



## Shanghai Workers Play Vanguard Role in Cultural Revolution

In January last year, Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries seized power from the people in authority taking the capitalist road who had usurped Party and government leadership in the city. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, a provisional organ of power, was formally established following that "January Revolution."

In early February, this year, the revolutionary committee called an enlarged meeting to sum up the past year's experience in maintaining and exercising power.

Leading members of the committee, responsible comrades of the P.L.A. units stationed in Shanghai and proletarian revolutionaries from the industrial, agricultural, cultural and educational fronts and government organs joined together at that meeting to review the magnificent achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year and more. They unanimously pronounced these a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They held that the most important experience gained in the proletarian revolutionaries' exercise of power was that they should make full use of that power to popularize Mao Tse-tung's thought, to study, implement, disseminate and defend his instructions and closely follow his great strategic plan.

The meeting adopted a resolution entitled "Carry Forward the Spirit of the January Revolution and Ensure All-Round Implementation of Chairman Mao's Latest Instructions."

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the great "January Revolution," we publish the following report on how the working class in Shanghai, China's biggest industrial centre, plays its vanguard role in the great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history. — Ed.

**H**AVING won decisive victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution in 1967, the workers of Shanghai, China's biggest industrial city, playing their vanguard role, are now bringing about a new high tide in

the all-round implementation of Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions and striving to gain all-round victory for the cultural revolution in 1968.

In January 1967, the workers, together with other members of the proletarian revolutionaries, seized power from the capitalist roaders in the Party who had usurped the municipal leadership and, as a result, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our great leader Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters he heads highly evaluated and warmly supported this great new creative development.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee called on the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai. The storm of the "January Revolution" soon swept all over the country.

### Shanghai Workers on the Forefront Of Class Struggle

Shanghai's working class has a long history of struggle. From the time it stepped on to the political arena, it has been led by the Chinese Communist Party.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the workers of Shanghai achieved one great victory after another in their struggle against the reactionary ruling classes. On May 28, 1949, they helped the People's Liberation Army liberate the city and following this embarked on the road of building socialism.

But the overthrown class enemy did not take the defeat lying down. Lurking in the background, he waited ready at all times for a chance to stage a comeback. One of the principal methods the class enemy employed to achieve his aim was to work through his representatives, i.e., the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has pointed out time and again: "After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in

our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. And their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists."

He warned the people that they "must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level."

The great cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao himself aims at nothing less than settling the question of how the proletariat, after seizing political power, can maintain it and prevent the restoration of capitalism. In response to Chairman Mao's great call, the workers of Shanghai together with the nation's revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions took an active part in the fierce fight in the great cultural revolution and launched a general offensive against the handful of capitalist roaders headed by China's Khrushchov in the Party and against anything that went against Chairman Mao's teachings.

Using as their weapon Mao Tse-tung's thought, Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our time, they relentlessly exposed the capitalist roaders. They covered the walls of their factories with big-character posters, which, like a barrage of gunfire, hit accurately at the capitalist roaders and dealt mortal blows at the class enemy.

The workers laid bare the misdeeds of the capitalist roaders who, in the name of developing socialist production, treated the workers in much the same way as bourgeois employers do. They angrily denounced them for their towering crimes of obstructing and opposing the study of Chairman Mao's writings by the workers. They also exposed the plots to restore capitalism hatched by the capitalist roaders who stressed material incentives rather than workers' initiative and political consciousness, planted their favourites in key positions, put profit in command, gave first place to technique, relied on bourgeois "experts" and clamped down on those workers who dared to stand up to them.

In the face of the mass denunciation, the capitalist roaders were desperate. On one pretext or another they suppressed those who dared to rebel and even faked charges against them. Out of 2,000 workers at one wharf, more than 500 were attacked and persecuted under various charges. Some of the workers' leaders were even secretly sentenced to death or life imprisonment.

But just as Chairman Mao has said: "In the final analysis, their [the reactionaries'] persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." The fiercer the enemy's suppression, the greater was the number of revolutionary rebels in the factories. They organized many fighting groups and revolutionary

mass organizations. Finally, at a mass rally on November 9, 1966, the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters, the militant organization uniting all Shanghai workers, was formed.

### Class Enemy's Suppression Smashed

Unreconciled to this, the capitalist roaders had the leading members of the Workers' G.H.Q. shadowed and their telephone calls tapped. They slandered them as "counter-revolutionaries" and tried by hook or by crook to persecute the rebel workers. For a time, a number of leading members of the revolutionary mass organizations had to go underground where they were shielded by the masses.

This was a period of white terror. In those difficult days, the revolutionary rebels gained immense strength from Chairman Mao's teaching that "when dark clouds appeared in the sky, we pointed out that they were only temporary, that the darkness would soon pass and the sun break through." When they met, they turned their faces towards Peking. Holding up their bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, they recited: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." In this way, they expressed their eternal loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao and their determination to carry the revolution through to the end.

Nurtured on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the ranks of the revolutionary rebels grew rapidly. From a membership of less than 10,000 at the time of its inauguration, the Workers' G.H.Q. increased to 400,000 in a fortnight and within a few months it had over a million members.

The struggle went on. It served as an eye-opener of the people. One worker said: "We asked ourselves why we were being suppressed? It was simply because we were speaking out against revisionism in response to Chairman Mao's great call. We were sure that there must be higher-ups behind the capitalist roaders in our factories."

Investigations by the revolutionaries confirmed that these people were none other than China's Khrushchov and his agents in Shanghai, including Chen Pih-sien and Tsao Ti-chiu, who had usurped important positions in the old Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists played on the deep love felt by the masses for the Party. They branded those who were against them as "opposing the Party." On the other hand, they hoodwinked quite a number of people into setting up a so-called "Workers' Red Detachment" to counter the revolutionary rebels.

But all over Shanghai, in workshops, in the streets and in workers' families, more and more people took

the side of the revolutionary rebels, while the ranks of the "detachment" dwindled.

### Attack of Economism Defeated

When the capitalist roaders found themselves on the verge of collapsing, they resorted to the tricks of economism. It was but a sleight of hand commonly used by the bourgeoisie to bribe the workers, divide them and divert their attention from political struggle.

Showing sudden concern for the workers' well-being, the capitalist roaders raised their pay retroactively, and issued all sorts of subsidies at the expense of the state. They also professed support for the workers' revolutionary activities, handed out money to some influential rebels and urged them to travel around "seeking revolutionary experience."

In a matter of a few days, the capitalist roaders signed away millions of yuan. They even ordered the banks to "pay the cheques so long as there is money."

By doing so, they were trying to create economic as well as political confusion and even to paralyse Shanghai by cutting off water and electricity supplies and bringing public transport to a standstill.

A number of people fell into their trap and left their jobs. To make the situation worse, the capitalist roaders and their henchmen stopped supplying raw materials and tools to many factories and locked away blueprints.

For a while, some factories had to close down, railway traffic was interrupted and the shipment of goods was delayed. Shanghai appeared to be in a state of upheaval.

In fact, all this was indicative not of strength but of a desperate struggle on the part of the enemy. It tempered the revolutionary masses and helped them see clearly the true features of the enemy.

A resolute struggle was waged against economism by the workers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's teaching that **"education should be conducted among comrades in the trade unions and among the masses of workers to enable them to understand that they should not see merely the immediate and partial interests of the working class while forgetting its broad, long-range interests."**

An old worker at the Yangshupu Power Plant recalled: "These tricks are from the same mould as those used by the Kuomintang reactionaries to create confusion on the eve of their total collapse in 1949."

The workers were well aware that it would be political suicide to fall for economism. If the revisionists succeeded, China would be forced on to the capitalist road and millions of heads would roll.

The Workers' G.H.Q., therefore, issued several urgent appeals to the revolutionary people of Shanghai. One of the documents of historic significance was the January 4 Message to All Shanghai People signed by

the Workers' G.H.Q. and ten other revolutionary rebel organizations [see P.R. No. 3, 1967]. It sounded the clarion call for a counter-offensive by the working class against economism.

All this won the immediate support of Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters in Peking and evoked the famous joint message of greetings signed on January 11 by the Party's Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee [see P.R. No. 4, 1967].

Under the solicitous care and support of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee headed by him, the working class of Shanghai responded magnificently. Criticism meetings were held in factories, at which workers threw back at the capitalist roaders bundles of signed authorizations used by them in their attempts to buy over the workers. Many of the workers who had planned to leave for other cities cancelled their trips.

Two ferry workers who had been given 4,000 yuan as "retroactive pay" immediately returned the money. The revolutionary rebels of the Shanghai Building Machinery Plant rejected an offer of 30,000 yuan from the capitalist roaders.

In factories where members of the so-called "Red Detachment" had left their jobs, the revolutionary rebels heroically took their place, with one man often doing the job of two. Many worked two or three shifts at a stretch. In the spirit of **"no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting,"** some brought their bed rolls to the factories and worked day and night.

Li Hsiao-mei of the No. 17 Cotton Mill recalled: "The capitalist roaders didn't like this at all. They went around hypocritically telling us to take good care of our health and urging us to 'switch off the machines and take a rest.'"

This woman worker entered the mill before liberation at the age of 14. Her father, a stevedore, was tortured to death by the Japanese invaders. "We are now masters of our country," she said, "it hurts me to see it suffering any losses."

Revolutionary staff members in the factories also volunteered to fill the deserted posts in the workshops. And retired workers, revolutionary students and army-men all rushed to the factories, wharves and railway stations to give a helping hand.

The revolutionary workers of the city's power plant proclaimed that power supply would not stop for even one second.

The dockers pledged that they would **"grasp revolution and promote production,"** and would not allow their work to be disrupted.

Similar assurances were pouring in from the city's water plant, railway men, tram workers and all other trades.

In many factories, the workers elected their own "Revolution and Production Committee" or "Provisional Command for Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production" or similar organizations to replace the former management which had collapsed or was in a state of paralysis.

As a result of all this, the towering stacks on the banks of the Whangpoo River never ceased to smoke and electric current and tap water were supplied in a steady flow. The molten steel kept flowing from the furnaces. Railway passenger and freight traffic quickly returned to normal. Machines began turning again. Goods on the wharves were rapidly cleared.

The capitalist roaders' plot burst like a soap bubble. The proletarian revolutionaries took into their own hands the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great cultural revolution and the socialist economy.

In those days of seeming upheaval, another new ocean-going vessel in the 10,000-ton class, the *Chaoyang*, designed and built in China, was launched in Shanghai on January 10 as scheduled. In that city too, China built her first 150-ton trailer which embodies advanced technique. Many factories where the proletarian revolutionaries had taken over power overfulfilled their production quotas.

Recalling the fight against economism, Wang Hung-wen, one of the leaders of the "January Revolution" and a responsible member of the Workers' G.H.Q., said: "Today we understand better than ever before why seizing power from the handful of capitalist roaders is a central task of the cultural revolution."

### **The Birth of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee**

Following the "January Revolution," the Workers' G.H.Q. and other rebel organizations, in consultation with leading members of the P.L.A. units in Shanghai and revolutionary leading cadres, concluded that there was a strong enough basis for setting up a municipal revolutionary committee as the provisional organ of power for the whole city.

So on February 5, the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee was established. That day, the whole of Shanghai was a scene of jubilation, just as Lenin said, "**revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited.**"

Tall buildings were beautifully decked out. Coloured lights extending for kilometres sparkled like strings of pearls. Revolutionary songs filled the air. It seemed as though the entire population of the city was parading in the streets, amidst the traditional sound of drums, gongs and firecrackers. People were moved to tears. At the top of their voices they shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

P.L.A. men who had taken part in the battle to liberate Shanghai in 1949 joined in the celebrations. One of them said: "Our comrades-in-arms shed their

blood to establish people's power. We must never allow this power to be used against the interests of the working class."

In the midst of joy, the struggle continued. Wang Hung-wen said: "The setting up of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee marked a decisive victory. But we had yet to settle accounts with China's Khrushchov and his like."

A mass campaign was then launched all over Shanghai to repudiate China's Khrushchov and his agents for their frenzied opposition to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and for the pernicious influence they spread in the post-liberation 17 years. All revolutionary workers took an active part in this campaign of mass repudiation. In wall newspapers, big-character posters and criticism meetings, they denounced such revisionist fallacies as "the dying out of class struggle" and "exploitation has its merits" and the revisionist systems of industrial management.

They also studied and threshed out problems relating to revolution and production, consolidated their organizations, improved methods of leadership and administration and carried out criticism and self-criticism in the spirit of "**fight self, repudiate revisionism.**"

Simultaneously with this, they also condemned the revisionist line in literature and art, education and other fields.

In the course of struggle, the revolutionary workers in Shanghai, bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, constantly paid attention to uniting with all revolutionary forces and with the majority of the masses including the members of the "Red Detachment" who had been at odds with them. As a result, the revolutionary ranks steadily grew in strength with a powerful mass basis. This was one of the factors that ensured the victorious advance of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai.

### **The Source of Victory**

Speaking of the reasons for their victory, Wang Hung-wen remarked: "Our victory is due first of all to the fact that, with the support and help of the P.L.A., we have creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works and have followed Chairman Mao's instructions throughout the struggle." "At every juncture," he said, "our great leader Chairman Mao has shown us the road forward."

He noted that the study of Chairman Mao's works had become a "must" for all the leading members of the workers' G.H.Q., however busy they were, and for all other revolutionary workers.

"If the struggle of the past year and more has taught us anything," he added, "it boils down to this: To be a revolutionary, one must consistently study Chairman Mao's works and remould one's thinking and be always loyal to Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."