youth league at its Third Plenum of

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<sup>53</sup> 1959, the head of the Youth Carpenter and Crafts Corp, Li Duanhuan, using scientific theory invented the enlarger machine. Cited 共青团中央青年运动史档案馆 Gongqingtuan zhongyong qingnian yundongshi danganguan(The Central Archives of the Youth Movement of the Communist Youth League, “历史的轨迹中国共产主义青年团 90 年 *Lishi de guiji Zhongguo gongqingtuan 90nian the Historical Track of Chinese Communist Youth League in 90 Years*”重庆出版社:重庆, 2012 , Chongqing, Chongqing Publishing House, 2012.

<sup>54</sup> ibid p.142

<sup>55</sup> Yu Wei (余伟), “学朱德什么?” *Beijing Daily*, January 25, 2016



Central Committee passed a resolution and created a hot wave of studying Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. In April 1960, in order to push forward Party policy of studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thoughts, Communist Youth League along with ACFTU (All China Federation of Trade Unions), and All China Women's federation at Haerbin organized a spot Meeting of youth study group 《全国青年学习马克思列宁主义，学习毛泽东著作黑龙江现场会议》 (National Youth Forum for studying Marxism and Leninism and studying the important work of Mao Zedong at Heilongjiang), 。 In December, 1965 the Communist Youth league organized similar kind of spot-meeting of the youth to learn and exchange knowledge of the Mao Zedong writings in the rural areas i.e. 《李家庄现场会议》 . In 1962, the Party came out with the Model soldier“雷锋” and the youth were asked to learn the selfless service and service before self from the model soldier. Every street of China was flooded with the big banner of “Lei Feng” and the Call from the party Learn from comrade Lei Feng) <sup>56</sup> etc. From then the hot wave to learn from ‘Lei Feng’ spread all over China and became the Ideo-political culture of the youths.

5. 共青团协助党和政府组织动员城镇知识青年上山下乡(CYL will assist the Party and the personnel from government organizations in sending urban youth to country side:

The great initiatives to modernize China's economy by failed due to the ill equipped labor force and the three years of famine created an environment of distrust with the Party. People started to criticize the Party's policies and its failure. The Communist Party of China in order to invite criticism from the Chinese Intellectuals started 《百花运动》 in》 <sup>57</sup>in 1956 and in order to purge

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p.144

<sup>57</sup> 1956年4月25日，Mao Zedong while deliberating on《On The Ten Major relationships》 at enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China put forward “百花齐放，百家争鸣”(Let Hundred Flowers Bloom and Let hundred schools of Thought contend) policy was designed to promote the growth of arts and science. Cited in “毛泽东提出“百花齐放”“百家争鸣”方针” 中国共产党新闻 (News of the Communist Party of China) <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/33837/2534760.html> at 4:36pm on 31/8/16

the deviant intellectuals started Anti-rightist Movement 《反右运动》in》<sup>58</sup>in 1957.

By early July,1957 ,the recent critics of the regime were subjected to severe criticism; most of them went through many self-criticism, lost their jobs and were forced to do manual labor in the country, and some were sent to prison.

The Communist Party of China wanted its youth to have a firsthand experience of the village life and undergo similar experience of hardship like people undergoing in rural areas. For that, the Party launched 《上山下乡运动》<sup>59</sup> and asked its intellectual youths to proceed to remote village and border regions to participate in agriculture production and bring out the solution of existing problems in the countryside. In July, 1962, during the Third plenary session of the 7th Central Committee meeting of the Communist Youth League, the League came out with a notice 《中国共产党主义青年团中央委员会给走向农业战线的团员青年的一封信》<sup>60</sup> expressing concern about the problems of the countryside and hope that the young cadres will solve these problems. In October, 1963 Zhou Wenlai during the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 《青年》 journal bestowed the work of 《城市青年下乡上山的工作》（Urban youth should go to countryside and mountainous areas to do work）<sup>61</sup>shoulder of the Youth League. Later the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China came out with 《团中央关于组织城市知识青年参加农村社会主义建设的报告》（Report by the central committee of the Youth league for organizing urban intellectuals youth to go to countryside and mountainous areas and participate in establishing socialism in the

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<sup>58</sup> Anti-rightist Movement 《反右运动》(1957-59) began with Mao's famous Speech, "On Correct handling of Contradiction among the People"February 27,1957 , from Selected Work of Mao Zedong accessed at [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5\\_58.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5_58.htm) at 5:12pm on 31/8/16

<sup>59</sup> Shangshan xiexiang yundong, 上山下乡运动 ( Going Countryside Movement) published in 《Yangcheng evening News dated March5 , 2014[http://www.ycwb.com/ePaper/ycwb/html/2014-03/15/content\\_392009.htm](http://www.ycwb.com/ePaper/ycwb/html/2014-03/15/content_392009.htm) accessed at 5:17 on 31/8/16

<sup>60</sup> 共青团中央青年运动史档案馆 Gongqingtuan zhongyang qingnian yundongshi dangangan(The Central Archives of the Youth Movement of the Communist Youth League., “历史的轨迹中国共产党青年团 90 年 Lishi de guiji Zhongguo gongqingtuan 90nian the Historical Track of Chinese Communist Youth League in 90 Years”重庆出版社:重庆, 2012 , Chongqing, Chongqing Publishing House, 2012,pp.146-147

<sup>61</sup> ibid

rural areas)<sup>62</sup>和《关于参加农业生产的知识青年收到歧视，打击，污辱的四份材料》(materials on the discrimination ,attack and insult of the intellectuals Youth engaged in rural agricultural production)<sup>63</sup>。 From 1962 to 1966, the Communist Youth league actively motivated the youth to go to village and mountain to learn from each other and have firsthand experience of the difficult terrains of countryside. More than 1290000 youth left the Cities and moved to the villages. This lessened the load of the cities and also helped to achieve the objectives of the planned economy.

The Communist Youth league had played a very important role right from its inception as an organization for the development of the Chinese youth. The League enjoyed the support of the majority of the Chinese youths. Over the decades Communist Youth League has successfully taught the communist values and patriotism to the youths. It had always proved and worked for the Party missions of establishing Socialism in China. Unfortunately, the Communist Youth League was banned during the “Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution”. Not a single Communist Youth league Congress took place after 1964 and before 1978.

There is no doubt in concluding, that the Communist Youth League was solely responsible in shaping the ‘Political Culture’ of the Chinese youth before the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution. This was the period when China was following the Socialist Framework in its governance. The exposure to the outside too was limited in economic and political front. Therefore, it will be interesting to understand and evaluate the growth of Chinese youth after the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress and implication of Economic reform on Chinese youth in general and Communist Youth League in particular.

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<sup>62</sup> ibid

<sup>63</sup> Ibid p.1

## *Chapter Two*

# **Economic Reforms and Ideological Dilemmas of the Chinese Youth: Problem faced by CYL**

The Planned economy structure to a great extent had brought positive changes in the living standards and satisfaction of the Chinese people in the early phases of the Mao period. The Land Reform initiated by the Communist Party of China, changed the life of the common masses specially the landless peasants, who had always desired to become the owner of the land which they were tilling since ages in the feudal society framework, the is, lands were in the hands of the few landlords and these landlords were exploiting these farmers generation after generation. The changes in the ownership structure initiated the beginning of the Change in the mindset of the common masses. These landless people had never experienced the joy of owning lands and independence to strategise their economic future.

Communist Party of China being well aware of the nature of Chinese economy, initiated revolution from the countryside. The resentment against the misrule and exploitations from the influential landlords and the rulers were well perceived by the Communist leaders. The Party received a great support and active participation from the peasants and other people, which contributed in the victory of communist revolution. It is a universal truth that everyone no matter rich or poor aspires for three things “Bread, Cloth and a House to live in”. Chinese people cannot be exceptions. Communist Party of China too tried to provide their people with the ‘Three Important’ “衣, 足, 食” (cloth, shelter and food,). After the establishment of People’s Republic of China, the government under the leadership of the Communist Party of China initiated the policy of ‘Iron rice bowl (铁饭碗)’, where the State provides food, clothes and shelter to its citizens. Its goal was to create a socialist society, where everything belongs to the State, with complete equality in the society and no divide between rich and poor.

This kind of ideal environment is only possible in a conditions where individual’s aspirations has no place and that particular society is self sufficient from all socio-economic aspects. Human beings are not homogeneous in nature as nature itself has diversity. Needs Human beings are diverse and cannot be satisfied in a closed society. Inter-dependency is the rule of nature. Therefore, “Iron rice bowl” culture created a kind of dilemmas in the life of common people in China. In order to address these dilemmas, Party initiated Economic Reform, which could not be achieve the desired outcome due to a few wrong policies of the Party. As a result, there started gradual

deterioration in the living conditions of the Chinese people. The Ideology of the Party was prominent and any form of defiance was not tolerated by its leadership. The debate on the supremacy of the ideology vs. economic development was inevitable in China. Communist Party at one hand wanted to develop the economy and raise the standard of living for its people, but, on the other it was not ready to compromise on the ideology. Whenever, the Party faced criticism of its economic and political policies, it brought into play the ideological education and the critics were punished severely. It happened during ‘Great Leap Forward’, ‘Anti-Rightist Campaign’ and during the ‘Cultural Revolution’. The Cultural Revolution, in many ways, was an ultimatum for the Party to seriously ponder over issues beyond the ideological framework, especially the economic issues of China. At the same time, there was no desire or effort to compromise with the rule of the Communist Party as it had brought an end to the poverty and got China prestige and status in the international arena.

The major focus areas of Economic Reform during the Mao period were:

Mao’s development program included rural collectivization, central planning, State control and ownership of industry, self-reliance and isolationism in front of closing its economy for the outside people.

1. Agriculture: In realm of Agriculture Mao period mostly relied on the Collectivization of the rural land. The people were working together in a commune and the yield was given to the State from 1958-1978, the rural development framework has Commune as core. It had a structure with three-level system of ownership with production as its basis. In the vast majority of Communes, the ownership of land, labor, basic farming equipments and animals was vested in the team level, a unit with an average population of fewer than 170.<sup>1</sup>
2. Industrialization: In Industry, Mao period heavily relied on the Soviet economic and industrial strategies, i.e., to make a heavy investment to

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<sup>1</sup> 中国农业年鉴 Zhongguo nongye nianjian, 1980 (China Agriculture Year Book for 1980) China Agriculture Press, 1981, p.5, reports 4, 1816, 000 teams with 803,200,00 members in 1978 cited in Greg O’ Larry and Andrew Watson, “The role of the People’s Commune in Rural development in China” Pacific affairs, Vol.55, No.4(Winter,1982-83), p.593.

establish heavy industry. These industries were State controlled and no individual “incentives” were offered to the employees of the industries

3. The policy of self-reliance and isolationism was adopted by the Mao regime after suffering what it regarded as a betrayal from the Soviet Union. Soviet Union had promised to render all possible support in order to industrialize China, which it did not keep and left China in the middle of its industrialization project.

China under the leadership of Mao Zedong could not look for other countries for help as it would have violated the basic principle of the Communist Party Ideology. There was not a single economically developed communist country to be taken as model ‘communist’ country except Soviet Union. Rest of the developed countries was following the capitalist model. In view of this, China decided to adopt self-reliance and keep itself in isolation till it achieved the desired capability of opening up. Mao Zedong heavily relied on the human capital and even urged his countryman to produce more and more babies through his call, “人多是力量大” (there is strength in numbers) .

4. Education: The whole of China was grappling with the illiteracy which was central to many issues facing China. To tackle this problem, the Mao regime ordered to simplify the old Classical Chinese characters into simplified characters, nationalize Chinese education institutions and centralize financing of the education. These all happened in the period between 1949 to 1952, which helped Chinese literacy rate to rise almost to 80 percent in the Mao period. Though the main focus of the Chinese education was to teach ideology of Party apart from other courses. In other words, education was primarily used as Party propaganda tool during the Mao period. In fact, the education system during the Mao period created a communist culture among the Chinese people and especially among the youth. The Culture of addressing fellow Chinese irrespective of age and gender, as “同志 (comrade; literal meaning- of same will and belief) was the order of the day.

Two more important aspects of Mao Economic Reform was that it discouraged urbanization and that State machinery was more important than money. In order to procure or deliver something one has to take permission.<sup>2</sup>

Over the decades, overall condition of China worsened gradually due to the failure of the Communist Party's policies .The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution impacted so much on the Chinese life and society that it had no option but to look for an alternative path for economic development. Finally, at the end of 1970's, after the historic fall of 'Gang of Four", the party had intense internal debate on the course China should follow.

The discussion on the China's new Economic Reform and opening up gained momentum after the Deng Xiaoping historic speech at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress in 1978, which is regarded as the beginning of the Chinese Economic Reform and Open-door policy. The signal of the Economic Reform and opening up came out through the final report of Deng Xiaoping at the closing ceremony of the conference "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from the Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future":

According to Li Tieying<sup>3</sup>;

"Deng Xiaoping's final report at the closing ceremony of the conference-"Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from the Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future" -----  
- was so forceful and striking that it still resounded in their hearts. They could never forget his words. "Now the foremost politics is to boost economy ". At this all participants couldn't help but standup and applaud wildly, realizing that the chapter of new era was to be opened by them."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A detailed discussion on this practice can be found in Gautam Jaggi, Mary Rundle, Danial Rosen, and Yuchi Takahashi , "CHINA'S ECONOMIC REFORMS: Chronology and Statistics" Institute for International Economics Working Paper96-5,1996.

<sup>3</sup> Li Tieying is a former Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China. For more than 20 years he served as the minister in charge of the State Commission for Economic Restructuring, and he participated in the implementation of China's economic reforms during that time details

downloaded from <http://www.enrichprofessional.com/plus/view.php?aid=158> on 15/9/16 at 1:17pm

<sup>4</sup> The closing ceremony of the working Conference of the Central Committee was held on December 13. However, it was prolonged again by another two days according to the request of the participants .see Enrich series on *China's Economic Reform "Reforming China Major events(1978-1991)* series editor : Li Tieying Vol.3,p.2,eEnrich Professional publishing,Singapore,2011.



Later on December 23, 1978, it was announced in the communiqué that:

“---the large scale nationwide mass movement to express and criticize Lin Biao and the “gang of four” had in the main been completed successfully; the focus of the Party’s work should shift to socialist modernization as of 1979.”<sup>5</sup>

National Planning Conference had already been convened from September 6 to November 3, 1978. The proceedings and resolutions of the meeting with the recommendations were submitted to the Party.

Based on a consensus, the conference laid out **“Three shifts”** on the economic front.

1. The first was that the government at all level should shift its focus to the struggle for production and technological revolution.
2. The second was to shift from bureaucratic management system and management methods which paid no regard to economic results and work efficiency to scientific economic –law-abiding management system balancing democracy and centralization.
3. The third was to shift from self-seclusion without any economic and technological exchanges with capitalist companies to the opening-up move to embrace foreign technologies and capital and to brave the international market.

The “Three shifts” were later included in *the National Economic Plan for 1979 and 1980 (Draft)* submitted to the Third Plenary Session for discussion.<sup>6</sup>

On the basis, the Third Plenary Session identified the guidelines of Reform and Opening Up and invigoration, as well as the principle and direction of reform. It was pointed out in the session that: “One of the severe deficiencies in our country’s economic management system is the over concentration of power, and it is necessary to shift it to lower level under proper leadership so that the local authorities as well as industrial and agricultural enterprises will have greater management authority under the guidance of unified State planning; drastic action should be taken to streamline the economic administration at the various levels and to transfer most of these functions

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<sup>5</sup> see Enrich series on *China’s Economic Reform “Reforming China Major events(1978-1991)* series editor : Li Tieying Vol.3,p.2,eEnrich Professional publishing,Singapore,2011. p.3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. 2-22

to enterprises such as specialized companies or enterprise groups; it is necessary to act firmly in the line with economic laws and attach importance to the role of the law of values; it is necessary, under the centralized leadership of the Party, to tackle the problem of the unclearly defined and confusing roles of the Party, the government and the enterprises, and to put a stop to the phenomenon that the Party acts on behalf of the government and that the government act on the behalf of the enterprise, to define the responsibilities of different levels, work units and individuals, to strengthen the authority and responsibility of administrative bodies and managerial personnel, to reduce the number of meetings and amount of paper work in order to improve work efficiency, and to adopt the practices of examination, reward and punishment, and promotion and demotion. The session holds that these measures will bring into full play the initiative, enthusiasm and creativeness of four levels i.e. the central departments, the local authorities, and the enterprises and the workers, and will invigorate all branches and links of the socialist economy.”<sup>7</sup>

The above measures successfully resulted in the emergence of the Town and Village Enterprises and the Chinese economy gained its moment then onwards. As it can be seen that China’s Economic Reform began from the countryside.

China officially adopted the reform and opening –up policies at the Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1978. In the ten years that followed, all-out efforts were made to modify the old centralized system, dismantle the communes and attract foreign investment to modernize the country’s economy. China introduced its Economic Reform policies in Three Phases as the Party leaders believed that whole China cannot be reformed and developed at the same time.

### **First Phase: 1978-1983: Period of Rationalization**

The first phase was the gradual transition from the old planned economy to bit liberal planned economy. The Party to some extent relaxed its control over the production and the focus was shifted from heavy industry to light industry. Contracted household responsibility system was introduced, where members of the family can work together

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<sup>7</sup> Enrich series on *China’s Economic Reform “Reforming China Major events (1978-1991) series* editor : Li Tieying, Enrich Professional publishing, Singapore, 2011, Vol.3, pp.4-5

and complete the task assigned to them. The peasant's initiative was brought into full play and they became the market players in an independent management system. The culture of giving incentives came for the first time in China which radically changed the working environment of China. There were rush for opening these kind of small industries and avail the incentives. Earlier, in Mao Period, there was no 'culture of incentive' each and every part of revenue earned out of services had reach to the central government. This kind of system had de-motivated the common people including workers and peasants. In the new system, individuals and enterprises were allowed to retain some revenue in the form of profit.

Meanwhile, enterprises experimented with extended decision-making powers in cities that resulted into the gradual reduction of mandatory planning by the State. The foreign capital and investments were welcomed by the Communist Party of China. With foreign capital and investments and the household responsibility system, China entered into the era of "Township and village enterprises". It also brought reform in other aspects such as educational, scientific and technological structure in order to justify the new economy structure to be same as planned economy on the basis of public ownership.<sup>8</sup> Preferential policies were conferred on special economic zones (SEZs) to attract foreign investment and technology, to promote exports, and to create laboratories for broader market oriented reforms.<sup>9</sup>

In a nutshell, with the announcement of Economic Reform and Open –door Policies by the Communist Party of China. The reform which impacted Chinese people and especially to youth the most primarily took place in five broad areas:

1. Ending egalitarianism and substituting an improved system of individual motivation and reward.<sup>10</sup>

The historic decision of ending egalitarianism had great impact on the Chinese society. It marked a major shift of Communist Party of China principles from Collectives to individualistic society. One important development which took

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<sup>8</sup> Li Tieying (ed). *Reforming China Major Events(1978-1991)* Enrich series on China's Economic Reform, Enrich Professional publishing (English edition)2011. Vol.3.

<sup>9</sup> Gautam Jaggi, Mary Rundle, Danial Rosen, and Yuchi Takahashi , *CHINA'S ECONOMIC REFORMS: Chronology and Statistics*" Institute for International Economics Working Paper96-5,1996 p.11

<sup>10</sup> For details please see Deng Xiaoping, *Selected works of Deng Xiaoping(1975-1982)*,Beijing Foreign language Press, Beijing, 1983, pp.163-64.

place due to the economic process was that culture of giving” incentives” or the phenomenon of “多劳多得”(Earn according to one’s ability)。 The material incentives played a great role in encouraging Chinese young people to work more and earn more. For instance, saw the emergence of Town and village enterprises. The household enterprises got the liberty to produce their products in house and sell it to the market. Since these household enterprises uses their family labor, there production cost became low as compared to the factory employing labor for production which in itself acted as an incentive

2. Decentralizing of decision making and administrative authority:

It was on the basis of the Third Plenum decision and directives; the Chinese economy was opened for the foreign investment. In Mao Era, the time period taken to take decision was longer as it had to be decided by the central authority .Even for a small procurement like table fans the request had to be sanctioned by a centralized authority. These processes used to take almost a month or so due to the geographical reach.

With the change in guidelines, the local body got the power of taking decision and giving approval for the small enterprises as and when required. These enterprises were free to produce in accordance with the market demands which encouraged small and big market players to invest their money and labor in manufacturing sector. The factor of labor cost played a very important role in bringing competition among the industries to reduce their production cost and provide the market with cheaper and competitive products. The availability of excess labor in China made manufacturing cost effective. Use of Cheap labor and use of machine increased the production to such an extent, that Chinese factory started producing surplus, which later became the products of export in the international market.

3. Giving authority to market players to formulates general guidelines for mandatory plans in most areas of economic activity keeping in mind the ‘market role’:

The State control planned economy does not provide liberty to enterprises to take their own decision based on the prevailing market demands. The inability to take decision in the interest of the enterprise indeed hampers the production.

The finished products too could not find their buyers in the market. This phenomenon was bound to have direct impact on national economy; moreover, it discourages competition among the people, which is not well for any economy. With the market role given more importance, the Chinese enterprises got free hand in 'decision making'. These enterprises were empowered to devise its business model to earn maximum benefits from its product. Eventually, it boosted the manufacturing sectors of China.

4. Reforming prices to reflect true costs and values:

The separation of the State from the decision making of enterprises encouraged the market players to devise its own management policies and price structure to counter its business competitors. It became easier for them to get true values of their products in the market. It provided a "win win"<sup>11</sup> platform for both manufacturers and the consumers. The consumers got the choice in choosing products according to own likings and pocket. This led to the innovations in products and prices, which boosted the Chinese Market and its overall economic growth. This, in return, attracted the young entrepreneurs to actively participate in the market and contribute in the drive of Economic Reform and opening up.

5. Opening to outside world to stimulate foreign investment and technology exchange and to improve foreign trade:

The innovation of products made the enterprises look for more foreign collaboration and technology exchange. The foreign firms started investing in China due to the undeveloped Chinese manufacturing equipment's and technical know-how. The early phase witnessed a huge inflow of foreign direct investment in China. The need for skilled labor led the big Chinese companies to the offering of lucrative perks and benefits to prospective employees. These lucrative perks and privileges attracted the Chinese trained and living abroad. It encouraged highly skilled overseas Chinese to return to

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<sup>11</sup> Win win situation as it promoted competition between the manufactures in one hand and in other hand provided choice to the consumers.

China. These returned overseas Chinese brought with them capital and modern technology, which in turn helped Chinese Industries.

The Chinese society and the people were trying their best to come out from the impact of Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution era that has lasted over 10 years. The first phase of Chinese Economic Reform actually became a period of rectification and helped Chinese People out of the devastating aftereffect of Cultural Revolution.

Though, the implementation of the Economic Reform and opening up of China began in the early 1980's. The actual results could be seen in the second Phase which began from 1984 and ended in 1991.

### **Second Phase: 1984-1991 Conservative Setback;**

The first phase was primarily devoted to drawing the strategies for implementation of the Economic Reform in China. It was not an easy task as there was bound to be resentment and protest from the conservative forces. The conservatives were opposing the Economic Reform as they believed that Economic Reform is against the principles of communist ideology practiced during the Mao period. The first phase could not achieve much as the government was busy in addressing its critics and preparing policies conducive to the masses.

However, the second phase of Economic Reform witnessed the gradual increase of foreign capital and infrastructure development in China. This was the phase where everybody wittingly started using these metaphors “中国银行”, 中国农业银行 etc written on the billboard as “中国很行”, “中国农业很行 etc.<sup>12</sup> For the foreigners, it became difficult to make the distinction about their usage. Moreover (银 here refers to bank) and 很 (hen very) also looked similar and could confuse those unfamiliar with the Chinese characters. As a result the names got read as “Zhonguo henxing” and “Zhonguo nongye henxing” translated as China is very good, china agriculture is very good. There was a rapid growth of the high buildings and special economic zones in China, which provided young people job and luxurious life, which they would have not got during Mao Period. The data given below reflects that there was continuous inflow of foreign direct investment in China.

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<sup>12</sup> “行” (*Xing*) in Chinese language has two pronunciation Hang and Xing, having two different meanings.

Table: 1. FDI inflows in China from 1984 to 2000. <sup>13</sup>

Unit: USD Billion

Year	Contracted	Utilized
1984	2.7	1.3
1985	5.9	1.7
1986	2.8	1.9
1987	3.7	2.3
1988	5.3	3.2
1989	5.6	3.4
1990	6.6	3.5
1991	12.0	4.4
1992	58.1	11.0
1993	111.4	27.5
1994	82.7	33.8
1995	91.3	37.5
1996	73.3	41.7
1997	51.0	45.3
1998	52.1	45.5
1999	41.2	40.4
2000	64.2	42.1

In twenty years (1979-1999), actual FDI inflows into China amounted to US\$306 billion, which was equivalent to 10 per cent of direct investment worldwide and about 30 per cent of the investment amount for all the developing countries put together.<sup>14</sup>

It's a fact that the foreign direct investment is always helpful for the developing economies. Chinese economy was primarily export oriented and the increase in foreign direct investments encouraged the Communist Party leadership to formulate policies that could help to attract more and more foreign investments in China. The impact of the growing foreign direct investment could be seen in the socio-economic, political and cultural arenas as well. There was a tremendous increase in the infrastructures in China such as highways, railways (high speed trains, metros) even an increase in number of flights in China. The increase in foreign direct investment resulted in the increase of average income of the Chinese people. The coming up of the Mall Culture and setting up of the 'Bar streets (酒吧区)' for youth which were the primary beneficiaries. Every city in China had a special center of entertainments.

<sup>13</sup> Source: Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, downloaded from <http://www.chinability.com/FDI.htm> accessed on 21/1/2015 at 5:10 pm

<sup>14</sup>OECD (2000), Main Determinants and Impacts of Foreign Direct Investment on China's Economy, OECD Working Papers on International Investment, 2000/04, OECD Publishing .<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/321677880185>, downloaded at 2:30pm on 25/1/15

KTV's on the Japanese pattern and the Hollywood songs and music became integral part of the youth culture in China.

The inflow of foreign funds in China gave boost to the domestic as well as foreign industries to manufacture and sell their products in China. It also helped the government to provide necessary infrastructure which could be instrumental in attracting foreign companies to invest and manufacture in China. The small factory owners got capital by becoming the ancillary unit of bigger companies for producing some spare parts for the parents company. For example; an automobile manufacturing company does not manufacture all automobile parts in-house. It outsource some of it work to other ancillary units to produce and provided their production cost. With huge inflow of FDI in China, the local industries got outsourced work. Yet again, this resulted in the increase of TVE's (Town and Village enterprises) In China.

Foreign direct invest also created jobs for the Chinese people especially the Youth: The following data from China National Bureau of Statistics reveals that there was continuous decrease in urban unemployment ratio from 1978 till 1985. The unemployment ratio and other information included in the table below suggest that there was constant improvement in the living standard of urban people.

**Table: 2 IMPROVEMENT IN PEOPLE'S MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE<sup>15</sup>**

Item	1978	1980	1985	1990
<b>Employment</b>				
Dependents per Rural Laborer (person)	2.53	2.26	1.74	1.64
Dependents per Urban Employee (persons)	2.06	*1.77	1.81	1.77
Urban Unemployment Rate (%)	5.3	4.9	1.8	2.5
<b>Income of Rural and Urban Residents</b>				
Annual Per Capita Net Income of Farmers (yuan)	133.6	191.3	397.6	686.3
Index of Annual Per Capita Net Income of Farmers (1978=100)	100.0	138.1	261.2	300.7
Annual Per Capita Income Available for Living of Urban Households(yuan)	316	439	685	1387

<sup>15</sup> Source: China National Bureau of Statistics , downloaded from <http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/yearlydata/YB1996e/I9-1e.htm>,22/1/2015,4:54pm



Index of Annual Per Capita Income Available for Living of Urban-Households (1978=100)	100.0	127.0	161.6	197.8
Annual Average Wage of Staff(yuan)	615	762	1148	2140
<b>Annual Per Capita Consumption(yuan)</b>				
Per Capita Consumption of All Residents	184	236	437	803
Agricultural Residents	138	178	347	571
Nonagricultural Residents	405	496	802	1686
<b>Savings</b>				
Savings Deposit Balance of Rural and Urban Residents(year-end) (100 000 000 yuan)	210.6	399.5	1622.6	7034.2
Per Capita Saving Deposit Balance (yuan)	21.88	40.47	153.29	615.24
<b>Per Capita Living Floor Space (sample survey) sq.m)</b>				
Rural Areas	8.1	9.4	14.7	17.8
Urban Areas	3.6	3.9	5.2	6.7
<b>Traffic</b>				
Motor Cycles per 100 Households				
Buses per 10 000 Persons in Cities	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.8
<b>Urban Public Services</b>				
Rate of Tap Water Use (%)	81.0	81.4	81.0	89.2
Rate of Household Gas Use (%)	13.9	16.8	22.4	42.2
Green Area per 10 000 Persons (hectare)	10.6	9.6	13.7	32.2
<b>Culture</b>				
Color TV Sets per 100 Households			17.2	59.0
TV sets per 100 Households		0.4	11.7	44.4
Newspapers Persons per Day	3.66	3.92	5.21	3.87
Books and Magazines per Person per Year	4.74	5.82	8.78	6.55
<b>Education</b>				
Enrollment Ratio of School-Age Children (%)	95.50	93.93	95.95	97.83
University Students per 10 000 Persons (person)	8.90	11.59	16.09	18.04
<b>Public Health</b>				
Hospital Beds per 10 000 Persons	19.28	20.08	21.06	22.95
Doctors per 10 000 Persons (person)	10.73	11.68	13.35	15.42

a) Figures with (\*) are for 1981.

b) Figures for average living space per persons in urban are from the ministry of Construction.

Many big foreign brands and companies started setting its manufacturing base in China, which resulted in sharp rise in GDP of China. All Japanese, Taiwanese big corporate houses started manufacturing their products in China with the help of huge pool of cheap and young Chinese laborers. With the growing GDP of China, there was bound to be increase /improvement in people's living standards and way of life. There is no doubt that the opening of China to the outside world benefitted Chinese people and Chinese economy.

Apart from the Foreign Direct Investments, other important factors which helped in the economic growth of China and elevation of Chinese people's lives were changing over the agricultural procurement system from a mandatory purchase quota system to a voluntary contract procurement system in 1985 and implementation of the "Contract Responsibility System"<sup>16</sup> in 1986. The Party, in order to boost the productivity and rid country of bureaucratic bottleneck, withdrew itself from the direct control of enterprises and gave more autonomy to managers. The new approach of the Party resulted into soaring of production and in profit boom as well as the emergence of the Chinese socialist millionaire. However, while production and profits were skyrocketing, so did the prices, corruption and panic among the intelligentsia. The new emerging classes were none other than the new entrepreneurs. When the Party started withdrawing from the active decision making on production front, its role was taken over by the newly-emerging class of entrepreneurs and managers which formed a money-power nexus with the established Party cadres, a sort of new bourgeoisie. Thus the intellectuals found the doors to wealth, power and prestige rapidly closing, and turned from grudging cooperation with the Party, which had been their only career ladder, to open defiance of its authority and the espousal of ideas associated with bourgeois democracy. All this created policy problems within the Party leadership.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, importance of growing economy and its implications on the Chinese society and politics cannot be ignored; unlike the Mao period or the first phase of

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<sup>16</sup> In this system enterprises are required to pay a set amount of profits to the government but may retain profits above the contract requirement.

<sup>17</sup> Paul White, *China Diary: An eyewitness to Two decades of China's Modernization*, Beijing ,New World Press, 2011, has discussed this problem at length.

Economic Reform, economic growth was an important factor in the emergence of new youth culture in China.

Many major socio-economic, political and cultural changes had taken place in this second phase; for instance, on the eve of Tiananmen Square incidence and re-emergence of various religions, individual gaining prominence over the collectives etc can be seen as significant social change in China at that time. The Party and the government both were in an experimental phase that led individuals to dream and aspire for their better future.

The growth of Chinese economy was primarily due to export oriented manufacturing and import of modern technology and skill mostly from the West. The import of technology could not have happened in isolation. Communist Party of China apart from importing technologies and machines also emphasized on the returning of the overseas Chinese who had all proved their academic credential in the West. These people were mostly those who went abroad to pursue their higher research and stayed there either by managing to find financial support from their host institutions or through working in the West. These people were mostly software and hardware engineers, scientist or academicians of high reputation trained in a Western academics environment. They were or convinced or lured with many lucrative offers to return back and hold important positions in Chinese government or private institutions. These returnees were combination of Western skills and Western culture. After returning to China, they started spreading the Western work culture and culture of freedom of expression. The Vice-Chancellors of many institutions tried to restructure academic environment on the Western institutional framework. This provided the youth a platform for free expression. These youth were mostly frustrated with the corruption in the bureaucracy and within the Party cadres. They wanted to get rid of the corruptions and wanted a clean Party, which could listen to their opinion or criticism regarding the existing system. In the spring of 1989, the youth mostly the university students started to gather at Tiananmen Square to demand the right for freedom of expressions in the form of democracy and to demand a corruption free China. Gradually, their protest got the support from large section of Chinese society and the movement became huge over the weeks. This was not well received by then Communist Party of China; On May 19, 1989, after Zhao Ziyang, representing the

Chinese leadership, came to the Tiananmen Square to convince the demonstrators to disperse and failed, the Chinese military took charge and used force to remove the demonstrators. In the process of military action, many lost their lives and there followed a serious round of arrest and purge. Undeniably a movement with youth as its central force, it was a watershed in the history of P.R.C. This was certainly a wakeup call for both the Chinese leadership and the Chinese people. But from the point of view of this study, the Tiananmen Square Incident can be regarded as a turning point in the youth participation in China after Mao as it displayed the vitality and vigor of spontaneous youth force.

On the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the CPC, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC, Jiang Zemin categorically mentioned in his speech:

“Class struggle is no longer the principal point of conflict in Chinese society today”

“The principle contradiction----is the one between the people’s increasing cultural and material needs and the backward State of production”<sup>18</sup>

He also went on to explain that the gains of the Chinese revolution are mainly threatened by “hostile foreign forces” who are seeking to secure a “peaceful evolution “of China back to capitalism. After witnessing the social unrest the Party restarted its ideological education and tried to clean the Party from corruption and bureaucratic practices of the past.<sup>19</sup>

The Communist Party of China considered itself as a Party that has not deviated from its old path. In order to prove that it has taken forward the Western theoretical concept of socialism and Marxism and has successfully Sinicized them, it began coining terms such as 中国特色的社会主义 (Socialism with Chinese characteristics and 中国特色的市场经济 (Socialist Market Economy) etc.

According to the some scholars, Socialism with the Chinese Characteristics was a refutation of the old policy of relying on the Soviet model. It was also an attempt to

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<sup>18</sup>江泽民, “在庆祝中国共产党成立七十周年大会上的讲话” Jian (Talk celebrating the seventieth Anniversary of the founding of the CPC) ) (一九九一年七月一日), translation taken from Paul White, *China Diary: An eyewitness to Two decades of China’s Modernization*, New World Press, Beijing China, 2011, p.14

<sup>19</sup> Paul White, *China Diary: An eyewitness to Two decades of China’s Modernization*, New World Press, Beijing China, 2011, p.14

silence those people who claimed that Marxism was a foreign import and had failed to make China powerful and therefore should be discarded in favor of capitalism.<sup>20</sup>

China was hit with the flood in 1991 when the waters in the yellow and Yangtze Rivers, and their tributaries overflowed and swamped a large area of Central China. The crisis was managed very well and China for the first time asked for foreign aid which was never asked in the past. Lots of new models appeared in the form of 'Da Yu's' (大禹治水 Great Yu who tamed the flood in the Chinese mythology). In totality the last period of the second phase was not smooth for the Communist Party of China due to the natural calamities and corruptions. It was clear that the Party was at the cross-roads. It did not want its superiority to be compromised nor did it want to dilute its commitments to uplift the economic conditions of the people. Therefore, it came out with a new concept of Socialism with Chinese characteristics as a strategy to assure its people as the Party further initiated its Third Phase of Economic Reform and Opening- up.

### **Third Phase: 1992-2000 Socialist Market Economy (Till 2000)**

After the Tiananmen Incident of 1989, there was an atmosphere of uncertainty spread over the continuity of the Economic Reform and Opening up of China. Tiananmen Square was not only the student's protest movement, but it had also garnered support of the people from other strata of the Chinese Society. This movement and the manner of its resolution had great impact on the investors and other beneficiaries of the Economic Reform and opening up of China. It reflected that economic reform was a priority and indicated that there was loosening of the political control.

The Third Phase began with the Historic Southern Journey of Deng Xiaoping in 1992; the historic Journey of the Deng Xiaoping marked the beginning of the Socialist market economy in China. The impact of the Socialist Market economy can be seen through the data given below published by IMF, World Bank. Going by Economic Indicators, one can see that there was a great rise from 1990 to 2000.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.15

Table3. Economic Indicators of China from 1980 to 2000<sup>21</sup>

Main indicators	1980	1990	2000
Real GDP growth (annual %)	7.9	3.8	8.4
Gross domestic product, current prices (US\$, billions)	202.46	390.28	1198.48
Gross domestic product per capita, current prices (US\$)	205.12	341.35	945.6
Total Investment,(%GDP)	52.41	36.14	35.12
Gross national saving,(%of GDP)	48.84	39.22	36.83
Inflation average consumer prices	50.86	100	200.49
Inflation average consumer prices(% change)	5.99	3.1	0.4
Volume of imports of goods and services (%change)	17.38	-16.88	24.8
Volume of exports of goods and services (%change)	23.03	12.84	
Value of oil imports (US\$ ,billions)	0.66	5.21	18.9
Value of oil exports (US\$, billions)	3.55	3.68	4.63
Population, Millions	987.05	1143.33	1267.43
General government revenue (%GDP)		19.02	13.78
General government expenditure (%GDP)		20.98	17.05
General government gross debt (%GDP)		6.95	16.44

<sup>21</sup> Source: Data taken from IMF Data World Banks downloaded from <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/mar/23/china-gdp-since-1980#data> 20/1/2015 at 7:40Pm.

Current account balance (US\$, billions)	0.29	12	20.52
Unemployment rate(as %of total labor force)	4.9	2.5	3.1
Gross domestic product based on PPP valuation of a country	247.89	910.93	3015.43

From the larger perspective, the data given above signifies that Chinese economy has increased in leaps and bounds. It reflects the overall growth of China, and that China was growing at a very high speed. With the above indicators of economy and living standards of the Chinese people, it is evident that the opening up of China did bring changes in the life of Chinese people though not to all. The enrolment of school age children increased from 95% in 1978 to 98.50% in 1995. The enrolment ratio to of University students too increased from 8.90 to 24 in 1995. Health and other sectors too got a lift, which indicates that China to some extent had reached its objective of achieving “小康社会”<sup>22</sup> standard. The given economic indicator shows remarkable growth in cultural and material products as well in China. Life of few Chinese people in all economic and social spheres has gone up. Beneficiaries’ household has adequate supply for leading a decent life without any problem and dissent.

There is no doubt that the socialist market economy has further elevated the economic conditions of the Chinese people and has given free hand to the market players by further decentralization of the decision making and withdrawing itself from the position of sole decision makers in the economy front.

It is well known that Communist Party of China in the past had banned the practice of religion in any form or kind. In this third phase of Economic Reform, a great social change can be seen by the re-emergence of the religion in China. The Party relaxed its rule and allowed Chinese people to practice religion.<sup>23</sup> The religious rites in

<sup>22</sup> 在“小康社会”人民的生活达到“小康水平”，这是指在温饱的基础上，生活质量进一步提高，达到丰衣足食。（中共北京市委党校研究生部 师霞(in “Moderately well-off society” the living standard of people reach to “moderate level”, this points towards the fulfillment of the basic needs of cloth, shelter and food. <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64156/64157/4418455.html> downloaded at 10:16 pm on 27/1/2015s

<sup>23</sup> “Jiang Zemin, Zhu Rongji address Religious Work Conference, other take part” , *Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service*, December 12, 2001

monasteries too provided opportunities for interaction of the Chinese people and especially the youth. The freedom to practice religion in Mainland China could also be seen through the emergence of mainland Chinese tourists in the Indian Buddhist sectors from the 1990's, which in the past were only visited by Japanese, Taiwanese from the Far East. It became possible after the economic growth in China and improvement of the people standard of living. It can be argued that religion contributed towards the alienation of the Chinese people from the Party. There was also an emergence of Falungong (法轮大法) which was a Chinese traditional practice of meditation combined with qigong (a system of deep breathing exercise) initiated by Li Hongzhi the spiritual leader. It also added more superstition in society. There was rapid growth in the numbers of the followers/practitioners as well as increased in numbers of quacks /soothsayers claiming that qigong can confer mystical powers attracted the attention of the Party and the government in China and was banned by the authority.

It has been found in different societies that money brings along superstitions among people. Similar trend could be seen in Chinese society too. The Party leaders warned about the growth of “three corrupting forces” in the villages: superstition, clan authority and capitalist class. The leaders also pointed out that the more and more Chinese people are switching allegiance from the Communist Party of China to churches or other religious organizations.<sup>24</sup>

This phase totally changed the thinking and ideologies of the Chinese people. The concept of “Three things of the 80s” (Watch, Radio and bicycle) which were most sought after was replaced with more electronics gadgets. The shifts were so strong that it led to the changes of youth role models in China. Domestic policy in China often tend to be heralded by the holding –up of a new model for people to emulate for instance , model soldiers like Lei feng, a model oilfield like Daqing, etc. of the 1960s. In the late 1990s, the latest model to be lauded was the Daqiu Zhuang, which emerged as the “richest village in China”<sup>25</sup> However, all sections of China's population were not benefited by the Economic Reform. China was struggling

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<sup>24</sup> Paul White, *China Diary: An eyewitness to Two decades of China's Modernization*, New World Press, Beijing China, 2011 p.28

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.40



with social issues, such as, issues of migrant's labors, etc. The use of modern technology in farming has lessened the burden of the manual power and lots of peasants were out of job in the villages. This prompted them to move to the cities to earn their living with the hope that city will provide them with quick cash.<sup>26</sup>

Unemployment for the new graduates and other youth, re-employment of laid off workers etc. has become another social problem for the Chinese people. There was no doubt that the Socialist market economy had generated more jobs by opening up their State Owned Enterprises for private entrepreneurs but it had created more unemployed people than the employed. This privately owned SOEs had dismissed the old unskilled employees, resulting into a huge unemployment problem. To add to the crisis, the economic development and leniency towards opening and operating private institution created great opportunities for youth to pursue their higher education. While to get admission in reputed universities school leaving students had to qualify in the national level admission test (高考)', getting admission in a private institutions became an easy option. As a result, more and more youth enroll themselves in higher studies and huge numbers of youth were passing out every year from these universities and found it difficult to get job of their choice. There was a sharp rise in mental disorder cases among the youth. The case of drug addiction and crime had also increased many folds which polluted the mind and health of the youth. The problems of drug addiction and crimes were mostly in the coastal regions where the impact of economic development maximum.

Another serious social issue was the emerging trend of gender discrimination in the job market. Many companies were not willing to hire married women and they were also discriminated against in the wage structure. The Chinese women who used to have full equality with men were among those who lost ground during the reform and Opening -up era and especially in this phase, where the State had withdrawn itself from the day to day decision making of the industrial sectors, in a departure from the planned economy era. Apart from the above mentioned social issues, this phase also witnessed other social issues such as spiritual pollutions, re-emergence of the old

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<sup>26</sup> Migrants labors are those who come from different provinces or places to work in the cities to earn money. Due to 'Hukou System' they were not entitled to gain government facilities in the pace of their work, such as medical facilities, purchasing of own house etc.

practices where the 'money' was playing important role, renaming the roads and streets lanes on the Western concept which led to the total Westernization of China etc. These were the great concern for the Party which always believed in the socialist ideology. These social issues were no doubt, of great concern to the Communist Party of China. But, more importantly, they also created ideological dilemmas amongst the Chinese Youth. They started craving for an answer to questions such as "What to follow?" What will be their future in rapidly changing China under this one Party dictatorship? What will be their identities at the end? In the past, future of the Chinese youth was as education and employment were matters controlled by the Party-State. In the era of Economic Reform especially in this phase of socialist market economy, many important aspects in the life of Chinese youth came to be shaped by the factors of the market emanating from the basic principles of demand and supply.

### **Ideological Dilemmas faced by Chinese Youth after the implementation of Economic Reforms and opening up in China.**

It is a known fact, that future beneficiaries of bad and good policies of any governments are the youth of the nation. From a historical perspective, the Communist Party of China was well aware about the potential of its youth. Youth were instrumental in overthrowing the Qing Empire and the Nationalist government in the past. After the establishment of the PRC, the party has consistently tried to groom youth along the ideological line of the party through school and higher education. The curriculum and individual courses at least in certain disciplines, were designed to inculcate socialist values amongst the youth, as well as to have the leadership of CPC ingrained into their consciousness

The Youth of a Country played a very important role in the development of its socio-economic, political and Cultural environment. China before 1978 had adopted closed door policy and Political parameters reigned supreme over economic considerations. With the change of guard within the Party and shedding away of the personality cult culture, the most affected lot of China were the Youth who would have been the guaranteed employment after reaching to their working age in the past. After 1978, the youth had to gradually transit from the guaranteed job and secured future to a

future of uncertainty. They were faced with problem of understanding the sudden change in the guiding principles of the Communist Party of China.

The Youth from the beginning of their life in the People’s Republic of China were taught“为人民服务” “serve the masses”. They were also taught that the CPC is the savior and Party of proletariat; the Capitalists were the rightist forces and were treated as enemy of the socialist development; in socialist society everyone was equal and was to contribute equally for the society. However, after 1978 as the youth completed education and faced life, the first issue they faced was the employment issue, which had never been guaranteed the Mao era.

The data given below reflects the magnitude of the problem faced by the Chinese youth in the period of economic reform:

**Table 4: URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE<sup>27</sup>**

Year Region	Urban Unemployment (10 000)	#Youth	Unemployment Youth as Percentage of Unemployment	Unemployment Rate (%)
1978	530.0	249.1	47.0	5.3
1980	541.5	382.5	70.6	4.9
1985	238.5	196.9	82.6	1.8
1986	264.4	209.3	79.2	2.0
1987	276.6	235.1	85.0	2.0
1988	296.2	245.3	82.8	2.0
1989	377.9	309.0	81.8	2.6
1990	383.2	312.7	81.6	2.5
1991	352.2	288.4	81.9	2.3
1992	363.9	299.8	83.2	2.3
1993	420.1	331.9	79.0	2.6
1994	476.4	301.0	63.2	2.8
1995	519.6	310.2	59.7	2.9
Beijing	2.2	1.0	46.6	0.4
Tianjin	3.3	2.2	66.2	1.0
Hebei	17.5	11.4	65.1	2.2
Shanxi	7.4	2.4	32.7	1.4
Inner Mongolia	17.2	12.3	71.7	3.8
Liaoning	32.9	24.2	73.5	2.7
Jilin	12.7	6.6	52.0	2.0
Heilongjiang	28.5	19.0	66.7	2.9
Shanghai	14.4	2.5	17.2	2.6
Jiangsu	21.2	14.7	69.4	2.1
Zhejiang	20.2	11.9	58.8	3.2

<sup>27</sup> China National Bureau of Statistics from <http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/yearlydata/YB1996e/D4-21e.htm>,22/1/2015 at 4:40pm

Anhui	19.9	11.9	59.9	3.1
Fujian	11.0	4.8	43.2	2.6
Jiangxi	10.8	7.5	69.8	2.1
Shandong	34.8	22.2	63.6	3.2
Henan	24.1	17.5	72.4	2.6
Hubei	28.6	16.1	56.4	3.1
Hunan	29.3	23.4	80.0	3.8
Guangdong	30.0	14.1	46.9	2.6
Guangxi	15.6	8.0	51.5	3.6
Hainan	5.8	2.6	43.7	
Sichuan	43.9	32.5	74.0	3.7
Guizhou	16.6	7.2	43.4	5.8
Yunnan	10.6	6.7	63.0	2.9
Tibet				
Shaanxi	16.4	6.9	42.2	3.5
Gansu	16.4	8.4	51.1	5.5
Qinghai	5.9	1.4	23.3	7.4
Ningxia	5.5	4.3	77.5	6.4
Xinjiang	12.8	6.8	53.1	3.5

Table indicates that there was a vast disparity in unemployment ratio between the cities of China. For instance, Shanghai had 17.2% unemployed youth; Sichuan had 74%, Guangdong 46.9, Hunan 80% of unemployed youth. This kind of unevenness in employment was never imagined by these youth in the socialist framework. Moreover, Party was not willing to bring political reform. In other words, China was expected to develop its economy at rapid pace, keeping its socialist ideology intact.

China's early reforms focused mainly on the development of the coastal areas, with the aim of attracting investment from abroad.<sup>28</sup> The Party, led by Deng Xiaoping, expected that by supporting eastern region first, would ultimately lead the rest of the economy to expand. However, it did not happen as expected. As a result, it created a huge disparity between the coastal and inland regions. People residing in Coastal areas indeed got the benefit of the China Economic Reform and had their living standards improved rapidly. There was tremendous increase in automobiles sales, entertainment accessories and other gadgets required to have 'dignified' life in society. However, it also raised the cost of living in China. The people residing away from the coastal region had lesser access to the modern amenities. These slowly created a gap between the coastal regions and other regions of China. This phenomenon was not new for China as China within the area of 9.6million square kilometer had regional

<sup>28</sup> Yongnian Zheng & Minjia Chen, China's Regional Disparity and Its Policy Responses, [www.chinapolicyinstitute.org](http://www.chinapolicyinstitute.org) accessed on 27/1/15 at 11:10 Pm

disparity in the past. With the coming of Communist Party of China, economic disparity had been to a very large extent through parity in wage structure. But, with the gradual deepening of economic reform, there emerged an increasing regional disparity with in China, both, in terms of income and standard of living.

Individual entrepreneur were allowed to decide their business strategies of earning and retaining profit, as a result of which they being they started floating attractive salary package and perks. These offers attracted people from different regions to move to different work places; it encouraged migration of inland labor forces to the coastal areas and special economic zones for better wages without giving a thought to the House Hold registration system 户口制度 of the government and its attached benefits. Most of the inland enterprises were State owned enterprises. Radical reform initiated by the Zhu Rongji government resulted in a massive number of laid off workers, majority of them were from inland areas who then gravitated towards the coastal areas.

The above factors baffled the Chinese youth and they felt lost in the period of Economic Reform that was not accompanied by political reforms. This dual policy of the Communist Party of China created Ideological dilemmas in Chinese youth. As there was a mismatch between Party's ideological preaching in the school and universities with the practical policies of economic development in China.

During the early Mao era, youth were called on to execute and support the policies put forward by their paramount leader Mao Zedong. However, during the Cultural Revolution, all Communist Party organizations/institutions which used to play prominent role in China politics before were disbanded. Communist Youth League which was entrusted for the welfare of the Chinese Youth and was sole institutional representative of the youth was banned and new kind of youth organization emerged in the form of Red Guards(红卫兵); the 《青年报》<sup>29</sup> official newspaper of the Communist Youth League and also regarded as the official mouth-piece too stopped publication. In short, Mao Zedong called the Youth to fight against the bourgeois and the rightist forces who were acting against the Party's. The Chinese youth in response

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<sup>29</sup> *The Youth* started by one of its founder member Chen Duxiu and considered to be one of the forces instrumental in the establishment of the Communist Party of China in 1921.

to Mao's call, enthusiastically came out as red guards and started destroying all the traditional legacies. The Mao Zedong in his August 18, 1966's talk, directed the Red Guards to destroy 'Four Olds (破四旧)'. It meant, get rid of old ideas (破旧思想), Old Culture (破旧文化), Old Customs (破旧风俗), Old habits (破旧习惯). The call made to destroy the 'Four Olds' encouraged the Red Guards to such an extent, that it took no time in completely destroying the old cultural heritage and ancient literary treasures of China. It has been said that, the 10 years of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution completely ruined the Traditional Culture of China. Moreover, some of the socialist institutions established over the initial years of the party-State were also disbanded creating vacuum in the post-Cultural Revolution era. As a result the youth who participated zealously in the campaigns of GPCR became disillusioned and started to question the validity of the changing policies of the Party as well as began to wonder about their impact on the people.

It was in this atmosphere of ideological dilemmas in the aftermath of Cultural Revolution that the Chinese leadership started a fresh chapter in the history of PRC. The call for Economic reform and Open0door Policy found wide support in the broad masses. With the onset of China's Economic Reform, the Chinese Youth whole heartedly plunged into the tide of the reform and actively participated in the Party's drive for opening up and modernization. They greatly contributed in pushing forward the Party policy of establishing Socialism with Chinese characteristic and socialist modernization.

One of the important reasons for the creating dilemmas in the Youth is that the youth could not fully understand the Party's line and policies since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress and therefore backed a firm political conviction. Though the literacy rate of China has gone up to 85 to 90 %, there were fewer takers of subjects such as History, Ideology and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. theory class. There was tremendous increase in the options of choosing courses in college as well as school level. Youth with the prime aim to go abroad, therefore, preferred courses, which could provide them the opportunity to visit and study in foreign countries.

Moreover, youth could not adjust fully to changed social environment where technology and scientific knowledge were in great demand compared to the ideological understanding. The period when the understanding of ideology and loyalty towards the Party played an important role in upward mobility in their career gave way to rise of the new set of entrepreneurs who had the financial power to grant privileges to the youth. In other words, the youth at the crossroads where seeking individual economic advancement was not only a real possibility, but was also highly encouraged as the paradigm shifted from politics to economy.

Reform and Open-door Policy added vigor to Chinese life. However, it also added complexity in China's social environment. The overlapping of socialist values and new social structures of reform period, as well as the influx of Western ideas and culture, together posed a serious challenge to the youth. Many college students and graduating youth failed to measure up to the challenge.

Apart from the factors already discussed factors, there were some other factors that contributed towards creating dilemmas for the Chinese youth in the wake of Economic Reform. They are the following:

1. Some schools divide science and engineering majors and art and literature majors very early. Most science and engineering majors learn little about history and culture, politics and economics. For students who grow up in the new society without any experience of the old one, and who live in social environment at time when there was much confusion in thinking, this educational structure was not favorable to their conceiving or strengthening love for the motherland, the people, socialism, and the Communist Party either in a rational or an emotional way.
2. To encourage higher grades, primary and secondary schools seldom ask students to participate in social activities or educate them in ideology and moral and ethical values. Ordinary standards of civilized behavior, such as politeness and civility, discipline, and care of public property, that should be fostered in students during primary and secondary school are often left for college as "repeat course."

3. Although as many as 90% of the new students in colleges are Youth League members, their standard of political consciousness on the whole is poor. According to some data, many high school graduates were admitted to Youth League just before the college entrance examination. Some did not even have the time to read the Youth League constitution. Some had not even written applications, but were admitted on strength of teacher's recommendations.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it is no surprise that such young people lacked clarity of ideological understanding.
4. The guiding Ideology in Mao era was 'Mao Zedong thoughts'. The Chinese people in general and Youth in particular were asked to adhere to this one guiding principle. With the demise of Mao Zedong and the shift from politics to economy, there appeared a lot of new guidelines, which perhaps became very difficult for grass root cadres to understand and in turn could not motivate the young cadres towards the Party's directives in changed economic environment.
5. The dual nature of Deng Xiaoping, "anti- right in Politics and anti-left in economy" has been difficult to adjust to by many Chinese. It was particularly difficult for the party instructors to convey to young cadres and students the theoretical justification for such a mismatch.<sup>31</sup>

During Mao era, The Party used to introduce role models such as “雷锋（Lei Feng）”<sup>32</sup> for its youth. Lei Feng, a model soldier who selflessly served the nation and the society, was included in Party's propaganda; spirit of Lei Feng was the guideline for the youth to emulate. In Economic Reform period many role models have come up in the form of rich businessman, pop singers, sports stars etc. The

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<sup>30</sup> Yang Jingyun, Li Gongyi, et al, Exploring the question of College students' Road of Growth, *Chinese Education*, Spring 1990, Vol.23.No.1

<sup>31</sup> Xue liangding, "Disparity between idealistic and instrumental Chinese reforms" *Asian Survey*, Vol.28(II), November 1988, P.824

<sup>32</sup> Lei Feng was a Youth role model during 1960s for detail discussion please see detail <http://chinese posters.net/themes/leifeng.php> accessed on 26/2/2017 at 1:09pm



youth are more inclined towards them than the Communist Party of China propagandas role model like 张海迪 (Zhang Haidi) <sup>33</sup>.

In the course of pursuing economic development and “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” China is witnessing major social changes. The overall reform process has created an environment that accepts, and even encourages, the freedom of the individual to pursue materialistic goals. The expansion of market opportunities has begun to “open up” the system. The Maoist emphasis on creating a new socialist man and women had glorified individual like Lei Feng, who selflessly aspire to be “rust - free screws” in the service of Party and the nation. Indeed, all work was said to serve the revolution equally. But, Deng Xiaoping’s reform programme could not succeed with a notion of Lei Feng. The post –Mao emphasis on the creation of a new “economic man,” competitive and innovative, justifies job distinctions and differential rewards. It was no longer a sin to become wealthy; indeed, until the military crackdown, there were open debates on whether the Party should recruit millionaire entrepreneurs who hire hundreds of workers.<sup>34</sup>

In the view discussion above, the reasons and implications of the dilemma of the Chinese youth can be summarized in the following points:

- 1) After the reform, the society presents youth with many options other than continued schooling. Decision of school youth to continue schooling or not may be seen as “investment” options. For example, if ones fail to enter a key junior or senior high, one has little chance of entering a good university, and therefore continuing one’s schooling may be considered a poor investment. The “freedom” of the individuals to choose among options reflects a clear decline in the State’s ability to control social change as the new environment supports “privatization” of Values.

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<sup>33</sup>张海迪 was born in 1955( Shandong province) and became paraplegic at the age of five. She did not lose hope and continued to study and learnt many foreign languages. In 1983 she was chosen youth model and Chinese youth were asked to learn from her. “学习张海迪，做有理想，有道德，有文化，守纪律的共产主义新人!study Zhang Haidi, to become rational, moral, cultured and law abiding, new communist human being)for more details please see <http://chineseposters.net/themes/zhanghaidi.php> accessed on 4/1/2017 at 12:38pm

<sup>34</sup> Harding, Harry, *China’s Second Revolution: Reform After Mao*, Washington, DC, The Brookings Institution Press,1987

- 2) The institutions that have provided the best vehicles for upward social mobility – the Party, the Military, State enterprises are now forced to adjust to new socio-economic conditions. The Communist Party of China, Youth League, and the Military are presently struggling to find solution to the basic question “Who to recruit and how to socialize them?”  
Originally, the Communist Party of China stood for the proletariat Class i.e. vanguard of workers and peasants and the concept of "self" had no place. The shift of Party's ideology and policies that saw the dilution of equitable job distribution on practice towards the economic development and roping in of technocrats, and educated personnel had confused the Chinese youth further.
- 3) The freedom to go abroad to study and bring Western knowledge system and ideas to China was welcomed in the 1980s. But the rejection of Western notion of democracy in the immediate aftermath of the Tian'anmen Incident of 1989 may have confused the Chinese youth; especially so, as the incident forced them to realize that economic reform will not be followed by political reform in any meaningful way.
- 4) Deng Xiaoping's famous words, "No matter cat is black or white, unstill it catches the mice" and "let few get richer first" was not in conformity with the conventional socialist practice. Increasing disparity between various sections of the society combined with the encouragement for individual initiatives could only create further alienation between the Chinese youth and socialist practices. What is more failure of Communist States, especially USSR, went further in polarizing the youth in the debate of socialism vs. capitalism.
- 5) There are many role models for the youth after in era of Economic Reform and Opening-up. The youth are left with very few political role models. But unlike the Mao era, none of the role models had any political content, neither were they governed by any ideological guidelines. The values associated with these new role models were conceived primarily in the terms of economic and technological progress.

**Problem faced by CYL:**

Communist Youth League of China (中国共青团) is Youth wing of Communist Party of China. given below is the status of the organization as enshrined in its constitution: the nature, position, fundamental task, duty, and mission of its existence as Youth organization of China.

1. 中国共产主义青年团的性质:

在《中国共产党章程》和《在共产主义青年团章程》中对 共青团的性质作了明确的规定：“中国共产主义青年团是中国共产党领导的先进 青年的群众组织，是广大青年在实践中学习中国特色社会主义和共产主义的学校，是共产党的助手和后备军。”

(According to the Constitution of the Communist Party of China and Communist Youth League, it has been clearly mentioned that “Chinese Communist Youth League is an advance Youth mass organization, it’s an institution for the vast Youth to learn and practice the Chinese Communism and socialism with Chinese Characteristic and also assistant and reserve force of the Party.)<sup>35</sup>

The constitution stipulates that the Communist Youth League has to assist the ruling Party in China. It has been as linked between the Chinese youth and the Party. While China’s Economic Reform would not have started without the will of the Communist Party of China, Chinese leadership no longer provides a moral compass for the general population. In this ongoing reform, many traditional, unofficial sources of moral authority have emerged in Chinese society. For instance, there has been a re-emergence of traditional religions such as Buddhism, Daoism and Christianity. In stark contrast Mao’s China, official political ideology ceased to become the sole keeper of the Chinese youth value. In other words, Party’s and CYL’s role in determining the future course of Chinese society has become increasingly irrelevant. In both the traditional and socialist China, the right and autonomy of individuals have been constantly denied in order to maximize the benefit of the collective and the Party-State.<sup>36</sup> In ongoing post –Mao reform, it has been noticed that many artistic and

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<sup>35</sup>. 杨坚康 (Yang Jiankang), *团委工作指导手册：共青团中央教材编审委员会统编教材 Tuanwei Gongzuo Zhidao Shouce (Chinese Communist Youth League Work Instruction Manual: Communist Youth League Central Editorial Committee, China Youth Publishing House, 2009,p.1* (Translation done by the scholar)

<sup>36</sup> Pye, L.W, The State and the Individual: An overview interpretation, *China Quarterly*, Vol. 130, June 1991:, pp.442-466

intellectual creative works (e.g., films) were produced for greater individual self – expression. In addition, it has also been noticed that individuals are increasingly shaping their own identities less in terms of their family or 单位 (Danwei work Unit) but more in terms their broad strata of the society, such as workers, migrants, students, and the intellectuals.<sup>37</sup>

The success of the Economic Reforms has made Chinese society more complex and fluid. The complexity refers to the structural and attitudinal changes in both rural and urban areas, while the fluidity has to do with the increased mobility between the rural and urban areas as well as between interior and coastal regions. All, these factors added up to make Chinese society more diverse and competitive than ever before, where an individual was not just satisfied by being a ‘rust free screw of a machine’ but was ready to rise up to the challenges of competition.

Almost all the sections of the Chinese society felt the impact of this complex social reconfiguration and the youth were no exception. The Communist Youth League (CYL) had also felt the stress of economic reform and development. In many localities, particularly in the countryside, it had become moribund or been infected by the economic ambitions of its members and the potential recruits. Chinese authority had sought to revive and reorient the CYL by trying its future to the success of the Economic Reforms and their beneficiaries. The increase in social complexity and fluidity as well as the distribution of social -economic power had resulted in problems of social control. Before the reform years, the Chinese Communist Party of China controlled the country (the government and the society) through various Party and administrative mechanism (e.g., the registration system, the street committee). In addition to their basic functions of production, work units (Danwei) also performed many functions of supervision and vigilance such as disciplining employees convicted of crimes. In both rural and urban areas, Party cadres supervised communes and work units with regard to the control and implementation of the official Party policies and ideologies. The problem of social control occurred during the process of reform because many control mechanism of the past had been done away with the purpose of creating space for incentives and for increasing productivity.

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<sup>37</sup> Pye, L.W, The State and the Individual: An overview interpretation, *China Quarterly*, Vol. 130, June 1991, pp.464-465

The discussion above indicates that the youth had become distanced from political activism and grooming. It can then be argued that the Communist Youth League, which enjoyed the privilege of being the sole creator and vanguard of Political culture of the youth, was struggling to retain its position in the changed socioeconomic structure of China. The parent Party's policies are in motion of continuous change which in turn was affecting the basic ideologies of the Communist Youth League. It was primarily composed of young cadres who had no pre-experience of the revolution, had started debating on the new line of Economic Reform and individual's profits. The old Party cadres dedicated to teaching ideologies were not well-equipped to defend the ideological framework of the Mao era or to provide convincing answers to the young mind, which were at home enjoying the benefits of Economic Reform. Zhao Dingxin in his article<sup>38</sup> has revealed that the Ideological instructors are not satisfied with the treatment they received and social status they enjoyed working as instructors for the Party. They believed that their status in current scenario was worst than a worker engaged in production. Working as Party cadres fulltime had lost its charm. The Youth are not joining Party for the sake of working selflessly for the masses; they are joining Party to enjoy the privilege and benefits of being a Party cadre and get membership as if was regarded as a ladder for upward social mobility through good placement and useful contacts. Recent academic visit to China and interaction with people of different age groups, especially the youth, had revealed that while the parents were keen that the young son or a daughter should be members of CYL, there was little enthusiasm in the young people themselves about such associations. This was a common phenomenon in China as the process of economic reform deepened through the late 1980's.

Since China entered into the socialist market economy phase, the overall political environment has undergone changes. One of the important reason to adopt socialist Market economy structure was to address the issues which Chinese society is encountering and to reinstate faith in the rule of Communist Party of China. The Party has initiated various policies and reform in its functioning which had an impact on bound to have impact on Communist Youth League functioning and on political participation and culture of the youth. The detailed analysis and evaluation of the

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<sup>38</sup> Zhao , Dingxin, "Decline of Political Control In Chinese Universities and the Rise of the 1989 Chinese student Movement" *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol.40, No.22,1997,pp159-182.

Party policies will be carried out in the next chapter with main focus on the changes in policies for the Communist Youth League. It would be seen that, how the new policy changes have addressed the Communist Youth League's issues and challenges which the league was facing due to the Economic Reform and opening up.

The Socialist market economy has been a process started in 1992. During this period China started negotiating more frequently with the Western world and tried to project itself as a nation which is more institutionalized and has all the rules and organization for people's welfare. There was emergence of civil society in China. Lots of Non Governmental organizations and SYO (Self organized youth organizations) started emerging in the Socialist market economy. These organizations were attracting more and more youth towards them and solving their issues through negotiation with the concerned government and private bodies. They were primarily independent bodies working under the patronage of the Communist Party of China. This new development was a matter of great concern and challenge to the CYL who worked hard to retain its status of being the 'Link' between the Party and Youth. How the Party and Communist Youth League was negotiating with the youth in the changing economic condition will also be discussed in the next chapter dedicated to policy change of the Party and new goal/objectives assigned to the Communist Youth League.

## **Chapter Three**

### **The Policy Adjustments of the CPC and new goals and objectives of CYL**

Since the establishment of the PRC, the Chinese Government under the leadership of the Communist Party of China has been continuously adjusting its socio-economic and political policies according to the need of the time. Before that, the Party was primarily occupied with the class struggle and in pursuit of the liberation of huge downtrodden uneducated Chinese population. The Youth were motivated to fight against the feudal mindset and superstitions with the prime motive to liberate China. They participated wholeheartedly in fight against the Japanese aggression, while economic development was not a priority in the liberation movement. But economic atrocities and tax burden on the common people by the inefficient rulers had been a central motivating factor for seeking liberation from the old system in China.

At the time of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the socio-economic conditions were in pathetic state. The newly established Party-State realized that economic development was an essential requirement to revive and rejuvenate Chinese people and make them self-reliant. Soviet Union, as a successful socialist regime and China's ideological mentor through the struggle of liberation, was regarded as a model to follow/emulate. Therefore, the Communist Party's initiatives for the socio-economic and political change were deeply influenced by the 'Soviet Union Model'. The Communist Party of China came out with various changes in its policies to bring the Chinese economy and society to a stable state. Land reform: distribution of the land between the landless and land-poor peasants (1949-56), First Marriage law: abolishing arranged marriage, promoting free choice in marriage, giving women the right to divorce (1950), Collectivization of agriculture (1954-56), Nationalization of Industry (1956) etc.

The basic premise of the land reform bill was that land was to be equally distributed among the peasants especially the landless peasants. As a result, living conditions of the poor peasants saw a marked improvement, which in turn strengthened confidence of the masses in the Party's capacity. The confidence of the masses encouraged Party leaders to further enhance the reform process. They came out with the Collectivization of agriculture in form of 'Commune', an initiative that was in



conformity with Mao Zedong's formulations “人多是力量大”<sup>1</sup>. The Peasants were asked to attach with the commune and work collectively for the economic development of China and help in the raising of the peoples living standard.

Politically, China adopted path of Socialism and tried to abolish the capitalist system. Those who were propagating the “Capitalist” or the “individualistic” ambition in China were gradually purged in some way or other. The Communist Party of China took full control of the Chinese society both economically as well as politically. The words of the Mao Zedong became the guiding principle for the Communist Party of China and non-conformists were not encouraged. Mao proposed and initiated major movements like 大跃进 (Great Leap Forward 1958) as he believed if a country wanted to develop, it needed to have better infrastructure and better infrastructure can only be built with heavy industries. Therefore, the main focus of China's modernization drive lied in developing heavy industries and Steel became one of the important elements for China to achieve the modernization. To produce adequate steel, Party initiated the Great Leap Forward (大跃进) in 1958. However, the result of the Great Leap Forward not only did not come out as per the expectations. It actually led to the total neglect of agriculture in China resulting into extremely poor agriculture production and famine. It was followed by anti-rightist movement then finally the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) which on one hand totally wiped out the traditional Culture of China and on other hand all but destroyed the socialist fabric of China. It prompted the leadership of post-Cultural Revolution china to chart a new strategy for socio-economic development of the Chinese people. In Mao's China, the economy was planned and the society was collective and egalitarian in nature, where individual aspiration had no place .Everything belonged to the Party-State and the state had responsibility to take care of its citizen; the politics was in supreme control and had edge over the economy, as everyone and everything was judged on the ideological scale. The demise of Mao Zedong on September 9, 1976,

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<sup>1</sup> 1958年3月在成都召开的中央政治局扩大会议，对此表示赞赏，认为小社并大社，人多力量大，并通过了《关于把小型的农业社适当地合并为大社的意见》。(In March,1958,enlarged session of the political bureau convened at Chengdu appreciated and acknowledge that large society is better than the small one ,more people leads to more strength and passed the resolution << resolution of merging small commune with the bigger commune>>. The Chinese to English translation is done by the scholar. [http://www.pep.com.cn/czls/js/tbjx/jsys/8x/201008/t20100827\\_810310.htm](http://www.pep.com.cn/czls/js/tbjx/jsys/8x/201008/t20100827_810310.htm) accessed on 4/8/16 at 3:13pm

led to the end of decade of socio-economic and political upheavals; subsequently, it compelled the Party leaders to think about the road ahead for the Communist Party of China and the poor state of the China's economy. The Party under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping put forward the idea of Economic Reform. Certain policies were relaxed to boost the economic development of China, which, in due course, swathe emergence of a market economy. In a paradigm shift, China became a manufacturing based economy rather than ideology driven economy.

The political adjustment of the Communist Party of China that followed can be viewed in three Phases. First phase: 1979-83, Second phase: 1984-91, third phase: 1992-99. a detailed discussion on these phases will be elaborated on the policy changes that had impact on the political participation on the youth as well as on youth organizations in general and Communist Youth League in particular.

#### **First phase: 1978-83 : A period of Rationalization**

This was a phase immediately after the end of the 'Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution'. It has been observed that the task of bringing watershed changes in China became possible for Deng Xiaoping and his team because there was a total cleanup of China's Confucian traditions during the Cultural Revolution. The Old Guard i.e. staunch supporter and conservative practitioner of the socialist ideology had raised serious questions about these policy changes,, which Deng Xiaoping and his team handled very decisively and motivated to take the reform policies forward . The old guards were sidelined and reform minded cadres were included in the Party.

Deng Xiaoping at Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee meeting Deng Xiaoping proposed the policy of Economic Reform and opening up which was accepted by the vast majority of the Party members. The policy adjustments that followed will be seen through the analysis of the various Party Congresses and plenum held in the following years and according to the resolutions passed on various policies. Chinese and foreign scholars working on China have divergent views on the subject of China's transition from Socialist Economy to Market economy. For instance, Ronald Coase and Ning Wang in their report conclude, "This is not to say that the Chinese political system has stood still over the past 35 years. The Party has

distanced itself from radical ideology; it is no longer communist except in name”<sup>2</sup> and general views among people is that the CPCs has deviated from its "Four Cardinal Principles” as was introduced by Leader Deng Xiaoping in March 1979. For instance, as the socio-economic and political environment in China changed due to rapid economic growth, the second principle was changed to the “upholding the people’s democratic dictatorship” in 1982.

It can be seen that since 1949, that in one period , the Party-State would stress political” redness” and overlook economic development while in another they would emphasize the importance of expertise in achieving the goal of the communist movement and tolerate the formation of a privileged technical intelligentsia. It can be argued that this cycle continued until the Party-State finally decided to favor expertise over political redness, as they had no alternative to the expertise. They needed Experts and technocrats to compete with advanced capitalist countries in the area economy, science and technology and military. Therefore, the two most powerful groups in a socialist society are the technical intelligentsia and Party bureaucrats.<sup>3</sup> In theory, the CPC had tried to reform within their stipulated guidelines and never tried to go beyond that. In practice, economy superseded the politics, but the leadership had left the issue of political reform untouched to maintain its control over the society.

In political context also, the journey of CPC can be divided into the following periods: 1.Rationalization 1978-1988; 2.Conservative setback 1989-1992; 3. Economic liberalization 1992 to 2000. In effect, the major s changes took place in the two stages; in the first stage attempts were made to rationalize the Party and state institutions and operations to vitalize the economy both in rural sector and the urban sector, and in the second phase, the regime initiated economic liberalization, characterized by a "marketization". The continuity in institutional rationalization has still been maintained in China till date.

The gradual shifts in the policies were reflected in the following Party’s Congresses/Plenums held during the first phase.

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<sup>2</sup> Ronald Coase and Ning Wang ,”How China became capitalist” A report published by Cato Institute accessed from <https://www.cato.org/policy-report/januaryfebruary-2013/how-china-became-capitalist> on 6/1/17 at 1:59pm

<sup>3</sup> In” Development vs. Utopia in Communist Policy,” in C.Johnson(ed) *Change in Communist Systems*, Stanford University Press, 1970. Richard Lowenthal has argued this point extensively.

## **I) ( 十一大 ) the Eleventh s<sup>th</sup>Party Congress of Communist Party of China :( August12-18, 1977)**

The Eleventh Party congress summed up the struggle against the "gang of four", declared the 10-year-long "Cultural Revolution" ended and reiterated that the fundamental task for the Party in the new period was to make China a powerful and modern socialist state within the century.<sup>4</sup>

It was very significant as it was held immediately after the demise of Chairman Mao as well as the end of the Great Proletariat Cultural revolution. The Party Congress which was scheduled after the end of the Cultural Revolution to assess the damage done during the Great proletariat Cultural Revolution and to chart out a concrete plan about the future of China. The overall economic and social condition of China and its people were very bad. The Party had no option but to look for alternative policies to better the living condition of the people and retain its legitimacy to rule China. Therefore, it came out with new concept of 'modern socialist state'. Communist Party of China under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping dropped the isolationist policy and put forward the idea of Economic Reform and opening up of China. China officially adopted the reform and opening –up policies at the Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1978. In the ten years that followed, all-out efforts were made to modify the old centralized system,dismantle the communes and attract foreign investment to modernize the country`s economy. The idea of opening up appeared in the Third plenum of eleventh central committee meet, however, the actual reform and opening up began from the 12<sup>th</sup>Party Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1982.

## **II) ( 十二大 ) The Twelve<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the Communist Party of China :( September 1-11, 1982)**

The 12<sup>th</sup>Party Congress marked the beginning of the Economic Reform and gradually replaced of the old Guards with younger members. It tried to maintain a balance between the old and young leaders. The old leaders were desired to teach their successor and the successors were urged to learn from the experience of their

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<sup>4</sup>The 11<sup>th</sup> National Congress ,<http://app1.chinadaily.com.cn/highlights/Party16/history/11.htm> accessed on 28/3/16 at 2:53 pm

predecessors. Ye Jianying in his closing address urged,“许多老同志从领导岗位上退下来，这是党的事业发展的需要。这些老同志是革命的功臣。他们的功绩，党和人民是不会忘记的。他希望退下来的老同志思想不能退，要时时处处为党和人民的利益着想，继续做一些力所能及的工作”<sup>5</sup>( Many old comrades who are heading units should retire, this is must for the development of the Party. These old comrades are revolutionary Heros and their contributions cannot be forgotten. He desired that those retired leaders should continue to work for the benefit of the Party) and Chen Yun , “他说，老干部退出了第一线，要支持中青年干部的工作，担负起对中青年干部传帮带的任务，只有完成了这项任务，才算对党和革命事业尽了最后一把力 (Those old cadres who retired from the front should continue to support the young cadres” in their work, should Shoulder the task of mentoring young and middle-aged cadres, the completion of these tasks then only would be considered as their completion of the last task of the revolution) <sup>6</sup>。 Both of the important speeches mainly focused on cooperation between the senior and young officials and the replacement of senior by young officials.

In his opening address, Deng Xiaoping put forward the idea of building socialism with Chinese characteristics which can be summed up in the following points.

- A. On its economic fronts, China sticks to a multi-ownership-oriented basic market economic system, with the public ownership in the dominance.
- B. On its political fronts, China upholds a system of the People's Congress, a system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation, and a system of regional ethnic autonomy. And in its cultural fields, China keeps its socialist value system at the core of social trends, while respecting differences and expanding common grounds. It can be argued that these policies i.e. socialism with Chinese characteristics was the only way to establish well-off, democratic, civilized and harmonious society in contemporary China.

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<sup>5</sup> The full text of the report can be seen in 党的十二大举行全体会议 in 中国共产党历次全国代表大会数据库 accessed from <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/64565/65448/4429496.html> at 4:29pm on 09/01/2017

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

On behalf of the Eleventh Party Central Committee, Hu Yaobang delivered a report at the Congress entitled, “《全面开创社会主义现代化建设的新局面》 (Creating a New Situation in China’s Socialist Modernization Construction in an All-Round Way).<sup>7</sup>He outlined the general task of the Party in the new historical period. The new tasks were as:

“团结全国各族人民，自力更生，艰苦奋斗，逐步实现工业，农业，国防和科学技术现代化，把我国建设成为高度文明，高度民主的社会主义国家”。(To unite the people of all nationalities and gradually struggle to modernize industry, agriculture, defense, Science and technology and build China a highly civilized, democratic socialist country).<sup>8</sup>

The Report set the economic goal for the period from 1981 to the end of 20th century. It was said that in order to keep the pace of economic growth moving, it was necessary to quadruple the annual industrial and agricultural output value of China. Target was to increase the output from 710billion Yuan in 1980 to 2800 billion Yuan by year 2000.<sup>9</sup> It was emphasized that the living standard of the people would improve only if China could achieve this target. In his report Hu Yaobang also expressed the need for technology exchange between China and other advance Countries of the world.

It was evident that the 12<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party was composed of two distinct groups: the old Cadres and the young technocrats. According to some scholars the reasons of having two groups were the following:

1. Regime wanted to utilize the vitality and knowledge of younger cadres under the watchful eyes of the elders
2. It can be viewed as a strategic move by the new leadership to retire the old cadres who has been brought up in the era of extreme struggle and considered to be more conservative in nature

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<sup>7</sup> The full text of the report can be seen in 在中国共产党第十六次全国代表大会上的报告（1） from 中国共产党历次全国代表大会数据库 [Cpc.people.com.cn](http://english.cpc.people.com.cn) accessed (In Chinese) on 11.03.2015 at 11:42 Pm.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid (The translation is done by the scholar)

<sup>9</sup> 中国共产党新闻 (News of the Communist Party of China) 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress <http://english.cpc.people.com.cn/66101/4445357.html> accessed on 12:48 pm on 28/3/16 中国共产党新闻 Zhongguo gongchandang xinwen, (News of the Communist Party of China) 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress <http://english.cpc.people.com.cn/66101/4445357.html> accessed on 12:48 pm on 28/3/16

3. Their presence in the decision-making bodies would have created hindrance in the new policies implementation.<sup>10</sup>

This Party Congress was very significant for two important reasons: I. Central Advisory Commission and Central Discipline Inspection Commission were created and II. CPC Party Chairman Position was abolished. The post of Chairman was abolished and the position of CPC general secretary became the paramount position. The 12<sup>th</sup> Party Congress put more emphasis on Institutionalization of the Party as well as government bodies. It also abolished the Personality Cult by abolishing the post of Chairman. The inclusion of Technocrats in the Central Committee reflects the sincerity of Deng Xiaoping towards the economic reform and in taking China to a new era of developed and prosperous society. The inclusion of technocrats (who were considered bourgeois at one point of time in the past) signified that the class struggle has lost its hold in China and Economy has taken over Politics. This shift had played a great role in the increase of youth participation as the constitution of Communist Party of China has new amendments, where it is stated that all Chinese people are equal under Chinese law i.e. without any class difference.

The fear of getting caught or purged faded away gradually among the different classes in Chinese society as the Party initiated the process of institutionalization in the early days of economic reform. It was a process of doing away with the personality cult as its negative impact was already being seen in the Cultural Revolution period. Mao Zedong's persona had moved beyond the Party and his one call to Youth resulted into ten years of chaos.

In terms of economy, the first phase witnessed the end of the collectivized agriculture by the dismantling of the commune system and implementation of the "Household responsibility system" or private tenure system and put more focus on bringing foreign investment in China. It also marked the end of the era of the welfare state and made people responsible for making their own future and preparing for their own livelihood in the new era.

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<sup>10</sup> Hong Yung Lee, "China's 12th Central Committee: rehabilitated cadres and technocrats," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 6 (1983), pp.673-691

## **Objectives of the Communist Youth League:**

The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution came to end after the demise of the Mao Zedong and arrest of ‘Gang of Four, in 1976. With the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Youth League got a new life as it had ceased to work during 10 years of political turmoil. The new period witnessed the reopening of the league school and beginning of the training programme for its young cadres. The news paper and magazines such as 《中国青年报》 and 《中国少年报》 re-started its publications. The Communist Youth League once again got back its status of being the Youth Wing of Communist Party of China. Which it had lost to the Red Guards, the self proclaimed cadres of the Mao Zedong, during the Cultural Revolution. The new task of the Communist Youth League was to actively participate in the mission of the Communist Party of China to build Modern Socialist China (社会主义现代化). The core of the Communist Youth work was to propagate and promote 《四化》 i.e. Four Modernizations propounded by Deng Xiaoping. The Party bestowed the CYL with the responsibility of training the youth in the line of scientific thoughts and well skilled in modern technologies. Therefore, the Communist Youth League’s new objectives after the Cultural Revolution were to actively participate in the Party’s drive for economic reform and socialist modernization of China.

Given below are the political milestones in the functioning of Communist Youth League each year which will be helpful in understanding the changing role of CYL.

## **Years and Important shift in the Communist Youth League’s Objectives:**

The chronology of events have been cited from Chronology of the major events of the Communist Youth League)<sup>11</sup>

一九七八年(1978)

4月5日 (April,5)

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<sup>11</sup>中国青年工作大事记 Zhongguo qingnian gongzuo dashiji, (Chronology of the major events of the Communist Youth League)1978-1980  
<http://www.hybsl.cn/beijjngcankao/dashigaiyao/zhongguogongqingtuan/2007-02-13/349.html> accessed on 26/3/16 at &:27 Am



经中共中央批准，教育部决定：一九七八年高等学校招收新生，实行全国统一命题，由各省、市、自治组织考试。(Apr15,1978, with the approval from the Central Committee, Ministry of Education decided to unify the entrance examination paper for the admission of higher academic institutions in all province, city and autonomic regions.)

5月4日 (May, 4)

中共中央发出通知，决定在当年10月召开共青团第十次全国代表大会，并指示《中国青年》杂志、《中国青年报》、《中国少年报》在全国团代大会前后陆续复刊。( May 4,The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) issued a circular calling for the convening of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Youth League in October of that year and instructed China Youth Magazine, China Youth Daily and China Youth Daily to resume their work before and after the congress.)

5月6日至10日 (May, 6-10)

团十大筹委会发出《关于征集团歌、队歌的通知》(On May 6 to 10, League 10<sup>th</sup> preparatory Committee issued a notice about collecting league Song and announced the song for the League 。 )

8月10日 (August, 10)

中央团校重新开学，举行开学典礼。(August 10, the league school re-started and carried on opening ceremony of the academic session)

10月31日至12月10日 (October, 31 – December, 10)

全国知识青年上山下乡工作会议在北京举行。(From October31 to December10, Working meeting of the educated youth who were send to the countryside' convened at Beijing).

The Communist Youth League ceased to function during the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution. Therefore, there was a need to revive and rejuvenate the functioning of the CYL. Year 1978 saw the revival of the Communist Youth League

and its mouth Piece newspaper 《青年报》。The 10<sup>th</sup> Communist Youth League Congress took place at Beijing this Year and was attended by more than 2000 delegates from all over China. It selected its General Secretary and put forward many amendments in the Youth League constitution and its song/anthem.

一九七九年(1979 )

1月12日 (January, 12)

团中央、国家林业总局发出《关于动员青年迅速投入建设北京“绿色万里长城”的通知》(January 12,the central Committee and State forest Administration issued a notification to mobilize youth to make Beijing green)

In 1979, the forest Administration issued the directives 《绿色万里长城》 (Green Great Wall) to make Beijing a Green City that became new mission/objectives for the Chinese Youth league cadres in the year 1979.It also marked the policy shift of the Communist Youth League from the politics towards inclusion of environment issues.

3月29日 (March, 29)

中国人民保卫儿童全国委员会在北京举行全体会议，决定加强保卫儿童的工作，并积极支持联合国关于一九七九年国际儿童年的决议(On 29<sup>th</sup> of March, PRC Children protection activist meet held in Beijing and decided to further strengthened the task related to the protection of Children and enthusiastically support the UN's resolution of proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of Children.

4月6日至14日 (April, 6-14)

团中央召开的共青团全国青工工作座谈会先后在沈阳和北京举行。会议着重研究了加强思想政治工作，开展争当新长征突击手活动的问题( From April 6 to 14,The Central Committee meet was held in Shenyang and Beijing. This core agenda of this meet was to discuss issues of strengthening of the political thought among the Chinese Youth in launching New Long March).

6月12日至17日 (June, 12-17)

团中央召开 12 个城市团市委负责人和教育、公安、文化部门负责人参加的青少年共产主义道德教育座谈会（第一次道德教育座谈会）（The first meeting/conference/symposium on the Ideological education was attended by the representatives of the education, security and cultural department from 12 different cities of China.）

The Central leadership might have thought on the issues of Ideological decay during the Cultural Revolution and that led to organization of this ideological education conference) .

12 月 6 日 (December,6)

(中国青年报) 报道：清华大学工程化学系七二班团支部提出了“干社会主义要从我做起，从现在做起”的口号。<sup>12</sup>(December, 6 *China Youth reported: Department of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering, Qinghua University slogan of “start socialism from me and from now on)*

一九八〇年<sup>13</sup>(1980)

1 月 26 日 (January,26)

(中国青年报) 发表社论：〈从我做起，从现在做起〉。〈中国青年〉杂志在一九八〇年第五期上发表评论员文章：〈一代新人的谈“从我做起，从现在做起崛起——”的时代意义〉（The Chinese Youth Daily in its editorial published <<Start with self and Start from now) and also published the editorial << Significance of new generations “starting from self and start to rise from now>> ).

3 月 5 日至 12 日 团中央在南京召开全国学校工作会议 (Central Committee of the CYL held the National Schools meet in Nanjing China. It invited all Academic institutions to participate).

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<sup>12</sup> 中国青年工作大事记 Zhonguo qingnian gongzuo dashiji, (Chronology of the major events of the Communist Youth League)1978-1980  
<http://www.hybsl.cn/beijjngcankao/dashigaiyao/zhongguogongqingtuan/2007-02-13/349.html> accessed on 26/3/16 at &:27 Am

<sup>13</sup> 中国青年工作大事记 Zhonguo qingnian gongzuo dashiji, (Chronology of the major events of the Communist Youth League)1980-1989  
<http://www.hybsl.cn/beijjngcankao/dashigaiyao/zhongguogongqingtuan/2007-02-13/349.html> accessed on 26/3/16 at &:27 Am

4月4日至11日团中央在武汉市召开全国青少年业余文体工作现场会( On 4<sup>th</sup> April it organized the Youth amateur's cultural brigade meet at Wuhan).

4月13日至15日 (April, 13-15)

由团中央主持，第三次12城市青少年道德教育座谈会在武汉举行。 From 13-15 of April, CYL Central Committee hosted 12<sup>th</sup> Urban Youth Moral Education Symposium/conference.

5月6日 (May, 6)

(中国青年》杂志从第五期起，开展了“人生的意义究竟是什么”的讨论，讨论一直持续到第十二期。(From the fifth issue, China Youth started a series of discussion on the theme“人生的意义究竟是什么”(What is the meaning of the life?) Continued without break till 12<sup>th</sup> periodical).

The publication or initiation of this kind of discussions in the Party mouth piece reflects the changing objectives of the Communist Youth League in the new era of economic reform. The CYL was bestowed with the work of re-educating its youth on the value system of the Socialist society. Because they were perhaps worry of the ultra-left activism of the GPCR period and impact on Chinese society. As a result, the youth, in general, wanted to distance themselves from political participation and had deviated from the socialist path in process.

5月26日 (May, 26)

邓小平为《中国少年报》，《辅导员》杂志社题词：“希望全国小朋友立志做有理想、有道德、有知识、有体力的人，立志为人民做贡献、为祖国做贡献、为人类做贡献”。

On 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1980, Deng Xiaoping in order to encourage the editorial board of the China Youth daily wrote “希望全国小朋友立志做有理想、有道德、有知识、有体力的人，立志为人民做贡献、为祖国做贡献、为人类做贡献”(We must strengthen and improve the ideological and political work of young people in the new period and cultivate and bring up a new generation of communists with ideals,

morality, culture and discipline in order to serve the nation and contribute to humanity.)

The Year of 1980 was dedicated towards the ideological education by the Communist youth league. It was desired to bring back the lost youth into the mainstream of the Chinese politics and political participation in the economic reform era.

一九八一年 (1981)

1月7日 (January,7)

(人民日报) 报道：经国务院批准，中国社会科学院青少年研究所成立 (The on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1981, People's Daily reported the establishment of the Youth research in CASS). It marked the major shift of the Party towards the Youth research and can be viewed as the emergence of importance in the mainstream Chinese Politics.

2月25日 (February,25)

全国总工会、团中央、全国妇联、中国文联、中国爱卫会、全国伦理学会、中华全国美学学会等9个单位联合作出《关于开展文明礼貌活动的倡议》，号召全国人民特别是青少年开展以“讲文明、讲礼貌、讲卫生、讲秩序、讲道德”和“语言美、心灵美、行为美”为主要内容的“五讲”、“四美”文明礼貌活动。(On 25<sup>th</sup> February, nine organizations of the Communist Party of China such as Labor organization, CYL Central Committee, All China Women federation, China Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC), China Patriotic Health Committee, China Ethic Committee, All China Aesthetics Society, jointly drew up<<>> urging the people especially youth of the entire country to initiate civilized, politeness campaign of five and four with the core content ‘Civilization’, ‘etiquette’, ‘Hygiene’, ‘Order’, ‘values’ and beauty of the ‘language’, ‘heart and soul’ and ‘Action’ respectively.)

3月14日至17日 (March, 14-17)

中共中央书记处两次召开儿童和少年工作座谈会，提出全党、全社会都要重视儿童和少年的健康成长 (From March 14 to 17, CPC Secretariat twice convened meetings of the Youth and Adolescents to propose that the entire Party and society to

pay more attention the meet was convened to urge all the Party and social organizations to put more attention on the healthy growth of the youth.

The Year 1981 was primarily dedicated for the youth health, entertainment and recreation activities).

一九八二年(1982)

1月31 (January, 31)

日 新华社报道：团中央最近宣布：今后满七岁的少年儿童都可戴上红领巾(The Xinhua News Agency CYLCC announced that the Adolescence who has attained the age of 7 years and above have to put red scarf in their neck).

3月 中共书记处决定，以北京官园作为中国少年儿童活动中心（‘China Youth Palace’ became the Centre of Youth Recreation).

4月26日至5月4日 (April26 to May,4)

中共中央宣传部、团中央根据中共中央的指示，联合召开了“全民文明礼貌月”“活动总结座谈会(From April26 to May4, CPC Central Propaganda department and central Committee of the CYL Jointly Convened “Civilized Courtesy Month” summarizing conference.)

10月21 (October, 21)

日 新华社报道：教育部和中国人民解放军总后勤部党委最近分别发出通知和作出决定，号召在高等学校学生中和全军后勤战线开展向张华学习的活动（October 21, Xinhua News Agency reported: the Ministry of Education and the PLA General Logistics Department Party Committee recently issued a notice and make a decision, called on students in colleges and universities and the PLA frontline to carry out activities to learn from Zhang Hua<sup>14</sup>.)

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<sup>14</sup> 大学生张华跳入化粪池救人牺牲 1982年7月，西安解放军第四军医大学二大队学生张华因跳入化粪池营救一位不慎落入池中的老农而献出自己宝贵的生命(Zhang Hua a university students sacrifice himself while saving a drowning person. He belonged to 4 Medical College of PLA, Xian.(Translation is done by the scholar)

The Year 1982 was also devoted towards ideological education for the Chinese Youth.

一九八三年 (1983)

1月22日至27日 (January, 22-27)

全国优秀青少年科技辅导员和科技活动先进集体表彰大会在北京举行 (January 22 to 27, the National Outstanding Youth Science and Technology Counselors and advanced science and technology activities in recognition of collective congress held in Beijing.)

2月24日 (Feb, 24)

团中央、教育部印发《全国优秀少先队辅导员奖励条例（试行）》 (The CYL Central Committee announced the directives /guidelines for the All China Youth Professional talent Award).

3月7日 (March, 7)

团中央在北京召开命名表彰“优秀共青团员”张海迪大会 (On 7<sup>th</sup> March, It also hold Outstanding CYL Cadre ‘Zhang Haidi’ Meet at Beijing).

3月9日 (March, 9)

中央绿化委员会、团中央联合作出《关于在全国青少年中开展义务植树竞赛的决定》，号召自今年起，在全国青少年中开展义务植树竞赛活动。The Central Afforestation Committee of the CYL and Central Committee of the Party jointly decided to initiate the Amateur Tree Plantation Competition and urged the youth to actively participate in planting tree Competition from the same Year..

4月20日 (April, 20)

国家经委、全国总工会、团中央联合发出《关于在全国青年职工中开展“五小”智慧杯竞赛活动的通知》。同日，中央“五讲四美三热爱”活动委员会发出《转发公安部、教育部、劳动人事部、文化部、全总、团中央、妇联<关于做好有违法或轻微犯罪行为青少年帮助教育工作的几点意见>的通知》。(April 20, the State Economic Commission, the National Federation of Trade Unions, the Central

Committee jointly issued "on young workers in the country to carry out" five small "Wisdom Cup competition activities notice. On the same day, the Central Committee of the "five stresses, four beautiful, three love" activities issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labor and Personnel, the Ministry of Culture, all the total, the Central Committee, the Women's Federation. <About doing a good job of illegal or minor criminal youth education work Opinions>

9月1日 (September, 1)

中央团校举行首届大专班开学典礼 (September 9, The League School carried on its First ceremony of the Beginning of the Academic session).

9月30日 (September, 30)

邓小平为北京景山学校题词：教育要面向现代化，面向世界，面向未来 (September 30, Deng Xiaoping's inscription for the Beijing jingshan school: education must look towards modernization, the world, and the future).

11月17日 (November, 17)

团中央发出《关于在一九八四年元旦春节期间大力开展健康的文体娱乐活动，抵制和清除精神污染的通知》同日《中国青年报》发表本报评论员文章：《污染须清除，生活要美化》 (On November 17, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League issued a circular on "vigorously developing healthy recreational and sports activities during the Lunar New Year holidays in 1984 to boycott and eliminate mental pollution." On the same day, "China Youth Daily" published a commentator article: "pollution must be removed, life should be beautified.)

The overall focus of the Communist Youth League in the first phase was to carry out Ideological education and bring back the disgruntled youth who had suffered during the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution and prepared them scientifically and technologically for the Party's new drives towards Economic Development. The Youth League was further assigned the mission of environment protection. Due to the rapid economic growth and diverse opportunities in the society made Chinese youth



to get more attracted towards materialistic pleasure and less towards the social services. The Party wanted to protect its youth from the spiritual pollution, at the same time wanted its Youth to work and contribute towards achieving the ‘Four Modernization’. It meant Communist Party of China was not ready to compromise on its ideology at the same time would not let the Economic reform and Opening up take the back seat.

### **Second Phase (1984-1991) (Conservative setback)**

#### III) (十三大) Thirteenth<sup>th</sup> Party Congress (October 25-November 1, 1987)

Deng Xiaoping and all other “second generation” CPC leaders retired from active position in the Party;

“Third Generation” members, led by Zhao Ziyang) dominated the CPC Politburo Standing Committee.

Zhao Ziyang while delivering his report on behalf of the 12th Central Committee entitled, 《沿着由中国特色的社会主义道路前进》<sup>15</sup> (On the road along the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics) On Oct 25, 1987 laid down the new task of the Party Congress. The Central Committee met several times and consistently carried forward the reform and opening up, strengthened the construction of the material and spiritual Culture (物质和精神文明)。 He emphasized that Party needed to strengthen and deepen the Economic reform and opening up and carry forward the guidelines adopted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plenum of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee in 1978.

He identified three main issues needed to be addressed in recent future. The issues were following:

1. 发展科学技术和教育事业放在首位置，使经济建设转到依靠科技进步和提高劳动者素质的轨道上来。(development of scientific skill and education should be the first priority; bring economic the economic development has increased the dependence on the improved technology and skilled labor)

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<sup>15</sup> 赵紫阳( Zhao Ziyang), 《沿着由中国特色的社会主义道路前进》 yanzhe you zhongguo teshe de shehui zhuyi daolu qianjin (In Chinese) ( Moving Along the Road of Socialism with Chinese characteristics) Cpc.people.com.cn accessed on 12.03.15 at 9:45 pm

2. 保持社会总需求和总供给基本平衡，合理调整和改造产业结构(Safeguard the basic balance between society's overall need and supply ,rationally recreate/renovate enterprise structure.
3. 进一步扩大对外开放的广度和深度，不断发展对外经济技术交流与合作。(Further expand the reach and depth of the Opening up, continuously develop technical exchange and cooperation with the outside world.

Apart from the economic reform, he also proposed Political reform as he believed that the economic reform won't be successful without political reform. He propounded the following guidelines:

1. 实行党和政分开。(The separation of the Party and Government)
2. 进一步下放权力 (Decentralization of the administrative responsibility to the lower authority.)
3. 改革政府工作机构 (reforming the government working bodies.)
4. 改革干部人事制度 ( reforming the cadres system)
5. 建立社会协商对话制度 (promoting dialogue between the social forces and the economic forces.)
6. 完赏社会主义政治的诺干制度 (fully accomplish the goal of establishing socialist system in China.)
7. 加强社会主义法制建设 (strengthening the establishment of the socialist legal system.)

The 13<sup>th</sup> Party Congress set the stage for Political Reform. The Chinese people reacted with enthusiasm as there would be less interference of the Communist Party of China in people's daily life. They would have opportunity and liberty to plan their career in an environment free of ideological control. It also talked about a dialogue between the chamber of commerce and the government .It was a very significant change as in Mao China, there was no scope of debate between the Government and other independent commercial bodies. The 13<sup>th</sup> Congress also pushed forward the improvement in education, increase of socio-economic benefit and the raising the productivity and quality in production.

This Phase saw the decentralization of the power and the Communist Party of China restricted itself in dealing with the most critical matters of the governance in China. There is no doubt that with the decentralization of the decision making authorities, economic growth further increased in this phase, but it created other social problems like corruption and nepotism. The enterprises were not ready to accept those youth who were trained on social sciences and humanities as these education streams were mostly supported and encouraged by the Party. Powerful bureaucrats and influential Party leaders pushed for their own relatives in the higher position of decision making leading to corruption that witnessed uneven distribution of wealth, it has been argued that all these factors contributed outbreak of popular protests that finally culminated in the Tiananmen Square of 1989.

### **Objectives of the Communist Youth League:**

The Communist Youth League, being the youth wing and reserved force of the Communist Party of China has to carry forward the policies of the Party. It was desired that CYL should help to speed up the work of the 3rd plenum decision of 1978 and further equip youth on the line of ideological education and also work on the ‘一条主线，三项任务( One Line ,Three task)

The prime objectives of the CYL was to support and train the youth to be ready to take up any challenges in the path of the China’s economic reform and modernization. This issues of political stability and other social issues which has emerged due to the Economic Reform and Opening up in China has been discussed in previous chapter. The CYL has to train its cadres to actively participate in dealing and resolving these issues in future along with the CPC.

The chronology of events have been cited from Chronology of the major events of the Communist Youth League)<sup>16</sup>

一九八四年(1984)

2月11日 (Feb, 11)

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<sup>16</sup>中国青年工作大事记 Zhongguo qingnian gongzuo dashiji, (Chronology of the major events of the Communist Youth League)1978-1980  
<http://www.hybsl.cn/beijjngcankao/dashigaiyao/zhongguogongqingtuan/2007-02-13/349.html> accessed on 26/3/16 at &:27 Am

团中央作出《关于开展争当新长征突击手，为重点建设献青春竞赛活动的决定》(On February 11, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League made a decision on "striving for a new long march for the construction of a youth contest.).

2月21日 (Feb, 21)

团中央、城乡建设环境保护部、中国建筑工程工会联合发出《关于在全国建筑行业开展青年突击队竞赛活动的通知》(February 21, the Central Committee, the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection, China Construction Union jointly issued notice." "To the national construction industry to carry out the Youth Commando competition)

2月25日 (Feb, 25)

团中央、林业部、水利电力部联合发出通知，决定组织宁夏、内蒙古、陕西、山西、河南、山东6省区青少年营造黄河防护林，计划七年内绿化黄河两岸 (League Central Committee , Ministry of Forest, Ministry of Power and water resource Jointly announced the decision to organize Ningxia ,Inner Mongolia, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Henan, Shandong ,six provinces youth and adolescence club to take care of protection in the forest area of Yellow River and has &seven year Programme to green the two banks of the Yellow river).

6月4日至9日 (June4-9)

500项全国青工“五小”（小发明、小革新、小改造、小设计、小建议）智慧杯竞赛获成果奖的青年代表汇集南京市，出席全国青工“五小”活动总结表彰大会 (June 4 to 9 500 National Youth Worker "Five Small" (small inventions, small innovation, small renovation, small design, small proposal) Wisdom Cup Competition Achievement Award Young delegates gathered in Nanjing, attended the National Youth Work " Five small "activities in recognition of the General Assembly.)

6月13日 (June,13)

全国首次青年报纸工作理论探讨会在沪举行。“宣传改革，改革宣传，造就新人”，是这次探讨会的中心议题 (June 13, the first youth newspaper work theory

discussion held in Shanghai. The Core theme of the discussion was to “Propagate Reform, Reform Propaganda, and Create New People”.

12月1日至4日 (December, 1-4)

全国青联六届委员会第二次常委会议在北京举行。会议确定，进一步扩大工作领域和工作对象，为祖国统一和四化建设事业做出更大贡献。( December 1 to 4 , Second Standing Committee of the Sixth Plenum of the All China Youth Federation held in Beijing. The Meet decided to gradually expand the scope of work and objective to contribute more for unification of the motherland and achieving the ‘Four Modernization’).

To sum up, the Year was dedicated to the Start Ups for the Young entrepreneurs. The Communist Youth League objectives were to train the youth technologically so that they can contribute to the country’s economic progress. Without deviating from the Ideological education mission, the CYL initiated Youth’s training Programme simultaneously.

一九八五年（1985）

2月4日（Feb, 4）

中国青年企业管理者协会成立大会在北京举行（China Young Entrepreneur management board/administration establishment conference held at Beijing).

2月12日 (Feb,12)

国际青年年中国组织委员会主任委员胡锦涛，在国际青年年中国组织委员会第二次会议上宣布：我国将于今年5月邀请亚太地区数十个国家和地区的数百名青年来华参加亚太地区青年友好会见活动(Hu Jintao the General secretary of the International Youth organization of China in its second meet invited several youth from more than 10 Asia pacific countries and more than hundred outstanding youth from each region to attend the friendly Meet in May.)

It signifies that the Communist Youth League was trying to open its youth cadres to outside world and promote mutual learning.

3月10日 (March, 10)

团中央、交通部联合发文，决定从今年开始，在全国青少年中开展绿化宜林公路的活动 (On March 10, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League and the Ministry of Communications jointly issued a document, and decided to carry out the activities of Afforestation among the national youth from the beginning of this year.)

The operation/mission to protect Chinese Environment was also in the core agenda of the youth league. It time and again organizes activities in the area of environment. The rapid economic growth in China leads to the environment issues in major cities of China.

4月18日 (April, 18)

由团中央、教育部、国家民委联合组织的西北4省区（青海、甘肃、宁夏、新疆）“招贤引才、开发西北”活动在北京开始 (April 18, the activities of "recruiting talents and developing the northwest" in 4 provinces (Qinghai, Gansu, Ningxia and Xinjiang) jointly organized by the Central Committee, the Ministry of Education and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission began in Beijing.)

The mission of developing the western region too was on the shoulder of the communist youth league.

To sum up, the month witnessed the frequent youth exchange with various foreign countries.

5月22日 (May, 22)

中顾委、中组部、团中央举行“关心下一代”座谈会 (On May 22, The Communist of China central advisory Committee and Central Committee of the Communist Youth League a symposium “关心下一代”(Caring for the next generation).

5月25日 (May, 25)

参加亚太地区青年友好会见活动的 400 多名外国青年朋友，结束了在中国各地的参观访问，分别从上海、广州、北京，陆续回国 (More than 400 outstanding youth from the Asia-Pacific region attended the friendly meet and were separately taken for visit/excursion to Shanghai , Guangzhou and Beijing).

7月11日 (July, 11)

应全国青联邀请，438 名法国青年到达北京，参加为期十天的中法青年联欢活动 (480 Youth form France attended 10days China-France youth welcome meet).

11月2日至18日 (Novemebr, 2-18)

中华全国青年联合会派出代表团，带着 38 项中国青年的发明成果，参加了在保加利亚举办的世界青年发明家科技成果博览会 (The All China Youth Federation send its delegation to Bulgaria to attend World Young Inventors and invention exposition from November 2-18, 1985 ).

12月30日 (December, 30)

中国青年政治学院在北京成立 (Dec30, 1985,China Youth University of Political Studies was established ).

This was another serious attempt made by the CPC in the areas of the research on youth.

一九八六年(1986)

4月29日 (April, 29)

“全国青年优秀读物”评选和“我喜爱的社科新书”评选活动授奖大会在北京举行 (On April 29, National Youth Good Reading Contest and “My Favorite New Social Science Book contest Award Meeting held in Beijing)。

6月25日 (June, 25)

宋健在中国科协“三大”发言，强调科协各学会应该把吸收青年会员当成一项战略任务 (On June 25, Song jian in his talk on the ‘Three big’ at the China association

for science and technology, emphasized the association for science and technology institutes to make it a strategic task to attract and absorb the youth members).

7月9日 (July, 9)

中国中青年经济科研工作会议召开(On July 9 China Communist Youth League Economic Research meet convened in Beijing).

7月22日 (July, 22)

中国首届青年生态科学讨论会召开，会上成立中国生态学会青年研究会 (On July 22, the first China Youth Ecological Science Symposium was held, at which the Chinese Society of Ecology Youth Research Society was established.)

一九八七年(1987)

1月1日 (January, 1)

数百名青年学生在首都天安门前东侧马路举行游行 (On January,1, 1987, more than thousand youth carried out movement/protest at Tiananmen).

2月13日 (Feb, 13)

团中央发出《关于进一步加强团的思想政治工作，深入进行四项基本原则教育的通知》(February13,The Central Committee of the League issued <<regarding the strengthening of the League's work on Political thought and to carryout in depth education of Four Cardinal Principle of the Communist Party of China) 。

4月1日 (April, 1)

中国软件行业协会青年协会成立 (On April, 1, 1987, Association of China Young Software Professional established).

5月19日 (May, 19)

青年思想教育研究中心在北京成立 (Youth Political thought Research Center was established at Beijing).



5月19日至21日 (May, 19-21)

青年思想教育工 作座谈会召开 (From May 19-21, 1987, Working Conference on Youth Political Thought held in Beijing).

12月16日 (December, 16)

“共青团之歌”评选揭晓。《我们是明天的太阳》、《向着共产主义理想前进》、《共青团员之歌》名列前三名(December 16th, "the song of the Communist Youth League" selection announced. "We are the Sun of Tomorrow," "Towards the Communist Ideal," and "Song of the Communist Youth League" are among the top three. )

This Year witnessed the establishment of the institutions to study and teach political thoughts to Chinese Youth. It also came out with the Competition to engage its youth in the areas of various political and ideological educations. The strategies were to protect the Chinese youth from the influence of Western thought which was rapidly spreading among them.

一九八八年(1988)

2月3日 (Feb, 3)

团中央向全国团员、青年发出《提倡婚事新办坚持移风易俗》的一封信 (February 3, Central Committee of the CYL issued a letter to its members and youth << Advocate new marriage ceremony to insist on transforming social traditions >>) 。

2月4日 (Feb, 4)

团中央、国家教委联合发出《关于实现团校教育正规化的意见》 (On February 4, CYLCC and State Education Commission jointly issued<< An opinion on implementation of Standardization of education in League school>>) 。

2月11日 (Feb, 11)

青年少年立法工作联席会议召开 (On February 11, The youth young legislative work joint conference began) 。

6月11日 (June, 11)

团中央发出电报通知，提出了做好学生工作、稳定高校局势的意见(June11, league central Committee issue a notice and desired student to work properly and stabilize situation in Higher Education Institutions )。

6月24日 (June, 24)

团中央、国家经委、国家体改委联合发出《关于表彰全国优秀青年企业家和全国优秀青年厂长（经理）的决定》。对评选出的10名“全国优秀青年企业家”和90名“全国优秀青年厂长（经理）”予以表彰 (League Central Committee, State Economic Commission, State Commission for Structural Reform jointly issued << Decision related to the recognition of national outstanding young entrepreneurs and national outstanding young factory director (manager) 。 10 national outstanding young entrepreneurs and 90 national outstanding young factory director (manager) were selected for the honors).

7月17日 (June, 17)

全国青联主办的综合性青年思想文化刊物《中华儿女》创刊 (On July 17, National youth journals <<Chinese people>> sponsored by All China Youth federation having comprehensive youth ideology and culture as content started its publication) 。

8月1日 (August,1)

共青团中央办公厅、中共中央宣传部办公厅联合发出《关于开展评选“全国优秀青年思想教育工作者”活动的通知》。The Central Committee of The Communist Youth League and Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Jointly announced 《Notice for Implementation of the selection of National outstanding young ideological education workers>>》

This Year of 1988 had the task of keeping the youth ideologically and technically sound so that they can contribute in the Party's call for Modernization.

一九八九年（1989）

1月11日 (January, 11)

中国优秀青年思想教育工作者表彰会举行 (On January 11, China's outstanding young ideological education worker commendation meeting held)。

1月23日 (January, 23)

团中央发出《关于中国青旅集团若干原则问题的意见》 (On January 23, Central Committee of the League issued <<opinion regarding some problems of Principle of Chinese Youth Travel group)。

1月25日 (January,25)

团中央、全国绿化委员会、林业部联合发出《关于在全国青年绿化工程创优活动的决定》 (Central Committee of the League, National Green Tribunal, Ministry of Forest Jointly issued <<Decision regarding creation of the extraordinary activities for the promotion of greenery in China)。

2月15日 (Feb, 15)

团中央发出《关于改革和加强共青团文化工作的意见》 (February 15, Central Committee of the League issued <<Views regarding the reform and strengthening of the Communist Youth league's cultural work>>。

3月8日 (March, 8)

民政部批准团中央成立中国青少年发展基金会 ( On March 8, Ministry of Civil Affairs approves Communist Youth league setting up the China Youth development Fund . The aim of this foundation was to help the poor youth and youth residing in remote areas of China).

5月15日 (May, 15)

《中国青年报》报道：中国科学院近日决定特设“青年科学家奖”，并将为获奖者提供一系列的优厚待遇 (of May15th,1989, Chinese Youth daily reported ,Chinese Academy of Sciences decided to setup Young Scientist award Youth University of Political studies came out with Young Scientist Award and will provide series of preferential treatment for the winners ).

5月20日 (May, 20)

从5月13日开始，有部分学生在天安门广场绝食，并占领了天安门广场，影响首都的正常秩序。今天，中国人民解放军戒严部队指挥部发表《告北京市民书》。中国人民解放军派部队到北京部分地区协助北京市公安民警和武警部队执行戒严任务(Since May 13, some students are sitting on Hunger Strike and has occupied the Tiananmen Square disturbing the capital daily life. Today, PLA Martial law forces headquarters has issued<< Letter to Beijing residents>> stating the People Liberation Army will send its troop to assist the Beijing Police to carryout task for maintaining normalancy in the city.) 。

The year 1989 was full of the Youth's activities. They assembled in large numbers at Tiananmen Square to protest against the rampant corruption and lawlessness in China. In the process, they also started demanding Democracy in China. The government had to issue directive of not allowing any student to come to Beijing in mid of the year. The main objectives of the Communist Youth League after 1989 Tiananmen incidence were to bring stability in the youth activism in China.

The second phase was mostly devoted towards the professional training and environment protection activities under the leadership of the Communist Youth League. It was also concerned with the moral and spiritual decay of the Chinese youth due to the radical change in the Communist Party of China policies during the period of the Economic reform and Opening up.

### **Third Phase (1991 till Present) (Economic liberalization )**

#### **IV) (十四大) 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress (October 12-18, 1992)**

The 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress had a great significance as it happened was the first Party congress after the 1989 ‘Tiananmen Square’ Incident. The Tiananmen Square Incident raised a doubt about China’s quest for modernization and economic reform and opening up. The Communist Party had enjoyed the full trust and appreciation for the great initiative of Opening up. The Opening up of China to the outside world undoubtedly created the atmosphere of hope both within and outside China. The shift from politics towards Economy indeed created the environment of ‘多劳多得’.

Jiang Zemin in his speech at the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Party entitled 《加快改革开放和现代化建设步伐夺取有中国特色社会主义事业的更大胜利》<sup>17</sup>“Accelerating the Reform, the Opening to the Outside World and the Drive for Modernization, so as to Achieve Greater Successes in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.” talked and emphasized on 1.加强党的组织建设逐步调整和充实各级领导班子，提出干部队伍革命化，年轻化，知识化，专业化的方针，废除干部领导职务实际存在的终身制，实行新老合作与交替。 i.e. for strengthening the Party and adjustment of leading group at each level, he put forward the reform in cadres of all level, youthization, intellectualization and expertise, and discard the old existing cadres system and provide space for mutual exchange between the old and the young cadres. In other words, the emphasis of intellectual expertise over the old ideological centric Cadres and bringing more younger people in the Party leading decision making bodies had great impact on the mind of the young generation. The speech of Jiang Zemin speech also encouraged the Youth to actively participate in mutual exchange of their new outlook with the old and experienced cadres of the Party

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<sup>17</sup> The details can be seen in 《加快改革开放和现代化建设步伐夺取有中国特色社会主义事业的更大胜利》 Cpc.people.com.cn accessed at 8:02 pm on 17/3/2015. October 12,1992 江泽民 Jiang Zemin 在中国共产党的十四次全国代表大会上的报告<<加快改革开放和现代化建设步伐夺取有中国特色社会主义事业的更大胜利>> zai zhongguo gongchandang de (Jiang Zemin speech at the fourteenth party congress<<Deepening of reform and modernization will bring great advantage in task of establishing socialism with Chinese Characteristics>> Zhonggup gongchandang lici quanguodaibiaodahuishujuku 中国共产党历次全国代表大会数据库(Data base of all previous Congress of the Party congress)<http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/64567/65446/4526308.html> accessed at 5:15pm on 15/4/16

It marked the great shift from the old regime under Mao towards a new Authoritarian regime. The fear of getting punished by exposing individual identity was overcome as it encouraged the people to think as individuals in free environment and contribute towards the Party Mission to establish the “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics”.

The main issue which was of deep concern for the Party in China's political discourse was to how to legitimize the rule of Communist Party in changing socio-economic environment. The Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989 and 1976, where the youths in particular demanded their democratic rights along with western type of democracy made the Party to churn out the new ways of legitimizing the old Leninist -Marxist political system.

The demands of the youths were not irrational. On one hand, the Party was aspiring for the technological upgradation at par with the developed countries, but on other hand, the Party was not ready to welcome other elements of western culture prevalent in developed economies. It was not feasible to adopt the western modern technology without the inflow of western culture and values to China. This was totally contradictory as a country cannot enjoy only the fruit in totality. It has to accept or address other elements which have helped to grow that fruits. It cannot afford to continuously blame the intellectual class like in the past, when the intellectual class was branded rightist during the period of ‘Class struggle’ and were regarded as potential enemy in the path of establishing Socialist Society in China.

Most of the theorists of social change, such as Marxian or Weberian in principle, have implied a close linkage between economic liberalization and political democratization. Thus, the Fourteenth Party Congress reflected the central dilemmas of the China's aging Communist leaders and inability to encourage dynamic market growth without sacrificing their political system in the process.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Central Committee strongly supported the Party fundamental direction of economic construction to be the focus, make great effort to correct the phenomenon of

“一手比较硬，一手比较软”<sup>18</sup> to strengthen the Political thought work and work of building Party.

Jiang Zemin put forward the new task of establishing “Socialist Market Economy” (社会主义市场经济体制) in order to speed up the economic reform in China.

The main task for establishing the system of socialist Market economy in China was:

1. 转换国有企业特别是大中型企业的经营制，把企业推向市场，增强他们的活力，提高它们的素质。(Transform business operation structure of the State owned enterprises (SOEs) especially, of the small and medium enterprises, push them to the market, strengthen their business capability, and raise their quality.
2. 加快市场体系的培育。(Accelerate the cultivation of market system).
3. 深化分配制度和保障制度的改革( Deepen the reform of distribution system and social security system)
4. 加快政府职能的转变。(Accelerate the transformation of the government performance)

Secondly, Task: 进一步扩大对外开放，更多更好地利用国外资金、资源、技术和管理经验 (In order to broaden the economic reform, need to attract more and more foreign capital, resource, technology and management skills.)

Thirdly: 调整和优化产业结构，高度重视农业，加快发展基础工业，基础设施和第三产业。(Optimize the industrial structure, pay more attention on agriculture sector, and rapidly develop primary industries, infrastructure and tertiary industries.)

Fourth: 加速科技进步，大力发展教育，充分发挥知识分子的作用。(Speed up the pace of improvement in Science and Technology, vigorously develop education and give play to the role of intellectuals abundantly).

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<sup>18</sup>在接见首都戒严部队军以上干部时的讲话（一九八九年六月九日）June9,1989zai jiejian shoudu jieyanbuduijun yishang ganbude jianhua Speech during the meeting with capital level cadre and above . 中国共产党新闻( News of the Communist Party of China <http://zg.people.com.cn/GB/33839/34943/34944/34947/2617562.html> accessed on 31/3/16 at 11:15 am

Jiang Zemin in one of his speech, recognized technocrat's as one of the modern productive forces. The Young talented technocrats have made immense contribution to the Party drive to achieve socialist modernization of China. The recognition of the technocrats as one of the important element of Socialist production force in the eye of Communist Party of China “知识分子是工人阶级中掌握科学文化知识比较多的一部分，是先进生产力的开拓者，在改革开放和现代化建设中有着特殊重要的作用”<sup>19</sup> encouraged the young technocrats to actively participate in the day to day economic affairs of the China. Their important views and experiences on certain issues were sincerely heard and respected by top Party leaders. This new political environment too became instrumental in youth participation even after the Tiananmen Square incidence, in which youth uprising were suppressed with the strong measure by top Party leaders of China.

Some scholars have argued that the above changes in the Policy of the Communist Party of China, made under the leadership of Jiang Zemin indicate the decision to include the technocrats and entrepreneur in Communist Party of China was made because of their talent and energy. People, including those in the Party organizations, have tended to look to them for leadership, both in rural areas where the desire to move ahead economically is a constant one and at the national level where they appear to be able to influence Party policy.<sup>20</sup>

Immediately after the Tiananmen Square Incident, the Communist Party had stopped recruitment of Technocrats and entrepreneurs which was put forward by the general secretary Zhao Ziyang in 12th Party Congress. These entrepreneurs were considered to be the ‘exploiting class’ which was totally against the fundamental policies of the establishment of the Communist Party of China. Many conservatives in the Party were against the elements that did not meet the rigorous ideological standards . However, Pan Yue, the deputy head of the State Council Economic Restructuring

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<sup>19</sup> 江泽民在中国共产党第十四次全国代表大会上的报告 Jiang Zemin zai Zhongguogongchandang dishici daibiaohui shangde baogao (Jiang zemin speech at the Fourteenth party Congress accessed at <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/64567/65446/4526312.html> on 10/1/17 at 12:10pm

<sup>20</sup> For the detailed discussion on the rise of the technocrats and entrepreneurs please see, Joseph Fewsmith, “Is Political Reform Ahead?---Beijing Confronts Problems Facing Society—and the CCP” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 1  
downloaded: [www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/uploads/documents/clm\\_jf.pdf](http://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/uploads/documents/clm_jf.pdf) accessed at 11:50 pm on 18.3/15



Office put forward his opinion that the Party must change its understanding of the 'working class'.<sup>21</sup> Deng Liqun argued that opening of the Party to private entrepreneurs would mean that Party had come to speak for the rich and powerful.<sup>22</sup>

Deng Xiaoping's 《南巡》 Southern sojourn reaffirmed that China was still on the Path of the decisions taken in the third plenum of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee and would continue to open its economy. The continuity of China opening up policy, in turn, developed confidence in the youth. They were quite skeptical about the continuity of the government due to Tiananmen Square incidence. The 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress to some extent tried to address their worries.

### **The Fifteenth Party Congress (September 12-18, 1997)**

The Party Congress in China had continuity from the previous Congress and it reflected the government work done before the new Party Congress. Just like the 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress that was held just after the Tiananmen Square incidence was of great importance to the China and also for the outside world, the 15<sup>th</sup> Party Congress was highly significant as it was held without Pragmatic leadership of Deng Xiaoping, who had died on February 19, 1997 in Beijing. The other great event of 1997 was the return of Hong Kong to China after 100 years. This Congress therefore, had to be in the foreground of these two events.

On September 12, 1997, Jiang Zemin while delivering his work report on behalf of the 14<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Party, titled <<高举邓小平伟大旗帜，把建设有中国特色社会主义事业全面推向二十一世纪>> proposed that with the great direction from the Deng Xiaoping, and establishment of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, China should move into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century<sup>23</sup>. China should not move away from the

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<sup>21</sup> Leung. P., *Labor Activities and The New Working Class In China*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

<sup>22</sup> Deng Liqun, was a senior Communist Party propaganda and ideology official who began the 1980s as a powerful proponent of change, yet became one of the most vehement and divisive foes of China's liberalization

<sup>23</sup>江泽民在中国共产党第十五次全国代表大会上的报告“高举邓小平伟大旗帜，把建设有中国特色社会主义事业全面推向二十一世纪”Jiang Zemin zai Zhongguogongchandang dishiwuci quanguo daibiaodahui shang de baogao “Gaojiu Deng Xiaoping weida qizhi, ba jianshe uou zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi shiye quanmian tuixiang ershiyishiji (1997年9月12日) Jiang Zemin Speech at the Fifteenth party Congress,” Held high the banner of Deng Xiaoping and usher into 21<sup>st</sup> century with the mission of establishing Socialism with Chinese characteristics. (accessed in Chinese) Cpc.people.com.cn access on 31/3/2015 at 6:30 pm

path of economic reform charted out in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plenum of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of 1978 of the Communist Party of China.

The Party announced the decision to sell, merge, or close the vast majority of State owned enterprises in a manner that would include some privatization. This decision of the Party towards privatization helped the young entrepreneurs to realize the dream of individual success and gave boost to the participation of youth in the market economy. The sale of state owned enterprises or the mergers also led to the closing of permanent jobs. A large number of workers became group of unemployed creating a new challenge of political instability in China, which the party had to address.

### **Objectives of the Communist Youth League**

The Communist Youth League main objective in this phase was to help and support the Party in its drive to establish Socialist market economy in China. Other objectives were: 实施跨世纪青年文明工程: The Trans-century youth civilization project started in 1993 included the programmes like a. ‘手拉手 , 互助活动, 希望工程, 青年志愿者, 青年文明号 etc. having the prime objectives to help and trained its youth to take the responsibility of the modernizing China in all fronts. These activities started by the CYL was greatly welcomed by the Chinese people. It further reflects the shifting of the CYL objectives from economic development to culture, civilization and protecting youth from the moral and ideological decay caused by the economic reform and opening up in China. It had to do so due the outbreak of the youth protest of 1989. It made the Party to realize that youth if not controlled can be threat to the legitimacy of the Party. The Third Phase also witnessed a shift of the Communist Youth League policies towards voluntary services, which was in conformity with the basic principle and ideology of the Communist Party of China, and also helped in shaping the energy of the youth.

### **Evolution of the CPC Policies and structural changes**

The Party in practice has lessened its interventions in some areas without compromising on the authority of the Communist Party of China. Decentralization of decision making bodies is in continuous progress. Local government bodies are coming out with their individual schemes to attract the investors. Party in principles

doesn't interfere in society and no more seek total adherence or absolute adherence to the Party's principles. Though, the head of any organization or bodies are representatives of the Party.

Party has not only tried to separate itself from the governance, it has also been trying to train its cadres on the line of changing socio-economic dynamics of China. With the entry of Western philosophy and education, there were bound to be some implications on the Party, which Party has been constantly trying to adjust to through the reform of the Party cadres and its affiliated organizations in order to continued rule in China. Party has been continuously evaluating the work assigned to them and its success results.

As the Party lessened its control over the masses, the culture of "guided freedom" of expressions. Such freedom included freedom travel abroad and starts private enterprises; however, both had to follow certain limitations of scope and stipulated regulations. The guided freedom gradually encouraged the contemporary youths to participate proactively in all aspects of Chinese life. It can be argued, that it created a favorable environment for the political participation of the youth as China moved towards the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Factors encouraging Political participation of the Youth:**

The Communist Party of China while bringing economic reform and opening up, it relaxed these freedoms in principle, which helped the youth to participate in the politics and other affairs of China. The change in domestic environment was not only helpful in encouraging the youth to participate but international treaties too played a vital role in assuring the Communist Party boosting active participation by the youth. Some of the factors that played a vital role in enhancing youth participation are the following:

1. 1982 the constitution amendments which abolished the Party's Chairman position along with establishment of other institutions such Central Commissions Discipline Inspection(CCDI), Central Advisory Commission(CAC) in some way assured the Chinese people, especially the youths to have faith in the institutions. It made them to wholeheartedly participate in the politics of China.

2. From Oct1997 to Oct 1998, China government had signed 《经济，社会和文化权利国际公约》和《公民权利和政治权利国际公约》<sup>24</sup> (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and International Convent on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). With the signing of the Covenant, China official in 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress incorporated in its constitutional amendment and clearly stated that 《国家尊重和保障人权》 i.e. China respects human rights. This was a land mark policy shift in the new era. It too became instrumental in reviving the lost faith of the youths in the China's political system.
3. In 30 years of the China Reform and Opening up, with numerous constitutional amendment China guaranteed 人身权利 (Individual Rights), 财产权利 Property Right) 政治权利 (Political Rights) 和其他权利都不断得到具体的保障. These policy adjustment guaranteed Chinese people equality in all sphere, grant of corporal punishment according the laid law in Criminal law code .The later phase of Economic Reform witnessed the Institutionalization of all government organization and bodies. It led to the moving away from the personality cult which was practiced in during the Mao period.
4. Reform in Market laws like bringing of 合同法，民诉法，商标法，专利法著作法，物权法，侵权责任法等一些民事法典，公民的财产权利，债权，知识产权范围广泛的民事权利得到了较为明确，系统的界定，公民和法人作为市场主体进行市场活动的自由的自由空间得到扩展。By bringing, contracts, litigation laws, branding laws, patents etc .In nutshell, law based market regulations, where individuals influence could have played minimal role.
5. Labor law: 通过劳动法，劳动合同法，社会保障法等，保障公民的劳动和社会保障权利。By bringing labor laws, labor contracts, social security law for the labor etc, safeguard citizen labor and social rights.

The guiding ideology of the Party during Mao period was class struggle and the society was distinctly divided along class lines. It was believed that bourgeois class exploited the proletariat to achieve their personal gains. The establishment of PRC

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<sup>24</sup>李梅(Li Mei), Gongminquanlibaozhang he zhengzhi canyu, Zhengzhifazhan lanbishu 公民权利保障和政治参与, 政治发展蓝皮书 Civil rights Protection and Political Participation, Blue Book On Political Development,, 社会科学文献出版社(Social Sciences Academic Press, China,2013,p.227

under the leadership of Communist Party of China was laid on the foundation of anti-bourgeois class (rich and intelligentsia). This class was looked down upon and was always criticized during the Mao period. With the institutionalization of government bodies and declaration that all citizens are equal, the 'bourgeois class' were included in Chinese legal framework. The shift in policy encouraged Chinese youth to actively participate in politics without having fear of getting purged. The grant of individual and property rights led the Youth to work hard in order to better themselves and to pursue their individual aspirations. It can be argued the above mentioned changes helped to create a favorable environment for youth participation; this, in turn, contributed to redefining the political culture of the youth in the changed socio- and creates their own political culture in Changed socio-economic and political environment in China by the end of the 1990s.

### **The New Goals and Objectives of the Communist Youth League of China:**

It was natural that Communist Youth League of China, the link between the Communist Party of China and the Chinese youth, had to play a new role in China's journey into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The new and foremost tasks of the league was to create confidence among the youths about the policies of reform and opening up policies, which could have been regarded as contradiction to the basic principle of the Communist Party of China and official ideology of the PRC. The new policies which put more emphasis on economic development at the cost of compromising the Socialist framework was bound to raise many questions. How can a Communist Party propound the Deng Xiaoping theory of "letting few get richer fast", "No matter the cat is black or white until it catches the mice"? Such questions also included "How it defend the growing regional inequality in China", "how to continue political and ideological education in increasing capitalist mindset", and most importantly the question of legitimacy of the Communist Party of China led regime. Under the circumstances, the Communist Youth League had a great responsibility to shoulder and remain sole creator and protector of the Youth Culture in China.

Communist Youth League was quite aware of the given issues as it started witnessing the change in nature of the Chinese youth in the wake of the implementation of new economic policies. The unbelievable protest movements by the Chinese Youth in the

era of economic reform eventually led Communist Party of China to review their strategy to control the moral decay of the Chinese Youth.

In March 1984, Communist Youth League Central Committee propaganda department came out with a call of creating new youth role models through resolutions such as 《关于向“一山两湖”等英雄群体学习的决定》<sup>25</sup>(Decision of Learning from One Mountain Two lake heroic group) other role models were the Youth Worker Huang Zhisheng (黄志生) who bravely rescued the two drowning Children from the Yingze Lake. Following these role models, the CYL formed many groups in all the major cities of China like Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing and Tianjing. The Propaganda department of the Party also came out with the Political role model “Zhang Haidi (张海迪)”<sup>26</sup>, and the contemporary Chinese Youth were desired to learn from 张海迪女 about her selfless and bold initiatives in serving the people and her contribution in the economic reform drive propagated by the Communist Party of China.

It is well argued that the CPC no longer provides a moral compass for the general population. In the ongoing reform, many unofficial as well as traditional of sources moral authority have emerged in Chinese society. For example, there has been a re-emergence of traditional religions such as Buddhism, Daoism and Christianity. Unlike Mao's China, official political ideology has become increasingly irrelevant as a source for the future direction of the Chinese society at present.

In both the traditional and socialist China, the right and autonomy of individuals have been constantly denied by the state in order to maximize the benefit of the group and the government.<sup>27</sup> In the ongoing reform, it has been noticed that many artistic and intellectual creative works were produced for greater individual self-expression.

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<sup>25</sup> Learning “Mountain Lakes” refers May 1983 PLA Fourth Medical College students formed a rescue group to save the tourist who were stuck in Huashan Mountain.

<sup>26</sup> 张海迪 was born in 1955( Shandong province) and became paraplegic at the age of five. She did not lose hope and continued to study and learnt many foreign languages. In 1983 she was chosen youth model and Chinese youth were asked to learn from her. “学习张海迪，做有理想，有道德，有文化，守纪律的共产主义新人!study Zhang Haidi, to become rational, moral, cultured and law abiding, new communist human being)for more details please see <http://chineseposters.net/themes/zhanghaidi.php> accessed on 4/1/2017 at 12:38pm

<sup>27</sup> Pye, L.W., “The State and the Individual: An overview interpretation.” *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 130, June 1991: pp.442-466

The success of the economic reforms has made Chinese society more complex and fluid. The complexity refers to the structural and attitudinal changes in both rural and urban areas, while the fluidity has to do with the increased mobility between the rural and urban areas as well as between interior and coastal regions.

The increase in social complexity and fluidity as well as the distribution of social - economic power had resulted in problems of social control. Before the reform years, the Chinese Communist Party controlled the country (the government and the society) through various Party and administrative mechanism (e.g., the registration system, the street Committee). In addition to their production function, for example, work units (danwei) also performed many police functions such as disciplining employees convicted of crimes. In both rural and urban areas, Party cadres supervised communes and work units with regard to the control and implementation of the official Party policies and ideologies. The problem of social control occurred during the process of reform because many of the past control mechanism have been removed for the purpose of increasing incentives and productivity.

The Communist Youth League (CYL) had also felt the stress of economic development. In many areas, particularly in the countryside, It had become infected by the economic ambitions of its members and the potential recruits. Chinese authority had sought to revive and reorient the CYL by tying its future to the success of the economic reforms and their beneficiaries. Thus a report from the central CYL secretariat went so far to as to explain that the primary task of rural league branches is to help youth get rich. It can be argued that in the process, the political participation of the Chinese youth has been overshadowed or colored by their desire for economic well being; they have become more grounded to their own personal progress and less influenced by their surroundings or a sense of justice and equity.

The Communist Party of China brought different level of change in its policy but the main agenda of its economic development remained un- altered. It witnessed so many resistances from the various sections within as well as outside the Party. The landmark decision in the Political history of China to include the technocrats as productive force was implemented during Jiang Zemin era. This political acceptance of the intelligentsia and expert paved the way for the modern productive force to

actively participate in the modernization of China as propounded by Deng Xiaoping's "四个现代化". The slow but steady development and policy adjustments became the backbone of the survival of the Communist Party of China in changing global order, where most of the Communist countries were losing its control to the other political forces. Disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 and disintegration of Eastern European Communist Countries did impact the Chinese people in general and Youth in particular, creating confusion about the policies followed by the Communist Party of China. They became more skeptical about the economic reform and raised serious debate among themselves. The Chinese Youth who had already witnessed the trauma of Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution and its chaotic, painful experience were greatly impacted by the strong action taken by the Communist Party leaders in order to curb protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989. However, Deng Xiaoping's southern sojourn which was considered to be significant in favor of continuing economic and other reform in China by the leadership helped in building confidence among the foreign and domestic's investors. The economic growth of the China which had undergone some slump due to the break of Tiananmen incidence came back on the right track as data illustrated in Chapter-III. Furthermore, the Party started urging the youths to get united in the drive to make their country achieve the status of developed country. The Communist Party gradually tried to channelize the attention of the youths from Class struggle to "Nationalism". Communist Youth League new objectives were meant to take care about the social welfare of the Chinese Youth and engage them in volunteer services that can promote confidence in the ideological, political and economic goals of Communist Party of China.



*Chapter Four*

**Political Participation of the Chinese Youth in  
Market Economy and the Relevance of CYL**

The Concept of Socialist Market Economy came after the Deng Xiaoping historic visit to south China “南巡”<sup>1</sup> in 1992. This visit was very significant for China as well as for the international investors as it followed period of uncertainty in the wake of students’ protest and crackdown in 1989.

In the effect, the Third phase of China’s economic reform started from the 1992 in the midst of various speculations on continuity of China’s Open-door Policy. These speculations were expected as China had witnessed one of the largest youth Movement after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 known to be a turning point in Chinese history. Though the events culminating to June,4,1989 shook up China and attracted worldwide attention, the nature of the students protest of 1989 was completely different from 1919. While the events of 1919 resulted into the establishment of the Communist Party of China, the outbreak of protest and mode of resolution of 1989 generated debate on the continued existence of the CPC.

It was in this political backdrop that the third phase of Economic reform ushered in the Socialist Market Economy. It not only generated faith in the foreign investors but also brought hope in the domestic market. The Party, to some extent rectified its earlier policy of letting economy of China flourish at the cost of politics. This phase witnessed the institutionalization of various work units. The important policies and economic Changes that took place in third phase of economic reform were;

1. Introduction of Socialist market economy.
2. Further decentralizing of the Central planning,
3. Emergence and consolidation of the private sectors in China
4. Industrial reform (Marketization of SOEs). More incentive and more legislation to foreign investment

The Chinese economy before the introduction of the ‘Socialist market economy’ was governed by the State and the Party, not by the rule of law. The minor changes which had great impact on Chinese Economic growth were that of giving more power to the managers to take decision and decide on the workers performance and production of

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<sup>1</sup> Deng Xiaoping took Tour of South China and delivered many talk which later came to know as Deng Xiaoping’s Southern Sojourn 《南巡》. During this tour from Jan18-feb21, 1992, Deng Xiaoping visited WuChang, Shenzhen and Zhuhai and Shanghai. During his visit the speech delivered by him focused on Economic Reform and Opening-up.

the unit. Even the TVE's (Town and Village Enterprises) were also not the private entities and strictly controlled by the state and the Party.<sup>2</sup>

The Socialist Market Economy phase witnessed complete abolition of the Planning system and allowed the private players to have their 'Say' in the market without initiating any political reform in China. This was unlike the other communist countries of the past such as Soviet Union and eastern European countries where transition to market began only after the Political Democratization.<sup>3</sup> It reflects the initiatives of the Party in strengthening the institutions (Rule of law to govern the government and business relationship) that are responsible for the economic development of China.

The Socialist Market Economy was adopted on the basic line of the speeches delivered by Deng Xiaoping speeches during his southern sojourn. Jiang Zemin the Party's General Secretary came out with his own opinion on the concept of socialist market economy in China. There were many brainstorming sessions carried out in the form of seminars and conferences. In September, World watch Institute China watch<sup>4</sup> and the Economic daily held a joint "Market Economy Forum". Deputy Director of the SCER and the director of the World watch institute China Watch Tong Dalin came out with his own concept of "Market economy":

The Market economy is an advanced stage of the commodity economy, marked by firstly the expansion of commodity concepts and connotations, and then later the formation of a wide range of market systems. A modern market economy is actually a worldwide economy. To call a commodity economy or market economy socialist, and so call them a socialist commodity economy or a socialist market economy, does not indicate the existence of a dispute on whether the market is "socialist" or "capitalist". Instead, it aims to demonstrate that fundamental socialist systems should be able to integrate with the commodity economy and the market economy. Because of this, the

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<sup>2</sup> Yingyi Qian and Jinliang Wu "China's Transition to a Market Economy: How Far across the River?" *Working Paper* No.69, Centre For Research On Economic Development and Policy Reform, Stanford University, September 2000

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> World watch Institute China watch: A joint initiative of the Worldwatch Institute and Beijing-based Global Environmental Institute (GEI), China Watch reports on energy, agriculture, population, water, health, and the environment in China—with an emphasis on big-picture analysis relevant to policy makers, the business community, and non-governmental organizations Cited from the official website <http://www.worldwatch.org/taxonomy/term/53> accessed on 15/1/17 at 6:48 pm

socialist market economy can also be called a market economy under the socialist conditions, or socialism under market conditions, instead of socialism with a planned economy.<sup>5</sup>

Later on, 《实华报告》 “Shihua Report”<sup>6</sup> designed a basic framework for the new system of the socialist market economy.

1. To establish a new pattern of ownership led by socialist public ownership and involving the co-existence of diversified economic sectors for long term and joint development competing on equal basis
2. To establish a modern corporate system that meets the requirements of the market economy
3. To establish a market system that involved a unified, open, competitive yet orderly commodity market and production factors’ market.
4. To establish a macroeconomic regulation and control system based on indirect regulation and control.
5. To establish an income distribution system that reflected the dominance of distribution according to work and the co-existence of diversified forms of distribution, and a centralized and perfect social security system.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, Jiang Zemin in his 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of 1992, added:

The socialist market economy to be established aims at enabling the market to play a fundamental role in allocating resources under state macro-control and to make economic activities follow the law of value and adapt to the supply/demand relations; to allocate resources to perform better through linking the effects of price leverage and the competitive mechanism, exerting pressure on as well as driving enterprises to achieve survival of the fittest; and making use of market ‘s advantage of being

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<sup>5</sup> 《经济日报》 *Economy Daily*, September 22, 1992, Translation taken from Li Tieying ed. “Reforming China” *Enrich series on China’s Economic reform Vol.4*, Enrich professional publishing, Singapore, 2011

<sup>6</sup> 《实华报告》 is report of the seminar held in the Shihua Hotel of Beijing to study the overall framework of the socialist market economy. The seminar was organized on the instruction of Chen Jinhua (Chairman of the State Commission on Economic Structure Reform and also served as Chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1990s) and attended by more than ten experts. It completed its report on October 5, 1992. The report got its name from the name of the hotel.

<sup>7</sup> Li Tieying ed. “Reforming China” *Enrich Series on China’s Economic Reform Vol.4*, Singapore, Enrich professional publishing, , 2011 p.22

sensitive to various economic signals to promote timely supply/demand coordination. In the meantime, it should be understood that the market has its own weaknesses and negative points, so we must strengthen and improve state macro control over the economy”.<sup>8</sup>

In the first five years since 1994, China attempted several radical reforms according to the November 1993 decision<sup>9</sup>. The major ones include:

- i. unification of exchange rates and convertibility under the current account;
- ii. the overhaul of the tax and fiscal systems with the separation of national and local tax administrations;
- iii. Reorganization of the central bank, including establishing cross-province (i.e., regional) central bank branches.
- iv. China also started to privatize small-scale state-owned enterprises (SOEs), to lay off excess state employees, and to establish a social safety net.<sup>10</sup>

The overall changes in policies and concept of reform indeed provided a free platform for the market players to perform their duties and contribute in the economic growth of China. However, there is a clear indication that the control of the market rests totally in the hand of the government. The Party categorically stated that as long as the political power rest in the hand of the Party, no one or no force can sabotage the legitimacy of the Party in near future. This was especially in reference to the threat that threat emerged during the outbreak of the Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989. The pre-Tiananmen Square Incident witnessed relaxation of the political powers for the sake of economic growth i.e. economy gaining importance over the politics in China. However in the period after the Tiananmen Square Incident also saw the freedom of market but under State macro-control over the economy. There is no doubt, that the following Tiananmen square incidence, it became very clear in the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid p.28

<sup>9</sup> The November 1993 decision is a historic document because it represents a strategic shift in the course of China's reforms. For the first time and in essence, it decided to abolish the planning system altogether and set the goal of reform to be the establishment of a modern market system and eventually to incorporate international institutions recognized as "best practices. Cited in Yingyi Qian and Jinliang Wu "China's Transition to a Market Economy: How Far across the River?" *Working Paper No.69 ,Centre For Research On Economic Development and Policy Reform*, Stanford University, September 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Yingyi Qian and Jinliang Wu "China's Transition to a Market Economy: How Far across the River?" *Working Paper No.69 ,Centre For Research On Economic Development and Policy Reform*, Stanford University, September 2000

minds of the Chinese people and especially among the youth that State will continue to be in control and challenges to the authority of the state will be dealt with decisively. In this context, it would be important to see what was the trajectory of political participation of the Chinese youth and relevance of CYL.

After 1992, China's transition from Commodity economy to Socialist Market Economy witnessed further decentralization of central planning. It saw the emergence of the private sector which gradually gained more importance over the State owned enterprises. More institutionalization and lucrative incentives and legislations were offered in order to attract and strengthen confidence among the foreign investors. The reasons of proposing various market reforms were also linked with the outbreak of Youth movement in June 4, 1989 at Tiananmen Square, which had jolted the confidence of the foreign enterprises about the prospects of Economic Reform .In order to re-assure the foreign investors, Deng Xiaoping undertook the 'Southern sojourn (《邓小平南巡》)。 He came out the special economic zone and chosen Shenzhen. This Southern Sojourn indeed brought great confidence among the foreign and domestic enterprises.

During his <<南巡>> Deng Xiaoping proposed various directives such as; 1.三个利于<sup>11</sup> (three favorable), through which he answered the doubt of people (i.e. whether the road is capitalist or socialist) about the path taken by China. He said that only criteria of making a judgment about the Party's move should be on the parameters of economic growth. If it promotes the growth of the productive forces in the socialist society, increases the overall strength of the socialist state and raises living standards, then it is good. On the question of 'stock market being socialist or capitalist' he said that both can use the stock market. Stock market is not the sole property of the

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<sup>11</sup> “三个有利于”标准】邓小平在 1992 年南方谈话中根据马克思主义基本原理和我国革命、建设和改革的实践经验，对如何判断社会主义社会中的各项工作是否正确提出的科学标准。具体内容是看“是否有利于发展社会主义社会的生产力，是否有利于增强社会主义国家的综合国力，是否有利于提高人民的生活水平”。 In“三个利于标准”党史百科，中国共产党新闻 (in Chinese) (“Three favorable” is based on the Deng Xiaoping speech during his southern sojourn. It is based on the basic principle of Marxism and Chinese revolution's practical experience and it understand whether or not, the different aspect of socialism have scientific standard. Whether or not would benefit socialist productive forces or joint productive forces of the country and would help in the development of the standard of living of the masses.)(English translation is done by the scholar)  
<http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/165617/173273/10415391.html> accessed on 4/4/16 at 5:45 pm

capitalist .He also reminded the people about the principle of 一个中心两个基本点<sup>12</sup> (One central task and two basic points) and urged the Party to adhere to the principle for hundred years.

Jiang Zemin, on June 9, 1992, while delivering an important speech at the Central Party School laid emphasis on carrying forward the Deng Xiaoping Spirit of economic reform and also pointed out that one should learning from the experiences of the other cultures including the developed capitalist culture.

1992年6月9日，江泽民总书记在中央党校发表重要讲话指出，现在从中央到地方各级党委一个重要任务就是深刻领会全面落实邓小平最近的重要谈话精神，进一步发挥广大干部群众积极性、主动性和创造性，使之成为加快改革开放和经济发展的强大动力。(In an Important speech delivered at the Central Party school Jiang Zemin points out; Now from the center to regional Party's committee has an important task is to serious implement the spirit of Deng Xiaoping 's talk, enhance the broad cadres activism, initiatives and creativity which would become the active driving forces in realizing the implementation of economic reform in China)

江泽民着重阐述九个问题：抓住当前有利时机，加快改革开放和经济建设；改革也是革命也是解放生产力；积极向资本主义国家学习和借鉴有用的东西；加快经济体制改革；推进政治体制改革；坚持“两手抓”的方针；解放思想、实事求是和要警惕右，但主要是防止“左”；加强党的建设和提高党的领导水平；贯彻落实小平同志重要谈话精神的要求等。(Jiang Zemin elaborated on the nine issues: grab the current opportunities, fasten the establishment of the economic construction, reform the productive forces and actively learn the good aspect of capitalism from the capitalist countries, enhance the economic and political structure reform; strengthen the principle of “grabbing with two hands” and liberate ones

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<sup>12</sup> 一个中心两个基本点“一个中心，两个基本点”是党在社会主义初级阶段建设中国特色社会主义的基本路线的主要内容(“One center, two basic points” is the main content of the basic line of the party for the construction of the primary stage in socialism with Chinese characteristics of)。 “一个中心”，即“以经济建设为中心”( One centre is for economic construction as center ; “两个基本点”，即“坚持四项基本原则(adhering to the four cardinal principals, 坚持改革开放” supporting the Economic Reform and opening up)。 In “一个中心两个基本点” 党史百科，中国共产党新闻 (in Chinese) (It is basic line of the establishment of the “Socialism with Chinese characteristics “. (The English translation is done by the Scholar)

<http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/165617/173273/10357183.html> accessed at 5: 52 pm on 4/4/16

thought ion the principle of seeking truth from the facts but most important is to protect the left and raise the standard of the leaders )<sup>13</sup>

Jiang Zemin cited the theory that “任何事物都是共性与个性、整体与部分、一元性与多样性的统一” (Everything has a Whole and has its part, A unified whole is composed of a rich contents) 。<sup>14</sup>“Everything has two sides” legitimized the Party stand of learning from the other Cultures which includes capitalist countries. He urged people to adopt good culture of capitalist countries and vehemently reject the bad elements of it. He also pointed out how China has adapted the market mechanism to economic activities in order to speed up the economic growth of China since the beginning of economic reform and opening up.

The Chinese case, as discussed above is bit different because the socio-economic and political condition is not similar to other western or the Communist countries of the world. The Government’s approach is more domestic in nature and the supremacy of the ‘Party ideology’ is very prominent. This model is different from the other countries, because they are comfortable in coining their own terminologies for emerging socio-economic models which is different from other existing models of the world, which in turn, made Chinese economy different and special from other economies. Though, it is debatable as there is no unanimity among the scholars of China on issue of terminology. Some of them believed that coining terminologies with the word ‘socialism’ is a strategic move of the Party to make their people believe that China has not deviated from its socialist path. It also give the Party state to follow its own objectives without getting challenged by other academia or its own people per say. Few examples are, ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’, ‘Socialist Market

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<sup>13</sup> 1992年6月9日江泽民在中共中央党校发表重要讲话(June9,1992, Jiang Zemin important speech at Central Party school),中国共产党新闻( News of the Communist Party of China <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64165/82273/82282/5745346.html> accessed on 12/4/16 at 3:44 pm (Translated by the scholar)

<sup>14</sup>江泽民同志在党的十六大报告中指出：“必须坚持马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想和邓小平理论在意识形态领域的指导地位，用‘三个代表’重要思想统领社会主义文化建设(Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out in his report to the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China: "We must uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought , Deng Xiaoping Theory important and thinking of the 'Three Represents' as a guiding principle in ideological and socialist cultural construction ) cited in 黄楠森“马克思主义文化理论在新时期的运用与发展(Huang Nan-sheng." The application of Marxist cultural theory in the period of new Development” cited from <http://web5.pku.edu.cn/dxp/cg35.htm> accessed on 27/1/17 at 8:52pm



economy' etc. Perhaps it also gives the State the legitimacy to follow these objectives without getting challenged by any section of the society.

### **(I) The Changing Nature of Chinese Youth**

Chinese society has undergone great change, since the inception of economic reform and opening up in Mainland China. The Economic reform of China that resulted into relaxation of certain political restrictions raised the hope for economic development in China. China under the leadership of the CPC started making reforms in all sectors/institutions which could be helpful in developing the economy.

One of the major changes that can be seen in the Chinese society is that it is moving away from 'Collectives values' and embracing the 'Individual centric values'. This change has created a broader space for the youth culture and is playing greater role in existing youth issues in China. Yuthology (青年志) an independent research organization has published many reports on the Chinese youth since 2008. According to one of the reports published in Yuthology (2013), there are three components of the Individualization process: aspirations, tensions, and resolutions<sup>15</sup>. Aspirations refer to the state of mind of the individual for which the Post-90s recognize, admire, and thirst- it is a state which many have yet to reach. Tensions refer to the conflicts and contradictions between the aspirations and realities they witness. Resolutions refer to the action and methods taken by the Post 90s to fulfill their aspirations by addressing these tensions.

These have been easily identified in the Youth of China; no matter if they are from 80s or 90s, they all have the desire to achieve individual goal. In order to attain that aspired goal they had to undergo lot of tedious process which could not be even dreamed of in their early phase of life. These processes create tensions among the Youth. Youth is a transition stage from child to adult. During childhood, one is not exposed to the real social world as the parents work as protective shield for their Children. Child has to exert minimal effort to get his demand fulfilled (in particular

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<sup>15</sup> Post-90s-Tiny World, Big Era (Yuthology2013) (青年志) Yuthology is an independent research organization founded in 2008 by the group of Chinese youth published its report in Yuthology. Its prime focus is to do research on the Chinese youth issues by the youth themselves. Its other research publications can be accessed from <http://www.Chinayouthology.com/about> or at the [info@Chinayouthology.com](mailto:info@Chinayouthology.com) having office at 北京东城区鼓楼大街国旺胡同 3 号 (Beijing Dongcheng qu ,Gulou ,Dajie ,guowang hutong ,3)

the generation of 'One Child' parents). When they entered into the real life of struggle, leaving the protected niche of their parents, they realized that the world is different and full of challenges. These challenges need resolution and the Youth had to participate in various forms to bring the resolution of their tensions.

The adoption of Economic reform and Opening up of China gradually brought changes in around structural reform of the Market in China. As a result of the Market reform, there emerged a plurality of culture amongst the Youth. Though the Chinese youth share common characteristic, they are not a homogeneous group. Rural/Urban origins , different family backgrounds, and other social factors generates heterogeneous outlook just as in any other society, and the wide age range among this group as defined officially , suggests that their orientations may be even more diverse than the youth in other part of the world.

The Youth before 1978 were more oriented towards the austerity, self-sacrifices and simple living .Maoism relied mostly on ideological motivation and denounced material incentives. Maoism had denounced and criticized material incentives, entrepreneurship, and individualism.

The Post-Mao reform came to propagate another model, which did not criticize the socialist model of the Mao Zedong, but, agreed on certain market policies, which can inspire the youth to participate in the mission of the Party, i.e., for achieving economic capability like the developed Countries. Moreover, an innovative use of "Nationalism" in the Post Mao period encouraged the Chinese Youth to give their full hearted support to the Party in achieving its objective of 'Economic reform'.

The main areas in which the Chinese youth came forward o to support the policies put forwarded by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of the Deng Xiaoping are the following :

1. Agricultural reform (introduction of production responsibility system, incentives of individual household level),
2. Industrial reform (open door policy for foreign investment, trade, and technology;
3. Gradual change in ownership from State to non-state.

4. Public finance reform decentralization and diversification.
5. Enterprise reform: separation of Party & enterprise affairs, changes in management and incentive.<sup>16</sup>

These major changes with the incorporation of incentives for good work became instrumental in generating hope among the youth for better job opportunity and freedom to choose one. These job opportunities and hope of improvement of their living standard helped Chinese Communist Party to channelize youth force for the sole motive of economic reform.

It has been observed in history that at any given point of time that the youth are often affected deeply by any policy changes. Chinese society was not an exception. With the advance in economic reform, there was great change in the Chinese society. The social fabric and social relations were greatly impacted which resulted into changes in behavior, attitudes and cultural characteristics of the Chinese youth.

The children born in the late 1970s and early 1980s were called ‘Little Emperors’. Maturing into youth by mid and late 1990s, they were considered by the society as egotist, brain-dead, unreliable, materialistic, pragmatic, and sexually permissive and so on. Though these labels stood with other adjectives such as diverse, motivated, creative, rational etc.

The youth that matured after 1980’s were the first beneficiary of the China’s Economic reform and opening up. They were the most pampered generation as they were born in the era of China “One Child policy”. Their demands were often met by parents without any question and they came to be known as ‘Little Emperors who were “养尊处优” (pampered), “有求必应” (responsive). This attitude of the parents made this generation not grounded in real life and made them indifferent to the political and cultural values of China. They were more individualistic and materialistic in nature.

China individualization process is the reverse of what has been the experience in the West. In the modern histories of Europe and North America, the individualization process starts with the definition and guarantee of individual human rights. This

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<sup>16</sup>Record of major events since the third plenary session of the Eleven Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (December 14): 1 & 4. World Bank (1999)

guarantee bestows a sense of security for a person's pursuit of self-worth. This process must also establish and continually improve modern institutions according to the varying demands of people. These modern institutions include democratic politics, market economy, and social securities. In China on the contrary, Economic Reform and Opening door Policy created space for individuals to develop autonomously, thus triggering the individualization process. However, throughout the process, relevant institutional guarantees have been either absent or inadequate. Institutional rights were not readily available conditions, and the values to which youth aspire are neither naturally endowed nor effectively safeguarded. They were, rather, the goal of individualization, which could only be realized upon achievement of individual rights, while realization of values inevitably depended on external conditions such as social strata, gender family, and educational background.

The parents of this generation of youth were not well to guide them on these challenging issues due to fast changing socio-economic environment of China. The Parents lacked experience of present days as the socio-economic condition of China was different in their time.

When the Post-80s generation grew up, during the 90s and early 2000s, what they could have for the material conditions of their families, living standards in cities, their interests and hobbies were all comparatively limited. At the same time, they were aware that their optimism and the individuals' dreams all depended on the bright future of national development. For them the future represented the prospect of improvement of living standards, especially achieving a middle-class way of life with a car and an apartment for family. They could realize their aspirations only through individual efforts and personal ambition.

In this way, the Post-80s built themselves up with the future as their bench mark, and thus made their decision based on this target .The role of the present was not the objective, but the tools to reach the objective, which was in the future. In reviewing stories of the Post-80s, it was clear that most of their stories could be summarized as extrovert struggles. They looked possibilities, strived for social space and resources, dreamt to live a high-quality life, and longed for respect and acknowledgement. The Post-80s often left their hometown and parents in pursuit of career success.

The Transition from Socialist Commodities economy to Socialist Market economy has provided youth with many opportunities in the field of Employment due to the further opening up of China to private investors. The Private investors invested in China and created more jobs for the Youth. The State owned enterprises were opened for the private entrepreneurs. The Chinese market flooded with new products in the forms of costly electronic gadgets, entertainment avenues in form of pubs, night clubs etc. which was not there before. The Chinese billboards were flooded with the new Chinese and Western Pop stars. Lot of special centers appeared in major cities of China which catered to youth. China also witnessed the appearance of various new sports activities in the form of billiards, Golf etc. The new Socialist market provided more choice to the youths to satisfy their individual aspirations. These new avenues for the youth were primarily profit making institutions having sole motives to earn more and more revenues from the youth products. In simple terms, it helped the youth to rejuvenate themselves and provided more to channelize their mental and physical energy. The change was so drastic that it led foreign observer to believe that China has taken the road to Capitalism while retaining the Socialist jargons.

## **(II) Impact of the Socialist Market Economy on the Chinese Youth:**

1. It has greatly impacted the values, thought and attitude of the youth, resulting into diversification towards Utilitarianism, individualism, money worshipping etc ; this has in turn, led difference towards political participation. Influence of Western thoughts practices such as , Hollywood movies, rock music, KFC was evident in the Chinese market creating disillusionment for the youth and thus is, thus, hampering the mental health of the Chinese youth.
2. The Market Economy has created the environment for the “Survival of the fittest phenomenon” where youth are finding it difficult to cope with the challenges of employment, which in turn has dampened the spirit of political participation among the Chinese youth. The statistic shows the total number of unemployed in China 9% is in the age group of 15 to 29 years.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>代小琳 (Dai Xiaolin), 中国青年失业率 9%攀新高 72%失业者为长期失业 Zhongguo qingnian shiyelu 9% pan xingao 72% shiyezhe wei changqi shiye The long term unemployment ratio of the youth has reached to a new height of 72% from 9% [EB/OL] 。  
[http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2005-05/24/content\\_299434.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2005-05/24/content_299434.htm).

It is clear that after Tiananmen Square Incident, especially after the Deng Xiaoping historic “Southern sojourn” of 1992, the economic and social structure underwent rapid change; there emerged new issues with direct relevance for the survival of the youth. The youth could no longer rely on the participation mode/module such as mass protests, gathering and shouting slogans against the government and the Communist Party of China, which they had done after the beginning of the economic reform and opening up in the Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989. It was allowed and tolerated before as they helped the progressive section within the party to push the agenda of economic reform and consolidate power within the Party. But the youth protest of 1989 was seen as challenge to the authority of the party as it pushed for political reform that the Party was not ready to accept. Undoubtedly, the socialist market economy provided multiple choices to release their energy, though it brought miseries for the other section of the people in China. The disinvestment of small or loss making SOEs (抓大放小) created a huge pool of the unemployed of which a large section was of the youth.

At the provincial and municipal levels, the political decentralization resulted in greater freedom of action and lessening of disciplinary control from the central government. The actors of the lower rungs of the ladder were able to work in their own interests. Following the reforms, the fiscal powers of the state were reduced, and the commercialization of the public administration and services was a response to this new situation. The local government set up a lot of agencies which charge fees for formerly free services. The Universities now started to charge for their courses. The schools and private colleges introduced enrolment fees. The hospitals sell their medicine at very high prices.<sup>18</sup> In the health sector too, treatment and services became chargeable, especially for the large population employed in the private sector. It also marked the beginning of total commercialization of all the social institutions of China.

A large section of the employees in the rapidly growing private sector were youth, who were attracted to the lucrative pay package and yet felt insecure without the safety net of the social institutions, which had been withdrawn by the State.

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<sup>18</sup> Rigas Arvantis, Pierre Miege and Zhao wei, “ A Fresh Look at the Development of a Market Economy in China” China Perspectives, in <http://Chinapaperspectives.revues.org/564> downloaded at 1:10pm on 16/2/2016

The socialist Market economy in China has created an environment of mistrust not only among the business community in China but it also has created mistrust among the Chinese society as a whole. It has promoted more and more Individualization of the Chinese society. The collective's values of the Chinese youth were in continuous decline due to the rising cost of living and flooding of utility commodities goods in the Chinese market. Due to increasing economic disparity, social relations were affected leading to the uncertainty and rise in crimes, especially juvenile crimes.

### **(III) Political participation of the Chinese Youth**

The motives of political participation vary from person to person due to different socio-economic, political conditions of the society. In case of China, where it has 'Strong State', it becomes quite interesting to understand the status of Political participation among the most enthusiastic group i.e. Youth. How the Political participation has affected the state –society relation in the period of Socialist Market economy and has impacted the youth? The age of the participants plays a very important role in the decision making on any issues. Since the beginning of economic reform, there is an increased political consciousness among the youth, especially among the University youth who are the most affected group as they enter the job market after their graduation from the university. They enter into world of challenges and have to look for their source of survival. Therefore, changes in the government policies directly affect the youth; who need to understand the challenges in the socio-economic context by exercising their political understanding of the situation. In other words, political consciousness needs to be translated into political participation so as to be able to resolve concrete issues of life. With the introduction of the Socialist market Economy, multi-dimensional mode of participation emerged in China. In this section an attempt will be made to look into the changes in mode and objectives of political participation of youth since the introduction of the Socialist Market economy in China.

#### **(IV) Mode and Objectives of Youth Participation:**

The most prevalent mode of political participation in the present day world is through voting and is practiced in most of the democracies across the world. However, this cannot be the sole medium of political participation. Other mode of political participation depends on the socio economic and political environment of the country. Political participation also varies from planned economy, market economy on the basis of given political system of the country concerned. The essence of the political participation in China in the period of economic reform and Socialist Market economy is the following;

- a) Youth in the post- Mao era were largely the product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which had left them numb and indecisive about their role. Economic Reform and enlarging of space for and role of youth that followed during the early years of the Reform reignited the interest of the youth in political participation
- b) The Market economy has changed the motives of participation and it can be argued that individual aspiration came to be the sole driving force for youth to actively participate in social and political activities in contemporary China. The problems that evolved into core issues for the youth were 1.Housing 2.Employment 3.Health Care. In other words, materialistic concern were the motives of their participation.
- c) The contemporary Youth are more mature than their predecessor. The 1999 bombing of its embassy in Yugoslavia did angered the Chinese youth but they didn't react aggressively and in the recent times, the Chinese youth followed the principle of “有理，有利，，有节” (reasoning, advantage, segmented which they applied to all issues including international issues. For instance, their response to the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia (1999) or opposing America's goods and chains such as KFC etc were not aggressive. It reflects their Nationalistic approach but at the same time is indicative of their maturity and understanding of political environment of China. The zeal of participation was very strong but may not have been culminating into strong action.



d) The youth are both conscious and pragmatic about the effectiveness of their political participation and therefore are selective in their response to specific issues. For instance, during the selection procedure of the delegate representative for the Party Congress, neither do they use their right of selection, nor do they question selection procedure. They are aware does not hold any ground in reality in China. On the other hand, when it comes to corruption, they oppose it strongly, but when it's come to them, they to want to wash their hand in it “有权不用，过期作废”<sup>19</sup>。

The China Youth daily《中国青年报》 conducted a survey in 2006 on, “你想参政议政吗” (Do you like to participate in politics? ) Result was the following: 67.3% of university student and 53.8% of middle school students replied in the affirmative.. This reflects the urge of political participation amongst the youth is very strong and they have strong desire to participate in political affairs<sup>20</sup>.

Understanding and studying the concept of class, ruling Party, nation, and the domestic as well foreign policy is the foundation of youth political participation. This knowledge help them to analyse and form their own perspective. It can also be regarded as the first step towards political participation. Not only there are changes in the objectives of the political participation in the socialist market economy phase, this phase also witnessing a diversification of the mode of participation in China. To list few:

A. Membership of Political organization: Membership of any political organization is one of like Communist Party of China is one of the fundamental modes of participation; its objective is to interact with the masses and play an important role to influence the certain policies of the government having a bearing on youth.

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<sup>19</sup> “有权不用，过期作废”“26 岁现象”，就是指那些工作没几年，年龄在 30 岁以内的年轻人，利用自己工作所拥有的权力谋取利益的现象（ It's a new phenomenon where youth of below 26 years or above 30 years believe that if one has power , he should use it for his benefit ,otherwise one its gone , it will be of no use）。 Cited from <http://www.52qj.com/0/90/7565.html> accessed on 28/1/17 at 12:45pm

<sup>20</sup> 李玲，“当代青年政治参与问题探析” *四川文理学院报（社会科学）* 第 17 卷第 1 期，2007 年 1 月 (Li Ling , “Analyzing Political Participation issue of Contemporary Youth” *Journal of Sichuan liberal art college(social sciences)* Vol.17,1 ,January 2007.

As per the 2004 statistic of the Communist Party of China, total membership was 69.603million, among them 15.80 million were below the age of 35 years which about 25% of the total membership of the Party<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, there is constant increase in the Party membership. There is also an increase in the membership of the Communist Youth League.

**Data of the membership of the Communist Youth League of China during Economic reform from its inception<sup>22</sup>:**

团历年统计数字汇总(statistics)			
年份(year)	团员数(万) numbers of cadres (10000)	基层团委 (万个) Grassroot organization (10000)	基层团支部数 (万个) Grassroot branch committees (10000)
2008	7858.8	17.2	242.5
年份(year)	团员数(万) numbers of cadres(10000)	团干部数(万名) Cadres(10000)	基层团支部数 (万个) Grassroot branch committees(10000)
2007	7543.9	19.1	294.6
2006	7349.6	19.3	298.5
2005	7214.6	19.1	290.8
2004	7188.4	19.1	298.6
2003	7106.9	18.1	298.7
2002	6985.9	18.3	315.7
2001	6841	18.1	299.8
2000	6805.1	18.1	304
1999	6803.0	18.6971	254.9
1998	6871.0	20.8876	264.2
1997	6854.0	21.3695	276.6
1996	6556.0	21.4960	271.2

<sup>21</sup> 中国青少年发展状况 -----统计数据 分析报告 (2005) 中国青年研究, 2001 (1)  
(Statistical data analysis report on status of China's youth development ----- (2005) *China Youth Research*, 2001(1))

<sup>22</sup> Data taken from 团史展览馆 (League Historical Archive), [http://www.gqt.org.cn/695/gqt\\_tuanshi/gqt\\_ghlc/tdjs/](http://www.gqt.org.cn/695/gqt_tuanshi/gqt_ghlc/tdjs/) accessed at 5:22pm on 15/6/16

1995	6376.0	21.3891	274.7
1994	6180.0	21.5612	264.8
1993	5800.0	21.0593	263.9
1992	5680.0	22.7546	/
1991	5648.0	23.5235	258.1
1990	5535.0	22.0571	260.8
1989	5603.9	20.9	293.4
1988	5796	20.8	293.6
1987	6007.0	22.5308	249.0
1986	5637.0	22.9692	247.7
1985	5182.0	22.0511	239.5
1984	4994	21.3	259.6
1982	4660.2	20.1	227.8
1981	4695.0	18.4716	226.5
1980	4774.0	16.8034	227.3
1979	4837	16.2	222.9
1978	4854.0	15.0200	212.7

- B. Direct participation in political activities: This refers to direct voluntary participation spirit through public election, revolt and other kind of channels. This is meant show their resentment. All these channel of participation was meant to be in consonance. For instance, Village level election, where people directly cast their vote to elect Local People Congresses.
- C. Taking up important posts like becoming Civil servants by taking civil services Examination and becoming the part of any government body, where they can participate in the decision making or policy formation of the government. It is evident from the news by All China Youth federation News reported in 2009, that the number of youth taking the civil services examination had risen to 30% suggesting that the youth had no confidence in

the industrial sector's ability to employ them. A total of one million youth took the examination on Sunday against 700,000 in 2008.<sup>23</sup>

D. The rich young entrepreneurs are forming lobbies or guilds to influence the government on certain policies which can directly benefit the business. After the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989 China's agenda of Economic Reform and Open-door policy continued but with restrictions on mode of political participation. There came three challenges in front of the youth. Those are;

1. Managing life amidst rapid urbanization.
2. Employment choices amidst economic uncertainty
3. Self-discovery amidst increasing professional demands.

These three issues were very important for youth as they had to, on one hand, start their family, and on other, progress in their professional life. To address these issues, there needed policies changes in favor of them, which prompted the youth to look for alternatives of the conventional mode of political participation. The market economy has produced many young entrepreneurs (Billionaires) such as Yu Minhong (俞敏洪)<sup>24</sup>, founder of the New Oriental Education and Technology Group, Ma Yun(马云)<sup>25</sup> the founder and chairman of Alibaba Group and other billionaires and millionaires who formed a lobby to influence the policies of the government in their favor. The dominance and contribution of youth entrepreneurs forced the Communist Party of China to bring amendments in the constitution and include technocrats and entrepreneurs as the modern productive forces in the 1990s.

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<sup>23</sup> "Safety first: China youth rush to grab govt jobs" from All China Youth Federation News, December 25, 2009 [http://www.acyf.org.cn/2009-12/25/content\\_3315284.htm](http://www.acyf.org.cn/2009-12/25/content_3315284.htm) accessed on 28/1/17 at 3:23pm

<sup>24</sup> 俞敏洪(Yu Minhong); born 15 October 1962 in Jiangyin, Jiangsu is the founder and current CEO of New Oriental Education & Technology Group Inc. 新东方教育科技集团), and a member of the central committee of China Democratic League. As the owner of one of the largest private educational services, Yu is known as the "richest teacher in China", and "Godfather of English Training".[1] On Hurun Report's China Rich List 2013, he had an estimated wealth \$1.1 billion and was ranked No. 245 on the list.

<sup>25</sup> 马云(Ma Yun); born September 10, 1964) is a Chinese business magnate and philanthropist. He is the founder and executive chairman of Alibaba Group, a family of successful Internet-based businesses. He is the first mainland Chinese entrepreneur to appear on the cover of Forbes. As of November 2014, he is the richest man in China (Hong Kong not included) and 18th richest person in the world, with an estimated net worth of \$24.1 billion, according to Forbes. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack\\_Ma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack_Ma) downloaded at 4:39pm on 11/1/16

The scope of youth participation is getting broader day by day. The most important issue is corruption within the Party, corruption in Judiciary, Political system reform, economic structural reform etc. But nowadays, the youth are not only restricting themselves to the internal political changes directly affecting their rights but they are also closely monitoring the other political development in the globalized world. Such issues of their concern are international issue like America growing political might, post war Iraq reconstruction, terrorism problem, “bird flu” and so on. The advancement of technology has facilitated the active participation of the Chinese youth. Apart from the conventional sources of information like newspapers and television, they are also using the internet source to get first hand news and information’s.

It is a fact that the youth participation in other areas are increasing at good speed, however, there is gradual decline in conventional political participation prevalent in the Mao Period and immediately after the Cultural Revolution. The reasons for the decline of youth enthusiasm in political participation could have been many; however, the main reasons to me as it appears are the following:

1. Youth have not always fully understood the Party’s line and policies since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee, and therefore lacks a firm political stand and convictions. Though the literacy rate of China is very high, but there were fewer takers of subjects like history, ideology and Marxism-Leninism theory class. There had been tremendous increase in the options in choosing courses in college as well as school level. Youth with the prime aim to go abroad prefer more international courses, which can offer those foreign visits and study? As the ‘Economy ‘has taken over the politics in China, the mood of Youth too have shifted from Politics to economy.
2. Youth are unable to adjust fully to a complete social environment, and lack a scientific way of thinking. Reform and open policy have Undoubtly added vigor to China’s economic development. However, it has broadened the complexity of China’s social environment. The overlapping of old and new social structures, problems which have appeared in the course of reform, as well as the influx of western ideas and culture, together have posed a challenge to the youth. Youth failed to measure up in face of these challenges.

Their ideological level was not satisfactory, and they adapted very badly. One very important reason was that their manner of thinking was not scientific. In their dealing with some questions, they had the following common features: they stressed the present and lighted the past to seek innovation and neglect heritage; in a lopsided effort, they tried to be different and discard common ground; and they were prone to make subjective rationalization and disregard objective reality.

3. Academic institutions and academic curriculum had played a major role in forming different understanding among the Chinese students in particular and youth in general, For Instance, Some schools divide science and engineering majors and art and literature majors very early. Most science and engineering majors know little about history and culture, politics and economics. The educational structure is not favorable for strengthening love for the motherland, the people, socialism, and the Communist Party either in rational or emotional way. Growing up in the new society without any experience of the old one, and living in a new social environment has created much confusion in thinking, To promote superior academic performance primary and secondary schools seldom ask students participate in social activities or educate them in ideology and moral and ethical values system. Ordinary standards of civilized behavior, such as politeness and civility, discipline, and care of public property, should be matured in students during primary and secondary school, but are often left to be studied as “repeat course” in college and universities.
4. Although the present proportion of Youth League members among new recruits to college is as high as 90percent, their political awareness on the whole is poor. According to documented data, many high school graduates were admitted into Youth League just before the college examination, often just on the strength of teacher’s recommendations; some of them did not even have the time to read the Youth League constitution.<sup>26</sup> Mao Zedong Thought was the guiding ideology of Mao era when Chinese people, including the youth, were expected to adhere to this guiding ideology. With the demise of Mao Zedong, there appeared a lot of new guidelines, which was rather

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<sup>26</sup> Yang JingYun, Li GongYi, et al, “Exploring the question of College students’ Road of Growth”, *Chinese Education*, Vol.23.No.1 spring1990.

difficult for grass root cadres to understand; it failed to motivate young cadres towards the adequately to adapt to the new realities and challenges of fast changing social milieu.

5. The duality of the Party's perspective in Deng's China, i.e. "anti-right in Politics and anti-left in economy" had also puzzled Party's ideology instructors who could not always convince the young cadres to adjust to this theoretical mismatched.<sup>27</sup> The hope and romanticism of the young minds in 50s, 60s came to be affected by the complexity of socio economic reality of the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, exposure to the outside world brought the young minds face to face with numerous questions that could not be explained by using conventional framework.

#### **(V) Factors Impacting Political participation of Youth**

Following the harsh crackdown on political protest and autonomous organization in the spring of 1989, the expression of alternative political views was silenced in China as virtually all prominent dissidents were jailed, exiled, put under surveillance or hiding. Not until 1992 did the political atmosphere begin to soften. The first clear sign of a renewed loosening was Deng Xiaoping's famous "southern tour" of January-February 1992. Travelling to Guangdong province and Shanghai, Deng called for rapid economic liberalization and Opening to the outside world, praising the market reforms and economic development of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone. Shortly thereafter, US representative travelled to China to discuss China's entry into GATT, and International Olympic Committee official arrived to investigate whether or not they could hold the year the summer 2000 Olympic in Beijing. In an effort to strengthened China's prospect on both accounts, the regime granted an early parole to student's activists of 1989, such as Wang Dan and Guo Haifeng. As the final Olympic committee vote approached in September, veteran activists Wang Xizhe, Wei Jingsheng, Xu Wenli and Wang Juntao, all of whom had been imprisoned since the early 1980s, were freed as well<sup>28</sup>. This liberal attitude of the Communist Party of

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<sup>27</sup> Xue-liang Ding, "Disparity between idealistic and instrumental Chinese reforms" *Asian Survey*, Vol.28(II), November 1988, P.824

<sup>28</sup> Teresa Wright, "The China Democracy Party and the Politics of the Protest in the 1980s-1990s" *China Quarterly*, Vol.172, December 2002, p.907

China reflects the relaxing of China laws for further development of China's economy. However, the Chinese authorities continued to monitor the dissidents.

The first sign of the political softening occurred in March 1997, when the national People's Congress amended the Criminal Law in such a manner that political crimes of "counter-revolution" would be repealed; they were replaced by a less political designation of the offences regarding "national security". Next, in September 1997, the 15<sup>th</sup> Party Congress stressed the need to govern the country by law, and for the first time mentioned about the human rights. In October, Chinese leaders signed the UN Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and informed that after years of hesitation, they would soon sign the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well. The following month, Wei Jingsheng was released on medical parole and exiled to the United States. In March 1998, Foreign minister Qian Qichen formally announced that the regime has indeed decided to sign the covenant Convent on Civil and Political Rights<sup>29</sup>.

Taking the advantage of the relaxation in law by the Communist Party of China and China entering in to the diplomatic world, the dissidents of the 1989 formed their own organizations such as ; China Human Rights Watch' in Beijing<sup>30</sup> , China Human Rights News<sup>31</sup>, Citizen Forum<sup>32</sup>, Labor Watch ,Peasants Watch, Religion Watch and Law Relief Watch Hotline etc.

The implementation of the Market economy and the insufficient human resource led Deng Xiaoping to invite the overseas Chinese student to return to China. He created an environment conducive for the people to return. During his southern trip in January 1992, he said that the government no longer cared what overseas students' political attitudes had been at the time of Tiananmen; he said, "They can all come back, after

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid,p.908

<sup>30</sup> Xu Wenli, "Petition to establish , "China Human rights watch", printed in CHINA spring,No.177, April 1998,p.31 cited in<sup>30</sup> Teresa Wright," The China Democracy Party and the Politics of the Protest in the 1980s-1990s" *China Quarterly* ,Vol.172,December 2002,p.907

<sup>31</sup> Jan van der Made, Nipped in the Bud: The suppression of the CDP, New York time; *Human Right Watch*,200,pp.5-6

<sup>32</sup> Qin Yongmin, "Petition to publish people's periodical, "Citizen Forum", printed in *China Spring*.No.175(April 1998,p.32



they return things will be well arranged. This policy cannot be changed.”<sup>33</sup> Unlike before 1992, when returnees were compelled to return to their original units, they now had much greater mobility and flexibility in choosing their work units. In March 1992, the Ministry of Personnel announced that family members could move to the cities where the returnees had found the job.<sup>34</sup> And, on, 14 August 1992, a State Council notification announced new policies on passport and, most importantly, allowed returnee scholars to decide where they wanted to work.<sup>35</sup>

At the 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Jiang Zemin stated that “China Warmly welcomed people who are studying overseas to use various ways to express concern, support and to participated in the motherland modernization”.<sup>36</sup> The Third Plenum of the 14<sup>th</sup> Party congress in 1993 put out a 12 Character slogan to direct overseas study “ support overseas study, encourage people to return and give people freedom to come and go(来去自由).”<sup>37</sup>

During the early phase of socialist market economy, Communist Party of China came out with various liberal policies to attract the overseas Chinese talent. In order to promote world class technical education, The Party started providing preferential treatment to the foreign PhD’s, which became the bone of as it led to protest and anguish among the young scholar trained within the country.

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<sup>33</sup>叫郭正 (Jiao Guozheng) ,”碰破发展的出国留学工作”(Flourishing development of the work of sending out overseas students”), 中国高等教育 9Higher education in China, Beijing),No.12(1998), pp.6-8 in Higher Education in China, research materials from people’s University,no.2,1999,p.72

<sup>34</sup> “China to Improve Service for Returned Students,” Xinhua General News Service, March13, 1992.

<sup>35</sup> “关于在外留学人员有关问题的通知”, (Notification on related questions concerning scholars overseas”), cited in David Zweig, Chen Changgui and Stanley Rosen, “Globalization and Transnational Human capital: Overseas and Returnee scholar to China\*” *The China quarterly*,Vol.179,September 2004,p.739

<sup>36</sup> For details please see October 12,1992 江泽民 Jiang Zemin 在中国共产党的十四次全国代表大会上的报告<<加快改革开放和现代化建设步伐夺取有中国特色社会主义事业的更大胜利》 zai zhongguo gongchandang de (Jiang Zemin speech at the fourteenth party congress<<Deepening of reform and modernization will bring great advantage in task of establishing socialism with Chinese Characteristics>> Zhonggup gongchandang lici quanguaodaibiaodahuishujuku 中国共产党历次全国代表大会数据库 (Data base of all previous Congress of the Party congress)<http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/64567/65446/4526308.html> accessed at 5:15pm on 15/4/16

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

## (VI) Emergence of other Youth Organizations; Focus, Objectives and Work

While there is no doubt about the supremacy of the Communist Party of China, there existed various factions within the Party. These Factions had their own motives and strategies for further future development of China future. The most prominent are the 'Princelings' 'CYL' and 'Qing Hua' factions. Communist Youth League has diverse power that extends beyond the organization itself. In collaboration with the Party, it exercises leadership over the All-China Youth Federation, All China Students Federation and Young Pioneers of China<sup>38</sup>. The presence of factions in the Party, itself reflects the unofficial existence of interest groups that could actively participate in the contemporary politics of China. Earlier, the one and only mode of political participation of the youth was through Communist Youth League. The Communist Youth League played a link between the Youth and the Communist Party of China. However, there has now emerged an alternative of Communist youth League in form of above mentioned organizations. Under the circumstances, it has become important to understand the relevance of the Communist Youth League in the changing socio-economic milieu of China.

Apart from this elite mode of political participation, there emerged other civil rights organizations like NGOs, GONGOs (government organized NGOs), Self Organized youth organizations (SYOs) and other small and big 'Grass root organizations'<sup>39</sup>. These new organizations that were helping the Chinese youth to convey their demands to the authority are acting as alternative to the Party's affiliated youth organizations i.e. Communist Youth League of China.

Grass Roots Organizations (草根组织) was a term adopted in the late 1990s when China's first group of the Non-Profit Organizations emerged. As mentioned above these 'grass root organizations' were different from the GONGOS as these

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<sup>38</sup> Wu Junfei, "Rise of the Communist Youth League" *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 25, 2006

<sup>39</sup> Under China's official NGO policy, self organized entities, regardless of their missions and forms, are not entitled to receive government funding. The Chinese business sector has not yet become a real resource for the nonprofit sector, let alone for Grassroots organizations. The entire or at least major portion of the grassroots organization's income derived from foreign donations, foundations, or NGOs. Cited in Ma Qiusha, "GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS IN CHINA : DEFINITIONS, CATEGORIES, AND SIGNIFICANCE IN THE EMERGENCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY" INTER ASIA PAPERS, WEB PAGE: <http://www.uab.cat/grup-recerca/interasia>

organizations were autonomous and were not dependent on the government funding to carry out their work. As per the definition of the grass roots organizations, it can be divided into four categories:

- 1) Well-organized associations that represent their member's specific economic or social interests: These organizations were very few in numbers and were privately initiated chamber of commerce. However, they represent the country's most vibrant and increasingly crucial economic force, and their political influence has been growing rapidly. These private chambers of commerce were mostly located in the coastal regions of China. To name a few, they are 中城联盟 (biggest private association in the housing business); the president of the 中城联盟 Hu Baoxin wrote an "open letter" (公开信) and the other Real Estate Tycoon Ren Zhiqiang, the Chair of Real Estate Chambers of Commerce and the CEO of High-profile Beijing real estate company, wrote a "万言书" which became famous as "Ren's ten-thousand-words statement" criticizing the government intervention in the housing market. It had great impact on the government policies. These kinds of the statement and open letter from the private association were a new phenomenon in China and provoked a heated debate among the public over the government's new policy.
- 2) Residents of the large cities have initiated autonomous organizations to support public interests such as the environment, education, human rights, public health and poverty alleviation. Liang Conjie (retired history professor at Beijing University), founder of Friends of nature, Wan Yanhai founder of a renowned NGO for AIDS education, graduated from the prestigious Fudan University Medical school with an M.D. in Public health, etc
- 3) Informally and loosely organized social/cultural networks based in urban communities and rural villages: vast numbers of the grassroots organizations have emerged in the urban communities and rural villages such as Beijing Opera fan, 拇指民主 (Thumb democracy) etc.
- 4) Students organizations, especially voluntary ones, on university campuses, were mostly confined to the campuses and mostly registered with the university administration. There were huge presence of the youth organization before the Tiananmen Square Incident; post-Tiananmen witnessed a decrease.

It happened mostly due the economic growth and individual aspirations taking over the political ideologies which talks about the collectives values in the era of Socialist market economy.

The voluntary organizations were in rapid increase in China due to the growing economic gap between the rich and poor in the Chinese society in the socialist market economy phase. Yun Hanin in his research has defined the role and meaning of the voluntary organizations and volunteers engaged in China. He further gave the statistics of more than 30 foreign NGOs who have entered and has gained its ground in China through China International Centre for Economic and Technical exchanges and China Association for NGO Cooperation and spread its functioning to almost each and every part of China.<sup>40</sup> These NGO projects are covering agricultural productions, drinking water, income generating activities, integrated community development, medical treatment and sanitation, poverty alleviation, disaster relief and post disaster re-construction, education capability development, training on practical skill, women centered projects and south to south exchanges. The influence of these NGOs can be evident in their work.

1. They promote Socialist ideological and ethical progress as well as social harmony.
2. They meet diversified demand of people and make up for governmental functions.
3. They boost the prosperity of education, science and technology and culture by giving play to the potentials of the talents and meeting the public demand for participating in public administration.
4. Some jobs are provided and employment pressure is relieved effectively.
5. Diplomatic relations are improved through further exchange with the overseas NGOs.<sup>41</sup>

There is no doubt that these NGOs are working to better the life of the Chinese people as a whole but it is also working as alternatives to the government/Party organizations involved in these same areas of social work. Though, these organizations have many

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<sup>40</sup> Yun Han, "Research on Voluntary services in China", *Asian social Science*, Vol.5, No.4, April 2009

<sup>41</sup> Ibid

restrictions/limitations imposed by the Communist Party of China, designated inspection departments.

In 2008, there were more than four hundred thousand registered nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), non-profit making organizations (NPO) or mass organizations in China in which a large percentage were self-organized youth organizations (SYOs). The number of SYOs and their scope of activities have gained great development in past thirty years. The blossoming of the SYOs reflected their significant functions and services in meeting multifarious youth needs and engage young people in interacting with other people, participating in social affairs, and involving in charitable activities. They are regarded as the second home of young people, a social venue for young people to participate in community affairs, and an organized group to voice out and protect the rights and welfare of vulnerable youth. They promote mutual help among young people with similar difficulties or problems, provide non-formal education for children of migrant workers, offer financial assistance to needy students, improve teaching facilities, and provide technical supports, information and services for young people.<sup>42</sup>

These youth organizations which are not directly funded by the State were doing better job as compared to the state funded organizations in serving common masses. These organizations are attracting youth towards them; however, these organizations have their own problems and restrictions. They are not independent to carry out works which were not favoring the Party's lines, such as issues of Human rights, youth discontent towards the economic reform, the real picture of economic disparity that has led youth of lower income group mostly graduates youth to stay together in urban cities. This group has been termed as “蚁族”<sup>43</sup> (Ant Tribe). The

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<sup>42</sup> Peng Ai, An Analysis of the Relationship between the Communist Youth League and Self-organized Youth organizations under organized social Construction system, *China Youth Study*, Beijing august 2010 (Chinese), cited and translation taken from Ngan-Pun Ngai, Sek-Yum Ngai and fang Wei, "Revisiting China's Youth Policy, Forum21[Policy], [http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/China\\_2011\\_Youth\\_Policy\\_Situation\\_Article.pdf](http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/China_2011_Youth_Policy_Situation_Article.pdf) downloaded on 22/12/2015 at 3:19 pm

<sup>43</sup> 蚂蚁族 :并不是一种昆虫族群，而是“80后”一个鲜为人知的庞大群体——“大学毕业生低收入聚居群体”，指的是毕业后无法找到工作或工作收入很低而聚居在城乡结合部的大学生”(Ant tribes are not the groups of ants but the term has been coined for the 80s and 90s youth who had recently graduated from the universities and are in low income group and staying in urban fringe of the cities) “什么是蚂蚁族 <https://www.cq dai.com/cqzx/touzilicai/201512152460.html> accessed on 27/1/17

living conditions of these youths are very bad and there were continuous increase in numbers of ant tribes in China, talk against censorship etc.

The State sponsored youth organizations too had their problems such as:

1. Long term mechanism boosting development of volunteer organizations has not been formed. These voluntary organizations were the byproduct of mass movements.
2. There is no unified and standard management. Due to lack of proper management and coordination, these organizations could not achieve the desired targets and often led to duplication of work and wastage of time and resources.
3. Development of civilian organizations is restricted. The economic reform and opening up had created numerous social issues in general and youth issues in particular. The employment issues as central focus point. Each issue has its own importance and needed special or dedicated organizations to do research on the issues and come out with suggestions which can help the government to formulate certain policies to solve it. Each organization needed to register itself with the government. This was not easy in Chinese political structure, where politics is supreme.
4. Capital shortage has become a principle deterrent restricting development of voluntary services. Due to emergence of numerous issues, all issues cannot be given priorities, therefore, fund allocation to become a problem. In the absence of proper funding, these organizations had to face difficulties in implementation and execution of their projects.
5. Voluntary services lack judicial guarantee. No matter, how well the projects and its functioning were carried out, unless there is judicial recognition, these organizations were not well received among the masses.
6. Low level of social recognition also restricts development of voluntary services. The Chinese people especially the youth were less interested in joining or approaching voluntary organizations that are not recognized or less recognized in China.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Yun Han, "Research on Voluntary services in China", *Asian social Science*, Vol.5, No.4, April 2009

In the Socialist Market Economy phase, the government sponsored youth organizations such as Communist Youth League too have come out with Party's sponsored volunteers and services. Therefore, the international and private organizations too have become some way or other medium of youth participation in China and have compelled the Party's organizations to chart new strategies to counter the emerging NGOs, GONGOs and grassroots organizations in socialist market economy. These organizations are in no way threat to the Communist Youth League of China in near future but it has posed challenges to its existing status of a link organization between the Youth and the Communist Party of China.

Internet has become the most frequently used mode of youth political participation in the recent years. Although, Internet arrived in China only in 1987, however, the post Tiananmen Square period witnessed a rapid increase in the numbers of netizens in China. With strict regulation in physical assembly of the youth, the youth have taken to the social media platform to voice their social concern and contribute in the policy making of China. The likeminded youth have formed social media groups on the web and vigorously discussing on the topics such as politics, leadership and social issues, openly without fear of getting caught by the police or the state machinery. Web-Based Youth Self Organizations such as CAPE, Black Apple Youth, Four Institute facilitates youth in sharing information and helping youth to redefine the social relationship. Black Apple Youth, Four Institute online youth organizations/communities focus on social engagement by youth. They came up with campaigns for a meaningful winter holiday for social good. These organizations provide youth a platform to discuss domestics and foreign issues which had bearing on youth. Chinese internet youth population increases every year. These online communities are also involved in offline activities. As per the Kevin Lee, COO of China Yuthology and creator of genYchina.com, the emergence of new media technologies, youth in China are just receptive and responsive as youth in other countries to global concepts such as participatory culture and sharism.<sup>45</sup> Meet up, Social engagement, Change maker, Open action etc. were some of the online activities carried out by the youth in China. As per the Oliver Ding, the co-founder of the FOUR Institute, the focus of the

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<sup>45</sup> Wang Yuanqian, "In China, Digital Activists are Starting to Meet up in Person" <http://www.theatlantic.com/china/archive/2013/03/in-china-digital-activists-are-starting-to-meet-up-in-person/274248/> accessed on 21/1/17 at 3:23pm

campaign was to create an open platform for encouraging extensive social participation and bringing local change-makers together to make difference.<sup>46</sup>

### **(VII) Importance of Communist Youth League:**

Although there emerged number of youth organizations and youth associations, such as SYOs (self-organized youth organizations), in the era of market economy, these organizations could not cross the popularity and influence of the Communist Youth League of China. Right from Mao era till date, Communist Youth League has continued to enjoy the status of being sole youth work organization that assists in formulating relevant policies and in managing youth affairs.<sup>47</sup> The Communist Youth League of China, thus, has had a profound experience of tackling youth issues in the past and still enjoys the trust of the youth.

With the adoption of the Market reform, it's not the market structure that has changed, on contrary, the reform has brought about decay in moral values of Chinese people, especially the youth.. There had been frequent reports of crimes, snatching, murder and other anti-social activities in China. According to some survey and media data, the people involved in these are mostly youths aged between 15 to 35 years.

It has been observed by many scholars that the development of materialistic values among the Chinese people, rising inequality and ideological and attitudinal changes had great impact on the social structure of the Chinese Society. The rising frustration among those working in the government and the intellectual class of China too had become the cause of concern for the Communist Party of China. Intelligentsia is finding their status even below the street vendors as they believe that the street vendors are earning more than these people.

Unlike the pre- reform era, there was emergence of many traditional, non state sources of moral authority which became an important issue for the Party .The Party has been facing great problem in carrying forward the economic reform as well as keeping its political ideology intact in the Chinese people and specially in the youth .

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<sup>46</sup> ibid

<sup>47</sup> Ngan-Pun Ngai, Sek- Yum Ngai and fang Wei, "Revisiting China's Youth Policy, Forum21[Policy], [http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/China\\_2011\\_Youth\\_Policy\\_Situation\\_Article.pdf](http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/China_2011_Youth_Policy_Situation_Article.pdf) downloaded on 22/12/2015 at 3:19 pm



The concept of 'collectivism' has overtaken by the 'Individualism' in China. There seemed to be a complete mismatch of policy initiatives put forward by the Communist Party of China before and after the beginning of the economic reform, which sent confusing signals to the youth in particular. Corruption within the Party and the government was causing serious problems in society which was losing its ideological and moral compass. Therefore, the Party needed new strategies for control and development.

As has been said by Richard Baum in his concluding remark of one of his article said, "With the Communist Party's reputation for integrity and incorruptibility severely tarnished, with Marxist-Leninist visions no longer capable of inspiring young people, with alienation, crime, and corruption on the rise, with provincial leaders asserting their economic muscle, and ethnic tensions growing more volatile at the periphery, China's future political tranquility is by no means assured. And it remains to be seen whether a post-Deng Xiaoping generation of neo-authoritarian Chinese technocrats will prove more adept than their elderly, autocratic predecessors at comprehending and coping with profound transformative forces presently at work both in China and in the world at large."<sup>48</sup>

With limited education and experience, a section of the youth had resort to illegal means to make money. Although the Communist Party of China has been making regular efforts to float youth role models so as to provide moral and ideological, large section of the Chinese people were motivated by material incentives and were keen become rich as soon as possible. In addition income gap between the rich and the poor, and inequality resulting from have given rise to social hostilities and conflict<sup>49</sup>.

The Communist Youth League being the youth wing of the Communist Party of China has an inherent duty to propagate and implement objectives and policies of the Party. In order to counter challenges arising out of economic reform, the Party has repositioned itself according to the changing socio-economic environment. The mode and objectives of the Party's propaganda has also changed after the introduction of the Socialist Market economy in China. Earlier, the Party used to take the help of big

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<sup>48</sup> Richard Baum, "Political Stability in Post-Deng China: Problems and Prospects" *Asian Survey*, Vol.32, No. University of California Press, June,1992,p.505

<sup>49</sup> Kuotsai Tom Liou,"State-society Relations in Post –Mao Chinese Economic Reforms: Changes and Challenges", *International Journal of Economic development*,Vol2(1),2000,p.142

posters and banners to convey its new policies and programmes/campaigns to the masses. Now, it has started using the prime channel of televisions. It has allowed open but guided political debate on issues concerning different groups of the Chinese society. In these kinds of TV debates, youth are invited to be the audience and were encouraged to ask questions. In turn, they are taking full advantage of these opportunities to air their resentment or opinion and participate in formulating government policies which can be in favor of the young generation of China. In other words, there is a total image makeover of the Party; it is trying now to change from 'Revolutionary Party' to a 'Political Party in the socialist market economic phase of China.

Propaganda in the 1990s and into the early 21<sup>st</sup> century had focused on uniting public opinion in China, strengthening power of the State and improving the image of both the Party and Military. With the decline in faith in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought since the end of the Mao era, but especially since 1989, the CPC has faced the difficult task of finding a suitable replacement for the unifying role of the communist ideology. Under the circumstances, Nationalism is being used as important tool<sup>50</sup>.

Immediately after the suppression of demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in June 1989 the government made a point of blaming the growth of the student movement on 'outside forces' and warned about the danger of '和平演变'<sup>51</sup>(peaceful evolution). The notion of '祖国' was brought into China's political discourse to arouse the sentiments of nationalism among the Chinese people and especially among the youth. In 1995《关于深入开展农村社会主义精神文明建设活动的若干意见》, as a part of the Party's renewed 'nation building project, Jiang Zemin proposed a 'spiritual civilization' campaign advocating a return to Chinese values which was conceived as a combination of 'traditional' and 'socialist values'. In the same year he

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<sup>50</sup> "Realistic responses and strategic choices for China after the Soviet upheaval", published in *中国青年报* in 1991, renounced the Marxist-Leninist legacy and advocated nationalism as a unifying force, combining Western nationalism with Chinese culture. Cited in Anne-Marie Brady, "regimenting the Public Mind: The Modernization of Propaganda in the PRC", *International Journal*, Vol.57, No.4 (Autumn, 2002) pp.565

<sup>51</sup> "中国中央关于加强宣传, 思想工作的通知"[CCP central committee directive on increasing propaganda and thought work], 28 July 1989, 中国宣传部办公厅, 党的宣传工作文件选编 [Selected article on CPC Propaganda work] Beijing: 中国中央党校, 1994), Vol.4, 1812-13.

also publically urged cadre's to 'stress politics,' and indirect reference to the perceived corruption influences of excessive westernization<sup>52</sup>.

In order to implement and install the Party's values and thoughts, to bring back the love and respect for the Party, the CYL put forward its future political strategies to counter the changes happening due to the implementation of the market economy in China. The effort was to carry forward the spirit and the task of 14<sup>th</sup> Party congress of the Communist Party of China and the 13<sup>th</sup> Party congress of the Communist Youth League held from May (3 to 10), 1993. 1868 important members from each place attended the Congress. Central Committee of the Communist Party of China directives to the CYL was, “共青团要坚持以经济建设为中心，牢牢把握全党全国工作大局按照党的十四届六中全会《决议》的要求，充分发挥团结引导广大青年少年进步的重要作用，在带领广大青少年为社会主义物质文明建设作出更大贡献的同时，做精神文明建设的生力军” i.e.( CYL should persist in taking economic construction as the center, firmly grasp the overall work of the Party and the country, in accordance with the requirement of the Party's congress in the Sixth Plenary session of the “resolution” of full unity and guide the young progressive important role in leading the young people to society at the same doctrine of material civilization and make greater contributions and do force spiritual civilization)<sup>53</sup>.

In 1990s, the Central Committee of the CYL confirmed the direction and policy of its youth work by formulating two strategic development document, namely ” 《“跨世纪青年文明工程”)》 “*Our Strategic Development of Youth Work in the Process of establishing the Socialist Market Economic system*” and 《“跨世纪青年人才工程>》 “*Outline for the Trans-century Development of CYL's Work*。 These two projects were primarily designed to counter the conservative forces within the Party

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<sup>52</sup>中共中央办公厅、国务院办公厅关于转发《中央宣传部、农业部关于深入开展农村社会主义精神文明建设活动的若干意见》的通知 from 中共中央办公厅、国务院办公厅关于转发《中央宣传部、农业部关于深入开展农村社会主义精神文明建设活动的若干意见》的通知(Circular of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council on Forwarding the Opinions of the Central Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Agriculture on Deepening the Development of Rural Socialist Spiritual Civilization) accessed on 21/1/17 at 2:46pm cited Anne-Marie Brady, “Regimenting the Public Mind: The Modernization of Propaganda in the PRC”, *International Journal*, Vol.57, No.4(Autumn, 2002) pp.565

<sup>53</sup>党史百科，中国共产党新闻 (Party Historical Archive, News of Communist Party of China) (in Chinese()) <http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/242358/242771/17735346.html> downloaded at 12:00non on 4/9/2015 Translation done by the scholar.

who has been critical of economic reform in China, attributing the deteriorating value system of the Chinese youth to the policies of economic reform and opening up. These two documents tried to address the ideological dilemmas that the Chinese youth were facing since the beginning of the economic reform. The Party wanted to instill the same level of faith and trust in the leadership of the Communist Party of China as it used to enjoy during the Mao period. Through these projects the leaders wanted to propagate the message that the 'Party' was the only protector and any other ideologies or faith will be detrimental to the progress of China. The Party came out with these documents as there was rise in the belief in and practice of traditional religions and religious sects amongst the youth in the new era of loosening political control.<sup>54</sup> The Party wanted the urban and wealthy youths to understand that the cities were not the only China; there are many poverty stricken areas, where they needed to reach out and render helping hands to the underprivileged children and students. In these areas, there were many '失学生 or dropouts who could not continue his or her study due to financial constrain'. Due to the single Child policy, the burden of raising the old parents had become heavier, and had compelled the youth to leave/desert their elderly parents. The Party through these two initiatives wants to develop a sense of pity and compassion among the youths .

In other words, the Communist Party of China through its Party Congress directed the CYL to propagate and cultivate a new culture among the youth. A quasi-official body, CYL was responsible for monitoring the youth welfare and development. China does not have any dedicated ministry for youth. As a result, Communist Party of China often came out with policies relevant to youth through the leader's speeches and Party Congresses. These policies would then be sent as directives to the CYL to interpret and convey to the youth for implementation.

As China entered its third stage of economic reform in the early 1990s, the Party leadership was well aware of the changing political participation and culture of the Chinese youth. Therefore, the Party wanted its youth wing (CYL) to cultivate a kind of youth culture which had elements like, "ethic, values, and benevolence", and at the

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<sup>54</sup> The religious practice was totally banned during the Mao Period and Party was projected as supreme and savior of China. Had Communist Party allowed religious practice, there could have been chances of revolt against the supremacy of the Party. Chinese people believed in the concept of "天下"

same time maintain synergy with the objectives and targets of economic development. Through the CYL, the Party wanted to create new culture that upholds the supremacy of the Party and encourage them to contribute towards its new policy of 'socialist market economy'. In other words, in the absence of a clear cut policy on youth per se, the role of CYL assumed greater importance as it was, for all practical purposes, the link that sustained and strengthened the connection between CPC and the Chinese youth.

While Communist Youth League still the sole authority of formulating and monitoring youth projects put forwarded by the Communist Party of China in the era of socialist market economy, there is no doubt about the decline in the popularity of the CYL among the Chinese Youth. However, the decline is not that alarming, as the Party has been using CYL as its agent in its effort to maintain a harmonious balance between the Economic development and socialist culture of the Chinese youth. The Party often puts forward ideological education and campaigns to keep their youth devoted to the Party and its ideology of serving the masses before self and remain active on the path of the realizing the objectives of creating socialist society in China. The details of the new initiatives is discussed below, which can further elaborate on the Party's policies of rectification of the mistakes committed in the early years of the economic reform, where it had given priority to economic development at the cost socio-political developmental issues.

The Communist Party of China came out with various measures to counter the challenges<sup>55</sup> that surfaced after the implementation of the Economic reform and opening up since early 80s. One of the major challenges was the rising unemployment in China. Unemployment issues are very common in socialist countries as they believe in survival of the fittest and inequality is evident in this kind of economic structure. However, in socialist frame work, which believes in the economic equality, the state is responsible for providing employment to everybody who has reached to working age. In Mao's China, there were no unemployment issues as the work was to be assigned by the state according to the ability of the person.

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<sup>55</sup> Please refer to Chapter III for details of the issues and challenges emerging due to the economic reform and opening up.

With the changed economic strategies to uplift the living standards of the people through celebration of individual initiatives, economic disparity and unemployment were inevitable. The unemployment issue plays a very important role in determining the attitude of young people towards the Party and the State, as it can lead to a decline in the young's people metal and physical health and create undesirable problems anti-social behaviors. China is witnessing a great rise in the youth and juveniles crimes after the inception of the economic reform and especially in the era of socialist market economy. Therefore, to create new opportunities and protect its youth from adopting the anti-social mode for their survival, a range of diverse measures have been initiated.

1. Student's Employment Projects: In order to engage its fresh graduates, came out with employment opportunities such as volunteer service to develop western region, internship for college students, and encouraged thousand enterprises from 100 cities for campus placement.
2. Promoting Youth Employment Activities and Promoting Spirit of Entrepreneurship: In order to infuse spirit of entrepreneurs in youth, often organizes programmes such as, International Youth Enterprise Programme, vocational training and programme on entrepreneurship.
3. Allocating special funds for Startups.<sup>56</sup>

In the era of social and community participation, the CYL has launches the **Hope project**, **Hand in hand project**, and helping the Poor and Needy students project, **Youth Cultural Festival**, **Youth of China Series of Activities**, **Volunteer Service Project** , **Mother River Protection Project** (launched in 1999 to help to improve the ecological environment of China), **Action Red Ribbon Project**(launched in 2003 for creating awareness of HIV/AIDS among the Chinese Youth), **Chinese Ancient Poem Recital Programme**( aim to foster an appreciation for China's traditional culture among youth), **Prospect Plan**( initiated in 1993 in collaboration with the China Association for International exchange of personnel. These projects empower under-privileged people in economically backward regions and promote development of the society by capacity building and pursuit of excellence, **New Countryside Prospect Plan** (To promote capacity building of the talented people in the western

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<sup>56</sup> Country Report about China Youth Employment from <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/tokyo/conf/2004youth/downloads/china.pdf> accessed on 28/1/17 at 3:04pm

region), **Rural Leader capacity Building Programme** (this programme aims to improve the capacity building of those in rural western China talented in business management ,entrepreneurship, and leadership through training and support) and many more other activities and projects put forwarded by the 中国青少年发展基金会<sup>57</sup> (China Youth Development Foundation) under the leadership of the Communist youth League in China.

The Central Committee of the Youth League through its two strategies: 1) “Our Strategic Development of Youth Work in the Process of establishing the Socialist Market Economic system” 2) “Outline for the Trans-century Development of CYL’s Work” trying to focus on the given areas to re-establish the faith of the Chinese youth in the CYL leadership and retain the status as Link between the Party and youth. The primary objectives of the communist Youth league were to keep the economy as central point and chart other policies in accordance with the four cardinal principles, Develop science and technology as primary productive forces, which should promote scientific and cultural spirit as well as entrepreneurship in Chinese youth. Train personnel from each field, who can create healthy environment for youth talent and skill development. Apart from the main objectives, the Communist Youth League was also desired to impart ideological education among Chinese youth, improve the overall quality of young labor force, youth education and schemes etc. that can create talent reserve for the Party.<sup>58</sup>

The task assigned by the Communist Party of China to its youth wing, CYL, in its Party Congress are the cleverly designed strategies to bring back the ‘lost youth’ lost in the era of economic reform There is no doubt that the Youth culture has taken a different dimension/shape in fast growing economy of China. However, it would not

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<sup>57</sup>中国青少年发展基金会 (China Youth Development Foundation): The China Youth Development Foundation (CYDF) based in Beijing, is a national public foundation registered at the Ministry of Civil Affairs, PRC. The foundation was founded in March 1989 by the All China Youth Federation. CDYF mission is committed to helping young people building capacity and to improving the environment for their growth by providing aid services, giving voice to the interest of young people and carrying out social advocacy. Cited from official website <http://en.cydf.org.cn/> accessed on 14/1/17 at 4:11pm

<sup>58</sup> 共青团中央青年运动史档案馆 Gongqingtuan zhongyang qingnian yundongshi danganguan(The Central Archives of the Youth Movement of the Communist Youth League,, “历史的轨迹中国共产主义青年团 90 年 *Lishi de guiji Zhongguo gongqingtuan 90nian the Historical Track of Chinese Communist Youth League in 90 Years*”重庆出版社:重庆, 2012 , Chongqing, Chongqing Publishing House, 2012.

correct to infer, that the Party/Party state wasn't aware of these developments. The Party is continuously coming out with the various solutions in rectification of its policies without compromising its stand of economic development. It is trying to create a unique youth culture with the Chinese Characteristics. In this mission, the role and importance of the Communist Youth League cannot be over emphasized. CYL is the gateway to gain the membership of the Communist Party of China and having 'Party membership' is a matter of honor in China. Therefore, it can be argued that CYL still enjoys the confidence of the Chinese youth, in contrast with the newly emerging grassroots organizations that are viewed with doubt.



## **Conclusion**

The demise of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the subsequent downfall of the ‘Gang of Four’ (四人帮) marked a turning point in the post-liberation history of China. Mao period was a period where the political and ideological conformity was the top priority, with interest of the collective at the core of the policies. Individual’s aspiration had no role to play and everything belonged to the Party-State. The family structure and its role were overtaken by the Party. The Party was the sole decision making body in most aspects of the Chinese people’s life in general and the youth in particular. However, with Deng Xiaoping coming to power in 1978, the reformist leadership ventured upon a development path radically different in form and substance from that of the preceding decades. Among other things, the new leadership encouraged proactive thinking and individual initiative.

The early phase of the post-Mao Era witnessed a great change in socio-economic and political environment of China. The Communist Party of China also did not remain the same as it was under the leadership of the Mao Zedong, where its major objectives was to establish dictatorship of the proletariat and establish a true socialist society in China. However, during Mao period unsuccessful attempt to develop and modernize during the period did not improve the living condition of the common masses beyond ensuring the issues of food and shelter i.e. Wenbao (温饱). The shift in the nature and principle of the Communist Party of China was clearly visible in the post-1978 period visible in its pursuit of economic reform and opening up of China to the outside world. China which had only friendly relationship with countries having same ideology and practicing Communism such as USSR and the eastern European countries now opened its arm for all the developed countries including the United States of America. The aim was to learn and invite investment for its underdeveloped economy. The primary motive of its opening up was economic interest. The post-Mao leadership believed that poverty is not the true meaning of socialism. Through economic development and prosperity one could achieve the goal of establishing a 小康 (moderately well-off) socialist state. China in its new economic strategies opened door for the skills and technology exchange, invited foreign academia to initiate fruitful dialogue with the institutions of China, welcomed criticism and opinion related to the economic policies etc. It also welcomed and gave call to

Chinese personnel and students overseas to return to China and make contributions towards the cause of China's economic development and modernization.

In the beginning of the reform, the Party came out with many policies to boost the economic development of China; for the purpose it reached out to the international community and entrepreneurs to invest and manufacture in China. It provided cheap labor and place to establish their factories. Gradually, it attained the status of calling itself as 'World factory' (世界工厂)。 In order to achieve this status, the Party on one hand initiated the practice of individual incentives, and on other hand, it adopted differential policies for Special Economic Zone and coastal cities. With time, it led to the inequality in income, regional disparity, corruption, privatization and acceptance of the intellectuals and technocrats as productive forces in the new economic paradigm. The new economic strategies implemented by the Communist Party of China had far-reaching impact on the Chinese society by creating social and economic insecurities to such an extent that the legitimacy of the CPC's rule became an issue of debate.

Without any doubt, the economic development and opening up has produced results and helped China make a mark on the Global map as the second largest economy after the United States of America. It has surpassed Japan in recent past. The rapid influx of the foreign direct investment in China enabled China to create jobs and helped people to earn money. The economic reform began with the Township and Village Enterprises (TVE) and followed it up by giving full play to the managers of the State owned enterprises to take decision on the business operations and power of hiring and firings in the best interest of the Company. These policies changes proposed and implemented in stages as per the resolutions of Party Congresses starting from 1978 till 2000 made China consolidate its position as a rising power in the international community.

Though, the Party still maintained that it had not deviated from the path of socialist construction, its role too changed in the economic reform era; it changed from the legislator/ executor/ implementer to mere supervisor and facilitator of its policies in the market economy. Moreover, changes in the country's social-economic and political policies had an impact on all sections and aspects of the society leading to

new issues and challenges. Culture, as expected, was no exception. Over a period of more than two decades, cultural trends registered changes; new cultural formulations and practice, hitherto unforeseen in PRC, became evident gradually.

The economic reform in China brought a radical change in the thinking of the Chinese people. The most prominent change was the shift from commitment to the collective to the pursuit of individual interest. The long cherished values of the family, clan and later the values of collectivism, which used to be the core of the Communist ideology and practice, lost their luster in the new era. It happened as a result of the promotion of individual aspirations and privileges for the sake of developing economy of China and uplifting the living standard of the Chinese people. The 'Incentive culture' in the production led people to think individually and prove their mettle. The practice of '多劳多得' (work more, get more) added more enthusiasm in common people. The institutions of learning, which were important sites of Party's propaganda campaigns, started offering more courses on subjects that would help people earn more; courses in management, such as MBAs and other management computer applications and programming, economic planning etc. attracted more students in comparison to the conventional courses and disciplines; courses on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thoughts gradually became more of an academic compulsion than of any real use. The changes in the policies of the Party impacted the day to day living culture of the Chinese people. There followed a visible dilution of moral integrity as corruption became widespread in Chinese society. Connections ('拉关系'), (Back door compromise (走后门)) and Money worship (拜金主义) became the order of the day. These radical changes in the social-economic and political environment were not well received by the Chinese youth who questioned corruption, nepotism and lack of democracy. Protest through the spring of 1989, with youth at the core but with widespread support, was primarily meant to draw the Party's attention towards the rampant corruption within and outside Party. But contrary to the expectations of the youth, the regime responded with severe crackdown. Party clearly conveyed to the people in general and youth in particular that it is supreme and those going against the stipulated ideology will be dealt with strictly.

There was a lot of international criticism in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square incident and the situation led the Party to rethink on its strategies of economic reform and other issues that led to the outbreak of the youth protest in China. The Party, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, came out with the concept of socialist market economy that ushered in further relaxation of the economic freedom with great caution on political freedom. It allowed free movement of Chinese businessmen and scholars in China and outside China giving greater scope. Moreover, it allowed other institutions in the form of 非政府组织 NGOs and 由政府运行的非政府组织 (Government Organized Non-Governmental Organizations (GONGO) ) and 草根组织 Grass roots organizations to co-exist in China. With the privatization of the state owned enterprises and acknowledgement of the entrepreneurs and technocrats as one of the productive forces in a new socialist system, though the emphasis on economic development continued, there was an effort by the Party to encourage certain kind of political participation within limited parameters.

It can be argued that, the motive and medium of political participation in the Socialist market economy became diversified. The motive or the objectives of political participation during the Mao period was guided by the need and demands of the Party-State. It was so because during Mao period the official approach of egalitarianism maintained socio-economic equality among the Chinese citizens. Though there was geographic difference in China due to its huge area but presumably there was no income or status disparity between the regions as the State was responsible for its people at that time. With the implementation of the economic reform and opening up and especially in the Socialist market Economy phase, there emerged a wide gap between the socio-economic demands of the people of different regions of China. Therefore, the need and objective of the political participation too became diversified.<sup>1</sup> Chinese Youth were participating in the politics not only because it was the cultural norm, but also because they were motivated with the personal ambitions and prospects of personal gains. The diversity of demands from different

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<sup>1</sup> 邓希泉(Deng Xiquan), “当代青年政治参与新特征新趋势” Dangdai qingnian zhengzhi canyu xintezheng xinqushi New trends in Political Participation of Contemporary Youth 中国共产党新闻—人民网 zhonguo gongchandang Xinwen (News of the Communist Party of China)。来源: 人民论坛 14-05-2012 a  
<http://theory.people.com.cn/GB/82288/112851/17884215.html> accessed at 12:42pm on 3/6/16

sections of the society and different regions of China witnessed the emergence of wider range of organizations, including some alternatives to the Communist Youth League of China. In other words, the monopoly of the Communist Youth League as the champion of youth's cause and political culture received a setback to some extent.

The Communist Youth League working as force and representative of the Party had to promote and support the Party's drive towards the economic reform and opening up; at the same time it had to retain its status of being the sole medium or the link between the youth and the Party. Since re-emergence of the Lei Feng in the economic reform era did not have much impact on the Chinese youth, it floated the economic role models for the youth in the form of Zhang Haidi as they realized that only economic prosperity can bring status and privileges in Chinese society. Now the youth had diverse role models in the form of Movie Stars, pop stars, business tycoon and rich and affluent sports stars of China. The Culture of addressing a fellow Chinese as '同志' (comrade) is not prevalent any more among Chinese youth and if at all used it has different connotation. The culture of carrying Mao's 'Redbook' and ideological debates and discussions have also become outdated in China. The values and practices of Mao era has lost the ability to attract the youth of China.<sup>2</sup> To be precise, the present day youth culture in China has multiple roots.

The socialist market economy saw the non- Party members holding important official posts in the government. The induction of non-Party members in the important government post has negated the old belief that all government privileges and incentives were held by those with the membership of the Communist Party of China. This is one among many factors why Party & its ideology is losing its influence in the youth of China. The Party has also realized that the continuity of the economic growth can be the only legitimate reason for its survival in China; therefore it has never compromised on its economic policies and kept the ball rolling. However, it also kept the political reform untouched as it believed that liberal attitude towards politics could question the very existence of the Communist Party of China; recent years, therefore, have witnessed little relaxation of control.

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Clark, "Youth Culture in China, From Red guards to Netizens" New York, Cambridge University press,,2012.

With this contradiction between political and economic reform, the most affected section of the Chinese society has been the youth. They are at a juncture where they are unable to decide their future course. They have little choice to engage physical participation in politics due to the strict control by the Communist Party led government, especially so if their activism is directed against the Party's policies. The practice of secret ballot, which is a common phenomenon of participation in all democratic countries of the world, is not seen in China.. Therefore, the Chinese youth were left with no option but to approach State led/sponsored organization like Communist Youth League to participate in the politics of China and express their views on issues related to the youth.

The task assigned by the Communist Party of China to its Youth Wing in its Party Congresses held during the period under study, were the cleverly designed strategies to bring back 'lost youth' in the immediate aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. There is no doubt that the Youth culture has taken a different dimension/shape in fast growing economy of China. However, it would not be correct to infer that the Party/Party- State wasn't aware of these developments. The Communist Party nowhere seemed perturbed with the changing socio-political atmosphere in China. It has been continuously repositioning itself and proposing various solutions and rectification without compromising its stand of economic development. In other words, it can be argued that it is trying to create a unique youth culture with Chinese Characteristics. In this mission of creating a 'Unique Youth Culture', the role and importance of the Communist Youth League cannot be ignored, which still continues to be the gateway to gain membership of the Communist Party of China, which in turn is not only a matter of honor but brings along privileges, status and power. The success of the economic reforms has made Chinese society more complex and fluid. The complexity refers to the structural and attitudinal changes in both rural and urban areas, while the fluidity has to do with the increased mobility between the rural and urban areas as well as between interior and coastal regions. The complexity and fluidity of Chinese society have also impacted the Communist Youth League (CYL) as it felt the stress of economic development. In many localities, particularly in the countryside, it had become influenced by the economic ambitions of its members and the potential recruits; as a result, the Chinese authority had sought to revive and

reorient the CYL by linking its future to the success of the economic reforms and their beneficiaries.

The increase in social complexity and fluidity as well as the distribution of social - economic power had resulted in problems of social control. Before the reform years, the Chinese Communist Party controlled the country (the government and the society) through various Party and administrative mechanism (e.g., the registration system, the street committee). In addition to their production function, for example, work units 单位 (Danwei) also performed many other supervisory functions such as disciplining employees convicted of crimes. In both rural and urban areas, Party cadres supervised communes and work units with regard to the control and implementation of the official Party's policies. The problem of social control occurred during the process of reform because many of the past control mechanism have been removed for the purpose of increasing productivity through incentives.

The above discussion reflects that political participation the kind of youth seen during Mao period has declined and they have become more pragmatic in their activism. They don't get over excited about any incidence happened within or outside China. The Communist Youth League, which enjoyed the privilege of being the sole creator of the Youth Political culture, is struggling on one hand, to retain its political stature, and on other hand to readjust, reposition and innovate in the changed milieu of China. The Party's policies are in motion of continuous change which is affecting the founding ideology of the Communist Youth League. It is primarily composed of young cadres who have experience of the revolution. These cadres too have started debating on the new line of economic reform and individual incentives and profits. The old Party cadres dedicated to teaching Marxist ideology were not well-equipped to defend or to provide convincing answers to the young mind. In some studies, it has been mentioned that the Ideological instructors are not satisfied with the treatment and social status of working as instructors for the Party. They believed that their status in the current scenario is worst than a workers engaged in production and working fulltime as Party cadres has lost its charm. Some of them are not even interested to discuss politics in public interactions. The Youth are not joining Party for the sake of working selflessly for the masses; they are joining Party to enjoy the privilege and



benefits of being the Party cadres and get membership; in other words it is a ladder for them to get lucrative jobs and connections

Since China has entered into the socialist market economy phase and overall political environment has changed. Party started witnessing the nuanced challenges of the economic reform in the form of Tiananmen Square incident. One of the important objectives of adopting socialist market economy structure was to address the issues which Chinese society was encountering and to reinstate faith in the Communist Party's rule. The Party initiated various policies and reform in its functioning which were bound to have impact on Communist Youth League's functioning and on youth political participation and culture. The socialist market economy which has been in process started after the end of the Tiananmen Square incidence of 1989. China started negotiating more frequently with the western world and tried to projects itself as a nation which is more institutionalized and has the legal framework and organization for people's welfare. There was emergence of the civil society in China. Lots of 非政府组织 Non Governmental organizations and 由自组织青年组织 SYO (Self organized youth organizations) started to emerge in this period. The organizations have been attracting more and more youths towards them and solving their issues through negotiation with the concerned government and private bodies. They are primarily independent bodies working under the patronage of the Communist Party of China

The privileges enjoyed during the Mao period by the Communist Youth League are not the same in this era of information technologies and economic development and opening China to the out-side world. The access to information during the Mao period was limited as there was no social media and internet at that time. Entry of the internet in 1987 enabled its youth to access all information available in the public domain access the world. Internet has also made possible for the youth to assemble and voice their opinion in the virtual world. These kinds of social platforms have liberated Chinese youth from the fear of getting caught and yet voice their dissent through these medium. The CPC is facing great difficulties in countering these dissents as they are not physically present and cannot be located easily with current advancement of technology.

These guidelines of the CYL created confusion among its CYL Cadres. On one hand CYL stressed the lofty ideals of sacrifice and collectivism, while the signals from State policies, and even the Party itself, glorified individual initiative and a gradual process of privatization. This led to confusion for CYL as to their roles and as to how to motivate the youth to practice communist ideals while the Party itself preached individualism. In the new era, in view of its own policy shifts, the Party was unable to justify the collective interest over the individual interest of the youth. The kind of contributions, the Mao regime expected from the CYL cadres, especially at grass root level, were not possible in the era of economic reform. Because the Chinese youth, grasping the opportunity provided by the policies of the new regime, started to shift from collectivism to individualism, as personal desires and ambitions started playing major role in Chinese society.

The Party control over the youth became less direct than in the past. An implicit pact took shape gradually: if CYL members study and work diligently the Party guarantees improving material living standards and minimal political demands. For many youths, the CYL performed little beyond social activities. With individual initiative and incentive- based income becoming the key to an improved standard of living, a career in the Party or the government gradually lost some of its attraction, and CYL membership has accordingly lost much of its appeal as a primary forte for upward social mobility. Not only have the ideological appeals fallen on deaf ears, but the economic structural reforms have compelled youth to assume responsibility for their own economic well-being. Youth attitude to official organizations and official structures of power has also changed. With the rise of new non-state mobility channels and the de-politicization of Chinese society, life membership of the CYL lost much of its allure.

Starting from the mid-1980s, the university students initiated their own organizations having no affiliation to the Party. The CYL and the CPC recognized their inability to mobilize youth towards its guidelines. The youth had tried to use different concepts hitherto unheard of in China, such as democracy, to articulate their aspirations on the eve of the Tian' an men incident in 1989. The aftermath of this incident has been debated at length by many scholars, rarely finding unanimity of opinion and analyses. However, it can be safely argued that the incident did alienate a large number of the

Chinese youth from political participation of any kind; large section of them wished to steer clear of political activism. It will not be an exaggeration to say that most educated youth in China through the 1990s have aspired for careers as technocrats and joined CYL and the Party solely in order to fulfill personal career ambitions.

The transformation of China's society from planned economy to market economy had a direct and strong influence on the younger generations' political awareness and political participation. With the paradigm shift from politics to economic development finally becoming fully manifested in various facets of the Chinese society over the three decades since Mao's death, it is evident that the political participation and culture of the Chinese youth was an important factor that had a role to play. Because, on one hand, it is this political culture of the youth over the first half of the twentieth century that finally ushered in a system change in China in 1949, and on the other, youth, in a rapidly transforming society like China, represent a key factor that will chart the course of development in future.

The Communist Youth League of China has come to realize that somewhere realized its present status among the Chinese youth was of vital importance. The League is coming out with new policies and measures to regain its faith and trust among the Chinese youth. To begin with, it shifted its focus from the Political education to the social issues encountered by the youth in present day China. The League has come out with several welfare projects for youth like Project Hope, Hand in Hand etc. These projects were introduced in China after the entry of the international NGOs and voluntary organizations in China and as counter to the activities these organizations were engaged in. The Communist Youth League was not only trying to reach out to but it was also reaching out to youth studying and working outside China by sending out delegations. For instance, on August 24, 2015<sup>3</sup>, I met such a delegation from Hangzhou to India whose main purpose was to meet the Chinese students studying in India. The delegation was composed of young entrepreneurs and Communist Youth

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<sup>3</sup> The delegation was headed by Wu Jing , Vice Chairman , Hangzhou Youth Federation, Lu Guiying, Hangzhou Youth special college , Wu Jiangda , , Hangzhou Baisui Farm & Sideline Products Trading Co LTD, Zhang Lei , General Manager, Hangzhou fengchuan Industrial Co Ltd, Qian Jun ,Chairman, Zhejiang Xinrun Engineering Management Ltd, Ma Zhijun Chairman, Hangzhou Ohant service Co LTd. The objective of the delegation: Promote the relationship with societies of young people over the rest of the world. Introduction to Hangzhou's youth services and seek better cooperation in business and technology between young people of different countries.

League officials who discussed the issues faced by Chinese youth. During the meeting, the officials introduced the Chinese Youth to their ongoing projects and promised them financial support if the youth would want to execute their own project. There was no necessity for this kind of projects before the Economic Reform and Opening up as such issues were taken care by the collectives in China. As everything was produced for the State, the State used to take care of individuals needs. There were no regional and economic disparity and economic in Mao's China. With the implementation of the economic reform and especially in the market economy phase, the social and class distinctions became prominent. The decisive factors were regional disparity and economic gaps which gap which triggered migration of poor rural population to the bigger cities in search better job and opportunities. The factors brought about a complex diversity within the youth ending the monolithic youth culture that was shaped by the Young Pioneers and CYL under the guidance of the Party. In other words, there emerged many sub-cultures amongst the Chinese youth, often shaped by a range of social, economic and identity factors. For Instance, the universities which had one unit of Communist Youth League during Mao period witnessed emergence of many Self Organized Youth Organizations (SYOs) within the campus. Each of these students organization had its own issues and objectives of political participation. The Youth were joining in these organizations in large numbers which were guaranteeing them hassle free membership and space of participation. In a reconfigured agenda, the Communist Youth League was organizing new activities during the opening of the new session of the school and colleges in order to highlight the importance of the membership of the Communist Youth League among the Youth. The induction ceremony of the young cadres began to be organized at par with the induction ceremony of the Communist Party cadres in China now days.

Economic reform has greatly impacted the values, thought and attitude of the Chinese youth towards political participation. Their values got diversified in the era of market economy and can be seen as the emergence of phenomena such Utilitarianism, individualism, money worshipping and so on. Influence western culture through Hollywood movies, rock music's, KFC etc has entered the Chinese market adding disillusionment in the mind of the youth which in turn is hampering the spiritual health of the Chinese youth in the contemporary times. The Market Economy has

created an environment for the “Survival of the fittest” phenomenon which are difficult for the youth; employment has become the greatest challenge for them, which in other dampen the spirit of political participation among the Chinese youth.

The Market economy too has changed the motives of participation and individual aspiration and benefit has become the sole driving force for youth to actively participate in political activities. The main issues are the 1.Housing 2.Employment 3.Health Care .Apart from these issues; youth don't care about other things. And “Money Worship (拜金主义)” is the sole motive of their participation。 It is apparent that the contemporary Youth are more mature than their predecessors. While their action reflects their Nationalistic approach, they also have an intuitive understanding of political environment of China. The zeal of participation is very strong but it is not always culminating into strong action. Secondly, they are very conscious in evaluating the political implication of their participation in politics of China but they have some reservation in taking action. For example, they are strongly against oppose the ongoing corruption in China but when it comes to themselves they do not mind indulging in petty corruption given the right opportunity and incentives

Communist Youth League still holds the sole authority of formulating and monitoring youth projects put forwarded by the Communist Party of China in the era of socialist market economy. There is no doubt about the decline in the popularity of the Communist Youth League among the Chinese Youth; however, the decline is not that alarming. The Party through CYL has come up with two important youth development document in 1990s under the two titles mentioned above. The Party is trying to maintain harmony between the Economic development and Culture of China. The Party often comes out with ideological education and other kind of education to keep their youth devoted to the Party and its ideology of serving the masses before self and remain active on the path of the realizing the objectives of creating socialist society in China.

China has entered into the socialist market economy phase and overall political environment too have changed. Party has witnessed the fallout of the economic reform in form of Tiananmen Square incident and other local level protests. One of the important reasons to adopt socialist Market economy structure was to address the issues which Chinese society is encountering and to reinstate faith in the governance

of the CPC. The Party has initiated various policies and reform in its functioning which are bound to have impact on Communist Youth League functioning and on youth political participation and culture

In Conclusion, it is obvious that post- Mao period Chinese economic and social structure has given play to and celebrated initiatives of the individuals. The Ideological education on the line of Marxism- Leninism and Mao Zedong thought has little role to play in the new Market Economy, where everyone is a consumer and everything is consumable. Those who wanted to be the political leaders or getting berth in higher government posts are interested in ideological education. Majority of the youth are interested in other streams of education which can enable them to get good jobs. Post-Mao youth were aware of the social environment and very careful and pragmatic while making decisions. Youth were aware of responsibility of taking political decision and its repercussion. Therefore, their interaction with economy and politics are based on their necessity. The Chinese youth in the post-Mao era, especially, in the socialist market economy period wants to stay non-controversial and thus within the limits of the Four cardinal principles. However, on the issues of 'Nationalism' has always come out in support of the Communist Party of China and ready to be a part of the political participation under the umbrella of the Communist Youth League of China. Though not in blind supports to the Communist Youth League as youth are not clear about the outcome certain policies of the Party. The environment of uncertainty in the minds of Chinese youth and in the masses still exists regarding various policies of the Communist Party of China.

The social welfare work and volunteer services which were reflective of a certain kind of political culture of the Chinese youth during the Mao period have not become completely marginalized. As the only safeguard to the status of the Communist Youth League , it has been promoting volunteer services on different issues and causes of national and international relevance. While the popularity of CYL has gone down in the era of Socialist market economy as compared to the past, there is no decline in its membership/cadres. <sup>4</sup> The Communist Youth League is gradually gaining its importance in the national politics as lots of its cadres are getting berth in the politburo of the Communist Party of China. The cadres of the Communist Youth

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<sup>4</sup>团史展览馆' [http://www.gqt.org.cn/695/gqt\\_tuanshi/gqt\\_ghlc/tjjs/](http://www.gqt.org.cn/695/gqt_tuanshi/gqt_ghlc/tjjs/) accessed at 5:22pm on 15/6/16

League who joins the Communist Party of China are comparatively young and well educated in comparison to the other cadres of the Party. The education of the Communist Youth League cadres is not only limited to the humanities and social sciences but they are also excellent in fields like foreign trade, economy, finance, technology etc. This is helping them to assume more and more important positions and play vital role in Party and State organs,, institutions, enterprises, colleges and universities.<sup>5</sup>

Though so many 非政府组织 feizhengfu zuzhi Non Governmental organizations NGOs,由政府运行的非政府组织 you zhengfu yunxingde feizhengfu zuzhi Government Operated Non Governmental organizations GONGOs and 由自组织青年组织 you zi zuzhi qingnian zuzhi (Self organized youth organizations) SYOs and Grass roots organizations has emerged in China and provided youth platform for political participation but they need to work more in order to compete with the popularity and social status of Communist Youth League in near future in China. These new emerging organizations are viewed with suspicion and mistrust by the common masses.<sup>6</sup> Communist Youth League still enjoys the social status and political significance in the Post-Mao period in the absence of the dedicated Ministry for youth unlike other countries such as India etc. The issues related to youth have to reach to the Communist Youth League. It remains the nodal agencies and the link for advice/consultation between the Party and government on the Youth issues in China.

On the basis of the findings in substantive chapters, following points can summed up in conclusion:

- I. The era of Economic Reform and Opening up has witnessed the emergence of social issues in China, such as unemployment, exploitation, criminal activities, Adolescence crime, illiteracy, moral decay, ideological decay etc. All these issues had direct bearing on the youth of China. This group was the most affected in comparison with the other age groups in China; their most

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<sup>5</sup> Chen Yunzhen, “Question on the study of “The Communist Youth League and China Elite Politics” in Western Circles of Politics” *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol.7.No.3,2014

<sup>6</sup> Talk by Joseph Fewsmith, “CPC under Xi Jinping: Limits of Political Reform” delivered China Perspective Lecture series at Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru university, New Delhi on march11,2016

important demands were to protect their interests as well as to gain larger social space and a degree of freedom. The improvement in living standards and skyrocketing prices of the housings and modern gadgets had prompted youth to search for alternatives ways earning money. Finding a good bride too had become a serious issue for the contemporary youth as it required them to have own apartment, good job and a car. In absence of these three things, it was difficult to find suitable bride for them. Moreover, social status was increasingly being considered in terms of economic capability reflected in branded commodity, bank balance and peer groups. Under these circumstances, it was very difficult for the Communist Party of China to provide a moral and ideological compass. The Party wanted to accelerate the pace of economic reform and for that the Party had been coming out with several steps which not only could not satisfy the demands of each and every individual of the Chinese society, but only succeeded in intensifying competition between individuals and increasing economic disparity.

Communist Youth League of China being the youth wing of the CPC and officially the sole protector of the Chinese youth's interests were finding it difficult to conform to the CPC new policies. The primary objective of the Communist Youth League was to prepare its cadres, who are mostly below the age of 25 years to be a reserve force for the CPC. At the foundation level Communist Party of China was still committed towards cause of the collective as its ultimate goal, while at the operational level, the Party's official ideology, policy and practice has been redefined significantly.<sup>7</sup> These cadres were fresh but had ideological training at the level of young pioneers; as they watched the new individual centric execution of these policies at the level of Communist Youth League cadres, it did not match with their imagination. Lei Feng and other socialist role models even Zhang Haidi had already lost their place in the minds of the youth. Sports model like Yao Ming, entrepreneurs like Ma Yun etc has now become the role model of the contemporary Chinese youth. The complexities of the Party sponsored role model and the contemporary social

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<sup>7</sup> Zhou. Shanding , "Changes in Official Ideology in Contemporary China" Regional Outlook, Paper No 29,2011 downloaded from [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0011/333749/Zhou-Regional-Outlook-Paper-29.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/333749/Zhou-Regional-Outlook-Paper-29.pdf) on 9/2/17 at 12:21pm



role model, who have found their own place in the heart and mind of the young people through either hard work or dubious ingenuity had disillusioned the contemporary youth. The youth are trying to understand the difference between the Party ideologies and reality which seem to be totally opposite. The change in the higher education policies that deprives them employment guarantee too have prompted youth to lose interests in political participation and this too was a great concern for the CYL. Therefore, it became difficult for the Communist Youth League to convince about the objectives of the new policies propagated by the CPC. They were finding a different interpretation of socialism in the era of economic reform. The institutions that have been the best vehicles for upward social mobility – the Party, the Military, State enterprises were now forced to adjust to new socio-economic conditions. The Communist Party of China, CYL, and the Military are presently struggling to find solution to the basic question “Who to recruit and how to socialize them?”

Originally, the Communist Party of China stood for the proletariat Class i.e. Vanguard of workers and peasants and the concept of "self" had no place. The shift of Party's ideology and policies that saw the dilution of equitable job distribution in practices so far and started roping in the practice of technocrats, and educated personnel to minimize the benefits accruing from economic development which confused the Chinese youth further. The new policies which put more emphasis on economic development at the cost of compromising the Socialist framework were bound to raise many questions. How can a Communist Party propound the Deng Xiaoping theory of “letting few get richer fast”, “No matter the cat is black or white until it catches the mice”? Such questions also included “How can it defend the growing regional inequality in China”, “how to continue political and ideological education in increasing capitalist mindset”, and most importantly the question of legitimacy of the CPC. Under the circumstances, the Communist Youth League had a great responsibility to shoulder and to still retain the status of the sole creator and protector of the Youth Culture in China. It's not that the Communist Youth League was not trying to address the issues. CYL was also coming out with various measures in form of youth foundations and voluntary activities

to engage the youth and provide them with employment opportunities, but it still had a long way to go. It can be argued that Communist Youth League was finding itself at the crossroads between ideology and social reality in the era of economy, modern technology and social media platform.

II. There is no doubt, that the economic reform has led to the emergence of the various Self Organized Youth Organizations( SYOs), both offline and online, which are catering to issues of the youth but these organizations has to be registered under the Ministry of Civil affairs and getting itself registered in China is a herculean task.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, most of the organizations are illegal in nature and could not work in tandem with the government. These organizations are not recognized by the government, therefore getting sponsorship and funding from within and out outside China becomes difficult. In the absence of the funds, these organizations are facing difficulties in extending their area of operations. It can be argued that these organizations are not a mass organizations, as they have not really spreads roots among the masses especially among the youth. Communist Youth League through its youth outreach programme under the China Youth Development Foundation<sup>9</sup> such as Project Hope, Village Hope Youth Project, is catering to whole China in both urban and rural areas. Therefore, it will be reasonable to conclude that the CYL still represents the concerns of the wide section of Chinese youth .

III. Communist Youth League of China still enjoys the confidence of the masses, especially the youth. It is still a single the sole medium through which policies relevant to youth are being formulated and implemented. However, due change in socio-economic and political environment of China, it is encountering more challenges. CYL has new obligations to formulate policies, which can cater to the new demands of the youth that has arisen out of the economic reform and opening as well as advancement in information technologies. It has to formulate policies which can be inclusive, where in new

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<sup>8</sup> 谢海定(Zhang Haiding), “中国民间组织的合法性困境” Zhonguo minjian zuzhi de hefaxing kunjing(Legitimacy Predicament of Chinese Civil Organizations)

[http://www.faxueyanjiu.com/ch/reader/create\\_pdf.aspx?file\\_no=20040202&flag=1&journal\\_id=fxyj&year\\_id=2004](http://www.faxueyanjiu.com/ch/reader/create_pdf.aspx?file_no=20040202&flag=1&journal_id=fxyj&year_id=2004) accessed on 9/2/17 at 6:36 pm

<sup>9</sup> CYDF Annual Report,2007 at <http://www.cydf.org.cn/uploadfile/2014/0306/20140306012105241.pdf> accessed on 10/2/17 at 12:48pm

organizations such as Social organizations (社会团体), Private Non Enterprise Unit 民办非企业单位, Civil organizations (民间组织), private and public NPOs (非营利组织), private and public NGOs (非政府组织), especially the Self-organized youth organizations can work in tandem with CYL to uplift the living standards and be able to address the issues of the youth and find its resolution under the stipulated guidelines of the Party. The responsibilities of CYL have increased many folds. Dissidents groups and other kinds of online youth organizations are emerging in China with rapid speed. These kinds of new organizations were working against the state and have been declared illegal in the past. These kinds of organizations are bound to increase unless the CYL formulate policies that discourage youth to participate in these organizations and work positively to realize the objectives of the Communist Party of China and contribute positively in social development under the banner and guidance of the Communist Youth League.

IV. The organizations which are registered under the government need to have the approval of the Communist Youth League of China and therefore will have a link with the CYL as their grant and funding has to be through the CYL. Due to absence of a ministry specially dedicated to youth unlike other countries of the world, CYL works as the organization responsible for the youth development. However, there are many unregistered youth organizations, which cannot be branded as anti-government and doing good work and yet have no linkages with the Communist Youth League of China and it would be difficult to name due to lack of statistics with the government.<sup>10</sup>

The Chinese governments through certain policies are trying to encourage people to participate in social-economic and political activities, but the response is meager. Those who are interested in doing voluntary works are either government servants or Communist Youth League cadres. About 40 percent of volunteers in cities come from these groups and were linked with

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<sup>10</sup> While mentioning the phenomena, the lack of data has been discussed by He Zengke "Institutional barriers of the development of civil society in current China" in The role of Civil Society in China and Germany, the paper presented at the German-Chinese workshop in Beijing march13-15, Beijing [http://www.global-politics.org/working-papers/cgp-wp-01-2009/CGP\\_Working\\_Paper\\_01-2009.pdf](http://www.global-politics.org/working-papers/cgp-wp-01-2009/CGP_Working_Paper_01-2009.pdf)

the either the government or the Party.<sup>11</sup> It is the Party which decides which association or organization is good or bad for the society in China; therefore, the importance of CYL cannot be ignored. In the final analysis, it can be argued that CYL still enjoys the preeminent status of being a link organization between the Party and youth, though its popularity among the youth is declining.

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<sup>11</sup> *ibid*

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