



**THE GREAT  
PROLETARIAN  
CULTURAL  
REVOLUTION  
IN CHINA**

**(10)**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING

中国的无产阶级文化大革命  
(第十集)

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**Quotation from Chairman  
Mao Tse-tung**

**In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: "To rebel is justified." . . . According to this principle, stand up and resist, struggle, build socialism.**

*— Speech at the Rally of People  
of All Walks of Life in Yen-an  
Held to Celebrate the 60th  
Birthday of Stalin*

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**MESSAGE OF GREETINGS  
TO REVOLUTIONARY REBEL  
ORGANIZATIONS IN SHANGHAI  
FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST  
PARTY, THE STATE COUNCIL,  
THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF  
THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION  
GROUP UNDER THE PARTY'S  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**To  
The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary  
Rebel General Headquarters and 31  
other revolutionary mass organizations:**

Your "Urgent Notice" issued on January 9, 1967, is indeed excellent. The guiding principles which you have put forward and the actions you have taken are entirely correct.

You have held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. You are models in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works.

You have taken a firm stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. You have seen through and exposed in time the schemes of the bourgeois reactionary line in starting a new counter-attack and have launched a forceful counter-offensive.

You have upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisted in the general direction of socialism and put forward the fighting task of opposing the economism of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

You have formulated a correct policy in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production".

You have brought about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and become the nucleus uniting all revolutionary forces. You have taken firmly in your hands the destiny of the

proletarian dictatorship, of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of the socialist economy.

All these revolutionary actions of yours have set a brilliant example for the working class and all labouring people and the revolutionary masses throughout the country.

We hereby call on Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, intellectuals and cadres throughout the country to learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, to take concerted action and to beat back the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, so as to ensure that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

**The Central Committee of the  
Chinese Communist Party  
The State Council**

**The Military Commission of  
the Central Committee of the  
Chinese Communist Party  
The Cultural Revolution Group  
Under the Central Committee  
of the Chinese Communist  
Party**

January 11, 1967

**Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party; it is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle."**

*— Rectify the Party's Style of Work*

**TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REVOLUTION, PROMOTE PRODUCTION AND UTTERLY SMASH THE NEW COUNTER-ATTACK LAUNCHED BY THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE**

— MESSAGE TO ALL SHANGHAI PEOPLE

**"Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note:** The "Message to All Shanghai People", published in the Shanghai *Wenhui Bao* on January 5, is an extremely important document. It holds high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and sounds a clarion call to continue the vigorous counter-offensive upon the bourgeois reactionary line. It resolutely responds to Chairman Mao's great call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production and raises the current key question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This question

does not just concern Shanghai alone but the whole country as well.

With the growth of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai, the *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* (*Liberation Daily*) have appeared as two completely new and revolutionary newspapers. They are products of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line. This is a great event in the history of the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. This is a great revolution. This great event will certainly play a tremendous role in pushing ahead the development of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout east China and in all the cities and provinces in other parts of the country.

Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories in the mass movement over the last few months in the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line. We have entered the year 1967 to the sound of militant songs of triumph. It was pointed out in the New Year's Day editorial of *Renmin Ribao* and the journal *Hongqi*: "1967 will be a year



of all-round development of class struggle throughout China. It will be a year in which the proletariat, united with other sections of the revolutionary masses, will launch a general attack on the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and on the ghosts and monsters in society. It will be a year of even more penetrating criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line and elimination of its influence. It will be a year of decisive victory in carrying out the struggle [to overthrow those in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base]." In other words, it will be a year in which the bourgeois reactionary line will totally collapse and disintegrate completely, a year in which the great proletarian cultural revolution will win a great, decisive victory.

The broad revolutionary masses of Shanghai have also won an initial victory in the

struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line implemented by a handful of people within the Party in the Shanghai area and have carried the struggle to a deeper and broader new stage.

The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our Shanghai factories is surging forward vigorously, smashing through all resistance with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, follow Chairman Mao's teachings most closely and resolutely carry out **the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production"** advanced by **Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work."**<sup>1</sup> We of the revolutionary rebel groups clearly understand that if the great proletarian cultural revolution is not carried out well, we will lose our orientation in production and slide back in the direction of capitalism. What we ourselves have experienced in the course of the great prole-

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<sup>1</sup> Quotation from the introductory note to "A Serious Lesson", *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*.

tarian cultural revolution has increasingly proved to us that only if the great proletarian cultural revolution is carried out well, will production develop on a still greater scale. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is erroneous.

However, a handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately adhere to the bourgeois reactionary line have a bitter hatred for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have been trying by every means to resist **the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao.** Their schemes and devices may be summarized in the following ways:

At the beginning of the movement, they used the pretext of "taking firm hold of production" to repress the revolution and oppose taking firm hold of the revolution. When we workers of the revolutionary rebel groups wanted to rise up in revolution and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they used the tasks of production to bring pressure to bear on the workers and tagged us with the label of "sabotaging production".

Did they really want to "take firm hold of production"? No, they wanted to defend their own positions and attempted to obstruct our revolution. We exposed their schemes and rose up bravely in rebellion.

Then they resorted to another trick, that is, they played with high-sounding revolutionary words, giving the appearance of being exceedingly "Left" in order to incite large numbers of members of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments whom they have hoodwinked to undermine production and sabotage transport and communications under the pretext of going north to "lodge complaints". They did this to attain their aim of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. More recently, a handful of reactionary elements were even plotting to cut off water and electricity supplies and bring public transport to a standstill. We must drag out these reactionary elements and exercise proletarian dictatorship over them, punish them severely and never allow them to succeed in their criminal schemes.

Comrade revolutionary workers! Go into action at once! Resolutely carry out **the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution**

and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao! We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, must become models in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production". We must serve as the vanguards and the backbone not only in taking firm hold of the revolution, but also in promoting production. Our city of Shanghai, China's biggest industrial producer, plays an extremely important role in the overall economic life of the country. But lately, in many factories and plants, it has occurred that some or even the majority of the members of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments have suspended production and deserted their posts in production. This runs directly counter to the stipulation by the Party Central Committee on taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and directly affects the people's livelihood and the development of national economic construction. Our revolutionary rebel workers, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the face of this adverse current, have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the

production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and smashing their big plot by which they attempted to thwart the revolution through sabotaging production. The actions of these workers are correct and splendid! All of us comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups should learn from them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports."<sup>1</sup> We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, have the lofty aspiration, the determination and the strength to do still better in both revolution and production and to carry out Chairman Mao's great call for "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production".

The broad sections of our class brothers of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments who want to make revolution! "Taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production"

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the *Sao Tang Pao* and the *Hsin Min Pao*", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 272.

is a policy put forward by Chairman Mao, a policy stressed time and again by the Party Central Committee, an important policy which guarantees the carrying through to the end of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To support or not to support, to carry out or not to carry out this policy is itself a matter of principle, a cardinal issue of right and wrong. In allowing yourselves to be incited by those people [Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road — Tr.] and by deserting your posts in production, whose interests are you serving? By acting in this way, whose hearts, after all, are you gladdening and whose are you saddening? We hope that you will follow Chairman Mao's teachings, that, on this important question of principle, you will see things more clearly, make a clear distinction between right and wrong, stop being deceived, wake up quickly, return to your posts in production, and return to the proletarian revolutionary line. We, comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups, will certainly warmly welcome you back to make revolution along with us and improve production with us. We will certainly not blame you, because we are all close class brothers, and

because the overwhelming majority of you are victims of the bourgeois reactionary line, are revolutionary masses who have been hoodwinked by those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and by those who are stubbornly following the bourgeois reactionary line.

All revolutionary students and revolutionary government cadres of the city! Let us closely unite with the masses of revolutionary workers, and in order to carry out resolutely **the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao**, let us undertake widespread propaganda work and struggle, open fire fiercely and with still greater resolve at the bourgeois reactionary line, crush all new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line and launch a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories and plants!

In the boundless brilliance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, we look towards the future and see the magnificent prospect of the revolution. We the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, and all working people must unite with the revolutionary students, intellectuals and cadres,

must make a common effort, fight shoulder to shoulder and continue our victorious advance so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the red sun in our hearts, the greatest leader Chairman Mao and long life, long, long life to him!

**The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 10 other revolutionary mass organizations**

January 4, 1967

**Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports."**

*—Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the "Sao Tang Pao" and the "Hsin Min Pao"*

## URGENT NOTICE

*"Wenhui Bao" and "Jiefang Ribao" of Shanghai published on January 9, 1967 an "Urgent Notice" issued by the Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary mass organizations along with introductory editorial notes.*

**The "Wenhui Bao" Editorial Note:** We fully support the ten-point proposal contained in the "Urgent Notice". We hope that all revolutionary rebels of the city will implement this ten-point proposal conscientiously.

At present, the spread of economist thinking is a question which deserves serious attention. This is a new counter-attack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line against the proletarian revolutionary line. Within the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, both the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line have begun to collapse politically. It is inevitable that they should launch a new attack from the economic angle. This new attack is aimed directly at the proletarian headquarters and at the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and

promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao. We must most resolutely repulse this latest counter-attack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line.

Any act that disrupts production, sabotages state finances and undermines the great cultural revolution is counter-revolutionary. Masses of the revolutionary rebels and revolutionary workers and staff members, go into action to fully implement the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production"! Expose the latest plots of the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately follow the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, while remaining fast at your posts of production and construction and undertaking to do productive work well so as to seize a double victory in the cultural revolution and in production!

**The "Jiefang Ribao" Editorial Note:** Following the issue of the "Message to All Shanghai People", the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and other revolutionary rebel organizations have issued an "Urgent Notice". This Notice is extremely important. We give it our firmest support. It points out a current serious problem in the great proletarian cultural revolution: both the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee are now playing new tricks in order to undermine the great proletarian

cultural revolution. They are doing so to counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" which he has put forward. They are attempting vainly to use material incentives to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses. The comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups and the masses of revolutionary people promptly saw through this big plot and have smashed it. This is another great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Economism and material incentives are outright counter-revolutionary revisionist wares. The masses of revolutionary people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly reject such rubbish. They fully understand that the great proletarian cultural revolution aims precisely to destroy what is bourgeois and establish what is proletarian, to eradicate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, to transform people to the core of their being, to revolutionize people's thinking, so as to eliminate the source of revisionism and consolidate and develop the socialist system. The ten-point proposal contained in the "Urgent Notice" expresses precisely the common will of the revolutionary masses, and represents the highest interests of the proletariat. It once again deals a heavy blow at the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line. All departments concerned must firmly and seriously carry it out.

#### **The Text of the "Urgent Notice" Follows:**

At present, when the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is entering

the moment of decisive battle between the two lines, when the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, which stubbornly clings to the bourgeois reactionary line, is being overthrown, the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road are once again hatching new plots. Colluding with the capitalist forces in society, they are making use of the problems concerning economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle and to incite one group of people against another, causing breakdowns in factory production and railway and road traffic. They have even incited dockers to stop work, causing difficulties in running the port and damaging the international prestige of China. They are freely squandering the wealth of the state, arbitrarily increasing wages and material benefits, and granting all kinds of allowances and subsidies without limit, stirring people up to take over public buildings by force. These are the latest forms by which the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee persists in carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line.

In resorting to such base and treacherous means, the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road

aim at none other than: (1) Setting themselves against Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, and putting pressure on the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee by sabotaging production, interrupting communications and jeopardizing the national economy and the livelihood of the people, to attain their purpose of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution; (2) Making use of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle in an attempt to shift the serious political struggle onto the wrong road of economic struggle, and at the same time to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses by material gains, and to promote peaceful evolution and allow bourgeois ideas to run riot.

We hereby solemnly warn the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee that no plots will ever succeed that are aimed at diverting people's attention from the struggle through the disruption of production, interruption of communications and the increasing of wages and material benefits. The revolutionary rebels who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly expose this conspiracy and resolutely

repulse the attacks by the bourgeois reactionary trend of thought. We must firmly implement the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao and, on the one hand, take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution while on the other hand remain fast at our posts of production and construction, persist in the eight-hour workday, strive to fulfil and overfulfil production plans, and do our best to turn out high quality products. We believe that the masses of revolutionary workers have a high sense of political responsibility towards their great socialist motherland; they will certainly be able to put public interest to the fore, and, proceeding from the overall interests of the state, correctly handle the questions mentioned above and seize a double victory in the cultural revolution and in production.

In order swiftly to retrieve the grave situation in social production created by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we appeal to comrades-in-arms of the revolutionary rebel groups of the whole city:

1. The workers, functionaries and students of revolutionary rebel groups must firmly carry through Chairman Mao's instruction of



**“taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production”**, take an active part in the great cultural revolution, and, at the same time, remain fast at their production posts and set an example in **“taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production”**.

2. They should appeal to all revolutionary rebels throughout the country to take prompt action to persuade those workers, functionaries, staff members of enterprises, and apprentices from Shanghai who are exchanging revolutionary experience in other parts of the country to return to Shanghai immediately, so that the great cultural revolution in their own units can proceed effectively and the 1967 production plans can be overfulfilled.

3. All certificates authorizing people to leave and exchange revolutionary experience in other parts of the country issued in the past by those in authority in the various organizations and enterprises are declared null and void on the day this document is published. These persons in authority should be made responsible for the return (by instalments if necessary) of the big sums of money issued to cover exchanges of experience (excluding transport fares).

4. Apart from necessary expenditure on production, wages, the cultural revolution, office administration and for other appropriate purposes, the circulating funds of all government offices, organizations and enterprises should be frozen as from the day of the publication of this document. This should be effected by the financial organizations at the municipal level and at all other levels under the joint supervision of the revolutionary rebel groups and the revolutionary masses, so as to ensure that the economy of the state will not suffer losses (this does not apply to personal savings accounts).

5. To avoid shifting the general orientation of the struggle, matters related to the readjustment of wages, back payment of wages and material benefits, shall in principle be dealt with at a later stage of the movement. (Special cases shall be handled otherwise after asking the central authorities for instructions.)

6. The integration of students with workers and peasants is the inevitable road by which the students will transform their world outlook and successfully carry out the great cultural revolution. In order to stir up dissatisfaction among the workers against the

students, to sabotage the integration of the students with the workers and to practise "peaceful evolution" among the students, some persons in authority have gone to the length of paying the students relatively high wages for labour. This is entirely a revisionist practice, and should be stopped as from the day this notice is published.

7. All public buildings and houses confiscated from capitalists are the property of the whole people, and shall be handled in a unified way by the state at a later stage of the movement. No one is allowed to seize public buildings by force. After investigation, offenders shall be punished by the Public Security Bureau. Those who incite citizens to seize public buildings shall be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offence. Those who have moved into houses seized by force must move back to their original homes within one week.

8. Strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who oppose Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, and those who undermine the great cultural revolution or sabotage production, shall be immediately arrested by the Public

Security Bureau in accordance with the law. Those who in the course of the movement undermine social order, beat people up or commit atrocities, commit robbery or larceny must be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offence; stolen goods must be returned immediately. Those who repeat such offences or after repeated education refuse to turn over a new leaf shall be severely punished.

9. The rebel organizations of various units and the revolutionary masses of the city are expected immediately to carry out the above points, and set in motion all organs of propaganda to publicize them and educate the masses.

10. The Municipal Party Committee and the Public Security Bureau are enjoined to act upon the above points. Those who act against the above points shall, after investigations, be immediately punished on charges of undermining the great cultural revolution.

**The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary mass organizations**

January 9, 1967

## TELEGRAM SALUTING CHAIRMAN MAO

**Most, Most Respected and Beloved  
Chairman Mao:**

We, fighters of the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai, loyal to you for ever, extend our loftiest salute in the great proletarian cultural revolution to you, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, and great helmsman, and the red sun that shines most brilliantly in our hearts.

Most, most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we heard your voice from Peking — the Message of Greetings sent by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee to the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai, at the very moment

when we were most enthusiastically acclaiming your decision to have broadcast to the whole country the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice", issued by the various revolutionary mass organizations here. This is a voice expressing the greatest concern and support for us, the voice of the greatest inspiration and encouragement to us. We rejoice and sing. Thousands of words would not suffice to express our happiness. Thousands of songs would not suffice to express our gratitude. We can only leap for joy and shout over and over again: Long live Chairman Mao! Long life and long, long life to him!

Most, most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you always point out for us the general direction in which the struggle must go at the most critical moments of the revolution; you always give us boundless spiritual strength at the moment when the struggle grows sharpest. You always show warm solicitude and support for the revolutionary rebel groups. You always nurture and give active help to all new revolutionary things. At the present time, when we, the revolutionary rebel groups, are waging a fierce battle to deal severe blows at the new

counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, you have approved our general orientation, confirmed our fighting task and supported us in bringing about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and uniting all the revolutionary forces, so as to take firmly into our hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of the socialist economy. Your great and wise decision will quickly kindle the fierce flame spreading the all-encompassing class struggle throughout the country. All such things as counter-revolutionary economism, the new counter-attack organized by the representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line and the stubborn citadel of the bourgeois reactionary line will be utterly discredited and reduced to ashes in this raging fire.

You, most, most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, have repeatedly taught us that the enemy will not perish of himself nor will he step down from the stage of history of his own accord. The facts show this precisely. The counter-revolutionary scheme of economism concocted by the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small num-

ber of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has been exposed; they have been surrounded by the revolutionary masses ring upon ring and have begun to collapse along the whole front, but they are still struggling frantically and are trying by every means possible to break up the great alliance of our revolutionary groups in Shanghai in a vain attempt to create splits and stir up disputes among our revolutionary rebel organizations. In this way, they hope to slip through, get an opportunity to catch their breath and stage a come-back. We must not allow this scheme to succeed. We must follow your instructions: **"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame",<sup>1</sup>** take

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<sup>1</sup>From Chairman Mao's poem: *The Capture of Nanking by the People's Liberation Army*. *The Conqueror* was the self-bestowed title of Hsiang Yu, leader of a major peasant force against the Chin Dynasty in the third century B.C. Wishing to appear generous, he did not kill his rival Liu Pang when the opportunity offered. In the end, he was defeated by Liu Pang and committed suicide.

concerted action and vigorously pursue and fiercely beat "the dogs in the water" and utterly defeat them, so that they can never rise again. We must firmly carry out the correct policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by you and thoroughly sweep away the bad influence of counter-revolutionary economism. We will not disappoint your expectations, and, under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will unite more completely the revolutionary rebel groups, unite together the overwhelming majority of the masses and firmly hold the leadership of the great cultural revolution and production in Shanghai, so as to ensure that the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Shanghai area will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you!

Wishing our most, most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life!

**Rally Held by the Revolutionary  
Rebel Organizations of Shang-  
hai and the Shanghai Liai-  
son Centres of Revolutionary**

**Rebel Organizations of Other  
Places to Celebrate the Mes-  
sage of Greetings of the Cen-  
tral Authorities and Com-  
pletely Smash the New  
Counter-Attack by the Bour-  
geois Reactionary Line**

January 12, 1967

**OPPOSE ECONOMISM AND SMASH  
THE LATEST COUNTER-ATTACK  
BY THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY  
LINE**

— Editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*)  
and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*), January 12, 1967 —

The decision taken personally by our great leader, Chairman Mao, to broadcast to the whole country the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai is an event of great historic importance. It marks the beginning of a new stage in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The salient features of this new stage are:

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is being grasped to an ever greater extent by the broad masses. The citadels in which the bourgeois reaction-

ary line has entrenched itself are being captured one by one.

The revolutionary movements of the workers, peasants and students and the revolutionary mass movement in the different fields of culture and in Party and government institutions are uniting into a mighty, irresistible revolutionary torrent. They are launching an all-out general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line.

The forces of the revolutionary rebel groups of the proletariat are growing in scale and strength. They are arming themselves more fully with Mao Tse-tung's thought in the course of the struggle, adhering firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, constantly improving the art of struggle and becoming the backbone force of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The majority of the masses are becoming united, with the proletarian revolutionary rebel groups as their core. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary masses are taking into their own hands the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the destiny of the struggle [to overthrow those persons in authority who are taking

the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base], the destiny of production and work, and the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist state.

Under the impact of this mighty, irresistible revolutionary torrent, the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and an extremely small number of diehards stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line are being forced to retreat from one position to another. Their ferocious, counter-revolutionary features have been or are being exposed. Heavily besieged by the revolutionary masses, they have begun to collapse all along the line.

However, will these reactionary elements lay down their arms and surrender of their own accord? Will they step down from the stage of history of their own accord? No! They will never do so! Like all other reactionaries in the past, they will never lay down

their arms and surrender or step down from the stage of history of their own accord.

As Chairman Mao has taught us:

**The enemy will not perish of himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in China will step down from the stage of history of their own accord.<sup>1</sup>**

**Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.<sup>2</sup>**

The reality of the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a further proof of this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's.

In capturing each fortress, the revolutionary fighters will meet frenzied resistance from the class enemy. At every step forward taken

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Carry the Revolution Through to the End", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 19.

by the revolution, the enemy will play new tricks and resort to whatever schemes they can devise. When one way fails, they fall back on another. When tough tactics do not work, they try kid-glove ones. When force fails, they use non-violent methods. They also mix tough with kid-glove tactics and combine force with non-violence. Their specialty is to wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag and to instigate one section of the masses to fight against another. More often than not, they cunningly take over the revolutionary slogans raised by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao and distort them to serve their counter-revolutionary political purposes. They are now appearing to be ultra "Left" and pretending to hoist the flag of "opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line" in order to hoodwink and deceive part of the masses. They call white black and divert the struggle in the wrong direction by turning its spearhead against the proletarian revolutionary line, the proletarian revolutionary headquarters and the revolutionary masses, by which means they seek to protect themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line and to preserve the old capitalist and revisionist order.

At the present time, the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of diehards stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line are colluding with bourgeois elements, speculators, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society and using economism to deceive the masses and incite them to undermine production, disrupt financial work and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and to wage a struggle against the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party and against our socialist state of the proletarian dictatorship.

The "Urgent Notice" issued by the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and the other revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai has vividly and penetratingly revealed the big conspiracy of the reactionary elements in the Shanghai area — the conspiracy of using the "sugar-coated bullets" of economic benefits to lure a part of the masses. The reactionary elements freely squander the wealth of the state, arbitrarily increase wages and benefits, wantonly distribute all kinds of funds and materials and stir up the masses to take over



public buildings by force and occupy them as their own private property. They instigate acts of violence, create incidents, incite a number of workers to desert their posts in production, thus bringing some factories to a standstill and disrupting railway and road traffic. They even incite harbour personnel to stop work. Some leading members of the railway departments use similar means to disrupt rail transport in a vain attempt to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution. The reactionary elements think they are clever, but in fact they are lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet. The more actively they operate, the more revealed are their counter-revolutionary revisionist features. In this way they are creating the conditions for their own total collapse.

The game of economism that these people are playing has provided the revolutionary masses with very good teaching material by negative example. It has enabled them to recognize the real nature of economism and the need to expose and attack it until it is utterly crushed.

What kind of stuff is economism?

It is a form of bribery that caters to the psychology of a few backward people among

the masses, corrupts the masses' revolutionary will and leads their political struggle on to the wrong road of economism, luring them to seek only personal and short-term interests in disregard of the interests of the state and the collective and the long-term interests. Its aim is to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution, to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

Economism disrupts social production, the national economy and socialist ownership. It promotes the tendency towards the spontaneous development of capitalism and encourages revisionist material incentives in a vain attempt to destroy the economic base of socialism.

Economism is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff. It is garbage picked up from the rubbish dump of old-time and modern revisionism. Under the capitalist system, economism is an instrument for preserving the reactionary rule of capitalism and opposing the proletarian revolution. Under the socialist system, it has an even more reactionary nature and is an instrument for counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration.

In a word, economism substitutes bourgeois spontaneity for proletarian revolutionary consciousness, substitutes bourgeois ultra-democracy for proletarian democratic centralism and proletarian sense of organization and discipline, substitutes bourgeois reactionary illegalities for proletarian dictatorship and its extensive democracy, and substitutes capitalist ownership for socialist ownership. Economism is a new form in which the bourgeois reactionary line launches a big counter-attack against the proletarian revolutionary line.

All revolutionary people and all revolutionary organizations must heighten their vigilance a hundredfold, see through the class enemy's schemes of economism, completely smash the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The "Urgent Notice" issued by the revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai holds high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and resolutely upholds the correct policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chair-

man Mao, thus setting a good example for the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism, or, in other words, against counter-revolutionary revisionism.

In their "Message of Greetings to Revolutionary Rebel Organizations in Shanghai", the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee call on Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary students, intellectuals and cadres throughout the country to learn from the experience of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, to take concerted action and beat back the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line, so that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. This call will undoubtedly be a great encouragement to the working class and the revolutionary people throughout the country.

In order to smash economism completely, all proletarian revolutionaries should, in the

manner of the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai, bring their forces into closer alliance under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and take the leadership of the great cultural revolution and of production firmly into their own hands.

We must carry on patient and painstaking political-ideological work among those people who are temporarily hoodwinked. We must have the conviction that the overwhelming majority of them want to make revolution. The moment they comprehend the truth, they will be able to distinguish clearly between right and wrong on cardinal issues and take their stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The present all-embracing class struggle has been provoked by the bourgeoisie and their agents. To those who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, we give the following warning: pull back right away from the brink of the abyss while there is still a chance to atone for your crimes before the Party and the people by rendering valuable service. If you do not surrender to the revolutionary people, then, you will be ruined.

Let the working class unite!

Let the working class, the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants and all other working people unite!

Let all working people unite with the revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres!

People of all nationalities, unite!

Unfold the all-embracing class struggle on a nationwide scale!

Totally smash the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line!

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

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

## PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES, UNITE

By Commentator, *Hongqi*, No. 2, 1967

**The golden monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel,**

**And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.<sup>1</sup>**

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the glorious Shanghai working class has formed a million-strong, mighty army of revolutionary rebels. In alliance with other revolutionary organizations, they have been meeting head-on the new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line, seizing power from the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and establishing the new order

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<sup>1</sup> From Chairman Mao's poem: *Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo*.

of the great proletarian cultural revolution. With an irresistible, sweeping force, they are following up this victory and brushing aside the rubbish that stands in the way of the wheel of history.

This revolutionary action of the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai marks a new turning point in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution and the beginning of a new stage in this revolution. This is a great new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The revolutionary principle adopted, and the revolutionary actions taken, by the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai have set an example for the whole country and provided invaluable new experience for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Their experience is many-sided. It boils down to one point that proletarian revolutionaries, forming an alliance, have seized power from the handful of Party persons who were in authority and took the capitalist road, and held the political, economic and cultural power of the Shanghai municipality firmly in their own hands.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, teaches us that the basic question of a revolution is that of political power. The central task of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the last analysis, is the struggle by which the proletariat seizes power from the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. This is the focal point of the class struggle in our country at the present stage, a concentrated expression of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads.

On June 1, 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao personally decided to have the text broadcast of a big-character poster from Peking University, the first Marxist-Leninist poster in the country. This was in support of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University to seize power from the Lu Ping anti-Party clique in the university. It was a great strategic move which kindled the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution now raging throughout the country.

Now our great leader Chairman Mao himself has decided to give publicity over the radio to the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by

Shanghai's revolutionary mass organizations. This is in support of the struggle of the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai who united to seize power in the municipality from the handful of Party persons who were in authority and took the capitalist road and the extremely small number of diehards who persistently pursued the bourgeois reactionary line. It is yet another great strategic measure taken in the new situation, one which will stimulate a new leap in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country.

Those Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road are just a handful, but in varying degrees they still hold Party, political and financial power in the localities and units where they are entrenched. They always use this power to attack the masses and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution.

How do they use their power to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution?

They use the Party power in their hands to deceive, hoodwink and repress a number of cadres and Party and Youth League members. They attempt to break down our Party's

extremely strict proletarian discipline which is based on Mao Tse-tung's thought, that discipline which is essential for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. They distort our Party's discipline into bourgeois discipline, into "discipline" to oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, into "discipline" to resist the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, turning it into a "charm" for repressing the masses and opposing the revolution. They condemn whoever opposes them as an "anti-Party" element.

Making use of the political power they exercise in those departments and localities under their control, this handful of persons practise bourgeois dictatorship to suppress the revolutionary masses wherever they can. They brand as a "counter-revolutionary" anyone who rises up and rebels against them, and even dismiss or imprison him. They incite the masses to struggle against each other. They use the slogan "Defend the proletarian dictatorship!" in a distorted way to deceive certain people into establishing under their control such organizations as "the army of defenders of red state power" to protect themselves.

This handful of persons use the financial power in their hands to get certain befuddled people to protect them. They use money to buy over people so as to corrupt the revolutionary masses. They make use of economic measures of all kinds in an attempt to lead some people on to the evil road of economism, of pursuing purely immediate individual interests. They want not only to restore but even to extend some erroneous measures adopted in the past in regard to wage and welfare systems. They issue cheques and materials freely, in an effort to win the hearts of the people by liberally giving away what belongs to the state. In doing so, they attempt to sabotage production, finances and communications and transport. With malicious intentions they "pass on the contradictions to their superiors". These are the current manifestations of the death-bed struggle of the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. It represents a counter-attack in a new form by the bourgeois reactionary line at the present time.

These people protect every old vestige of capitalism and revisionism; in the final analysis, they are protecting their own power.

In the face of pressure from the revolutionary masses, they may make this or that false "concession". But whatever they do is aimed at attacking our dictatorship of the proletariat and preserving their power to suppress the masses. On the question of power, they struggle for every bit of it and never make any concession. They attempt to take all possible measures to disrupt our socialist national economic life so as to achieve their goal of preserving their own power.

The most fundamental thing in our struggle against this handful of persons is to wrest power from them. Only when their power is seized and dictatorship is exercised over them will they be completely refuted, overthrown and utterly discredited.

Chairman Mao teaches us that to wrest power from these persons means the revolution of one class to overthrow another class under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a revolution of the proletariat to liquidate the bourgeoisie.

The struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road is acute, complicated and tortuous. The strongholds in which the counter-revolution-

ary revisionists are entrenched must be seized, one by one. The positions recovered by the proletariat must also be consolidated, one by one.

We must heighten our vigilance against cunning enemies. Hypocritically, they have raised the flag of "revolution" to wrest power from the proletariat. They are accustomed to fabricating rumours, sowing discord, transposing black and white, confusing right and wrong, and instigating the masses so as to divert the struggle in the wrong direction and turn the spearhead of attack against revolutionaries, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary headquarters of the proletariat. All revolutionary comrades must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, keep their eyes open, and distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, and between right and wrong on vital questions. Those bad elements who behind our backs stir up the winds of evil and turn the spearhead against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian revolutionary headquarters must be firmly exposed and overthrown, one by one.

The great contribution of the Shanghai working class and other revolutionary mass-

es and revolutionary cadres is that they have taken a firm stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, fearlessly launched an extensive counter-attack against the new counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line, provided experience in seizing power — under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat — from the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and advanced correct principles and policies, correct forms of organization and correct methods of struggle.

These are the most essential things worth studying by Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, by workers, peasants, and revolutionary students, intellectuals, and cadres throughout the country.

The great revolution in Shanghai is an embodiment of the leading role and the initiative of the working class, their sense of revolutionary organization and discipline, and it has developed extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Shanghai's experience proves that only by seizing power from the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and strengthening the dictator-

ship of the proletariat can extensive proletarian democracy be ensured.

Shanghai's experience proves that extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means ultra-democracy or "small group" mentality [considering only the interests of a small group and ignoring the overall interest — *Ed.*]. Only by giving effect to democratic centralism and the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought can there be extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, can excellent battles be fought with concentrated forces and can new revolutionary order be established.

Shanghai's experience proves that the principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by the Party's Central Committee represented by Chairman Mao must be firmly grasped, that resolute and uncompromising struggles must be waged against all sorts of bourgeois revisionist economism, anarchism, liberalization, etc., and that the general orientation of socialism must be maintained and socialist ownership must be upheld; only this can be call-



ed extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The aim of Shanghai's revolutionary masses in practising extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is very clear. It is to arouse the masses to topple the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and the ghosts and monsters in society, and uphold and develop the politics, economy and culture of socialism.

The message of greetings to the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee states:

**You have brought about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and become the nucleus uniting all revolutionary forces. You have taken firmly in your hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of the socialist economy.**

This is a high appraisal of the Shanghai proletarian revolutionaries, as well as a great call to the revolutionary people throughout the country.

The latest counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line do not indicate that this handful of reactionaries are powerful but that they are having fits of hysteria. Such fits merely point to their imminent collapse.

Our dictatorship of the proletariat is strong and firm. We have the powerful People's Liberation Army which is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and to the people. We have hundreds of millions of people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the greatest force capable of vanquishing all enemies.

We must bear in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's: "All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."<sup>1</sup>

We are facing an excellent situation, a situation full of brightness. We must grasp "the essential fact that the enemy is nearing

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 173.

extinction while they [the revolutionaries] themselves are approaching victory".<sup>1</sup> Like the revolutionary masses in Shanghai, we must courageously beat back the challenges of the handful of agents of the bourgeoisie. We must dare to struggle and be good at struggle, dare to win victory and be good at winning victory.

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and rally with the broad masses, and, led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao, carry on an all-round class struggle throughout the country!

Resolutely carry out the principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao!

Crush the latest counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line!

Crush bourgeois economism!

Resolutely seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Turning Point in World War II", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 103.