

Two Writings From Yao Wenyuan

Yao Wenyuan

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Proletarians of the world, unite!



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LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

Publication Note

December 11th 2024, the date in which this book has been published, is exactly 93 years since the birth of Comrade Yao Wenyan.

To mark this occasion, we have published the Two Writings From Yao Wenyan.

This publication includes ‘Disprove the “Communism Breeds Laziness” Theory’ and ‘The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything’, two greatly significant writings by Comrade Yao Wenyan.

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Disprove the “Communism Breeds Laziness Theory”

Some capitalists and bourgeois intellectuals are worried that Communism will breed laziness. In the eyes of conscious working people, this is a baseless anxiety and is not worth argument; but persons, in whose minds there is still soil for growing individualism, are very interested in this theory, and, judging others by themselves, think that others will become lazy in the future Communist society. They say; “To like ease and dislike labor is human nature;” “One’s desires are unlimited, and for each to get his needs will throw everything into confusion;” “A hard-working man needs some incentives like fame, position, grade, etc. If all such are gone, who will work hard?” Arguments run endlessly along these lines. It is necessary for us to discuss the question seriously.

Persons who think a Communist society will breed lazy-bones always regard laziness as a common nature of mankind having nothing to do with social conditions. They seem to think that to dislike labor is an inborn disposition of man, that it is only because of his desire to eat better and dress better or to seek fame and profit that he is compelled to work, and that he will be lazy when such incentives are gone. They think in these terms and believe others, think in the same way. It does not occur to them that it is precisely this idea in their minds that Communism will transform. “You cannot talk to summer insects about the ice.” Without changing this attitude of exploiting classes toward labor, one can understand absolutely nothing about Communism. Conscious workers and peasants are never worried about the question of lazy-bones because ideas of “like ease and dislike labor” and “pay remuneration

according to labor” never enter their minds. Judging others by themselves, they naturally feel that in a Communist society each and all will take “one for all and all for one” as a criterion of their life. To those who advocate the theory that “Communism will breed laziness,” we will openly and frankly say that laziness cannot be regarded as an above-class common human nature” or “weakness of human character” any more than Ah Q’s “method of spiritual victory” can be regarded as a “weakness of human character.” Laziness is a sort of living habit of the exploiting class and its intellectuals not engaged in productive labor, and the lazy habit among a small number of working people is formed under the impact of the idea of an exploiting class which dislikes labor. Do you say Communism will breed laziness? Probably you admire the practice of obtaining something without labor! One gentleman describes with the following words the Communist society in his imagination: “In a Communist society, each and all will lead a capitalist life, working half an hour a day and spending the remaining hours as they like, fishing, smoking, resting on a sofa, drinking tea, taking cakes ... as happy as spirits. It is a paradise in the world.” This is to represent the Communist society as a society of lazy-bones. If each and all lead a capitalist life in the Communist society, we can let others be capitalists and why would we need to eliminate the exploiting class and its ideological influence and realize Communism, and why would we need to inculcate integration of education with productive labor? Yes, the future standard of material life will top that of capitalists, but the bourgeois hedonist mode of life will never appear, and hard-working and simple living habits will be regarded as a virtue. The high material standards of Communism will never be separated from a high degree of conscious labor. The higher the standard of material life, the more Communist-minded laborers will be conscious of the happiness of working more

for all and of the shamefulfulness of seeking only enjoyment. To talk of Communism apart from Communist labor shows a complete ignorance of the substance of a Communist society and of the essence a happy life. To imagine the Communist society as anarchy is a fantasy permeated with individualism. In Communist society, democratic centralism will continually be enforced. Democratic centralism is a Communist method for correctly handling the relations between individuals and collective bodies, between the part and the whole, and between discipline and freedom. Some people want to distort Communism according to their individualist desires and by representing it as anarchy-- free of organization, leadership, and centralism. We must watch them. Let us return to the question of "lazy-bones." The transformation of monkeys (apes in scientific terms) into men was due to labor. Why does a man have two hands? For counting money, or for taking "a cup of strong tea" to the sofa? In the age of apes, probably there was no money or strong tea; thus, the gradual formation of two hands came from labor and served to perform labor. "Hands are not only organs of labor but a product of labor."¹ If our ancestors were lazy-bones, probably there would be no offspring like us. Therefore, labor is a primary and most fundamental characteristic of mankind as distinct from other animals, as well as a fundamental condition for developing mankind in other respects.

All men should perform labor and should use both hands to do it. In the era of primitive communes free of exploitation, private property, and distinction between mental labor and physical labor, men had no conception of "laziness". Men living in primitive communes "went to work at day-break, rested after the sun set, dug wells to get water, tilled the land to get food,"² knowing nothing about laziness. Since there were none who did [not] work, it is

very obvious that there could be no lazy-bones who were fond of “laziness” in practical life. With the emergence of exploiting classes and the distinction between exploitation and labor, lazy-bones and laziness as a social phenomenon appeared, and images of lazy-bones were ridiculed in folk stories. Laziness on the part of a small number of working people comes precisely from the parasites of the exploiting class who obtain things without labor.

The Chinese people are an industrious and courageous nation. With their bare hands they opened the national territory of China and made their history. In a feudal society, the laziest were landlords and big merchants: this point was admitted even by intelligent persons of the feudal class. “Men did not plow land, women did not weave, only elegant clothes were worn and only the best food was taken;” such was the life of the rich. Were not they the laziest in the world? Were not those young gentlemen “who had their clothes scented, faces shaven and powdered, who rode on elaborate carts and wore high-heeled shoes moving about as leisurely as fairies ... ,” too lazy to read even the *Four Books* and *Five Canons* regarded as “classics” by the feudal class, and so lazy as to ask others to write poems on their behalf? A number of emperors were the premier lazy-bones in the world. It can definitely be said that it will take a fairly long time to raise the Communist consciousness of all the people greatly and that the Party will have to do hard political and ideological work, and will certainly raise Communist consciousness to a great extent. Within the ranks of the people, a transformation will take place deliberately arid ideas of belittling labor will be changed through labor and criticism. In this process, a few persons imbued with ideas of laziness will fundamentally change their attitude toward life and their thoughts will certainly change either quickly or slowly along with the change

in their mode of life. Counter-revolutionaries, murderers, thieves, swindlers, and hoodlums, as well as other undesirable characters will be compelled to reform themselves through labor. Those who will not “work according to their ability” will not be permitted by the people to “get things according to their needs”.

It may be envisaged that after a number of years all people of China will be transformed into new men of Communism and that there will not be a single one who does not work. Persons brought up in such a society will take part in productive labor from childhood. They will form a living habit of labor and study in the same way as they form a habit of eating. Labor and study will become the prime wants of life. They will be uncomfortable if they do not work in the same way as they will be hungry if they do not take food. They will undergo Communist education from their childhood and consciously and selflessly perform labor for society. They will know nothing about “fame, position” and private property, and nothing about “lazy-bones.” just as they will see rats only in a museum, they will see the images of lazy-bones only in books.

Their “desire” is to perform creative labor, and their greatest happiness lies in creating new wealth for mankind so that others can acquire greater happiness, will not lazy-bones be completely eliminated in this circumstance? Kang Youwei³ is also afraid that Communism will breed laziness. In his *Da Tong Shu* (Book on Utopia) he imagines “four taboos,” the “first taboo is laziness.” He has no idea that men of that era will be Communist-minded and not individualists. Nor does he understand the theory that social being determines one’s social consciousness. After all he is a Utopian socialist, not understanding the necessity for the genesis and elimination of laziness as a social phenome-

non. Of course, we are not Utopians In the belief that in a Communist society all kinds of contradictions do not exist. In a Communist society, there will also be contradictions between the advanced and the backward, and there will be persons who perform labor well and persons who perform labor not so well; there will still be ideological struggles and evolution. However, in collective life the situation is that no backward persons may be “lazy-bones.” Collective strength and ideological and moral strength will be so great that the backward will soon be compelled to make progress. In the play “Brother and Sister Open Up Waste Land,” sister sings: “You young and strong man, how can you lie in bed like a lazy worm?” Brother instantly takes up his hoe and goes to the field. This was a scene witnessed in the New Democratic society, which is not to be compared with a Communist society. It follows that laziness as a social phenomenon will definitely be eliminated in a Communist society. Thus, “laziness,” which come from private property will completely disappear with the disappearance of private property. As things stand at the moment, the attitude toward conscious and selfless labor as an aspect of the Communist spirit is rapidly growing up in the course of the Great Leap Forward. From this we can draw only one conclusion as stated by Comrade Liu Shaoqi: “Only when Communism is completely realized can laziness be completely eliminated.”

¹ This is a quote from Friedrich Engels, “The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man.” See Marx Engels Collected Works, New York: International Publishers, 1976, vol. 25, p. 453.

² From the “Ground Thumping Song,” in Gu Yao Yan, a collection of Chinese ballads and proverbs compiled by Du Wenlan (1815-1881)

³ Kang Youwei (1858–1927), Chinese philosopher and reform movement leader, who regarded Confucius as a utopian political reformer.

The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything

By Yao Wenyan - August, 1968

Original Publisher's Note (Foreign Languages Press, 1968):

At this crucial moment when China's great proletarian cultural revolution is approaching a great high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation Chairman Mao Zedong has given his latest instructions of prime strategic significance. This article by Comrade Yao Wenyan, published in the Hongqi magazine, No. 2, 1968, makes known and profoundly expounds Chairman Mao's latest instructions for doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation. It gives a clarion call for the all-round fulfilment of the great task of struggle-criticism-transformation under the leadership of the working class.

Quotation from Chairman Mao Zedong

Our country has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work. On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggles.

Quotation from Chairman Mao Zedong

In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary “three-in-one” combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end.

The workers’ propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.

Quotation from Chairman Mao Zedong

The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee based on the “three-in-one” combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels.

A great high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation is coming. The publication of Chairman Mao's latest instructions and the systematic entry, under leadership, of the mighty army of industrial workers into schools and all other units where struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well are signals of the coming high tide. This high tide follows the work on a number of tasks, including the establishment of revolutionary committees in provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying of the class ranks. It will bring about profound changes in all fields, fiercely storm all those parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the socialist economic base, educate the masses, smash the hidden reactionaries, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to all-round victory and greatly stimulate the development of the social productive forces.

The important task now confronting the revolutionary committees at all levels is to do the work of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously and well, and without losing any time. In order to accomplish this task, it is imperative to persist in leadership by the working class and to **“bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work.”**

As early as one hundred and twenty years ago, i.e., during the mid-19th century when Marxism began to come into being, there had been put forth the slogan of replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the imperialists, the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and their agents — the revisionists, old and new — are opposed to this thoroughgoing revolutionary slogan. The Communist Party of China takes this slogan

as its basic programme. In order to realize this slogan, it is essential to unite with the broad nonworker masses, mainly the peasant masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie and those intellectuals who can be remoulded, and to lead them forward. Throughout the entire process, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been under the sole leadership of one and only one class, the working class. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Biao as its deputy leader represents in a concentrated way the interests of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of the working people; it is the only centre of leadership for the whole Party, the whole army, the whole nation and the masses of revolutionary people. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and all his instructions reflect the pressing demands of the working class and the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people and embody the proletariat's firm and strong leadership of the whole great proletarian cultural revolution. It was the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao that made it possible to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary people are taking part. To persist in working-class leadership it is essential, first and foremost, to ensure that every instruction from Chairman Mao, the great leader of the working class, and every order issued by the supreme command of the working class are carried out swiftly and smoothly. The theory of "many centres", that is, the theory of "no centre", mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and other reactionary bourgeois trends undermining working-class leadership must be opposed. The revolutionary committees in all places are organs of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All units should accept leadership by the revolutionary committees. No "independent kingdom",

big or small, which is counter-posed to Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters, should be allowed to exist in our country. The old Peking Municipal Party Committee, this watertight and impenetrable "independent kingdom" which resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, was a means used by the gang of big conspirators, China's Khrushchev and company, to oppose working-class leadership and restore capitalism. This "independent kingdom" has been completely smashed by revolutionary storms. This historical lesson in class struggle should be borne in mind by all revolutionaries. The citizens of "independent kingdoms", big or small, under the control of bourgeois elements in various parts of the country should also study this lesson. The workers' propaganda teams are entering the field of education. This is an earthshaking event. Schools were the monopoly of the exploiting classes and their children from ancient times. Conditions improved somewhat after liberation, but in the main the schools were still monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals. Some students from these schools have been able for various reasons to integrate themselves with, and serve, the workers, peasants and soldiers (generally speaking, because they themselves or their teachers are comparatively good or because of the influence of their families, relatives or friends, but chiefly of society at large). Some others have not. In a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there exists a serious situation — the bourgeoisie contends with the proletariat for leadership. When the young Red Guard fighters rose in rebellion against the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party during the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the reactionary bourgeois forces in the schools for a while got hard blows. But shortly afterwards, certain people were again active in secret. They incited the masses to struggle against each other, and set themselves to sabotage the great cultural revolution, disrupt struggle-criticism-transformation,

undermine the great alliance and the revolutionary “three-in-one” combination and destroy the work of purifying the class ranks and of Party rectification. All this has aroused dissatisfaction among the masses. The facts show us that under such circumstances it is impossible for the students and intellectuals by themselves alone to fulfil the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation and a whole number of other tasks on the educational front; workers and People’s Liberation Army fighters must take part, and it is essential to have strong leadership by the working class. Chairman Mao recently pointed out:

In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary “three-in-one” combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers’ propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.

This instruction of Chairman Mao’s indicates the orientation and road for the educational revolution in the schools. It is a sharp weapon for thoroughly destroying the bourgeois educational system. The masses of young students should enthusiastically welcome the working class as it takes over the school position, participates in struggle-criticism-transformation and assumes permanent leadership of

the schools. The working class has rich practical experience in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It shows the utmost enmity for all counter-revolutionary words and deeds opposed to socialism and Mao Zedong's thought. It most bitterly hates the old educational system which served the exploiting classes. It most strongly opposes the "civil war" activities of certain intellectuals in damaging state property and obstructing struggle-criticism-transformation. It thoroughly detests the habit of empty talk and the practice of double-dealing, where words and actions do not match. Therefore, when they combine with fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army — the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat — the masses of the working class will be most powerful in stemming all erroneous tendencies contrary to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and most effective in resolving all kinds of problems which have been described as long-standing, big and difficult. Contradictions that the intellectuals have been quarrelling over without end and unable to resolve are quickly settled when the workers arrive. As regards the handful of villains who have been hiding behind the scenes and inciting the masses to struggle against each other, only when the workers and Liberation Army fighters step in is it possible completely to bare their counterrevolutionary features. "The workers have only to look after their factories, that's enough." This is an anti-Marxist viewpoint. The working class understands that it can achieve its own final emancipation only by emancipating all mankind. Without carrying the proletarian revolution in education in the schools through to the end and without rooting out revisionism, the working class cannot achieve its final emancipation, and the danger still exists of capitalist restoration and of the working class being exploited and oppressed anew. It is the bounden duty of the politically conscious

working class to take an active part in the great cultural revolution in all fields and to ensure that Mao Zedong's thought occupies every position in culture and education. "Let us liberate ourselves. There is no need for the workers outside school to join in." What the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution states is that the method "is for the masses to liberate themselves". Are the workers not included in the "masses"? Is not the working class made of your own people? All genuine proletarian revolutionaries — not those who pay lip-service to deceive people — regard members of the working class as their own people and as the most advanced and the most politically conscious among the masses. The "three-in-one" combination of workers, soldiers and the revolutionary activists in the schools is the most reliable, guarantee for the masses to liberate themselves. Whoever looks on the workers as a force alien to himself is, if not muddle-headed, himself an element alien to the working class, and the working class has every reason to exercise dictatorship over him, Some intellectuals who styled themselves "proletarian revolutionaries" oppose the workers whenever the working class touches on the interests of their tiny "independent kingdoms". There are still quite a few such people in China like Lord Sheh,¹ people who look down upon the workers and peasants, who are inclined to put on airs and think themselves great. As a matter of fact, they are just Lord Shehs. It is essential for the workers and People's Liberation Army fighters to go to those places where intellectuals are concentrated, be they schools or other units, to smash the complete domination by intellectuals, occupy the "independent kingdoms", big or small, and take over those places where the advocates of the theory of "many centres", that is, the theory of "no centre", are entrenched. In this way, the unhealthy atmosphere, style of work and thinking

that exist among intellectuals concentrated in groups can be changed and thus there is the possibility for intellectuals to remould themselves and achieve emancipation. "Workers don't understand education." These are the words of some so-called high-ranking intellectuals. None of your ugly, bourgeois intellectual airs ! There are two kinds of education: bourgeois and proletarian. What you "understand" is the pseudo-knowledge of the bourgeoisie. Those who teach science and engineering do not know how to operate or repair machines; those who teach literature do not know how to write essays; those who teach agricultural chemistry do not know how to use fertilizer. Aren't such laughing-stocks to be found everywhere? The proletarian educational system characterized by the integration of theory with practice can be gradually brought into being only when the proletariat takes a direct part. This is utterly beyond people like you.

"The workers don't know the situation in the schools and the history of the struggle between the two lines there." Don't worry, comrades. The workers will get to know them. Compared with those short-sighted intellectuals who see only their small mountain-strongholds, the working class stands on a far higher eminence. The workers will not stay in the schools for just a few days; they will keep on working there permanently and always occupy and tread the schools. Everything that exists objectively can be understood. The working class will deepen its recognition of the world through its own revolutionary practice and remake the world in its own image. Workers' propaganda teams should, step by step and in a planned way, go to universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools, to all sectors of the superstructure and to all units in which struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well. Taking Mao Zedong's thought as the guiding prin-

ciple, they should unite with and help the activists there who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end, unite with the great majority of the masses including those intellectuals who can be remoulded and, in the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, promote the struggle-criticism-transformation there. This is a great historical mission of the Chinese working class at the present time. In the course of fulfilling this mission, the working class will itself be profoundly steeled in the class struggle and a group of outstanding worker-cadres will emerge, not merely to manage schools but to reinforce every sector of the state organs and the revolutionary committees at all levels. To fulfil this historical mission, the working class must earnestly and thoroughly study Mao Zedong's thought, learn the mass line and the style of investigation and study that Chairman Mao has always taught us, make ceaseless efforts to raise its political consciousness, heighten its revolutionary sense of discipline and constantly criticize and repudiate the corrosion and influence of rotten bourgeois ways within the working class.

The bourgeoisie has a traditional influence in the cultural and educational institutions. When the working class sets about transforming the world according to the proletarian world outlook, that is, Mao Zedong's thought, the bourgeoisie invariably makes every effort to use the bourgeois world outlook to corrode the weak sections in the ranks of the workers, including those of their leading cadres. The working class must maintain sharp vigilance against this. It must keep to the firm stand of the proletariat and maintain vigilance against attacks from sugar-coated bullets or by other means against the ranks of the workers. In addition, it must conscientiously do a good job of purifying the class ranks, grasp revolution and promote production, and make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories

and other enterprises. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee based on the “three-in-one”, combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels.**

These words of Chairman Mao’s sum up the development of the mass movement during the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, and clearly point out the road for us to fulfil the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and other enterprises. The first task is to establish the “three-in-one” revolutionary committee so that leadership in factories and other enterprises is truly in the hands of the proletariat. This is often carried out in combination with the tasks of mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying, by and large, of the class ranks. Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation enables people to wipe out the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China’s Khrushchev and his agents in various places, enhances their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, opens the way, both politically and ideologically, for purifying the class ranks, and, in the course of purifying the class ranks, plays a role in mobilizing the masses and consolidating the achievements in the struggle. To purify the class ranks and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows at the handful of enemy agents, renegades, die-hard capitalist roaders and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves, is an extremely important task for the working class in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and all other

exploiting classes, purifying its own ranks and weeding out class enemies who have wormed their way into the working class, and it provides mass criticism and repudiation with vivid living material. Mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying of the class ranks promote and give impetus to each other. They create the best conditions for rectifying the Party organization. After going through strict tests in class struggle politically, ideologically and organizationally, the masses of Party members greatly raise their political consciousness and greatly improve their relations with the masses; the very few bad elements are weeded out of the Party; how things stand with Party members both politically and organizationally is basically made clear; a number of activists emerging in the movement are admitted into the Party, thus infusing it with new blood; and a leading nucleus which resolutely implements Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is gradually formed.

In this way, we can do a good job in rectifying the Party organization and can reach the great goal set by Chairman Mao for Party rectification: **The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.** This applies to the movement in industrial and mining enterprises and, broadly speaking, also to the movement in cultural and educational institutions and in the Party and government organs. An upsurge in revolution spurs an upsurge in production. Thanks to the efforts of the hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants, agriculture in our country has produced bumper harvests for a number of years running. Only with a solid socialist position in the countryside has it been possible for the great proletarian cultural revolution to win victory after victory in

the cities. We salute the poor and lower-middle peasants, the firm ally of the working class. With the deep-going development of struggle-criticism-transformation, many new things are coming forth on the industrial front as well. In the course of transformation, a vigorous technical revolution has come into being in many places. The situation is excellent and inspiring. The handful of class enemies who vainly attempted to stage a comeback have come to their end. At present, U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction throughout the world find the going very hard. They are bruised and battered, disintegrating and in an impasse. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, our great socialist motherland, steeled in the great proletarian cultural revolution, is resplendent and holds out unlimited prospects. We must strive to keep up with the developing situation, fully mobilize the masses, sum up experience promptly, do a good job of investigation and study, be good at seizing on good examples, work out over-all plans, strengthen the leadership and make earnest efforts to fight a good battle of struggle-criticism-transformation. This is a battle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Let us follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan closely and advance from victory to victory!

¹ As told by Liu Hsiang (77-6 B.C.) of the Han Dynasty in his Hsin Su, Lord Sheh was so fond of dragons that he adorned his whole palace with drawings and carvings of them. But when a real dragon heard of his infatuation and paid him a visit, he was frightened out of his wits. This betrayed Lord Sheh's fondness for dragons as a sham.