

Strive to Strengthen the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

— Excerpts from the June 2 Resolution of the Shanghai
Municipal Revolutionary Committee

THE situation with respect to the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is excellent. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses of proletarian revolutionaries and other revolutionary people have developed the spirit of the "January Revolution," adhered to the general orientation of the struggle, taken firm hold of the revolution and promoted production and have made important contributions on all fronts. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee (S.M.R.C.) has been firmly established. Our road ahead is bright.

Our experience in the four months since the founding of the S.M.R.C. has shown that, after winning basic victory in their struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries' central problem remains that of political power, of consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Those four months have seen intense class struggle. Even after the establishment of the S.M.R.C., the principal contradiction continues to be the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the masses of revolutionary people and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The struggle for and against capitalist restoration continues. **As Chairman Mao has pointed out, our class enemies "will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch."** The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, ghosts and monsters in society will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. Acting in collusion, in one way or another, either

overtly or from behind the scenes, they instigate a number of people who do not know the real facts to attack socialism and put all sorts of pressure on the proletarian political power in an attempt to undermine and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, our class enemies are trying by every means to discover weaknesses within our revolutionary ranks, incite splits and struggle by violence, wreck state property and sabotage the new revolutionary order. They are doing their utmost to divert the general orientation of the struggle and vainly trying to undermine the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by crushing the revolutionaries one by one.

On the other hand, among the proletarian revolutionaries now in power, many comrades still lack experience in holding and exercising it effectively. We are confronted with the task of learning. An urgent problem now facing the proletarian revolutionaries is to learn in the course of the revolution how to consolidate and exercise proletarian political power, transform society, remould people's thinking, and take firm hold of the revolution and promote production and other work, all in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the light of this situation, we must unswervingly follow the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and continue to arouse the masses boldly to launch a fierce overall general offensive against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and win new victories in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. In the course of all-out criticism and repudiation, we must promote, consolidate and develop the

revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. We must push ahead with struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts, consolidate and strengthen the great unity of the revolutionary people and enable the proletarian revolutionaries to truly seize, control and exercise power effectively. All this is the central link today in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the general orientation of the current struggle.

In accordance with this general orientation, we set forth the following tasks which we hope the revolutionary committees at all levels, the revolutionary mass organizations and all the people in the municipality will strive to fulfil:

(1) Develop Revolutionary All-Out Criticism in Depth and Push Ahead With Struggle-Criticism-Transformation in Every Unit

The most important current fighting task is to develop further the all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and push ahead with the struggle-criticism-transformation in every unit.

Shanghai has always been an important battleground in the life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The whole range of the revisionist bill of goods which the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road peddled through his agents in Shanghai still has its social basis. Developing the revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation must be integrated with the struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Shanghai. The pernicious influence of this handful in all fields of work in Shanghai must be eliminated. The absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought must be established in all spheres so that all fronts in Shanghai will take on a completely new look.

The revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers should become the main force in the all-out criticism and repudiation, and the revolutionary Red Guards should strive to be the hard-hitting vanguards. The proletarian revolutionary masses should make new contributions in this campaign and raise their class consciousness and political and ideological level in the course of the struggle.

In order to carry out revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation in depth, the masses must be boldly aroused, extensive democracy must be practised, great debates undertaken and the mass movement vigorously developed. People in all departments and units must use Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as their weapon in penetratingly and concretely criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and the pernicious influence of revisionist ideas, and they should link all this with the history of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines over the 18 post-liberation years. Through such

criticism and repudiation they should achieve a clear understanding of the direction in which the transformation is to be made.

Developing the revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation must also be linked with the attack on the present capitalist forces in society and with the present struggle between the two roads. The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party. While criticizing and repudiating their bourgeois reactionary line, it is both possible and necessary to educate the masses so that they will take the socialist road more firmly, recognize the capitalist forces and tendencies with greater acumen and rise up to struggle against them more consciously.

(2) Further Strengthen the Revolutionary Great Alliance and the Revolutionary "Three-in-One" Combination

The revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination constitute the most valuable experience of our "January Revolution." It is a powerful weapon for defeating the enemy, the proletarian revolutionaries' basic guarantee for winning and consolidating victory, and the urgent current demand of the broad masses.

At present, in some districts, counties, departments and units in Shanghai, power has already been seized on the basis of a "three-in-one" combination and alliance; in others, power is held by one or several revolutionary organizations, while in a few isolated cases power has not yet been seized and is not in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries. Different measures should be taken in the light of the different conditions.

In all units where it is necessary to seize power and where the revolutionary great alliance has not yet been realized, the proletarian revolutionaries should step up political and ideological work, and bring about the revolutionary great alliance through revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation and rectification campaigns in the revolutionary organizations so that they can set up provisional organs of power at an early date.

It is normal that there should be contradictions among various revolutionary mass organizations in the course of seizing and exercising power. The key to whether these contradictions are handled correctly is whether or not both sides apply the "conscientious practice of self-criticism." All differences among revolutionary mass organizations should be settled through discussions and consultations provided that they have the same general orientation, and they should seek common ground on cardinal issues while reserving minor differences. They should do more to facilitate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination — and do them better — and refrain from doing things which harm them. Questions of principle, too, should be discussed in a

normal way by presenting the facts and reasoning things out. Those units which have already achieved the revolutionary great alliance and "three-in-one" combination should value their accomplishments all the more, and strengthen and consolidate their revolutionary great alliance and "three-in-one" combination.

Only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself. Proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai should be aware that they are now in a position of leadership and have power in their hands, and they have the obligation to carry out political and ideological work well and carefully among the broad masses. With regard to the masses who were once hoodwinked into joining conservative organizations, the proletarian revolutionaries should patiently help them raise their class consciousness and come over to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as soon as possible. As for those who once joined conservative organizations, they should put strict demands on themselves, rectify their errors and draw useful lessons. They should learn from the proletarian revolutionaries, unite with them, distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and direct their spearhead against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road so as to make their due contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We should continue to implement Chairman Mao's policy on cadres and handle the question of cadres correctly. We should continue to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" on the question of cadres. At present the emphasis should be placed on solving the question of those leading cadres who committed errors. We should adopt the attitude of examining their future conduct and helping them in order to encourage them to return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line sooner rather than later.

It is the duty of the public security departments and of the other organs of dictatorship to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate the new revolutionary order. All revolutionary comrades in the public security departments and the organs of dictatorship should heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundred-fold, stick to their jobs, boldly take on responsibility, rely on the masses and do their work well. Revolutionary mass organizations and masses should give all-out support to the work of the public security departments and to the other organs of dictatorship, resolutely uphold their authority, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and deal the counter-revolutionary sabotage of the class enemy smashing blows.

The People's Liberation Army is a powerful support to the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and a powerful backing to the proletarian revolutionaries. The P.L.A. troop stationed in Shanghai have made outstanding contributions to the work of establishing the S.M.R.C., and of supporting the masses of the Left, supporting industry and agriculture, exercising military

control and undertaking military and political training of revolutionary students and faculty. We proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and People's Liberation Army units in Shanghai will resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call and unfold a movement to support the army and cherish the people, and will always unite, fight and be victorious together.

(3) Take Firm Hold of the Revolution, Promote Production and All Other Work

The victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat are spurs to a new leap forward on various fronts. Proletarian revolutionaries should be models at taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and all other work.

Particular attention should be paid to giving prominence to politics in industry, agriculture, communications, finance and commerce, and science and technology. Revolution should be given first place and efforts should be made to turn the various systems and units into great schools for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. There should be a new leap forward in quality and quantity in industrial production.

In agricultural production, work should be done well and with a new revolutionary spirit in summer planting, harvesting and field management to guarantee rich summer and autumn harvests.

Schools must respond to Chairman Mao's call for resuming classes and making revolution, and resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's instruction of March 7 and other relevant decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. All Red Guard organizations and revolutionary organizations of the teaching staffs and ancillary workers should advance the great proletarian cultural revolution on this front on to the correct path under the new circumstances.

All units and organizations must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's great call for "practising economy in making revolution" and strive to be economical with their manpower, material and expenditures and vigorously explore and use all production potential.

(4) Strengthen the Revolutionary Ranks Ideologically and Energetically Promote the Revolutionization of Leading Organs

Outstanding results have been achieved by carrying on rectification while fighting to promote ideological revolutionization. This should become one of our fine traditions. We should continue to strengthen the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline among proletarian revolutionaries, and overcome the influence of anarchism, small-group mentality, splittism, individualism and other erroneous trends of thought. Members of the various revolutionary mass organizations should regularly study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way with definite problems in mind — ideological problems or problems in daily work. Comrades

holding power should listen not only to opinions same as their own, but also to those that are at variance with their own ideas. They should do this patiently and accept what is correct and painstakingly do ideological work among those with incorrect opinions. In dealing with differences in opinion within the revolutionary ranks, their approach should be one of persevering in principle and at the same time uniting with the comrades. This is an important condition for the consolidation of the proletarian leadership and the vigorous development of our revolutionary cause. All revolutionary mass organizations should strengthen themselves ideologically and organizationally, and purify the proletarian revolutionary ranks.

Both the old and the new leading cadres taking part in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination should continue to revolutionize their own thinking and perform new meritorious services for the Party and the people. Leading members and cadres of the revolutionary committees at various levels must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, regularly take part in productive labour at the grass roots level, maintain close contact with the masses and be as one with them in their ideology, work and working style and resolutely do away with the bureaucrat's lordly airs. Revolutionary committees at different levels should hold regular meetings to hear the opinions of the masses, humbly and with an open mind, gather in the wisdom of the masses, attach importance to their written opinions and interviews, accept their criticism and supervision, and constantly improve their work. In units where the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination has been established, a mass movement should be launched specially to discuss and bring about the simplification, remoulding and revolutionization of the organization so as to serve the proletarian power and the broad masses better.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that the revolutionary committee should be "a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority." In accordance with this instruction, the leadership of the revolutionary committees at various levels must be in the hands of the revolutionary Left and a clear-cut revolutionary spirit must be maintained. Responsible members of the revolutionary committees at various levels should carry out the policy of "Remaining ordinary people while serving as 'officials.'" Responsible members of the revolutionary mass organizations who serve on the standing committees of the revolutionary committees at various levels should, in addition to being present in the office when on duty, return to their grass roots units to work, study, or do productive labour so as always to keep in close touch with the masses.

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Chairman Mao teaches us that "all revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." No matter how many things remain for us to do, we should never forget political power. We must always bear in mind, as a life-long maxim, this latest instruction of Chairman Mao:

"The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance."