

## Mass Movement to Study Theory by Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

**H**UNDREDS of millions of people of all nationalities in China have been studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on an unprecedented scale in the ten years since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This has become a mass study movement with the workers, peasants and soldiers as its backbone force.

In the struggle to expose and criticize Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line since the Great Cultural Revolution started, the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao has become a mass movement of the people in their hundreds of millions. Especially since the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974 and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat last year, spare-time political evening schools, study groups and even political colleges for studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao have been universally set up in China's industrial enterprises, rural people's communes and production brigades, neighbourhood communities and the Chinese People's Liberation Army units at the company level. Among the participants are young men and women and elderly people in their seventies. Liu Yu-lan, a 65-year-old woman of Peihsinchiao Street in Peking, was illiterate before the Cultural Revolution. After the Cultural Revolution started, she painstakingly learnt how to read and write and studied Chairman Mao's works. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, she diligently studied works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and, basing herself on her own experiences in the old society and the new, she forcefully refuted the reactionary viewpoints of Confucius and Lin Piao. She was asked to give reports on some 30 occasions to organizations under the central authorities, army units and universities.

In order to deepen the criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers

and cadres have studied expositions by Marx, Engels and Lenin and by Chairman Mao on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have studied Chairman Mao's philosophical works such as *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and six other Marxist-Leninist works assigned by the Party Central Committee, including the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *The State and Revolution*. Many leading cadres and workers, peasants and soldiers have also studied other Marxist-Leninist works, read all four volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and works on Chinese and world history as well as the history of philosophy.

The cadres and masses of the whole country are now studying and discussing such questions as the characteristics of class relations and class struggle under the socialist system, the existence of bourgeoisie "right in the Communist Party" and the fact that the "capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." All this has helped them deepen their understanding of the nature, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution and enabled them to see more clearly the danger of those Party persons taking the capitalist road who undermine the revolution from within the revolutionary ranks. It has also promoted the deep-going struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

With the deepening of the movement, a contingent of activists in the study of theory during the off-hours, with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the backbone force, is growing steadily. Among the nearly 5 million such activists in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai and in Liaoning and Hopei Provinces, over 90 per cent are workers, peasants and soldiers.

Spare-time theoretical contingents are also expanding rapidly in Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Ningsia and Kwangsi. The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region alone has 100,000 activists in the study of theory.

To enable the movement to develop in a deep-going and sustained way, many theoretical study organizations are doing Marxist-Leninist research on special subjects. The Talien Hungchi Shipyard in Liaoning Province and many big industrial enterprises in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin and some provinces have set up research institutes or groups to make a special study of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, history, dialectics of nature, international affairs or literary and art criticism. Liaoning Province, for instance, has 13,600 such research groups with a membership of 113,600.

In co-operation with professional theoretical workers, the worker-peasant-soldier activists have written great numbers of articles and pamphlets on their gains in studying works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, which serve as an aid to the masses in their studies. The pamphlets *Pointers and Explanatory Notes on the "Manifesto of the Communist Party"* written by workers of the Taching Oilfield, *Study the "Critique of the Gotha Programme" and Strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* by the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai Production Brigade, and *Pointers and Explanatory Notes on "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"* by P.L.A. men guarding the Chenpao Island in northeast China are among the most popular of such works.

The mass movement to study works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, born in the fierce struggle between the two lines, is a socialist new thing that has emerged and developed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi and his gang, out of fear of the masses of the people grasping revolutionary theory, desperately opposed and disrupted the people's study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and undermined the distribution of these works. Liu Shao-chi and his followers slandered theoretical study by the worker-peasant-soldier masses as "over-simplification," "vulgarization" and "pragmatism."

Criticizing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line during the Cultural Revolution, the people of all nationalities in China exposed his sinister scheme and brought about an upsurge in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Then Lin Piao came out with all sorts of absurdities aimed at sabotaging the movement and tried to dissociate the study of works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from the study of Chairman Mao's works. At the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee in 1970, Chairman Mao issued the great call: "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism." In response, the people throughout the country launched the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, thus bringing their study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to a new height. Last year the cadres and masses conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's instruc-

tions concerning the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in the light of actual conditions, criticized revisionism and worked to restrict bourgeois right. Panic-stricken, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping hastily brought out his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" and stirred up a "hurricane for vocational work" in an attempt to sabotage and strangle the mass study movement.

However, the people of all nationalities in China, who have mastered the sharp ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, have waged a resolute struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and have persevered in their study.

An outstanding example in this connection is provided by Li Chang-mao, a veteran worker in Tientsin who has persevered in studying works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works over the past decade and more.

Sixty-two-year-old Li Chang-mao is now a standing committee member of the Tientsin Municipal Revolutionary Committee, vice-chairman of the municipal trade union council and a Deputy to the Fourth National People's Congress. His experience shows that the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been popularized and deepened in the course of struggle.

Li Chang-mao was illiterate at the time of liberation in 1949. It was only after liberation that he began to learn to read and write. Answering Chairman Mao's call to break down blind faith and emancipate the mind, he and other Tientsin workers pioneered the study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works in 1958, thus freeing philosophy from the confines of the classroom and turning it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the proletariat. Liu Shao-chi, however, fulminated: "What use is it for the workers to study philosophy!" His agent in philosophical circles, Yang Hsien-chen, howled: "What are we philosophers for if workers study philosophy by themselves?" They tried in every way to strangle the incipient mass movement to study Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Li Chang-mao resolutely fought Liu Shao-chi and Yang Hsien-chen and firmly carried on his study of philosophy. He wrote many articles criticizing Yang Hsien-chen's revisionist theory of "two combining into one" which runs counter to the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. During the Great Cultural Revolution, he wrote articles refuting Lin Piao's theory of "genius," and in the current struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, he has criticized Teng Hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link" and other revisionist rubbish.

Li Chang-mao is now in charge of theoretical study among 1.3 million workers in Tientsin and concurrently serves as principal of two workers' spare-time evening schools of political theory, paying constant attention to the growth of the 300,000-strong contingent of worker

activists in theoretical study. He has often been invited to give lectures on philosophy and other subjects in colleges and to contribute to the Party press.

Through the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, the cadres and masses have steadily heightened their awareness of the need to fight revisionism. When Wang Tso-shan, Party branch secretary of the Hsiao-chinchuang Production Brigade on the outskirts of Tientsin and Standing Committee Member of the Fourth National People's Congress, heard at a study class in July last year the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" peddled by Teng Hsiao-ping, he promptly saw it as a piece of revisionist rubbish. According to the theory of contradictions, there can be only one principal contradiction, namely the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, during the period of socialism. Shunning this principal contradiction, forgetting the Party's basic line and failing to grasp class struggle will lead to the restoration of capitalism. With this understanding, Wang Tso-shan did not transmit Teng Hsiao-ping's fallacy to the brigade members or put it into practice. On the contrary, he organized the cadres and members of the brigade to conscientiously study the theory of classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of

the proletariat by Marx, Engels and Lenin and by Chairman Mao. They criticized the theory of the dying out of class struggle and other fallacies, persisted in taking class struggle as the key link and grasped revolution and promoted production. This brought about an excellent situation in both revolution and production.

Party organizations at all levels throughout the country have strengthened their leadership over theoretical study and are running different types of study classes to train activists as the backbone force in theoretical study. Most Party organizations at and above the county level have set up central study groups or leading groups to guide the study movement.

