

**FORWARD ALONG  
THE HIGH ROAD OF  
MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT**

— In Celebration of the 17th Anniversary of  
the Founding of the People's Republic  
of China

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING

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Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people, reviews the mammoth National Day parade from Tien An Men rostrum



Comrade Lin Piao addresses the Peking celebration rally

## CHAIRMAN MAO REVIEWS A MAMMOTH MARCH-PAST OF ONE AND A HALF MILLION PARADERS

—As the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution  
Surges Forward the People's Republic of  
China Joyously Celebrates the 17th  
Anniversary of Its Founding

One and a half million revolutionaries from the capital and from all parts of our great motherland gathered on October 1, 1966, in Peking's Tien An Men Square for the biggest ever mass rally and parade to mark the 17th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. This took place during a new upsurge in the unparalleled, great proletarian cultural revolution of our country and at a time when there was an excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad.

**Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, and other leaders of the Party and Government attended this festive occasion and reviewed the mass parade. For more than six hours starting from the morning and continuing into the afternoon, Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao, both in excellent health and full of vigour, were with the crowds all the time. When the parade ended, Chairman Mao came down from the rostrum and walked across the Golden Water Bridge and into the thick crowds, warmly greeting them all. The crowds, waving their shining red copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, cheered and jumped with joy. "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!" they shouted over and over again. Many exclaimed:**

**“We are happy beyond words! Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao are in such good health. They have such great energy. This is great happiness for the people of China and the whole world!”**

As the sun rose over the city, contingents of paraders — covering several miles — converged on Tien An Men Square and the boulevard east of it. Basking in the early sunshine, the crowds then recited quotations from Chairman Mao’s works and sang this song dedicated to him: The red sun rises before us. Its splendour reddens the great earth. Our great leader, beloved Chairman Mao, may you be with us for ever.

The happiest of moments came at last! The Square was astir, the military band struck up *The East Is Red*, and then Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao, his close comrade-in-arms, mounted Tien An Men rostrum with other leaders of the Party and state.

Red balloons trailing big streamers with slogans slowly floated in the sunshine and hovered above the Red Guards and Young Pioneers massed in the Square. Then bouquets of flowers held up by more than a hundred thousand people suddenly appeared on the south side of the Square to form the words “Long live Chairman Mao!” And as hundreds of thousands of hands waved their red copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the Square — 400,000 square metres in size — and the wide boulevard east of it were turned into a sea of red. And the shouting of slogans mingling with cheers roared deafeningly over the Square.

At this moment many jotted down these words in the fly-leaf of their *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* to commemorate this great moment: 10 a.m. exactly, October 1, 1966.

**Some 3,000 representatives of the workers, peasants and soldiers and of the national minorities and the Red Guards who had come from all corners of the country went up in groups to the Tien An Men rostrum to stand beside Chairman Mao and take part in the festivities. All of them have performed outstanding achievements and they were jubilant to be at the**

**side of Chairman Mao.** These heroes and heroines and the Red Guards excitedly said: By receiving us on the Tien An Men rostrum Chairman Mao is showing us the greatest solicitude and encouragement. We must imbue our minds with Mao Tse-tung’s thought ever more deeply. We must always work for the revolution and remain loyal to it from generation to generation.

**Taking part in the National Day celebrations were friends from every continent — from more than 70 countries and regions in all. They brought with them the friendship for the Chinese people extended by the anti-imperialist revolutionary fighters and the people the world over.** Holding copies of the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and speaking different languages, they joined the revolutionary people of China in wishing Chairman Mao a very, very long life.

At 10:05, the acting mayor of Peking declared the celebration rally open. The army band struck up the national anthem and 28 salvoes were fired. A huge national emblem was formed of bouquets held by more than 100,000 of the revolutionary masses in the centre of the Square before the Monument to the People’s Heroes. Flanking the emblem were the huge figures “1949” and “1966” signifying China’s historical progress.

Then Comrade Lin Piao began his speech amid stormy applause from the entire rally. (For full text see pages 9-13.)

It was repeatedly punctuated with loud applause and cheers from the one and a half million revolutionaries who shouted revolutionary slogans — a manifestation of their resolute response to the fighting call to the people of China made by Comrade Lin Piao on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Party’s Central Committee.

The country’s workers, peasants, People’s Liberation Army, revolutionary teachers, students and national minorities were respectively represented by: Wang Yu-fa, a worker of the heroic Oil Drilling Team No. 32111; Chen Yung-kang, national model agricultural worker; Kuo Hsiao-szu, Deputy Company

Leader of a PLA unit under the Peking command; Nieh Meng-min, Vice-Chairman of the Cultural Revolutionary Committee of Peking University; and Pazang, an emancipated Tibetan serf. One by one they stood by the side of Chairman Mao and addressed the rally.

They said:

**We must imprint Chairman Mao's instructions in our minds, infuse them into our blood and put them into action. We must regard the study of Chairman Mao's works as the first necessity of our life, make Mao Tse-tung's thought our soul, consciously carry out Chairman Mao's instructions, and put revolutionary interests above everything else.**

**We must respond to Comrade Lin Piao's call and, like the People's Liberation Army, study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act according to his instructions, and we must turn all our rural people's communes into great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought.**

**We have always borne in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao. We are keeping high combat readiness at all times, and are ready at any time to fight for the liberation of Taiwan, for the defence of our motherland and in support of the fraternal Vietnamese people. The moment Chairman Mao gives the order, we will immediately go into action to wipe out resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices who should dare to invade us.**

**We will always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We will steel ourselves in great storms to be successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. During our own lives we will build an impregnable state on the foundation laid by our revolutionary predecessors.**

**Chairman Mao is the great saviour of the working people of all our nationalities. He is the red sun in our hearts. We people of all the nationalities must closely rally ourselves around Chairman Mao, strengthen the solidarity of all na-**

**tionalties, consolidate our country's unity, defend the borders of our motherland, and work for the building of a prosperous and strong socialist country.**

Their speeches expressed the common revolutionary will of the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary masses of all nationalities in the entire country, and were greeted with continuous and stormy applause.

The one and a half million revolutionaries then warmly welcomed speeches full of revolutionary friendship for the Chinese people that were made by: Ta Thi Kieu, combat heroine of south Vietnam; E. F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); da Cruz, fighter of the Angolan National Liberation Movement; Hisao Kuroda, Vice-Chairman of the Japan-China Friendship Association; and Robert Williams, noted American Negro leader. **They warmly praised the invincible and inexhaustible strength of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the great historical significance of China's proletarian cultural revolution and her tremendous achievements in every field. They also expressed the firm determination of the revolutionary people of all countries to carry the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism through to the very end.**

At 11:15 the mass parade started to the strains of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. Waving copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, loudly singing revolutionary songs and shouting revolutionary slogans, the one and a half million revolutionaries of various nationalities and all walks of life marched spiritedly past Tien An Men Square to be reviewed by the great leader Chairman Mao. High in the centre of the red wall of the magnificent Tien An Men Gate hung a huge portrait of Chairman Mao. In front of the green pines and cypresses on the east and west sides of the Square stood the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Before the Monument to the People's Heroes on the south side of the Square was the portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Red stars topping

the tall slogan pylons on both sides of the reviewing stands were a symbol that Mao Tse-tung's thought casts its illuminating rays everywhere.

At the head of the whole contingent of marchers was a huge statue of Chairman Mao clad in military uniform, with a huge hand stretching forward and pointing the way of our victorious advance.

Marching majestically in the van of the mass paraders was an advance guard composed of more than 20,000 men of the People's Liberation Army, militiamen and Red Guards. The valiant and high-spirited PLA men who guarded the national flag and emblem carried sub-machine guns, and every one held up the red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. And as they marched they rhythmically shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" . . . "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" The Chinese People's Liberation Army created by Chairman Mao himself will always be loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party and the people. Close behind the PLA were the militiamen and Red Guards who are providing a powerful backing for the PLA. The armed militiamen who never forget Chairman Mao's earnest teachings concerning the large-scale formation of militia divisions strode into Tien An Men Square with heads raised and there they were reviewed by their great leader, Chairman Mao. The Red Guards — the brave young fighters, the shock brigade in the great proletarian cultural revolution — were overjoyed, carrying with them a huge oil-painting "Chairman Mao with the Red Guards". On and below Tien An Men rostrum, all acclaimed the all-conquering, invincible strength of the people. People remarked that if the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices dared to impose a war on the Chinese people, they would inevitably be drowned in the vast sea of people's war.

The mammoth parade of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres, and revolutionary teachers and students of Peking and from other parts of the country, marched 140 abreast. The procession, dozens of kilometres

long, merged into a great revolutionary stream with the columns marching mightily forward. As the contingent of workers and peasants passed Tien An Men rostrum, people cheered the news of the country's excellent industrial and agricultural situation and warmly clapped the masses of workers and peasants who have made tremendous contributions to the work of socialist revolution and construction.

**The biggest part of the capital's National Day parade comprised a cultural revolutionary army of contingents of Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of the country.** They marched shoulder to shoulder with Peking's workers, revolutionary teachers, students and cadres. Here were the sons and daughters of emancipated serfs from the Tibetan plateau, revolutionary youngsters from Chairman Mao's native village, and revolutionary sons and daughters from Yenan, Ching Kang Mountains, Tsunyi, and other revered revolutionary places in China. Entrusted by China's hundreds of millions of revolutionary youth, they came to be reviewed by their great leader, Chairman Mao, and to pledge to him their resolute determination to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

When all the contingents of paraders had marched past Tien An Men Square, the more than 100,000 Young Pioneers, Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students, workers and cadres, who had packed the open space on the south side of the Square, jubilantly surged towards the rostrum. They waved garlands, bouquets, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, and cheered Chairman Mao with all their hearts. The crackle of fireworks filled the air; countless red balloons soared towards the sky. Then, friends from more than 70 countries and regions of the world, representatives of the workers, peasants, soldiers and all the fraternal nationalities, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao, who filled the 16 reviewing stands alongside the Golden Water Bridge, shouted in one voice "Long live Chairman Mao!" Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin

Piao and other Party and state leaders waved over and over to the cheering crowds. A feeling of great exultation swept Tien An Men rostrum and the Square, fully expressing the massive unity of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world.

Reviewing the parade on the rostrum were noted revolutionary fighters against imperialism from every continent and other foreign friends.

Also on Tien An Men rostrum were other leading members of the Party, Government, army and other organizations, leading members of the North China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and of the Peking Municipal Party Committee, and scientists and technicians who have made contributions to the country's economic construction and national defence.

(Hsinhua News Agency, October 1, 1966)

## COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE CELEBRATION RALLY

(October 1, 1966)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the great festival of the 17th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I most warmly salute the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary teachers and students, the revolutionary Red Guards and other militant youth organizations, the revolutionary people of all nationalities and the revolutionary cadres throughout the country, and extend a hearty welcome to our friends from different countries of the world!

The 17 years that have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China have been no ordinary years. They are years which have witnessed earth-shaking changes in China. And they are years which have also witnessed earth-shaking changes in the world.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the Chinese people in carrying out the revolution, and they traversed a tortuous path beset with all kinds of hardships. Our domestic and foreign enemies were strong, but in the end they were overthrown and driven out by the Chinese people. The imperialists headed by the United States, all the reactionaries and the modern revisionists — all these paper tigers have been punctured by the Chinese people and all the revolutionary people of the world.

In the short space of 17 years, the Chinese people have completely changed the face of old China. This is a highly meritorious deed performed by the masses of the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We are convinced that all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world will take their own paths in the light of their own countries' conditions and seize final victory as the Chinese people did.

Today, we are celebrating this great festival amid an upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a great revolution, an entirely new and creative revolution, carried out after the seizure of political power by the proletariat. Its aim is to overthrow through struggle the small handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and have taken the capitalist road, to sweep away all ghosts and monsters in our society, and to break the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes and foster the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, with a view to further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist system. The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world teaches us that if we fail to do this, the rule of revisionism will come about and the restoration of capitalism will take place. Should this happen in our country, China would go back to its former colonial and semi-colonial, feudal and semi-feudal road, and the imperialists and reactionaries would again ride roughshod over the people. The importance of our great cultural revolution is therefore perfectly clear.

At present, hundreds of millions of people have been aroused. The revolutionary people feel proud and elated, while the reactionary bourgeoisie has been completely discredited. We are forging ahead. We have already laid the corner-stone for a great victory.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is promoting the revolutionization of people's minds and has thus become a powerful motive force for the development of socialist pro-

duction in our country. This year is the first year of our Third Five-Year Plan. The plan for this year's industrial production is expected to be overfulfilled, and agriculture promises another good harvest. New heights are being scaled in China's science and technology. Our great motherland has never been so prosperous and so full of vigour. Our national defence has never been so strong.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the capitalist and socialist roads exist throughout the historical period of socialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution constitutes a new stage in the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. In the course of this revolution, the struggle is still going on between the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois line of opposing revolution. Those who cling to the erroneous line are only a small handful of persons, who divorce themselves from the people, oppose the people and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and this spells their certain failure.

Comrades and friends! At present, an excellent situation prevails in the world. The great upheavals of the past few years in the world show that the days of imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism and all reaction are numbered.

U.S. imperialism is trying hard to find a way out by launching a world war. We must take this seriously. The focal point of the present struggle lies in Vietnam. We have made every preparation. Not flinching from maximum national sacrifices, we are determined to give firm support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in carrying the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. Imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its centre are colluding and actively plotting peace talk swindles for the purpose of stamping out the raging flames of the

Vietnamese people's national revolutionary war against U.S. aggression, of the national revolutionary struggles in Asian, African and Latin American countries and of the world revolution. They will not succeed in their schemes so long as the people of the whole world keep their eyes wide open. Twenty years ago, Chairman Mao said that the people of the whole world must form a united front against U.S. imperialism so as to defeat it. The revolutionary people of all countries are now advancing along this road.

Chairman Mao has said,

People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

Such is the inevitable future of the world.

The Chinese people will continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of proletarian internationalism and, with the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and the revolutionary people of all countries, carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the struggle against modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its centre through to the end!

Comrades and friends!

All our achievements and successes have been scored under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and represent the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify the thinking of the whole Party and the thinking of the people of the whole country. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and further unfold the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works throughout the country. We must turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must build our great motherland into a still more powerful and prosperous country. This is the

demand of the Chinese people as well as the hope placed in us by the people of all countries.

Long live the people of all the nationalities in China!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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

## PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

(September 30, 1966)

Dear Guests, Comrades and Friends:

We are most happy and overjoyed to be with you at this jubilant gathering to celebrate the 17th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China amidst an upsurge of our great proletarian cultural revolution. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, I would like here to extend our warm greetings to the broad masses of our workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary teachers and students, revolutionary Red Guards and youth and revolutionary cadres, to the representatives of the revolutionary people of all our nationalities, and to the representatives of the overseas Chinese and of our compatriots from Hongkong and Macao, and express our warm welcome and thanks to our friends from the five continents!

Our great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated and has been led by the great leader of our people Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao raised the question after summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle both at home and abroad. The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat teaches us that without a proletarian cultural revolution the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and that to consolidate this dictatorship it is imperative energetically to foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology,

thoroughly dig out the ideological roots of revisionism and firmly implant Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Our great proletarian cultural revolution has manifested infinitely great power. It has deflated the arrogance of the reactionary bourgeoisie and is cleaning up all the rubbish left over by the old society; it has broken the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, fostered the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, and vigorously promoted the revolutionization of people's minds. A high tide of enthusiastic study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works is now rising throughout the Party and the country. Our 700 million people have taken on an entirely new mental complexion.

Our great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist education movement in the cities and the rural areas have given a powerful impetus to our socialist construction. Our industries have witnessed tremendous developments both in output and in quality. In agriculture, bumper harvests have been reaped in succession. The level of science and technology has been vastly raised. The strength of our national defence is steadily growing. We are now in the first year of our Third Five-Year Plan. Industrial and agricultural production targets are expected to be overfulfilled. A situation of a new all-round leap forward is emerging.

Every success achieved by our people in the mental or material realm is a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. The Chinese people are exceedingly happy and honoured to have such a great leader. We are deeply convinced that so long as we hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and hand it on from generation to generation, we shall certainly succeed in building up our great motherland and in making it an impregnable proletarian state that will never change colour.

Our great proletarian cultural revolution is acclaimed and warmly praised by all the Marxist-Leninists and revolu-

tionary people of the world and immensely fortifies their revolutionary fighting will and confidence in victory. The handful of imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries in various countries are hurling vicious abuse at us precisely because our great cultural revolution has dug out the roots of their subversive activities and their attempts at "peaceful evolution" in China and has thus hit them where it hurts most. Their abuse only proves that we have done the right thing and serves further to expose their reactionary features, their hostility towards the Chinese people and the cause of human progress.

Our great proletarian cultural revolution is a new thing without precedent in history. We hope that our foreign friends will make use of their stay in China to take a good look, and we welcome their valuable comments which will be helpful to our great cultural revolution.

Comrades and friends! The present international situation is excellent and favourable to the revolutionary people. The days of U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries are numbered. The modern revisionists, too, are finding life increasingly difficult. The ranks of Marxist-Leninists are expanding steadily. The revolutionary movements of the people of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are surging vigorously forward. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people are marching from victory to victory in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In collusion with modern revisionism, U.S. imperialism, which is at the end of its tether, is using the United Nations to hatch new peace talk plots. The United Nations has no right whatsoever to meddle with the Vietnam question. The heroic Vietnamese people will never yield. All the intrigues of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism are doomed to failure.

Armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are determined, no matter at what price and sacrifice, to firmly support the Vietnamese people in fighting through

to the end till the U.S. aggressors are driven out of Vietnam, firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world.

Our great proletarian cultural revolution is of most profound and far-reaching significance for ensuring China's adherence to proletarian internationalism.

We must unite with all the people of the world opposing imperialism and colonialism and carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys through to the end!

Together with all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the world, we must carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end and advance the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world!

Now may I propose a toast

to the great unity of the people of all the nationalities in our country,

to the great unity of the people of the whole world,

to the great progress of the cause of liberation of the people of all countries,

to the health of Chairman Mao, our great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander and great helmsman,

to the health of our friends from different countries, and

to the health of all our compatriots and comrades present here!

## ARM THE 700 MILLION PEOPLE WITH MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

—In Celebration of the 17th Anniversary of the  
Founding of the People's Republic of China

(*Renmin Ribao* Editorial, October 1, 1966)

Founded by our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself, the People's Republic of China is now 17 years old.

Seventeen years in the history of mankind pass in a flash. But in this land of China earth-shaking changes have taken place during that time. A large country of 700 million people, a backward country which was at the mercy of others and subjected to all kinds of insults, has in one leap become a great advanced socialist state standing upright like a giant in the world's East. Illuminated by the sunshine of Mao Tse-tung's thought, New China has become the centre towards which the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world are turned.

In the past 17 years, under the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people of our country by leaps and bounds have won victories on the various fronts of socialist revolution and construction.

Launched and personally led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great proletarian cultural revolution has carried the socialist revolution in our country forward to a new stage. The great storm of the cultural revolution is sweeping the entire country and shaking the whole world.

Hundreds of millions of people—with the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres as the main force—have launched an all-round, vigorous attack on the handful of people in authority who have wormed themselves into the Party and taken the capitalist road, on the ghosts and monsters in society, and on the stubborn bastions of the bourgeoisie. A short while ago these bourgeois Rightist overlords were acting high and mighty. Now, one after another has been exposed by the revolutionary masses, and their former arrogance has been shattered.

Moving out from the schools and into the streets, the valiant revolutionary Red Guards have been destroying the “four olds” [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the exploiting classes and establishing the “four news” [new ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the proletariat, and they have been doing so on a grand scale. They have smashed to pieces the dregs and remnant evil elements, outdated conventions and bad customs, all left over from the old society.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution the revolutionary masses are studying Chairman Mao's works on a vast scale. Everywhere the red ocean of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is to be seen; everywhere the ringing voice of the people reading Chairman Mao's works is to be heard. The people are studying and applying what they study in the course of the struggle, and they see the cultural revolution as the best classroom for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has enabled the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness, lying dormant in hundreds of millions of people, to burst forth like atomic energy. Daring to think, speak out, break through, act and rise up in revolution—this has become the style of our times. The younger generation of our country is being tempered and maturing rapidly in the great storms of revolution.

The revolutionary upsurge has stimulated a further upsurge in production and construction. During the cultural

revolution a new all-round leap forward situation is emerging in our national economy.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is taking further gigantic strides forward along the road of proletarian revolutionization and militancy. The power of our national defence is invincible.

The people of our country have honourably fulfilled their proletarian internationalist duties. They have done so in the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and modern revisionism centred around the Soviet Communist Party leadership, and in support of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle waged by the people of the world.

Never before have the Chinese people been in such high spirits as they are today. Never before has our beloved motherland been so prosperous and thriving as today.

"Wonders can be worked once there is a grip on the class struggle." All our achievements and victories are evidence of the incomparable correctness of this brilliant thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads exist throughout the historical period of socialism. The overthrown bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes are not reconciled to their defeat. They vainly attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism by using the handful of people in authority who have wormed their way into the Communist Party and taken the capitalist road, and by taking advantage of their old positions in the ideological and cultural fields. The great cultural revolution launched and led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung intends to seize these positions occupied by the exploiting classes, smash the plots to stage a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat still further, thus enabling

China to march forward along the road of socialism and communism in conformity with the law of history.

Because the great proletarian cultural revolution is directed at digging up the roots of all exploiting systems and of capitalism and revisionism, it is inevitably meeting with desperate opposition from the class enemy and is encountering resistance from various quarters.

The enemies of the proletariat keep on trying in every way to counter the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are even waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag in order to deceive and mislead part of the masses in a vain attempt to attack proletarian revolutionaries and "bombard" the revolutionary headquarters of the proletariat. We must heighten our vigilance against this and see through them, and we must rely on and trust the masses more fully and arouse them more boldly; for with the masses becoming more and more awakened the enemy's plots will never succeed.

Some other people so far have had a very poor understanding of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and still put "fear" above everything else towards the mass movement. They talk about the 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, but in their actions they depart from it. They practise factionalism consciously or unconsciously, and, exploiting the infinite love of the masses for the Party and Chairman Mao, set some workers and peasants against the revolutionary students, resulting in certain cases where the masses struggle against the masses and students against students. Their actions make it possible for the enemies of the proletariat to capitalize on this and fish in troubled waters. We have expressed the hope, with the best of intentions, that these people will correct their mistakes. If they persist in refusing to correct themselves, they will become divorced from the people, and will inevitably slip on to the capitalist road.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party called on the whole Party and the entire country to undertake the study of the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on a grand scale. The communique of the session points out: "The most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for the victory of our socialist and communist cause is to arm the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology."

Resolutely responding to the call of the Party's Central Committee, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in this great cultural revolution, give prominence to proletarian politics and push forward the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new high. We must make great efforts to consciously master Mao Tse-tung's thought, the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat, and use it to answer and solve the diverse problems arising in the cultural revolution. We must resolutely defend and carry out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's directives, the 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary line of the proletariat.

Today, the imperialists headed by the United States, the modern revisionists centred around the Soviet Communist Party leadership and the reactionaries of all countries are having fits of hysteria. They are doing their very utmost against the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, slandering and distorting it, inciting against it and defaming it. They are screaming themselves hoarse and competing to see who can howl the loudest in the anti-China chorus. But the desperate howling of these overlords cannot hide the fear in their hearts.

Gentlemen, haven't you placed your hopes for "peaceful evolution" on our younger generation? It is a pity that you

miscalculated! It is precisely this great cultural revolution that is tempering and training tens of millions of our younger generation to become the staunchest fighters against imperialism and revisionism. And you — the garbage of history — will inevitably be swept off the face of the earth by the revolutionary people of the whole world.

That the Communist Party of China has had the daring to carry out this great proletarian cultural revolution shows our strength and the faith we have in ourselves. Messrs. imperialists and revisionists, haven't you been bragging about your so-called democracy and freedom? Why then can't you also let the masses have a full and frank airing of views and opinions, put up big-character posters and hold great debates? Have you the guts to do this?

We warn the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices — watch your step. If you act recklessly and rush in headlong to impose war on us, you will find awaiting you the highly awakened Chinese people, the several million strong heroic People's Liberation Army, which is skilled in fighting, and the powerful backing of the People's Liberation Army, the several hundred million strong militia and the Red Guards!

The Chinese people will continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and, with the people of the whole world, form an irresistible broad united front against U.S. imperialism, and give powerful support to the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation till final victory.

We firmly support the revolutions of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and all countries of the world. With all Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionary people of the whole world, we will carry through to the very end the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and against modern revisionism, at the core of which is the Soviet Communist Party leadership.

The 700 million people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are ever victorious!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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

## FORWARD ALONG THE HIGH ROAD OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

*(Hongqi Editorial, No. 13, 1966)*

We celebrate our great National Day this year at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is in an upsurge and when our country's socialist revolution has developed to a new, deeper and more extensive stage. This is a most unusual festival, a festival that brims with high revolutionary spirit as never before and a festival that gives the greatest cause for rejoicing.

The 17 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China have seen the people of the whole country forge triumphantly ahead by holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Extremely brilliant achievements have been registered in these 17 years in the fields of politics, economics, military affairs and culture. Our achievements have won enthusiastic praise from revolutionary people all over the world and have made the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries tremble with fear. New socialist China stands high and firm in the East, bringing about tremendous changes in the situation of the revolutionary struggles of the whole world.

How were our great successes over the 17 years achieved? Our basic experience may be summed up in one point, that is, as Chairman Mao has said, to keep a firm hold on the key link — the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the two roads, the socialist and capitalist roads. Our victories are victories of

the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, victories of the socialist over the capitalist road.

In his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held in March 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out that after the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, the basic contradiction in the country would be that between the working class and the bourgeoisie. This means that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie runs right through the entire historical course of socialism and right through all spheres of socialist society.

The historical experience of the 17 years proves that once the key link—the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads—is grasped, our proletarian revolutionary cause develops, forges ahead and vigorously flourishes. An ill wind will blow up whenever any place or department relinquishes this key link and it will lose its bearings and suffer setbacks.

At the National Working Conference called by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in January 1965, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us:

Throughout the period of transition there exist class contradictions, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. If we forget this fundamental theory and fundamental practice of our Party of the past ten years and more, we will go astray.

The great proletarian cultural revolution marks a new stage in the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads.

The present great cultural revolution has a very wide scope. We are out to sweep away all ghosts and monsters and, in the realm of ideology and on a grand scale, to eradicate the “four olds” of the exploiting classes and foster the “four

news” of the proletariat. Inevitably, this touches the political and economic life of society. This great cultural revolution is aimed at overthrowing a handful of bourgeois Rightists and those within the Party who are in authority and who are taking the capitalist road.

The struggle between the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals and a handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road is a concentrated expression of the present stage of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism.

How is it possible that a handful of people who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road could emerge within the Party? This is due to the law of class struggle. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrown exploiting classes invariably try in every possible way to corrupt cadres of the Communist Party and find agents within our Party. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao advised us to guard against the “sugar-coated bullets” of the bourgeoisie. This was a warning to all members of the Communist Party. The great majority of them have stood the test. But, there are a handful of people who have been hit by the bourgeoisie’s sugar-coated bullets. They are no longer the representatives of the proletariat but of the bourgeoisie.

The people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. They have been waving “red flags” to oppose the red flag. They are men of the Khrushchov type. Whenever they have an opportunity, they will plot to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the Government. They are our most dangerous and our main enemy. The overthrown exploiting classes place their hopes of a come-back chiefly on them. The exploiting classes carry out activities for a come-back mainly through them or under their protec-

tion. Therefore, only by overthrowing those people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road can we smash the plots of the exploiting classes for a come-back, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote the development of the socialist cause.

The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, or the 16-Points, drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, is a product of the struggle between two lines, a product of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line, represented by Chairman Mao, over the bourgeois reactionary line. The promulgation of this decision has won the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of revolutionary people and advanced the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new high. The entire revolutionary situation is very fine and it is getting still finer every day.

But the struggle between the two lines has not yet come to an end. In some places and units, the struggle is still very acute and complicated. There are a very small number of people who adopt new ways to deceive the masses and act against the 16-point decision, they stubbornly persist in the bourgeois reactionary line and, to attain their own ends, do their utmost to use the tactic of inciting the masses to struggle against each other.

The bourgeois reactionary line must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated. Only by doing this and sweeping away all its influence can the 16-point decision of the proletariat be carried through and implemented; only then can the struggles [against those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], criticisms and repudiations [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and transformations [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base] be carried out in society, schools and colleges and other cultural departments under the guidance of the

correct line; only then can there be a clear-cut idea of what to struggle against, what to criticize and what to transform; only then can there be a clear-cut idea of whom to rely on in waging the struggles, carrying out the criticisms and the transformations; only then can the task of struggle, of criticism and repudiation and of transformation be successfully fulfilled. If the erroneous line of the past is continued, or the error of suppressing the masses is repeated, or the inciting of students to struggle against each other goes on, or the revolutionary masses who were dealt blows in the past are not liberated, and so on—all this constitutes acting against and undermining the 16-point decision. In those circumstances, how could the struggles, criticisms and repudiations, and transformations be carried out correctly?

To criticize and repudiate or not to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line—this is the pivot on which hinges the question whether or not the 16-point decision on the cultural revolution can be carried through and implemented, whether or not the struggles, criticisms and repudiations, and transformations can be carried out correctly and extensively. Here, to resort to eclecticism will not do.

The struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution is a reflection of the class struggle inside the Party. We must approach this question from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics, not from the viewpoint of metaphysics or that of a philistine.

Chairman Mao has said:

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

Chairman Mao has also said: In the circumstances in which a non-antagonistic contradiction between correct and incor-

rect ideas occurs in the Communist Party, "if the people who have committed errors persist in them and aggravate them, there is the possibility that this contradiction will develop into antagonism."

The Party's Central Committee holds that comrades who have committed errors on matters of orientation or errors of line in the great proletarian cultural revolution, should face up to their errors, rectify them and return to the correct stand and correct line, instead of going so far as to act against the Party.

Those who persist in the erroneous line are only a handful. They are divorced from the people, opposed to the people and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. So they are bound to fail. Those masses who are for a time hoodwinked and deceived by them will certainly wake up and draw a line of demarcation between them and themselves and oppose them.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, has called for the development of a mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This movement, spreading from the People's Liberation Army to the masses of the people throughout the country, has achieved great results. The movement is putting Mao Tse-tung's thought deeper into the hearts of the people. When hundreds of millions of people are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they constitute the most reliable guarantee for the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The forward leap in the mental outlook of the masses of the people will inevitably be transformed into a tremendous material force.

Over the past 17 years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always firmly grasped the development of the basic contradiction within socialist society, posing the problems and solving them. Now that socialist society in China has developed to its present stage, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has advanced the theory and line for the great proletarian cultural revolution; this is

a great development of Marxism-Leninism and a great creation in the history of the communist movement.

The historical experience of the international proletariat, and particularly the historical lesson of the emergence of revisionist rule in the Soviet Union, teaches us that only by waging a great proletarian cultural revolution, by thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the ideology of all exploiting classes, by criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities", by transforming education, art and literature, and everything in the superstructure that does not correspond to the socialist economic base, by uprooting the bourgeois agents hidden in the Party and by destroying bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology on a grand scale — only by so doing can we consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the emergence of revisionist rule and the restoration of capitalism, and ensure the victorious advance of our cause in the direction of socialism and communism.

Day in and day out, the revisionist leading group of the Soviet Communist Party and other traitors and scabs are madly cursing our great proletarian cultural revolution. Why? Because they realize that the influence of China's great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be checked. It will inevitably awaken proletarian revolutionaries in their countries and arouse the masses of revolutionary people to rise up in opposition to them. Their throne is tottering.

The law of history is unalterable. All reactionaries at home and abroad can never evade the punishment that will be meted out to them by history. They will all be buried by their grave diggers, the revolutionary masses.

No matter how the enemy curses or how he attacks, the great Chinese people, with big strides and heads erect, will always march along their own road, the road of triumph, the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought; they will carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and will carry forward every undertaking in socialist revolution and construction from victory to victory.

在毛泽东思想的大路上前进

—庆祝中华人民共和国成立十七周年

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