

The Clarion Call of the “January Revolution”

— *An Account of the First Month Following the Appearance of the New “Wenbui Bao” and “Jiefang Ribao”*

With the growth of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai during China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the *Wenbui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* appeared as two completely new and revolutionary newspapers. Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao gave a high estimate of this when he said: **“This is a great revolution.”** Since then a month has gone by. During this month of the most intense class struggle the new *Wenbui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao*, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the flag of proletarian revolutionary rebellion, have taken their stand in the forefront of the struggle. Together with the revolutionary rebels of the whole city they have charged through the enemy's lines, making these newspapers really powerful weapons of the great proletarian cultural revolu-

tion, and accomplishing splendid feats for the "January Revolution" in Shanghai.

During this month of class struggle, the new *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* have accumulated useful experience on the right way to run a revolutionary rebel newspaper. The crux of this is: Mao Tse-tung's thought must genuinely occupy the leading position in the paper, which must be run in the revolutionary rebel spirit, in the spirit of continuous and thoroughgoing revolution, of constant revolutionary rebellion.

The Rebellion in *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao*

Wenhui Bao rebelled on January 4, *Jiefang Ribao* on January 6. After throwing off the criminal control of the bourgeois reactionary line, these two newspapers have dispersed the gloom in which "ten thousand horses stood mute," raised high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and launched a fierce counter-attack against the bourgeois reactionary line. On January 5, another Marxist-Leninist big-character poster of nation-wide significance was published — the *Message to All Shanghai People* featured in *Wenhui Bao*.

The appearance of the new *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* marks a great revolution, the overthrow of one class by another. This is a product of the great alliance between Shanghai's proletarian revolutionary groups.

It is certainly no accident that the revolutionary rebel forces of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* rose in rebellion together with the revolutionary masses. This was the inevitable outcome of a mortal struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and the product of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line in the Shanghai district.

These two newspapers should all along have raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and served as an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But because they were con-

trolled by a handful of authorities taking the capitalist road in the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, they several times took the counter-revolutionary revisionist road and committed heinous crimes against the Party and the people. In 1957, *Wenhui Bao* degenerated into a tool of the bourgeois Rightists' frantic attacks on the Party. Between 1961 and 1962 it again became a tool for the restoration of capitalism. *Jiefang Ribao*, ostensibly the organ of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, was controlled during the last few years by a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Municipal Committee and the editorial office, who suppressed the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought, attacked the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes and preached revisionism. Thus it became a chorus of ghosts and monsters inside and outside the Party.

Wherever there is oppression, there will be rebellion. The revolutionary Leftists of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* allied with revolutionary forces outside to launch a fierce onslaught against the reactionary line in both these newspapers. Our great leader Chairman Mao showed the keenest concern for their struggle. From first to last Chairman Mao supported the revolutionary Left and several times he steered *Wenhui Bao* back on to the right course. Under Chairman Mao's personal leadership, between November 1965 and May 1966, *Wenhui Bao* published criticisms of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office** and the "Three-Family Village,"** thus ringing up the curtain for the great proletarian cultural revolution and raising high the flag of revolutionary criticism. But after the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster written by Nieh Yuan-tzu and others on June 1, 1966 was broadcast, *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* not only refrained from playing an active part in this great, unprecedented cultural revolution but stubbornly carried out a bourgeois reactionary line, reversed right and wrong,

*A reactionary opera by the anti-Party element Wu Han. He used the story of Hai Jui, a feudal official, to make a veiled attack on the socialist revolution.

**Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha, three anti-Party elements in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, used its journal *Qianxian* to publish a column entitled *Notes from Three-Family Village*. This carried many reactionary articles attacking the Party and socialism.

turned black into white, attacked revolutionaries and clamped down on different views, to boost the prestige of the bourgeoisie and demoralize the proletariat. They did all in their power to quash the stupendous mass movement. They degenerated completely into tools for bourgeois dictatorship over the proletariat, becoming reactionary papers implementing the bourgeois reactionary line.

The fundamental question of revolution is the question of political power. Events taught the revolutionary Leftists that they must seize the leadership of newspapers if these were to serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must run these papers themselves. At the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution the revolutionary masses of *Wenhui Bao* overthrew the editorial committee which for many years had carried out a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They were too inexperienced, however, to seize the leadership of the paper outright and allowed it to go to some diehards sent by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee who persisted in the bourgeois reactionary line. These scoundrels kept changing *Wenhui Bao's* direction, pulling it over to the bourgeois side. Resorting to many plots and new subterfuges, they staged a fresh counter-attack and frenziedly suppressed the revolutionary rebels in their office and outside it. They branded the revolutionary Leftists in their office as "dangerous" and "double-faced" characters. They deliberately published articles by the conservative forces. As for the stubborn supporters of the bourgeois reactionary line in *Jiefang Ribao*, they looked on the Red Guards as ravening beasts. When the Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai rose to criticize this paper, at the instigation of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee the "gentlemen" of *Jiefang Ribao* and *Wenhui Bao* made a vicious counter-attack, inciting the masses to struggle against each other and bringing about the notorious *Jiefang Ribao* Incident. At the same time they savagely suppressed the revolutionary rebels on their own staff.

This was absolutely insufferable. The fiercer the oppression, the stronger the resistance. The rebels of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* did not submit. With the support of the Third Headquarters of the Red Guards of the Capital and the Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai, they kept

up the fight. And when the struggle was fiercest, eight comrades of the Single Spark Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of *Wenhui Bao* solemnly pledged before a portrait of Chairman Mao to **"be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."** They said: We are in the minority now, but the truth is on our side, Chairman Mao supports us. Drawing boundless strength from our most respected and beloved great leader and with full confidence in their ultimate victory, they threw themselves into an even keener struggle. The revolutionary rebel workers of both newspapers also proved completely staunch during this struggle. Undismayed by attacks and isolation, they fought on heroically determined to rebel until victory. The revolutionary Leftists of the editorial offices learned much from them and were inspired by their example.

Our great leader Chairman Mao tells us: **"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."** Acting on Chairman Mao's teachings and inspired by the editorial *Seize New Victories* in *Hongqi* No. 15, 1966, the revolutionary rebels of *Wenhui Bao* utilized the excellent revolutionary situation in Shanghai to ally closely with the paper's revolutionary workers and to launch a general offensive against the stronghold of the bourgeois reactionary line in their office. They brought many facts to light, mobilized the masses and won over the majority, completely isolating the small number of diehards who were stubbornly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. Finally, in the evening of January 3, they seized overall power in this newspaper. The great majority of the rank-and-file workers there fully supported this splendid action by the Single Spark Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters. The next day, January 4, the new-born *Wenhui Bao* made its appearance.

The birth of the new *Wenhui Bao* greatly heartened the revolutionary rebels of *Jiefang Ribao* who demanded eagerly, "If we don't make a revolution in *Jiefang Ribao*, who will? If we don't seize power now, how long must we wait?" The appearance of the new *Wenhui Bao* dealt a fatal blow to the handful of diehards in *Jiefang Ribao*. And the comrades of its Revolutionary Rebel Allied Headquarters struck while

the iron was hot. At a big meeting in the evening of January 5, they announced their decision to take over *Jiefang Ribao*.

The appearance of the new *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* sounded the knell for the bourgeois reactionary line implemented by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

Wenhui Bao and *Jiefang Ribao*, new-born in the mighty fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution, have acted on Chairman Mao's instruction: **"We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand."** They have raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly taken the side of the revolutionary rebels, opened heavy fire on the bourgeois reactionary line of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and used the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide their propaganda and reporting.

On January 9, *Renmin Ribao* on instructions from Chairman Mao published a most important editorial note. This gave a high estimate of the rebellion in *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao*, pointing out: "With the growth of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai, the *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* 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."

Firmly Take Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line and Make Newspapers Speak for the Revolutionary Rebels

Chairman Mao has pointed out that **the overthrow of political power is necessarily preceded by efforts to seize hold of the superstructure and ideology in order to prepare public opinion.** Newspapers are a powerful propaganda weapon. The revolutionary rebel groups

seized power in these papers in order to control this weapon and prepare public opinion for revolution. This seizure of leadership was a great revolution, but if the matter had rested there and the papers had continued to peddle the same old revisionist and bourgeois reactionary lines, the seizure of power would have lost its significance. So the contents had to be revolutionized too. The fundamental requirement here was really to put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command, so that the broad revolutionary masses might hear Chairman Mao speak through these papers. The day that the new *Wenhui Bao* appeared, it printed the brilliant editorial written for *Renmin Ribao* by Chairman Mao in 1957 — "*Wenhui Bao's*" *Bourgeois Orientation Should Be Criticized*. Later, to meet the needs of the struggle, the papers gave fresh, timely publicity to *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* and published quotations from Chairman Mao dealing with "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," "the peasant movement" and "the struggle for political power." All these gave effective guidance to the movement. The revolutionary comrades of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* resolutely took Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and sided with the revolutionary rebels. The day after its appearance the new *Wenhui Bao* displayed the fearless spirit of revolutionary rebellion by publishing the *Message to All Shanghai People* written by eleven revolutionary organizations in Shanghai. Then, together with the new *Jiefang Ribao*, it published an important series of "Urgent Notices" from different revolutionary bodies, as well as other proclamations, editorials and dispatches. These fanned the flames of revolution, kindled the fires of rebellion, heavily bombarded the reactionary bourgeois line and dealt crushing blows at those in authority taking the capitalist road by exposing their crimes to the light of day. This greatly strengthened the determination of the revolutionary rebels and wiped out the prestige of those persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road.

It was with the support of the revolutionary rebels of all Shanghai that those in the *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* charged through the enemy lines. After taking over these papers they continued to stand in the front line of the struggle and fought shoulder to shoulder with the broad masses of revolutionary rebels, keeping in close contact with them. Actuated by the same ideas, same passionate indignation

and same concerns as the revolutionary rebels, with a high degree of working-class acumen they saw through and smashed the enemy plot to stir up the ill wind of economism. They published eleven editorials as well as many important reports and articles dealing with economism, which were effective in putting a stop to this trend and setting the struggle on the right course again. This helped the people of Shanghai to take a firmer hold of the revolution and further stimulated production.

Both papers gave full coverage and guidance to the struggles to seize power in Shanghai and to the peasants' movement in the surrounding countryside. They did their utmost to discover what was new in the cultural revolution, to acclaim what was new and to clear the way for it. When a reactionary counter-current appeared and attacks were made in Shanghai on the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee, the headquarters of the proletariat, *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* stepped out boldly again to deal the enemy a head-on blow, defending the proletarian revolutionary line and the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary Left.

Chairman Mao says: "We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand. We Communists have always disdained to conceal our views. Newspapers run by our Party and all the propaganda work of our Party should be vivid, clear-cut and sharp and should never mutter and mumble. That is the militant style proper to us, the revolutionary proletariat." The revolutionary rebels of *Wenhui Bao* said: "Revolution cannot be temperate and kind. Revolutionary rebels must be all fire and fight. A sharp, incisive militant style comes from the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, from the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat." The revolutionary comrades of both papers developed the rebel spirit of daring to think, to speak out, to act and to make revolution. Provided the orientation is correct, they have the courage to uphold the truth even if they come under fire. Confronted with the actuality of class struggle, they have the courage to tackle the most crucial questions and boldly step forward to speak out. They make clear what they support and what they oppose in a completely frank and unequivocal way, with no trace of eclecticism. They have made a clean sweep

of the shilly-shallying and mealy-mouthed mumbling which prevailed under the reactionary bourgeois line.

The adverse current of economism deluded some young people and workers who had gone to help build up the countryside and mountainous regions, and they returned to Shanghai asking to be transferred to their old jobs. *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* published editorials urging them to hold to the right course and continue working in the countryside. As a result, many who had been deceived saw their mistake and went back to the villages to make revolution there. The forceful, pungent and strongly militant articles published at this time made the enemy shake with fear. The broad revolutionary masses declared: "This is fine. This is the voice of revolutionary rebels, which it gladdens our hearts to hear!"

As the storm of revolution sweeps Shanghai, dramatic changes take place in the class struggle. Each new enemy counter-attack must be beaten back in good time. Each new acute problem must be settled speedily, without any hesitation or delay.

**The world rolls on,
Time presses,
Ten thousand years are too long,
Seize the day, seize the hour!**

In this revolutionary spirit, the comrades working on both newspapers plunged whole-heartedly into the fray. Some important leading articles were written in only one or two days. A start was not made until late at night on many editorials, but it was decided to publish them because of the need to speak out and join in the struggle. In the short space of a month, *Wenhui Bao* published 22 editorials and six comments; *Jiefang Ribao*, 15 editorials and six comments. In this way both papers succeeded in keeping abreast of events, in acting in concert with and guiding the movement. Their highly responsible attitude to the great proletarian cultural revolution and their overwhelming revolutionary drive are highly commendable and should be developed.

Rebel Against the Bourgeois Line and Firmly Implement Chairman Mao's Mass Line in Running Newspapers

Chairman Mao says: **“With our newspapers, too, we must rely on everybody, on the masses of the people, on the whole Party to run them, not merely on a few persons working behind closed doors.”** The revolutionary comrades of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* believed that having seized power and revolutionized the content of their propaganda they had solved the question of political orientation. But if their method of running the papers remained unchanged, if this was still done from behind closed doors by “experts” holding themselves aloof from the struggle and behaving in a lordly way towards the masses, they would cut themselves off from the masses and the struggle and before long would lose their bearings and return to the old bourgeois political orientation. In 1957, when Chairman Mao criticized *Wenhui Bao's* bourgeois orientation, he said: **“Many of the editors and reporters are so used to living in the old rut that it is very hard for them to effect a quick change.”** For ten years after that *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao*, controlled by a handful of persons taking the capitalist road, refused to carry out Chairman Mao's instructions and went on running the paper in the bourgeois way, so that the editors and reporters remained in the same old rut and cut themselves off to a serious extent from the masses, producing thoroughly rotten newspapers. After making a revolution, a fresh start, should the papers remain in the same old rut? No! They must rebel against this, stage an all-out, thoroughgoing rebellion. The day after the take-over of *Jiefang Ribao*, the revolutionary rebels on the staff held a meeting with representatives of revolutionary rebel groups throughout the city to ask for their support and supervision. *Wenhui Bao* also invited representatives of all the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai to enlist their help in running the paper well. They boldly declared: “We hope you revolutionary rebels will give us ideas for editorials and articles. Please give us pointers as to the new things we should acclaim. Please advise us on what to print, what not to print, and on the problems which deserve attention. If

we make mistakes we shall warmly welcome sharp criticism from you, and hope you will ‘rebel’ against us.” This declaration marking a complete break with the bourgeois way of running newspapers was warmly acclaimed by the revolutionary rebels.

The revolutionary rebels give strong backing to revolutionary rebel papers. Without their help the papers could not have been reborn; without their support they cannot be well run. The revolutionary comrades of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* have staged a big rebellion against the bourgeois way of running newspapers, and are determined to rely on revolutionary rebels. They now have correspondents in the different revolutionary rebel groups, they modestly accept the suggestions of these groups and regularly consult them. Thus they have really taken the papers to the masses to run. The revolutionary rebels of Shanghai also look on it as their responsibility to see that these two newspapers are well run. They keep them informed of new developments, make suggestions and write articles for them. It was on their proposal that the papers reprinted Chairman Mao's *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*. Some editorials were written after studying problems with them, while others were written by them. The two papers have also started the special columns “Revolutionary Rebels' Forum” and “Selected Revolutionary Leaflets,” which publish many statements by revolutionary rebels. These writings come from the front line of the struggle, the problems raised are those of the firing line, the language used is that of the firing line — incisive, pungent and to the point. And all this is warmly appreciated by the revolutionary masses.

Three poor and lower-middle peasants of Wuchiaochang Commune in Paoshan County wrote a letter to *Wenhui Bao* saying: “The old *Wenhui Bao* never followed Chairman Mao's teachings or acted according to his instructions, but was run by a few persons behind closed doors. It printed mostly rubbish by bourgeois academic ‘authorities’, which we poor and lower-middle peasants neither liked nor understood. In this new *Wenhui Bao* you are resolutely acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, integrating yourselves closely with the worker and peasant masses, and the articles you print say what is in the hearts of

us poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants here also like to read the new *Wenhui Bao*.”

Running a paper by relying on the masses means accepting their supervision. The comrades of *Jiefang Ribao* say that this depends on having the mass viewpoint and the revolutionary rebel spirit. It is hard to avoid shortcomings and mistakes in newspaper propaganda, and the masses should criticize and rebel against these. The editors and reporters should make strict demands on themselves and modestly accept their criticism. They should also rise in rebellion themselves against their mistakes and shortcomings. The comrades of both newspapers have taken the initiative in accepting mass supervision. By asking revolutionary rebels to criticize and correct important articles, they have avoided many mistakes.

To Run Revolutionary Rebel Papers Well We Must Be True Revolutionary Rebels

Chairman Mao says: **“Our newspapers are educating the people every day. Our writers and artists, scientists and technicians, professors and teachers are all educating students, educating the people. Being educators and teachers, they themselves must first be educated. And all the more so in the present period of great change in the social system.”** The revolutionary comrades of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* believe that to run revolutionary rebel papers well they must be true revolutionary rebels. Now that revolutionary rebels have taken over the papers, their brains must be taken over too by revolutionary rebel ideology. After the seizure of power the status of the revolutionary rebels changes, but there must be no change in their ideology. To ensure that the papers always remain mouthpieces for revolutionary rebellion, those running them must always retain the revolutionary rebel spirit.

After seizing power, the revolutionary rebels of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* went on serving as ordinary fighters, went to the front line of class struggle, went to the firing line to remould their ideology and to be tested in struggle. The editors and reporters, instead of holding

aloof from the struggle and confining themselves to reporting and editing, have gone to where the struggle is sharpest to learn from the revolutionary rebels and take part in debates with them. The revolutionary rebel spirit of the workers and peasants during the struggle has taught a profound lesson to the comrades working on both newspapers, particularly those editors and reporters who were taken in by the bourgeois reactionary line. Not a few of them now have seen the light and come over to the side of the revolutionary rebels.

Since their seizure of power, the revolutionary rebels of both papers have not slackened in the struggle inside their own offices, but have set aside enough time to struggle against those in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line. They have waged a struggle to repulse economism and fought to overthrow self and establish the concept of public interest. Their policy towards those comrades who were hoodwinked for a time has been to treat each case on its own merits, and help them to free themselves from the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line. Thus the great majority of their staff members are now united round the revolutionary rebel groups, working together in the spirit of revolutionary rebellion to make a success of the paper. They have integrated the revolution in their offices with that in society, and seen from their own struggles the problems of the struggles in society. As regards the seizure of power, the revolutionary rebels of *Wenhui Bao* came to realize that at the present stage — the period during which the Left seizes power — it is impossible to hold “general elections.” So they asked for a report on the seizure of power in the Glass Machine Works, and wrote an editorial clearly stating. **“‘General elections’ are a fraud. At the most crucial time in the struggle to seize power, there must on no account be any ‘united action’ with the Rightists. The seizure of power must be carried through completely, and once power is in the right hands it must not be relinquished. Proletarian revolutionaries must have the courage to hold power for the proletariat.”**

The revolutionary rebels of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* have kept in mind Chairman Mao’s instructions: **“To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. . . . The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free**

from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." They say: "We have only just started to rebel, and a long, long struggle lies ahead of us. We must obey Chairman Mao's instructions and always remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness. We must serve the people whole-heartedly." The comrades of the Single Spark Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of *Wenbui Bao* and of the Revolutionary Rebel Allied Headquarters of *Jiefang Ribao* have recently held rectification meetings to examine the past month's work. They are determined, together with all their revolutionary comrades, to raise high for ever the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to retain for ever the revolutionary rebel spirit, to follow the path pointed out by Chairman Mao, and to make revolution and rebel to the end.