

Commemorate Lu Hsun and Carry the Revolution Through to the End

Speech by Yao Wen-yuan*

Comrades! Red Guard Comrades-in-Arms! Friends!

Held during the high tide of 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, our solemn commemoration of Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer on the proletarian cultural front, is of great international and domestic significance.

Only the revolutionary people are entitled to commemorate the revolutionary fighters. The best commemoration of the proletarian revolutionary fighters of the past can only be the continuous carrying forward of the revolution under new historical conditions. With the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at their centre, the modern revisionists 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—all these are utterly disqualified from talking about commemorating Lu Hsun. 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 Guard fighters 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.

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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. The commemoration of Lu Hsun means, first and foremost, in accordance with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, to 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 with the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its centre, the clagues 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 because in the period of the May 4th Movement he 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, it was invincible. The old feudal diehards and the lap dogs lost their 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 the Party and donned the cloak of revolutionaries; who smashed all kinds of bourgeois reactionary thoughts and reactionary 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 revolutionary "soul of the Chinese masses," and performed immortal deeds in the cause of the Chinese people's liberation.

We commemorate Lu Hsun, particularly 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 these persons' 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 spreading of their 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 in defence 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 tells us 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 line of the proletariat 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 artistic 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. The *Summary* of this forum of far-reaching historic significance has, by applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, 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." It was a struggle to defend 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 this wish of Lu Hsun's, carry on the struggle to expose and criticize the revisionist line on the literary and artistic front

represented by Chou Yang and do a thorough and exhaustive job of it!

The imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists are scared out of their wits by the great proletarian cultural revolution. They see the great proletarian cultural revolution as something as dangerous as a deluge or wild beasts. They are on tenterhooks that they will be awakened 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 and they are on edge and alarmed all day. 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 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, with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. at their centre, have of late 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 Lu Hsun upheld the literature and art of the old times as of "permanent value," and that he opposed the 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 had in mind the slavish philosophy that advertises "fraternity" and "forbearance." What a clear-cut proletarian stand he took! This is indeed a hard knock at the heads of 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 tune of the theory of human nature copied from bourgeois literature and art; it is nothing but the 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 mad 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 the enemies' utter cruelty and cunning and he would certainly show them no mercy. If you do not struggle against him; he 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 mad dog in the water' is very harmful." If those "mad dogs in the water" are not beaten thoroughly, once they crawl back on to the bank, they will bite to death many revolutionaries. This will cost more blood; and at the very least they will splash people all over with water. He said: if you think "to give a free hand to evil is to show mercy," and talk about benevolence with regard to ghosts and monsters "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 "well-disposed people" who refuse to beat "a mad dog in the water," Lu Hsun said

that some mad 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 "well-disposed people" first as soon as they have a chance for a come-back. He also said: "The nature of a mad dog cannot be changed. Things may be different ten thousand years later, but we are 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."

The life of Lu Hsun was a life of 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 "righteousness" 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 righteousness, and the appearance that only they themselves 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," saying 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 are pursuing 'the doctrine of the mean'"; they are in fact showing themselves up as the most vulgar of revisionists. We must develop this fighting spirit of never compromising with the enemies, see through all the plots of those mad dogs in the water or 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 carry resolutely to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. at its centre, and resolutely to 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 reactionary 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, to consolidate and extend victory, and to make bankrupt all kinds of counter-attacks by the old forces and all their attempts to soften up the revolutionaries.

During his lifetime, Lu Hsun many times experienced the ebb and flow of the revolution, victories and failures, zigzags and reversals, unity and division. Time and again the revolutionary ranks were divided into two, with "some going higher in rank and some going to live in seclusion," "some withdrawing from the ranks, some deserting, some becoming despondent and some, 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 he ultimately grasped the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and 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. This is a great innovation in the international communist movement, a great innovation in the socialist revolution in our country, a revolutionary movement of the proletariat carried out at a higher stage and after the proletariat has seized state power and transformed private ownership, with the aim of remoulding the outlook of society and remoulding the ideological outlook. This is an extremely great revolution, a far-reaching and deep-going revolution that touches the people to their very souls. All classes, all kinds of social ideas and political groups will come to the stage to give their performances; a 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, as well as many new problems, extremely complex struggles and all manner of reversals. It therefore calls urgently for 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 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 be fearless in face of attacks from all sides, and not be scared of "isolation." Fearing nothing, he puts his trust in the truth, sums up the lessons, persists in the

struggle and resolutely advances according to the main 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, pay attention to the new problems cropping up among the masses, continue to sum up the lessons, persist in the struggle, and advance according to the main 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 bringing to reality the ideal of communism.

Thirdly, we must learn from Lu Hsun's dialectical viewpoint 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 he became a Marxist in the later period of his life, Lu Hsun overcame certain shortcomings 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, overpowering them and defeating them. Like Lu Hsun, we should wholeheartedly serve the proletariat and the masses, and be the honest servants of the people and the "oxen" of the people; we should talk with the masses on an equal footing; work for the masses; struggle for and serve the masses to our last breath; we must overcome individualism and discard the bureaucratic airs of the exploiting classes who consider themselves superior to the masses of the people. Like Lu Hsun, we should have an ardent love for the proletariat, the masses and the revolutionary young people; 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 in themselves the 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 put forward 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 old 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 that tens of thousands of heroic young fighters have come forth group by group in the course of sharp class struggle. They have mastered the truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and have been following a correct orientation and a correct line. Representing the majority of the people, they dare to wage brave and fierce struggles against those old things that appear very strong. 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 "small fry" have defeated the counter-revolutionary "big shots." 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 development of the revolution, because they follow an incorrect orientation and an incorrect line, and because

they are against the revolution, against the people and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have been transformed from "big-shots" into unimportant persons and finally they have become something not worth a rap. This is true of reactionary fools everywhere in the world, the Khrushchov modern revisionists and 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 its advance; it inevitably casts aside group by group the handfuls 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 com-**

mander and great helmsman in making revolution. Together with all the revolutionary people, we must always diligently study new things and warmly support new things. 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 the advance, and be always loyal to Chairman Mao, always be his good students 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!