

Commemorating Lu Hsun -Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution

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Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he [Lu Hsun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.

- On New Democracy



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This is a facsimile of a poem by Lu Hsun in Chairman Mao's handwriting. Chairman Mao wrote it on October 7, 1961 as a gift to Japanese friends visiting China. The poem reads:

A myriad families plunged into sorrow; men perish amid brambles and weeds. Could my grief and lamentations but shake the earth! My thoughts roam wide, stretching over the vast wilderness; Amid the silence I hear the rumble of thunder.



Lu Hsun at the age of fifty. The photograph was taken in Shanghai on September 24, 1930



PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The thirtieth anniversary of the death of Lu Hsun – forerunner in China's cultural revolution – fell on October 19, 1966.

The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, Lu Hsun (1881-1936), was not only a great man of letters but also a great thinker and revolutionary.

In the upsurge of the present great proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history, more than 70,000 members of the vast army of the cultural revolution - representatives of the Red Guards, workers, peasants, soldiers and literary and art workers in Peking and from other parts of the country - held a grand rally on October 31, 1966, to commemorate Lu Hsun. the great standard-bearer of the proletarian cultural front in China. Filled with a buoyant and militant spirit, the revolutionary masses expressed their determination to take Lu Hsun as their example and hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They resolved to carry on and develop Lu Hsun's fearless and thoroughgoing spirit of a proletarian revolutionary rebel and, fierce-browed, to coolly defy imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism centred around the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the reactionaries of all countries. They resolved, head-bowed, like a willing ox, to serve the revolutionary people of China and the rest of the world, defend to the last the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line, carry the great

proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and contribute still more to the world proletarian revolutionary cause.

Among those present at the meeting were Comrade Chou En-lai and other Party and government leaders, representatives from all walks of life and foreign friends in Peking. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Chen Po-ta, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and head of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee.

This pamphlet contains six speeches made at the commemoration meeting and an editorial of *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*), No. 14, 1966, entitled "Commemorating Lu Hsun — Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution".

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CONCLUDING SPEECH AT MEETING IN COMMEMORATION OF LU HSUN

Chen Po-ta

I wish to say a few words at the conclusion of our meeting to commemorate Lu Hsun, that great fighter on the cultural front.

On the eve of his death, Lu Hsun made a famous testament. It contains some penetrating remarks which are worthy of deep thought even today.

Lu Hsun wrote: "Never mix with people who injure others yet oppose revenge and advocate tolerance."

He also said:

... once during a fever [Lu Hsun had tuberculosis and often suffered attacks of fever] I remembered that when a European is dying, there is usually some sort of ceremony in which he asks the pardon of others and pardons them. I have a great many enemies, and I thought, what should my answer be if some modernized persons should ask me my views on this? After considering it, I decided: Let them go on hating me. I shall not forgive a single one of them.

I feel Lu Hsun has left us a most important testament here, something we must never forget.

Lu Hsun was hitting out at the renegades of that time who went over to the enemy but pretended that they had "foresight". Lu Hsun mockingly dubbed them "modernized persons".

At that time, Lu Hsun actively supported the Anti-Japanese National United Front advocated by our Party and our great leader Chairman Mao. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, however, bitterly opposed Chairman Mao's proposal for unanimous resistance to Japan, so Lu Hsun denounced them scathingly. Lu Hsun sharply pointed out that the Trotskyites' behaviour "runs counter to the present-day standards of morality of the Chinese people". At the same time, Lu Hsun fully supported Chairman Mao's policy of both unity and struggle in the united front, and his policy of maintaining proletarian independence within the united front. Lu Hsun bitingly exposed the fact that "ever since the 'coalition front' was proposed, those 'revolutionary writers' who had gone over to the enemy have reappeared posing as pioneers of the 'coalition front'. All their contemptible acts of surrendering to and trafficking with the enemy are now made out to be 'progressive', 'glorious deeds'".

Lu Hsun accepted Chairman Mao's thought and was diametrically opposed to the capitulationism of Wang Ming, Chou Yang and their like.

Now, thirty years later, Lu Hsun's prophetic words still shine with full splendour. Let those shameless modern revisionists listen to them! Was not every word of Lu Hsun's exposure of capitulationism and the traitors of that time also meant for them?

The modern revisionists centred around the CPSU leadership have betrayed the great Lenin and are on a honeymoon co-existence with the U.S. imperialists. In this criminal cause, they are using the name of so-called "united action" in an attempt to sell out the revolutions of the world's peoples and to sacrifice the world-shaking, heroic and great struggle of the Vietnamese people.

I think it is very useful today, as we commemorate Lu Hsun, to recall his testament, for it helps to reveal the modern re-

visionists' schemes of uniting with the U.S. imperialists in opposition to revolution, the people, communism, the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression, and New China. Once the people of the various countries see through the schemes of the modern revisionists in capitulating to imperialism headed by the United States, then, as our Chairman Mao has often pointed out, they will take their destinies into their own hands and their revolutions will be ever-victorious.

Long live the spirit of Lu Hsun, the great comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Let us follow in the footsteps of Lu Hsun, the forerunner in the cultural revolution, and march forward!

Let us forge ahead along the road of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

COMMEMORATE LU HSUN AND CARRY THE REVOLUTION THROUGH TO THE END

Yao Wen-yuan

Our solemn commemoration of Lu Hsun, the great standardbearer on the proletarian cultural front, is of great international and domestic significance, for it is being held during an upsurge in the vigorously developing great proletarian cultural revolution and after our great leader Chairman Mao has reviewed for the fourth time one and a half million of the forces of the cultural revolution.

Only revolutionaries are entitled to commemorate revolutionary fighters. The best and only way to commemorate the proletarian revolutionary fighters of the past is to continuously carry forward the revolution under new historical conditions. Those who are utterly disqualified from talking about commemorating Lu Hsun are the modern revisionists centred around the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who bow down obsequiously before imperialism and the bourgeoisie, the representatives of the bourgeoisie who, in the period of socialist revolution, hold on like grim death to the old bourgeois ideas, culture, customs and habits, the counter-revolutionary double-dealers who advocate "new skills but old ideas", and the "flies and mosquitoes" which flit endlessly over the garbage dumps of the decadent culture of the exploiting classes and refuse to leave them. Those who are today most qualified to

commemorate Lu Hsun are the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the heroic Red Guard fighters who, in the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the shining banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are vigorously destroying the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] and fostering the "four news" [new ideas, culture, customs and habits], and the revolutionary people of the whole world who, wave upon wave, are waging struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The great deeds done by the Red Guards in their fierce attack against the old things of the exploiting classes are the best commemoration of Lu Hsun!

Chairman Mao has given the most correct, most comprehensive and fullest appraisal of the historical contribution of Lu Hsun.

Chairman Mao said:

The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he [Lu Hsun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.

Lu Hsun's contribution is many-sided. Its soul and core is the proletarian revolutionary spirit pointed out by Chairman Mao. To cast away the revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun means to cast away his soul or Lu Hsun as a whole. In commemorating Lu Hsun we must, first and foremost, in accordance with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, greatly develop this fearless and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of daring to think, speak, act, break through and make revolution, steel oneself into a fighter with the unyielding integrity of the proletariat, and carry through to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism centred around the leading clique of the CPSU, the claques wildly gesticulating and adding their shouts to the big anti-China chorus, the reactionary forces at home and abroad, and all kinds of ghosts and monsters.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, in the period of the May 4th Movement of 1919, used his sharp and pungent pen to launch heroic attacks against the reactionary, decadent cultures of imperialism and feudalism and ruthlessly criticize the entire old world where man eats man. Wherever his pen struck, the enemy fled pell-mell. The old feudal diehards and the lap dogs lost courage when they heard his name.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, following the Kuomintang betrayal of the revolution in 1927, and in the course of stubborn struggles against imperialism and its lackeys, faced with the bloody lessons of the class struggle, continued to "dissect himself" strictly, remoulded his world outlook, established the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and developed from a bourgeois revolutionary democrat into a great communist fighter.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, at the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s, used the weapon of Marxism-Leninism to wage great and heroic struggles against imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, against all sorts of ghosts on the cultural front, and the revisionists who had wormed their way into our ranks and donned the cloak of revolutionaries; who smashed all bourgeois reactionary trends and culture; who thoroughly exposed the despicable faces of the lackeys of the landlord and bourgeois classes such as Hu Shih, Liang Shih-chiu and the advocates of "a nationalist literature"; who reflected the revo-

lutionary "soul of the Chinese masses", and performed immortal deeds in the cause of the Chinese people's liberation.

We commemorate Lu Hsun, particularly in regard to his last years. At that time, firmly taking the correct stand of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, he defended the anti-Japanese national united front put forward by Chairman Mao and sharply denounced the capitulationist line of Wang Ming's Right opportunism that was being followed by Chou Yang and others. Lu Hsun sharply exposed their reactionary nature as "truly dissipated descendants of bankrupt families" disguised as "so-called revolutionary writers"; he uncovered their sectarian methods of "whispering campaigns and stirring up trouble" and their "evil propensity" for double-dealing; he exposed their criminal acts of surrendering to the Kuomintang reactionaries and of spreading treason and renegade philosophy under the pretext of forming a "coalition front". Lu Hsun insisted on raising the proletarian slogan of "a literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war" and criticized the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of national defence". In "Reply to a Letter from the Trotskyites" Lu Hsun wrote:

I count it an honour to have as my comrades those who are now doing solid work, treading firmly on the ground, fighting and shedding their blood for the survival of the Chinese people.

This boundless love for the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, this unswerving faith in the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and his resolute implementation of the correct line mapped out by Chairman Mao showed Lu Hsun's most profound proletarian feeling in his last years. These things will always deserve our deep respect.

The proletarian revolutionary line has always existed in opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line and developed in the

struggle with it. The history of the revolution shows that the revolutionary cause has developed and advanced successfully whenever the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung held sway, and suffered setback or defeat whenever an erroneous line contravening Mao Tse-tung's thought became dominant for a time. The struggle in literature and art reflects the political struggle and serves it. Lu Hsun's struggle on the cultural front during the 1930s against the revisionists wearing the cloaks of "Left-wingers" or "Communists" was no isolated phenomenon; it was the sharp reflection on the cultural front of the struggle between the two lines — the correct proletarian line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Wang Ming. Chou Yang's attacks and distortions relating to Lu Hsun after his death culminated in the great conspiracy of 1957 in which a handful of shameless people under Chou Yang and instigated by him tried to stand the facts of history on their head, encircle and attack Lu Hsun and reverse the verdict on the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of national defence". All these were designed to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line, reverse the verdict on Wang Ming's bourgeois reactionary line and serve the political needs of the anti-Party clique of a handful of people who were trying to restore capitalism. In February last, the forum on literary and art work in the People's Liberation Army called by Comrade Chiang Ching on Comrade Lin Piao's request raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and made profound Marxist-Leninist analyses of many problems relating to the current class struggle on the front of literature and art. By applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Summary of this forum of far-reaching historic significance has provided the answers to many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism, resolutely defended the proletarian line in literature and art, thoroughly exposed the bourgeois line in literature and art of the 1930s represented by Chou Yang, brought to light and criticized Chou Yang's conspiracy to tamper with history and attack Lu Hsun and revealed the reactionary bourgeois essence of the slogan of "a literature of national defence". This was a struggle for the defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the correct line represented by Chairman Mao. The struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines continues today in the great proletarian cultural revolution and, as it deepens, assumes certain new forms. We must resolutely defend and carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and overthrow the bourgeois reactionary line! We must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, criticize and repudiate all erroneous tendencies opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and the mass line, and clean up the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line!

In a letter of May 1936 and with those revisionists in mind who, under the cloak of "Left-wingers", had covertly attacked him and tried to get him into trouble, Lu Hsun wrote indignantly:

Those so-called "men of letters" of Shanghai are really rotten, . . . I really want to write an article of at least fifty or sixty thousand words to spell out all the unspoken vexations I have suffered these past years. This would in fact also be a little legacy left to the future.

This shows that Lu Hsun had wanted to launch a large-scale counter-attack against the rotten group of Chou Yang and company. It is a pity that Lu Hsun died before he could realize his wish. Today, we should realize his wish, carry on the struggle to expose and criticize — thoroughly and exhaustively — the revisionist line on the literary and art front represented by Chou Yang.

The imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists are scared out of their wits by the great proletarian cultural revolution. They see it as something as dangerous as a flood or a pack of wild beasts. They are on tenterhooks that they will be wakened from their dreams by roars of the revolution. The words "Red Guards" grip them with fear as if the death sentence has been passed on them. They are on edge and in a constant state of alarm. They have started all their propaganda machines going to give vent to their fear and hatred and to curse the Red Guard movement and our great proletarian cultural revolution. But as Lu Hsun pointed out: "Cultural reforms flow on like great rivers and cannot be checked." The roaring tide of the revolution and the spread of revolutionary truth cannot be stopped by the puny shouts of the reactionaries. In those days, literary men of all stripes in the service of the Kuomintang reactionaries and revisionists who had wormed their way into the ranks of the "Left-wingers" both staged campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" against Lu Hsun. What was the result? As Chairman Mao has said:

It was in the very midst of such campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" that Lu Hsun, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution.

One can be sure that curses hurled by the world's reactionaries against China's great proletarian cultural revolution can only, by providing a negative example, result in helping to spread the sparks of the proletarian cultural revolution throughout the world, hasten their own downfall, and enable the people of the world to see more clearly the historic, epoch-making significance of that great revolution and the tremendous impetus it gives to the world communist movement and the history of mankind!

The modern revisionists, centred around the leading clique of the CPSU, have recently been using the occasion of the Lu

Hsun commemorations to vilify Lu Hsun and so shamelessly slander the great proletarian cultural revolution. They had the effrontery to malign Lu Hsun as a "humanitarian" and a "singer of fraternity", alleging that he upheld the literature and art of the old times as of "permanent value", and that he opposed revolution in the cultural field and the idea of literature and art serving proletarian politics. This is indeed the basest fabrication against Lu Hsun. During his lifetime, Lu Hsun most bitterly hated those deceivers who publicized class conciliation. When he said "The oppressed are either slaves or enemies of the oppressors but can never be their friends", he was aiming at the slavish philosophy that advertises "fraternity" and "forbearance". What a clear-cut proletarian stand he took! This is indeed a hard blow for the revisionists who deceive and lull the oppressed people with talk of "fraternity" and "humanitarianism"; it reveals their true features as servants of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Throughout his life Lu Hsun opposed the pursuit of "permanent values", and was always the most enthusiastic supporter and singer of the cultural revolution. He said: "China can have no genuine new literature and art without pathbreakers who break away from all traditional ideas and methods." He sharply denounced the reactionary bourgeois theory which held that "literature is permanent whereas political phenomena are temporary, so the former cannot be related to the latter"; he revealed that "the third category of people" who sang this tune did so precisely to serve the butchers who slaughtered the people. He always insisted that literature and art should serve the current revolutionary struggle and pointed out that the "three treasures - universality, permanence and completeness" — of the bourgeoisie are nothing but "nails which would nail a writer in his coffin". As a matter of fact, the "permanent value" advertised in modern revisionist

art is nothing but the shopworn "theory of human nature" copied from bourgeois literature and art; it is nothing but the expression of decadent life and a fashionable trade mark picked up from the rotten culture of the Western capitalist countries characterized by shamelessness, emptiness and vulgar taste. All this is dross which will soon be washed away by the tide of history. How can it have any "permanent value"?

The militant legacy which Lu Hsun left us includes many profound ideas which summed up the historical experience of class struggle on the cultural front and deserve to be studied and developed by us. Here let me cite a few points:

Firstly, we must develop Lu Hsun's fighting spirit of "beating a dog in the water". It is necessary to have this spirit both in order to overthrow the reactionary state power of the landlords and bourgeoisie and also to defend the proletarian dictatorship. Lu Hsun was highly vigilant against the enemies of the people. He saw through their utter cruelty and cunning and he held that people should certainly show them no mercy. If you do not struggle against them; they will struggle against you. You may not "hate evil as you do your enemy", but he will "hate goodness as he does his enemy". You think of letting him go, but he definitely will not let you go. He will put on various masks to trick you into compromise, but he himself will never compromise. In his famous essay "'Fair Play' Should Be Put Off for the Time Being", Lu Hsun summed up many lessons learnt at the cost of blood, and pointed out that "preaching not to 'beat a dog in the water' is very harmful". If those "dogs in the water" are not beaten thoroughly, once they crawl back on to the bank, they will bite many revolutionaries to death. This will cost more blood; and at the very least they will splash people all over with water. He said that if you think "to give a free hand to evil is to show mercy", and talk about benevolence with regard to ghosts and monsters so as "to allow them to breed quickly", "this will cost a lot more energy and lives" on the part of future revolutionaries.

To those so-called "kind-hearted people" who refuse to beat "a dog in the water", Lu Hsun said that some dogs only seemed to have fallen into the water, but actually had not. "At most they only pretend to be limp so as to appeal to people's sense of pity." Then they will start by biting these "kind-hearted people" first as soon as they have a chance for a come-back. He also said:

The nature of a dog will not change. Things may be different ten thousand years later, but I am now talking about the present. If you regard those "in the water" as very pitiful, then there are many harmful creatures that look pitiful. Even cholera germs, though they breed quickly, seem simple in nature. But a physician definitely will not let them go.

Lu Hsun's life was spent in fighting uncompromisingly against the reactionaries both at home and abroad. He never forgave the enemies of the people. Many times he rebutted the "idea of making no distinction between right and wrong". In his opinion, revolutionaries should always maintain a clear-cut stand, make a clear differentiation between right and wrong, and have a strong sense of likes and dislikes. Most of all he hated those "gentlemen" who made a show of "impartiality" yet in fact stood on the side of the old forces. He drew a most incisive portrait of the ugly features of these "gentlemen":

Although they are dogs, they look very much like cats, having an air of eclecticism, fairness, conciliation and right-eousness, and the appearance that they alone know "the doctrine of the mean" while all others are not exempt from going to extremes.

In his essay "Ghosts and Monsters in China's Literary World", he mercilessly showed up the ugly features of those who said they were "definitely not Left-wingers, nor Right-wingers, but stand far above both", pointing out that "no deception can last long". This is really an excellent portrait of some modern revisionists who today describe themselves as "far above others" and "fair". Take a look at those in the international communist movement who consider that they "alone know 'the doctrine of the mean'"; they are in fact showing themselves up as the most vulgar of revisionists. We must develop the fighting spirit of never compromising with the enemies, see through all the plots of those dogs in the water or those not yet fallen into the water, tear the eclectic masks off those "gentlemen" of a new type, expose the ugly features of those lap dogs who "although dogs, look very much like cats", in order to resolutely carry to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism, centred around the leading group of the CPSU, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Secondly, we must develop Lu Hsun's revolutionary spirit of tenacity and perseverance. Lu Hsun said: "In the struggle against the old society and old forces, it is necessary to be firm, enduring and to pay attention to strength." He said: "Without tenacity, nothing can be achieved in culture." This is because no reactionary force or idea will ever step down from the stage of history of its own. It is necessary to have many trials of strength and to wage repeated struggles in order to wipe them out step by step; this can never be done "at one stroke". It calls for the greatest tenacity to win victory step by step and to consolidate and extend it, and to defeat all kinds of counter-attacks by the old forces and all their attempts to soften up revolutionaries.

During his lifetime, Lu Hsun many times experienced the ebb and flow of the revolution with its victories and failures,

zigzags and reversals, unity and division. Time and again the revolutionary ranks split, with "some going higher in the official world and some going to live in seclusion", "some withdrawing from the ranks, some deserting, some becoming despondent and some turning traitors". But he stood firm as a proud pine in the wind and frost, fearless of darkness and violence; he kept marching forward, persisting unswervingly in a protracted, heroic struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, constantly assimilating the experience of class struggle, and ultimately grasping the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Thus he tempered himself into a man of staunch proletarian integrity.

Today, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, a movement without parallel in history. This great, torrential revolutionary movement was started by Chairman Mao on the basis of a summing up of the experience of the class struggle in China and in the international arena and of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and taking into account the profound aspirations of the revolutionary masses. a great creation in the international communist movement and in the socialist revolution in our country, a revolutionary movement of the proletariat carried out at a higher stage following the seizure of state power by the proletariat and the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production. It is aimed at changing the face of society and remoulding the mental outlook of people. This is an extremely great revolution, a far-reaching and deep-going revolution that touches people to their very soul. All classes, all kinds of ideological trends and political groups will come to the stage to give their performances; the handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road will never of their own accord step down from the stage of history. In such a great

revolution, it is only natural that stubborn resistance should be encountered from the old forces of the exploiting classes, and that there should be many new problems, extremely complex struggles and all kinds of reversals. It therefore urgently demands just such a proletarian tenacity as that displayed by Lu Hsun.

A staunch revolutionary of the proletariat, a true Communist Party member, must have a firm proletarian class stand and a militant spirit of holding fast to principles; he must be able to stand up to the tests of violent storms as well as attacks by sugar-coated bullets. When he has met with temporary setbacks, he should not lose heart, complain, be disillusioned, or run away; he should fearlessly face attacks from all sides, and not be scared of "isolation". Fearing nothing, he should put his trust in the truth, sum up each lesson, persist in the struggle and boldly advance according to the general orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao. Once a victory is won, he must not relax his vigilance, grow complacent, cease to make progress or become light-headed; he must pay attention to rallying the great majority, watch for new problems emerging among the masses, continue to sum up every lesson, persist in the struggle and advance according to the general orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao. Only with this revolutionary spirit of tenacity and perseverance tempered in accordance with the teachings of Mao Tse-tung's thought, will it be possible to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end, dig out, bit by bit, all the roots of revisionism and shoulder the great historic mission of thoroughly wiping out the bourgeoisie and making a reality of the ideal of communism.

Thirdly, we must learn from Lu Hsun's dialectical view-point in looking at problems. In his Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Chairman Mao particularly mentioned the need to learn from

Lu Hsun's method of analysing problems as shown in his later essays. He said:

The analytical method is dialectical. By analysis, we mean analysing the contradictions in things. And sound analysis is impossible without intimate knowledge of life and without real understanding of the pertinent contradictions. Lu Hsun's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then.

After Lu Hsun became a Marxist in the later period of his life. he overcame certain failings characteristic of the metaphysical and one-sided views expressed in his earlier articles; he skilfully used dialectics in analysing all sorts of problems and thus lifted his fighting activity on to an entirely new ideological plane. Lu Hsun's fighting experience shows that to be a staunch proletarian revolutionary on the cultural front, one must grasp dialectics and overcome one-sidedness. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we have come up against all kinds of complex contradictions and so it is particularly necessary for us to make a further advance in creatively studying and applying those great philosophical concepts of genius of Chairman Mao and use Marxist dialectics to make class analyses. Lu Hsun's later essays and other articles shine with the unquenchable light of struggle and serve as a very good example from which to learn to analyse problems.

Fourthly, in emulating Lu Hsun the most important and fundamental thing is his great communist spirit in bending his back to his dying day for the proletarian revolutionary cause. Here let us restudy Chairman Mao's teaching:

This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers,

Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.

The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and do as Lu Hsun did, never yielding to any enemy, however ferocious, and daring to wage tit-for-tat struggles against them, despising them, and overpowering and defeating them. Like Lu Hsun, we should wholeheartedly serve the proletariat and the masses, and be honest servants and "oxen" of the people; we should talk with the masses on an equal footing; work for them; struggle for and serve them to our last breath; we must overcome individualism and discard the bureaucratic airs of the exploiting classes who think they are superior to the masses of the people. Like Lu Hsun, we should have an ardent love for the proletariat, the masses and the revolutionary youth; and fight, study and advance side by side with the revolutionary people.

Our revolutionary younger generation should also learn from this spirit, discard all selfish ideas, unite with the broad masses, and identify themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers; they should develop the spirit of hard struggle, strive to foster a proletarian world outlook in the course of the struggle and train themselves to be fighters boundlessly loyal to the cause of communism.

Thirty years have passed since Lu Hsun's death. In this time, earth-shaking changes have taken place in China. Lu Hsun

once enthusiastically made this appeal: "We should train large numbers of new fighters," but this could not be done in his time. Today, there is a mighty cultural revolutionary army of new fighters. Millions upon millions of people have now become critics of the old world and its culture and the breadth and depth of this criticism are beyond comparison with anything in Lu Hsun's time. We have seen with our own eyes how tens of thousands of heroic young fighters have emerged - group by group - in the course of sharp class struggle. They have grasped the truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and have been following a correct orientation and a correct line. Representing the great majority of the people, they dare to wage brave and fierce struggles against those old things that appear powerful. They have indeed overthrown all the formidable obstacles that hindered the advance of the revolution. This is a historical truth: the "unlearned" have overthrown the "learned", the revolutionary "little fish" have defeated the counter-revolutionary "big fish". This is the cause undertaken by tens of millions of revolutionary people under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The representatives of the reactionary classes have finally been toppled from their thrones and their true nature as paper tigers has been exposed because they act contrary to the developing revolution, because they follow an incorrect orientation and an incorrect line, and because they are against the revolution, the people and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have changed from "big fish" into unimportant persons and finally they have become completely insignificant. This is true of reactionary fools everywhere in the world, the Khrushchov modern revisionists as well as Chou Yang and company. This holds good and will hold good with all the representatives of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. History never stops moving forward; it inevitably casts aside group by group the handful of people who act against the revolution. In the

light of the history of such class struggles, Lu Hsun's spirit in always going forward and carrying the revolution through to the end has become more precious than ever. We must act as Lu Hsun did and constantly remould our ideology, keep up with the constantly developing situation, and always follow Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman in making revolution. Together with all revolutionaries, we must always diligently study new things and warmly support them. In the raging flames of the class struggle in the socialist revolution, we must constantly forge ahead and carry the revolution through to the end; we must never retreat in mid course, never drop behind, and always be loyal to Chairman Mao, always be his good pupils and fighters.

May Lu Hsun's proletarian revolutionary spirit live for ever!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party! Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung! Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

LEARN FROM LU HSUN, BE FAITHFUL TO CHAIRMAN MAO FOR EVER

Huang Ping-wen

Student of Peking Geological Institute

This year is the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Lu Hsun whom we Red Guards commemorate with infinite reverence as a great communist fighter.

As Chairman Mao said:

Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history.

Lu Hsun was the deadly enemy of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, an intrepid fighter in the very forefront of the revolution. Using his biting, humorous and powerful pen he depicted the monstrous features of the forces of evil and the diabolical appearance of hideous imperialism. The way in which he portrayed them so accurately, exposed them so thoroughly and repudiated them so pointedly fully showed his ability to make a deep and penetrating survey of society.

Lu Hsun was a thorn in the side of all feudal and traitorous literary hacks, the paid hack writers of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities";

he was the biggest obstacle in the way of the Chou Yangs who were trying to push their bourgeois line in literature and art. In his lifetime, Lu Hsun sharply repudiated and forcefully attacked the revisionist line in literature and art represented by Chou Yang. Lu Hsun's slogan of "Literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war" was a proletarian, revolutionary one based on the anti-Japanese united front policy of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. The line in literature and art which he resolutely safeguarded was the proletarian one. Lu Hsun was the great standard-bearer of proletarian literature and art, a great figure of the Chinese cultural revolution.

Lu Hsun was a fine son and a faithful servant of the people. He closely linked his life with that of the broad masses of the working people and with the fate of the proletarian revolutionary cause. His was a life of revolution, a life of struggle, a life dedicated to serving the people heart and soul. The two lines from Lu Hsun's poem:

Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers, Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children

reflect his proletarian world outlook in a concentrated way and vividly portray his character. We revolutionary Red Guards are resolved to firmly keep in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, learn from the Lu Hsun's example and take this poem as our motto so as to spur ourselves on and continuously advance.

At present, our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is sweeping the whole country and shaking the whole world with the force of an avalanche. The vestiges of the old society—the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes—are like the sun setting in the western hills. But Chairman Mao has taught us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." Therefore we must learn from Lu

Hsun's spirit of thoroughgoing revolution and completely sweep away all the dregs and evil remnants left by the exploiting classes.

We must learn from Lu Hsun's spirit of daring to struggle and make revolution, persist in fully airing our views and using big-character posters and big debates to expose and criticize thoroughly, and to resolutely continue the just and severe denunciation of the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. We must put destruction first and a daring spirit in the lead. We must dare to think, speak, act, make revolution, rebel, and vehemently beat a "dog in the water", relentlessly pursue the tottering foe and never withdraw our forces until complete victory is won.

We must learn from Lu Hsun's militant spirit of "tenacity", be good at struggle and at making revolution. We are not afraid of being attacked, of setbacks, of dark clouds, heavy fog and storms, of powerful resistance, or of many reverses; we will carry the revolution through to the end and rebel to the end without flagging. We will stand staunchly under the great banner of Chairman Mao, fully and completely repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and safeguard the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Down with conciliationism, eclecticism, and slavishness. We will learn to swim in swimming, be steeled and tempered and grow up in the fiery crucible of class struggle, and turn ourselves into staunch and reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. We pledge to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

We must learn from Lu Hsun's proletarian stand in making a clear distinction between the things we love and hate: Fiercebrowed, we furiously defy imperialism headed by the United States, revisionism centred around the leadership of the CPSU, and all reactionaries; furiously defy those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road, as well as the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities"; sweep away all ghosts and monsters and be promoters of the proletarian revolution. We have boundless love for our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, and have infinite love for the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party. We have unbounded love for our heroic and great people and for our beautiful socialist motherland. We must study well Chairman Mao's works The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains, In Memory of Norman Bethune and Serve the People so as to become a good "ox" working for the proletariat and the masses of the people and be a good red soldier of Chairman Mao, devoting our lives to the noble and splendid cause of communism.

Lu Hsun died for the people, and his death is weightier than Mount Tai. In commemorating Lu Hsun we solemnly pledge to all revolutionary predecessors: We will be successors to the revolution, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the revolution through to the end!

Learn from Lu Hsun, and always be faithful to Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

May Lu Hsun's revolutionary spirit live for ever!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao, and long life, long, long life to him!

REBUTTING SIMONOV

Liu Lu

Student of Peking's Long March Middle School

Today amid an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution and at a time when we are bombarding the bourgeois reactionary line, we commemorate the great communist fighter Lu Hsun. This is of great significance for us in staunchly carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to final victory.

Lu Hsun's life was a life of struggle, a life of revolution. He dedicated himself wholly to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. Our great leader Chairman Mao has given a very high appraisal of Lu Hsun.

In commemorating Lu Hsun, we Red Guards must learn from his revolutionary spirit, rebel like him against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and revisionism; learn to be like him: "Fiercebrowed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers; Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children."

While we have been commemorating Lu Hsun, the modern revisionists, centred around the CPSU leadership, seized their chance to let off a malicious blast, raising an outcry of vilification against Lu Hsun and viciously attacking China's great cultural revolution.

There is a person in the Soviet Union called Simonov, a most mean creature and a big renegade from the Soviet revolution. When Stalin died, he wrote: "... no words can express how we grieve over you, Comrade Stalin. ..." But the ink was hardly dry before, hard on the heels of Khrushchov, he joined in outrageously slandering, maligning and attacking Stalin, in smearing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, writing one long putrid revisionist piece after another reviling Stalin and the Soviet people, and thus becoming one of the chief abettors of the anti-Stalin campaign. It is no other than this representative of the high salaried stratum, this new aristocrat of the Soviet bourgeoisie, who, on the pretext of commemorating Lu Hsun, wrote an article in the Soviet Literary Gazette of October 18 calumniating the great communist fighter Lu Hsun and attacking China's great proletarian cultural revolution. We will never tolerate the besmirching of the glorious name of Lu Hsun by such a renegade.

In his article, this lordly Simonov wildly clamours that "all that is happening in China now and is called the 'cultural revolution' is a phenomenon that is alien to the people and transient".

Chairman Mao has taught us:

... it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue, since it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.

The lordly Simonovs allege that our cultural revolution is alien to them. It is only natural that our great proletarian cultural revolution should be alien to revisionists like you. You are flunkeys of imperialists, faithful followers of revisionism. We must oppose you. How could you possibly like what we are doing? The torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution is washing away every bit of stinking, nauseating rubbish you represent. Of course you are scared to death and mortally hate it. Do you dare to follow us and rouse the whole nation to put up posters in bold letters giving full and frank expression of views and opinions, carry out a nationwide exchange of revolutionary experience and organize Red Guards? You dare not. You shudder with fear. If you dared to do it, you would not survive for a single day. You are only good at riding on the backs of the people and bleeding them white.

To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing. If they praise us, will it not mean that we are working hand in glove with them?

You gentlemen, stupid as asses, harbour the illusion that our revolution is "transient". You had better give up that idea! We, revolutionary Red Guards, are bent on carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution right through to the end. We are bent on rebelling against anything that is not in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We are bent on completely uprooting the poisonous origins of imperialism and revisionism. We are bent on fighting to the end, until all the demons and monsters in the world are completely wiped out. We will not stop short of complete victory!

This gentleman Simonov rants frenziedly about our "chorus of crude and unworthy anti-Soviet yells". In actual fact, it is not we, but revisionists like Simonov and his kind who, using their foul pens to blacken the glorious history of the Soviet people, are really anti-Soviet. Simonov and his like have pro-

duced novels, films, plays and poems defaming Stalin, the Soviet Red Army and the Soviet people, presenting Soviet socialist society under the leadership of Stalin as one big mess. Isn't all this a big and most contemptible anti-Soviet campaign? actual fact, today, it is the Soviet revisionist gentlemen who are producing a chorus of crude and unworthy yells against China. You follow hard on the heels of U.S. imperialism, yelling for all you are worth, and snapping at people at random like mad dogs. U.S. imperialism says east and you dare not say west; U.S. imperialism says the sun is black and you dare not say it is red. You tell lies and spread rumours everywhere and engage in calumny and vilification. You advertise your philosophy of survival everywhere, betraying the revolution and the truth and everything else for the sake of a few crumbs. Everywhere you are chiming in with the U.S. imperialists and are vainly trying to sell out the Vietnamese people's revolution to Some time ago, you cruelly suppressed the just demonstrations organized by revolutionary students of various countries studying in the Soviet Union, and the incidents resulted in serious bloodshed. Recently, you went further and drove home our students studying in the Soviet Union. By your words and deeds you have proved yourselves the ringleaders of the anti-China chorus. It is you who are making "a chorus of crude and unworthy yells" against China.

Simonov also rants about Lu Hsun's name "sounding out louder and clearer". Lu Hsun's name is sounding out loud and clear because he was a vanguard fighter on the proletarian cultural front, the staunchest of revolutionary rebels, a man of unyielding integrity with the most clearly defined loves and hates and the firmest of stands. An abject renegade such as you has no right to mention Lu Hsun's name! We, Red Guards, give warning to you Simonov that your despicable efforts to take advantage of this occasion to discredit the Chinese people

and advertise yourself will be fruitless. Your efforts are as effective as the braying of a donkey, and they will be spurned by the revolutionary people. In Lu Hsun's presence, renegades like you should feel too ashamed of yourselves to show your faces.

We are the young red fighters of Chairman Mao, we are red rebels. By holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and using this sharpest of weapons, and with Lu Hsun as our model, we will carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end! We shall turn every place into a realm of Mao Tse-tung's thought and arm all the people with it! We will plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought all over the world! We will make revolution to the end! We will rebel to the end! We shall give our youth and blood for the world proletarian revolutionary cause!

We swear to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Be loyal for ever to Chairman Mao! Be loyal for ever to Mao Tse-tung's thought! Long live the great Communist Party of China! Long life, long, long life to our great leader Chairman Mao!

MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT ILLUMINATES LU HSUN

Hsu Kuang-ping

I am moved beyond words that, in the midst of an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our most, most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has called this meeting to commemorate Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer on the cultural front. The flames of the cultural revolution — kindled by our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao — have raged through the length and breadth of our country. This has shaken the whole world. How Lu Hsun would have rejoiced if he had lived to this day and seen all this!

I am deeply convinced that today as in the past it is none other but our most, most respected and beloved and our greatest leader Chairman Mao who thinks of Lu Hsun the most, who understands Lu Hsun the most, who has most correctly, most comprehensively and most penetratingly estimated Lu Hsun.

Chairman Mao has said:

The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is

invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.

Chairman Mao extolled Lu Hsun as the chief commander of the cultural revolution, but Lu Hsun always looked upon himself as a mere soldier doing his duty for the Party. He regarded his revolutionary activities as carrying out the "general's orders", and described his revolutionary literary works as "literature written to order". Throughout his lifetime the orders Lu Hsun obeyed and carried out were those of the revolutionary people, the proletariat, the Party and Chairman Mao. He tried hard to study and grasp the Party's guiding principles and policies laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He strained himself to the limit in working for proletarian culture. Like a soldier on patrol, he kept a good watch all the time on developments on the cultural front and put himself in the fighting ranks. Indefatigable and fearless of danger and difficulty, he trained and fostered new cultural forces for the Party, and denied himself to save up money to support the Party's cultural publications. All this is still fresh in my mind, and I shall never forget it all my life.

Lu Hsun's admiration and love for our most beloved Chairman Mao knew no bounds. When the Red Army led by Chairman Mao victoriously completed the Long March of 25,000 li to reach north Shensi, Lu Hsun wired a message of greetings and congratulations. Full of enthusiasm, Lu Hsun in his telegram acclaimed: "On your shoulders rests the hope of the Chinese people and humanity." In those darkest years of reaction-

ary Kuomintang rule, Lu Hsun already clearly saw that the revolutionary people's war of the Chinese people waged under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung would not only end in the liberation of China's toiling masses but bring in its train limitless prospects for all mankind as well. We could see how very devoted Lu Hsun was to Chairman Mao in his "Reply to a Letter from the Trotskyites", written just before his death. Under the Kuomintang White Terror, he cast personal safety to the winds and openly declared that he considered it a great honour to be one of Chairman Mao's comrades. At that time, Lu Hsun and Chairman Mao were separated by vast distances, yet Lu Hsun's heart was turned to Chairman Mao. For Lu Hsun, our great leader Chairman Mao was the reddest red sun in his heart.

Our great leader Chairman Mao is the supreme commander not only on the political and military front but on the cultural front as well. In those days the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung was the supreme guiding principle for Lu Hsun and all revolutionary cultural workers. Acting under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Lu Hsun was a great standard-bearer, a most courageous fighter who breached and stormed the enemy citadel on the cultural front. This was especially so in the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front in the 30s, when Lu Hsun, guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, held high the banner of the proletarian revolutionary line led by Chairman Mao and put forward the proletarian slogan "literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war". He thus mercilessly unmasked the reactionary features of those "four toughs" - Chou Yang, Tien Han, Hsia Yen and Yang Hansheng - who were followers of Wang Ming's Right opportunist line, and ripped the bourgeois slogan "a literature of national defence" to shreds. This proletarian slogan, "literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war", which made Chou Yang & Co. go wild with hatred was precisely formulated by Lu Hsun in accordance with Chairman Mao's great directive. It was the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought that guided and inspired Lu Hsun to become the great champion of communism he was.

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Those counter-revolutionary revisionists such as Chou Yang and his like who had long racked their brains to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought nursed an inveterate hatred for Lu Hsun. They thought up various malicious ways to persecute him. For instance, Chou Yang once attacked him in an article in a gutter sheet under the pen-name Chih Yin. When Lu Hsun was laid up with a serious illness and the doctors advised him to go away for a cure, Hsu Mao-yung was the "first to come bursting in at his home". This not only did not make Lu Hsun any better, it aggravated his condition. The result was that Lu Hsun could not make the trip, and he became fatally ill. The persecution by Chou Yang & Co. had a direct bearing on Lu Hsun's death. Chou Yang and his kind not only attacked Lu Hsun during his lifetime but continued to do so even after his death. In 1958 the Chou Yangs, hoisting a "red flag" to oppose the red flag, turned the publication of The Complete Works of Lu Hsun into an opportunity to falsify history, prettify their class capitulationist line and slanderously brand Lu Hsun with "Left sectarianism". There also was Cheng Fang-wu who as late as 1959 was still maligning Lu Hsun. These people calculated that with the positions of authority they had usurped they could deceive the world as they pleased. But the brightness of Mao Tse-tung's thought glowed on Lu Hsun. The intrigues of Chou Yang & Co. have been revealed during the current great proletarian cultural revolution and their features as counter-revolutionary revisionists completely exposed before the masses. the course of this struggle we have come to understand still more clearly that he who supports and takes the side of Chairman Mao and firmly carries out Chairman Mao's line is a thoroughgoing revolutionary and is able to make his contribution to the people. He who opposes Chairman Mao and stubbornly resists Chairman Mao's line is a counter-revolutionary revisionist and consequently will end up by ruining himself. Lu Hsun who supported Chairman Mao's line became a great communist, whereas Chou Yang & Co. who opposed Chairman Mao's line wound up as insignificant revisionists. Such is the verdict of history!

Chairman Mao has said, "Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness." In face of evil forces and violent attacks, he stood like a sturdy, massive oak; he was not like a delicate blade of grass swaying from side to side. Once he clearly saw the political direction, he would apply himself with single-minded courageousness to carry through the struggle; Lu Hsun would never stop halfway, surrendering or compromising. Some people joined the struggle at first and later skulked away. Lu Hsun hated these types and fought them. As I remember, he saw through Hsia Yen and Pan Hannien as bad sorts quite early, and so when they came he never introduced them to me.

In the long fighting years of his life Lu Hsun often found himself hemmed in by the enemy — by the repression of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the opportunists' attacks in his own camp. Towards the opportunists, Lu Hsun maintained great vigilance and carried on a determined struggle with them. In this great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history, I would like to follow Lu Hsun's example and with the Red Guard youngsters firmly defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and carry on an irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is digging out the roots of capitalist restoration. Consequently this arouses

fear and panic and rabid vilification among the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. They make up stories, hurl venomous shafts at us and viciously attack us for "destroying culture" and "destroying writers". They have even sunk to the depths of trying to distort Lu Hsun's illustrious image, in a vain attempt to counterpose Lu Hsun with our cultural revolution so as to attack and vilify our country's great proletarian cultural revolution. The great lords of revisionism in the Soviet Union in particular are trying to do their best in this respect. Standing facts on their head, they try to disgrace the great communist Lu Hsun as a bourgeois "humanitarian", misrepresenting his ideas as "humanitarian in nature" marked with a "pacifist tendency". Recently I came across the journal Soviet Woman which, in the name of "commemorating the 85th anniversary of the birth of Lu Hsun", published an article by someone who interviewed me ten years ago. article went so far as to say this:

From Hsu Kuang-ping's reminiscences it is simply impossible not to compare the many characteristics of Lu Hsun's life with the activities of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, Russia's great revolutionary democrats, and with their peerless prestige and influence among the revolutionary youth of Russia.

To meet the needs of the revisionist leading group, this fellow dared not in any way refer to what our great leader Chairman Mao described as the "great communist Lu Hsun". He chimed in from the other end with the counter-revolutionary revisionists of our country and compared Chernyshevsky and others, nineteenth century bourgeois democrats whom Chou Yang & Co. lauded to the heavens, with the proletarian revolutionary Lu Hsun of the 20th century, thus passing off fish eyes for pearls to mislead people. He was not satisfied with saying this him-

self but even went to the length of ascribing this to me. This is shameless slander of the worst kind. Just see to what extent the modern revisionists have debased themselves!

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country has hit the counter-revolutionary revisionists at home very hard; it has also hit the counter-revolutionary revisionists of all descriptions abroad very hard. Try as they might to make a last-ditch struggle, they are doomed to complete destruction. Their fate is sealed.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution! Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! Long life, long, long life to Chairman Mao!

COMMEMORATING LU HSUN'S REBELLIOUS SPIRIT

Kuo Mo-jo

Our commemoration of Lu Hsun in the midst of an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution is of profound and far-reaching significance at home and abroad.

Lu Hsun's life was spent in fighting and rebellion.

He fought on without let-up until he breathed his last – against feudalism, imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, fascism and modern revisionism which was represented by Chou Yang's "literature of the whole people".

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has made a very high appraisal of Lu Hsun. Chairman Mao said:

The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he [Lu Hsun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary.

Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history.

The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.

Naturally, Lu Hsun's life underwent a definite process of development. He put Chairman Mao's revolutionary theory

into practice. In the course of his persevering struggle he came under the influence of the developing revolutionary forces in China, which prompted him to go forward constantly and this in turn promoted the constant progress of China's revolutionary culture.

In his later life, during the cultural "encirclement and suppression" campaign by the Kuomintang reactionary, forces, Lu Hsun scored extremely brilliant achievements in his fight. He started as a democrat and ended as a communist.

Chairman Mao said:

It was in the very midst of such campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" that Lu Hsun, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao also said:

Lu Hsun's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then.

Lu Hsun's spirit of study and his revolutionary spirit are complementary to each other. "Study tirelessly and fight indefatigably" is something that can truly be said of him. Study is for revolution and revolution is for the people. Chairman Mao has constantly taught us that revolutionaries must trust and rely on the people and wholeheartedly serve them, and that revolutionaries should act as pupils before they act as teachers. Lu Hsun unerringly lived up to these teachings.

Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers, Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.

This widely quoted couplet of a poem by Lu Hsun is an outstanding self-portrayal.

Chairman Mao especially appreciates this couplet and considers that it "should be our motto".

In commemorating Lu Hsun today, we should act according to Chairman Mao's instruction: "All Communists...should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day."

Lu Hsun always followed the Party's correct leadership. He considered the Chinese Communist Party to be the general headquarters of the cultural revolution.

In his letter "Reply to a Letter from the Trotskyites" dated June 9, 1936 (just over four months before his death), Lu Hsun praised Chairman Mao over and over again while severely denouncing the Trotskyites of that time. Plainly and squarely, he said:

But whatever my faults, I am convinced that my views are quite different from yours [Trotskyites]. I count it an honour to have as my comrades those who are now doing solid work, treading firmly on the ground, fighting and shedding their blood for the survival of the Chinese people.

Lu Hsun considered it "an honour to have as comrades" Chairman Mao and his close comrades-in-arms. In my view, that can be taken as an application for Party membership submitted by Lu Hsun shortly before his death. Chairman Mao later confirmed Lu Hsun to be a communist, and that can also be regarded as approval of Lu Hsun's application by the Party.

Two months later, on August 6, 1936, in his letter "Reply to Hsu Mao-yung and Concerning the Anti-Japanese United Front", Lu Hsun further said:

"I see and support the anti-Japanese united front policy presented by China's revolutionary party of today to the people throughout the country, and I join this front unconditionally."

Thus Lu Hsun consistently followed the Party's instructions, unconditionally supported the Party's policies and sang the praises of the Party and especially had ardent faith in Chairman Mao.

This is the good example Lu Hsun handed down to us and one we should follow. Our present era is vastly different in all conditions from Lu Hsun's time. Almost every one of us has with him Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's poems and verses. Our eyes are dazzled by brilliant achievements, our ears are ringing with majestic songs. We can see Chairman Mao with our own eyes and listen to his instructions with our own ears. How happy we are! We should strengthen our efforts a hundredfold to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters".

We are very happy today to see that the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung has become the unified thinking of China's 700 million people, and will be the guide in all our work for generations to come. Thus we have a unified understanding, a unified will and a unified feeling that will not only ensure that our impregnable state power will never change colour but also that the people all over the world who want emancipation and progress will take the same road as ours.

If Lu Hsun were still alive today how happy he would be! He would certainly have stood in the first ranks of the cultural revolution front, breached and stormed the enemy citadel, and together with us, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, blazed a road which no one had taken before and scaled heights which our predecessors had not been able to reach.

Finally, I would like to mention an event which merits your attention. September 25 of this year marked the 85th anniver-

sary of the birth of Lu Hsun. In certain countries, there were also people who commemorated that day. We are encouraged by the tribute international friends paid to Lu Hsun. But it need not be concealed that there were also people who were out to misrepresent Lu Hsun and launch frantic anti-China campaigns in the name of commemorating him. The Soviet modern revisionists are a case in point.

According to material reaching me, a Soviet magazine published an article entitled "The Writer Continues the Struggle" in a column called "Greeting the 85th Anniversary of the Birth of China's Great Writer Lu Hsun".

In this article of around 2,500 words, not a single word was quoted from Chairman Mao's praise of Lu Hsun. It deliberately distorted and negated Lu Hsun's revolutionary fighting spirit, describing him as a writer "with deep humanity and love for people".

Since the article says that "the writer continues the struggle", then whom and what is he struggling against?

An insignificant Soviet paper, which published an article "Reminiscences of Lu Hsun", also used the same tactics.

These paltry followers of the modern revisionists, using the pretext of commemorating Lu Hsun, wildly misrepresented him in an attempt to attain the criminal aim of frantically opposing China, communism, the people and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We have to warn these buzzing flies and the seemingly more powerful tigers and leopards that in the era when "the Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging; the Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring", the days are not far off when you pests will be completely swept away by the people!

The rebellious spirit of Lu Hsun is immortal!

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman!

COMMEMORATING LU HSUN—OUR FORERUNNER IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

- Editorial of Hongqi (Red Flag), No. 14, 1966 -

The great proletarian cultural revolution surges to a new high in its advance along the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The broad revolutionary masses are thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line. It is in this excellent situation, and in a spirit of militant pride that we commemorate Lu Hsun—our forerunner in the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has given the most comprehensive, the most penetrating appraisal of Lu Hsun. He said: Lu Hsun was "the greatest and the most courageous standard-bearer of this new cultural force". He was "the chief commander of China's cultural revolution"; "representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history".

Lu Hsun lived a life of struggle. He always stood at the forefront of the times, waging an unswerving struggle to overthrow imperialism and its lackeys, sweep away the old culture of the exploiting classes, and spread and promote the new culture of the masses.

The old semi-feudal, semi-colonial system and culture of the China of the past imprisoned the masses and rigidly shackled their minds. Lu Hsun had an implacable hatred for all maneating systems and cultures. He sounded "the call to charge forward" to "clear out" and "sweep away" all the old forces, ideas, cultures, customs and habits and trample underfoot all ancient scriptures, precious idols, traditional or secret nostrums, etc. With the fighting spirit of a man "breaking through all snares and traps", he attacked the old world courageously. He put daring above everything else and boldly declared war on all the enemies, using his pen as a javelin to throw at the enemy's heart. He was fearless in face of threats, of isolation, of calumny and slander, of overt or covert attacks, of death itself. browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers"-Lu Hsun always despised the "flunkey-ism" of being "servile and submissive" to the enemy. He broke completely with old traditions and old forces. He was a genuine revolutionary, free from any trace of philistinism; he had not the slightest regret for the death of the old world. And he repudiated it in the most merciless way, writing with such great force that the enemy was vanguished at the point of his pen.

Destruction comes first, and construction in the course of destruction. A new world can only be discovered in the act of repudiating the old world. This was precisely the course followed by Lu Hsun. He once said that at first, he had no idea what the new was like. It was in the struggle against the old system and old culture, and especially against such reactionary bourgeois ideas as "the theory of human nature", "humanitarianism" and "vulgar evolutionism" and in the struggle against the Trotskyite gang that he found Marxism and learnt the Marxist theory of class struggle. With this weapon he observed society, attacked the enemy and at the same time constantly "dissected himself" to transform his world outlook and consciously temper

himself into a revolutionary. It was through such sharp class struggles that Lu Hsun was transformed from a radical democrat into a great communist fighter. He firmly believed that "the future belongs to the newly rising proletariat alone" and placed the hopes of the Chinese revolution in the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao.

Today, as we commemorate Lu Hsun, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and learn from Lu Hsun's fearless fighting spirit and spirit of thoroughgoing revolution.

The phrase "beating a dog in the water" is an outstanding expression of Lu Hsun's spirit of thoroughgoing revolution. Hsun resolutely opposed any talk of "forgiving" or "showing mercy" to the enemy. He sharply rebutted the drivel which vilifies the spirit of "beating a dog in the water" as "going to extremes" or "being too harsh in hating evil". He clearly pointed out that "the nature of the dog" would not change and that if it were allowed "to crawl back on to the bank" and catch its breath, it would some day "bite to death" many revolutionaries. We say: Listen, you who are always charging us with "going to extremes"! Can we talk about "forgiveness" for our class enemies at home or abroad, the counter-revolutionary revisionists or the handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road? Can we allow them to rise up again some day to "bite to death" revolutionaries? No! We must learn from Lu Hsun's spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, the spirit of "beating a dog in the water", and knock them down so that they will never get up again.

Lu Hsun bitterly hated those seemingly "fair" and "just" "peace-makers", the "fence-sitters" who pretend to be "unbiased" between two antagonists locked in battle. "Conciliation" or "eclecticism" means "confusing good and bad" and "serving as the enemy's accomplice". To practise eclecticism in a life-and-death class struggle means in fact to stand on the side

of the enemy. At every crucial moment in the class struggle, the eclectics invariably raise an outcry or mumble complaints. But history has earmarked these characters for a tragic role. There is no middle road in the present struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism centred around the CPSU leadership. Those who advocate a middle road will inevitably slip down into the quagmire of revisionism. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, there is also no middle road in the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line. To practise conciliation and eclecticism in this struggle is, in fact, to defend the bourgeois reactionary line and oppose the proletarian revolutionary line. Every revolutionary should do as Lu Hsun did: "enthusiastically uphold what is right" and "spiritedly attack what is wrong", be clear-cut in what he loves and hates and persist in a principled stand.

From start to finish, in the revolutionary struggle, Lu Hsun fought on stubbornly and unyieldingly, no matter how long and tortuous the road or how many the difficulties, dangers and obstacles on the way. He opposed those who regarded the revolution as something simple, easy, and all plain sailing, and who were thrown into "despair and despondency" whenever things got difficult. This was the "tenacious" fighting spirit that Lu Hsun firmly upheld, this was that revolutionary staunchness characterized by down-to-earth effort, dauntlessness and defiance of all difficulties and refusal to give up before the goal is reached. Enemy encirclement and persecution made him all the more resolute. It brought out and tempered his fighting spirit. Lu Hsun did not feel alone when dark clouds obscured the sky and he was isolated. This was because he identified himself completely with the masses and threw in his lot with them, because he stood with Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people. Although he appeared to be isolated at the time, truth was on his side; he represented the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people of China and the path of historical advance.

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Reactionary encirclement and attack brings out and tempers the revolutionary Left. Such are the dialectics of history. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, all comrades of the Left should understand this truth, and be fearless in the face of twists and turns, encirclement and isolation, consciously tempering themselves in the class struggle and turning themselves into staunch and steeled fighters.

"Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children" - Lu Hsun had confidence in the people and a great love for them. Because of this, Lu Hsun was adept at discovering the newborn forces in society and resolutely supported them. Throughout his life, Lu Hsun carried the banner for the emerging new things in society, cheered their growth and sounded the clarion to clear the way for them. He spared no effort to "train a large number of new fighters". With great enthusiasm he concerned himself with the growth of the young generation and encouraged them to go into battle. He saw China's hopes and future in the proletariat, in the masses of the people and in the revolutionary youth, and this strengthened his revolutionary confidence and militant courage. One's attitude towards new things emerging in society - whether one supports them or not or opposes them - is an important criterion of whether one is a revolutionary or not or opposes the revolution. Proletarian revolutionaries can see the infinite vitality and the great prospects of a new thing as soon as it emerges on the horizon and they will enthusiastically greet and resolutely support it. As for the political philistines, they are blind, they cannot see the new things, or else dare not support them for fear of getting their fingers burnt. Representatives of the decaying forces heap scorn and abuse on the new emerging things and ruthlessly seek to overthrow and destroy them. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, new, revolutionary things are constantly emerging and the newborn forces are continuously growing stronger. Before them, one must swiftly show one's attitude and make a choice.

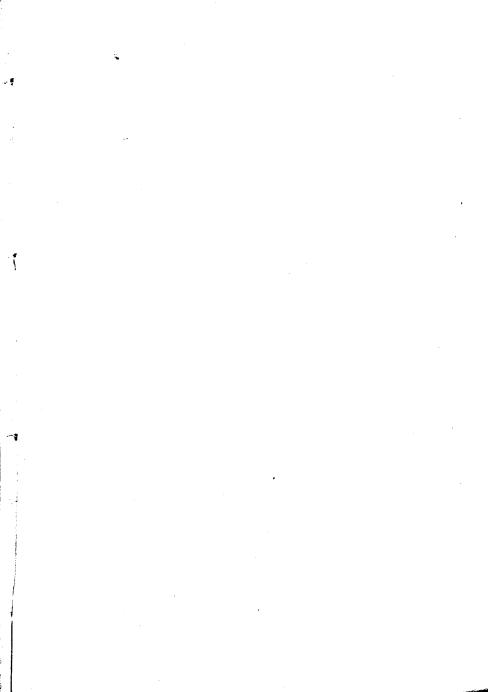
What most of all deserves emulating in Lu Hsun was his boundless esteem and love for the great leader Chairman Mao. In his early years he had "wandered", but once he had found Marxism, especially after he had found the Communist Party of China represented by Chairman Mao and the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, he was determined to obey orders and willingly became "a foot soldier" and "an ordinary soldier" in the proletarian revolution. Ignoring the White Terror of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the lies and slanders of the Trotskyite gang and the deceit and attacks of the Chou Yangs, Lu Hsun consistently and resolutely followed Chairman Mao and courageously defended the correct line represented by Chairman Mao.

"The heart of the hero in his old age is as stout as ever." The older Lu Hsun grew the stronger his revolutionary will and the more pronounced became his militant youthful vigour. What force inspired him? It was the Communist Party of China represented by Chairman Mao; it was our great teacher Chairman Mao. Genuine revolutionaries must all be like Lu Hsun, resolutely follow Chairman Mao for ever, and march forward along the way pointed out by Chairman Mao. Today, we are much more fortunate than Lu Hsun in that we can hear Chairman Mao's instructions in person. We must make revolution throughout our lives, read Chairman Mao's writings and study Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout our lives, and be for ever loyal to Chairman Mao, to the people and to the cause of communism.

Thirty years have elapsed since our forerunner in the cultural revolution, Lu Hsun, left us, but his revolutionary spirit lives on in the heart of every revolutionary comrade.

In the tempestuous waves of the great proletarian cultural revolution we need people of unyielding proletarian integrity armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought; we need all-round revolutionary pathbreakers with penetrating insight, and wisdom and courage. The revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun and his experience in struggle are a precious heritage. We must act according to Chairman Mao's teachings, follow Lu Hsun's example. use Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide, and take over and carry forward Lu Hsun's spirit of daring to make revolution and being good at making revolution, of daring to struggle and being good at struggling. We must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

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纪念我们的文化革命先驱鲁迅

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