

Shanghai Shipyard. March 13 and 14.

The following are notes taken at two different sessions, both following the introductory comments, which are not included here.

Students. Before the GPCR students studied only at universities and did not come to the workshops to experience life. The Liuist approach meant that they studied to become officials--spending the whole day in the classroom with their noses in a book. Education seriously diverged from practice. The GPCR brought about changes in education. While in the university students also go to farms and factories to be educated by the working people. Working with farmers and workers provides a rich education. Through practical work students combine theory and practice. They are trained to do both mental and manual labor.

When the students first came into our shipyard they were a lot of trouble. They were interested in seeing everything and trying it out. This was dangerous. So we gave lessons on general conditions and technical knowledge. For example, in the diesel engine workshop there are a lot of machines, so if you don't abide by the safety regulations it is hazardous. There were the girls with their long pigtailed--which had to be tied up in a cap or in a hard hat. If you go onto the ship you have to wear a hardhat. Now its almost finished, but when it was first launched and they were building the superstructure, there was a danger of falling objects. The workers teach the students technology-- so ~~xx~~ that they can operate the machines themselves. The students will feel much easier about how ships are built.

We have 800 middle school students here now. ~~xxx~~ They are not counted as part of the regular work force. They stay about 6 months; they live at home and receive no pay. They get medical benefits and they are issued overalls, but they pay for all their meals. Occasionally they are assigned here when they graduate, but only about a dozen since the GPCR. Before the GPCR we had only a handful of students coming here for practical work right before they graduated.

Wages. The average pay is 69 yuan a month. The lowest is 42 yuan and the highest is 126 yuan. They are 8 pay grades. Criterium for pay scale position is based on technical ability and political attitude. These positions are assigned by the "working group". The production team --the masses put forward suggestions and the leaders decide. The size of the team varies from 10+ to 30 persons. There are 50 workteams in the marine diesel engine section. The workers have the right to strike, but actually it never happens. They can criticize the leaders whenever they want. Since the GPCR we don't have trade unions. Instead we have mass organizations called the Workers' Representative Conference (Kung-jen tai-piao wei-yuan-hui).

Because of the Liu line, before the principle of material incentive was carried out. Workers were only concerned about their own personal interests, not about socialist construction. They became obscure about the aims of their work. Our construction is aimed at revolution and consolidating National defense. ~~xx~~ The Liuist line poisoned the minds of the workers.

Apprenticeship. Period of apprenticeship lasts from 1 to 3 years. They are not on the regular pay scale. The first year they get 18.50 yuan a month, the second year they get 21 yuan, the third they get 23.50. They also have a clothes subsidy, are supplied overalls, get travel allowances, and are entitled to all fringe benefits such as medical care.

March 14 discussion with: Technician 廖云汉; Planer operator 祝煥良
"Hot worker" (heats steel so that it can be bent) 張國均;
Woman lather operator 徐小妹; Apprentice in hull assembly
(P) 馬交; and worker in hull assembly 周志男.

Planer: In our group there are 42 people. We have two production leaders and two political propagandists. (One set for each shift--two shifts here.) The leaders are recommended and selected by the masses. The final decision is made by the workshop revolutionary committee (RC). The RC is made up of (a) masses (b) cadres and (c) technicians. The leaders are concerned with production and politics. The two propagandists help with political study. The propaganda people are also recommended and selected by the masses. The cadres are also elected and selected by masses and approved by shipyard leadership. There are four levels here the work group (sometimes referred to as team); the section--usually made up of 10 work groups; the workshop--made up of several sections; and the shipyard level RC. Cadres at the section level and below work everyday. Above the section level there is a division of labor, but they work some of the time. The Revolutionary Committee system is new--a thing of the GPCR. Before that there were cadres in the management, but not workers. These cadres were assigned by the leadership. Now they are nominated by the workshops. At all levels the members of the RC are recommended, selected by masses, and approved by leadership. The members we select are approved most of the time. Sometimes they are not because the leadership bases the selection on an overall view. The members of the RC have to be balanced among the young, middle-aged, old, and women. So sometimes they say we have too many of one ~~category~~ category and we have to nominate somebody else. Nomination and selection is based on political attitude, close ties with the masses, working ability..

(How exactly are these people selected?) If for example, there are 7 places to fill on the RC, then the leadership asks for nominations. Maybe in the whole workshop there will be 70 names put up. This list of 70 is passed around. The leadership then tries to balance it for the categories of young, old, etc. By this time maybe there are 20 names. Then they ask all of us to discuss it again. And in this way it gets narrowed down to 7. "That's how they are elected."

(What exactly does the workshop RC do?) They have a task assigned to them by the shipyard, and it is divided up and discussed. The workshop then assigns jobs to the various groups, and helps to supervise them in trying to work out their production plan. It can switch people around as they are needed. The workshop plan is co-ordinated with the whole shipyard plan. For example, the shipyard plan now requires that this engine be finished by April. So the workshop RC helps the 50 groups to get co-ordinated, and then each group works out its own plan on how it is going to get its work done in time to have the engine finished by April. This has to be worked out, taking into consideration that at the same time we are involved in ~~repairing~~ repairing other ships. All

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the tasks ~~xx~~ have to be discussed so that the plan ~~x~~ can be put together and so that we get all the jobs done.

Where did the April date come from?) From the shipyard level production committee. ~~x~~ It writes the plan, and then we all discuss it. ~~x~~ Before the GPCR the production committee was made up of cadres who were nominated by the shipyard leadership--the director and section leaders. They were nominated by their superiors. The staff then were mostly technicians--university graduates. They were a few who ~~xxxx~~ had been promoted up from the ranks of the workers. Since the GPCR these people are also elected. (Read nominated and selected.) 1

The RC is a 3 in 1 combination. Some of them are in the production committee. The ~~xxx~~ production committee is also a 3 in 1 ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~x~~ combination. 1. Former cadres who are fully experienced in administration. 2. technicians 3. workers. They all have special expertise which complement each other, so they work together. The old cadres especially give a hand to the new ones (i.e. the workers) in order to help them in administration.

Cultural RAevolution in the Shipyard.

In the past our workshop only made steam engines--not diesel engines. Before the GPCR the capitalist roaders didn't think we were capable of making a diesel engine. We, on the other hand, thought we should make diesel engines because of the needs of the country. We urgently need diesel engines. We had rich experience in repairing diesel engines. We were quite convinced that we could make one. Also the petroleum problem in China is solved.

In 1958 during the Great Leap Forward (GLF) we had built a 3000 T ship. The workers succeeded in also making 2 sets of 2000 HP engines. But after the GLF because of the revisionist line they wouldn't let us go on further, so we produced steam engines only.

When the people in the assembly workshop decided they could build a 10,000 T ship, we decided we could build a 10,000 HP diesel engine. Technically speaking we thought we could do it. Although there were some difficulties in terms of equipment and data, the masses could work it out.

(Who is we?) Some of us-in different corners of the shipyard. Not all the workers thought this way, but quite a few did. We had to have people interested in all corners because making a 10,000 HP engine requires the combined effort of the whole shipyard.

After the GPCR in 1968 we severely criticized the revisionist line in our shipyard. The fact that we had built a 2000HP engine and a 3000 T ship, but had been hindered from going further was criticized. Some workers in the Hull building (assembly) workshop said why can't we build a 10,000 T ship? It was welcomed by some workers in every section. "If you can build a 10,000 T hull, we can make a 10,000 HP engine." And then there was a hot debate.

Chou: I was over in the assembly workshop. At first I disagreed but then my mind was changed. I came to the shipyard in 1957--right at the time of the Three Great Banners (GLF) and under the guidance of MTT Thought we built a 3000 T ship, on that 3000 T slipway that you saw. Because of the Liu line they said that "Building ships is not as good as buying ships. Buying ships is not as good as chartering ships". "It's not economical for you to build ships. You should only repair ships." So we had to stop building ships. We only built small boats. We were mainly a repair shop until 1969. Since the GPCR we have tried to eliminate the Liu line's influence. Consciousness is greatly raised.

(How did you get the idea to build the 10,000 T ships?) We read an editorial in the January 1 People's Daily, and we read a story that the Hsin Kang shipyard in Tientsin had succeeded in building a 10,000 T ship on a 5000 T slipway. We were greatly enlightened and some of our comrades in the workshop said "If they can do it, so can we." We have a 3000 T slipway and we can do it. After I had heard all that, I agreed. When the hot debate was carried out, some people said we couldn't do it. They said the slipway was too small and it couldn't support such a heavy hull.

How did you succeed in putting over your proposal?

So we carried out a survey, a scientific investigation. We suggested using 40 meters that are under water and 25 feet on the front end. They said such a small slipway couldn't support such a heavy ship, and we said that we could add piles underneath to support the heavier piece. We made a very ~~xxx~~ scientific investigation before making the final decision.

(~~Why did the capitalist roaders oppose it?~~) I am one of the sponsors of the proposition and helped build the 2 3000 T vessels before the GPCR (during GLF). Before the GPCR building had stopped because fo the capitalist roaders (X CR). Production had been carried out according to needs of ~~xxxxx~~ the country as interpreted by the cadres...it was the decision of the cadres. The CR used the leaders in the ~~n~~ field of shipbuilding in Shanghai--convinced them that we should only be repairing ships.

We criticized all these ~~n~~ wrong ideas. And we set up the scæntific investigation to prove they were wrong.

(But in the US we criticize our leaders, and our professors all the time, and it doesn't do any good. Why did your criticism succeed in changing their minds?)

In my opinion it is a question of political power. Before the GPCR some portion of political power was used by CR. These~~x~~ people pushed the revisionist line. That is why they would not accept our criticism. Only since the CPCRC when the CR power was seized ~~byxxxxxx~~ back by the workers--only after that could we make the decisions. Poliltcal power is in the hands of the working class. That's why they listen when we criticize.

Planer: It is because Chairman Mao has the closest ~~ixties~~ to the masses and he believes most in the strength of the masses. So he could lead us in seizing back the power usurped by the CR.

(Were you aware of the CR before the GPCR?) Chou: Before the GPCR I didn't understand. I thought we were a socialist state and that political power was in the ~~had~~ hands of the working class. Only after the GPCR, during which all these facts were presented, and during which we discussed the two lines, only then did we become aware that the struggle between two lines has always ~~x~~ existed in the socialist state. So gradually we came to understand this.

(Why did it all happen when it did?) When we put our proposal forward about the 10,000 T ship it was supported by the new (1968) Revolutionary Committee. So then we set up the 3 in 1 research ~~grouop~~ to study the feasibility. In this committee the masses were dominatn. The leading cadres had been changed. The new RC had been set up. Its members were selected by workers.

(Weren't these CR actually helpful in pointing out some of the technical difficulties involved, thus assuring the success of the operation in the end?) No. The slipway is small and the ship is big. This is objective fact. This is common sense. We know that. We have to raise these questions ourselves. The ques-tion is what kind of attitude you havex when you face these

kinds of problems. Should you have confidence in the masses? All difficulties can be solved with the masses. The other attitude is that of a coward. They wanted to persuade us to stop. That is the dispute. It was not over technical questions. It was over the two lines, a ~~mutual~~ question of attitude toward the masses.

(Was there much opposition?) These was some. Not just cadres, but ordinary workers who had a negative attitude. The cadres after '68 didn't voice their attitudes directly. Since the GPCR under the education of the masses they knew they should listen, but in the minds of ~~x~~ some of them, they still had doubts. Some of the workers had doubts too...because of objective facts. But because of the education, all the workers have been well educated on the issues, and they quickly came over and ehlped ~~hni~~ build the ship. The CR have also been won over. People's minds can be changed. This is all dialectical. You can win people over. Under the education of MMT Thought, that we should build up our "railroad on the sea" to helpin socialist construction, the workers knew this , and they were very enthusiastic about building ships.

Before the Cultural Revolution, because of the Liu line Chairman Mao's line couldn't be carried out in some fields to some degree. Thre workers were then aroused by the direct teaching of Chairman Mao. They recognized the importancia of political power. Through the actual struggle of the GPCR and the education of MTT Thought they realized that the criterion for political power depended on the leaderships line. They realized that Ch. Mao's line represented the interst of the workers and so it was correct. Liu's line represented the interst of the bourgeoisie and so it was incorrect.

(Did the GPCR start from the top and work down, or vice ~~ex~~ versa?)

Both. From up to down, and down to up. Before the GPCR becuase of the interference of Liu many directives from Mao had been blocked. Mao had long before said we should build this "railroad on the sea" (Hai shang t'ieh lu) but it was opposed by Liu. So the wrong line was carried out. The GPCR was initiated and led by Mao himself. Many facts were presented and the revisionist line was criticized. We all though Mao's line was in our interest. We should build up China relying on our own efforts, holding the initiative in our own hands,. Liu's wanted "slavish comprador" attitude, following the foreigners. Under education from Mao the masses were aroused and the movement started from bottom up.

(You seem to talk as if the GPCR was as important, or maybe more important than the revolution in 1949. How do you feel about that?) (Heads nod thoughtfully.) In 1949 we fundamentally solved the problem of political power. We ended the reactionary rule over the working peopoe. Mao solemnly proclaimed the People's Republic, and the end of the 3 big ~~mountains~~: imperialism, faudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism.

Take our shipyard for example. We were a bureaucrat-capitalist firm. I wasn't here, but have I heard a lot of miserable stories from verteran workers. They had nothing to eat when they couldn't ~~get~~ get work. The led a very poor and miserable life. Now the working class is politically liberated, they are masters of the state.

Economically our welfare is guaranteed. My father was a worker and so I also had this kind of experience. I have been here 19 years and I have experienced the big changes. When I came it was very small. The shipyard has been expanded a great deal. It can't be compared with pre-liberation. Any worker in China can tell you that. Words cannot describe the difference.

Before the GPCR Mao's line still was predominant, but it was interfered with by Liu's line. Construction had been slowed down by Liu's line. Since the GPCR consciousness is raised and now we realize the importance of Mao's line and Mao's thought. If Liu's line had won out, or if it does win out, capitalism would be restored.

(How long will this struggle against ~~the~~ capitalist restoration go on?) In the process of a socialist society, there will be class struggle. We must continue to study Mao's Thought so that we can struggle against these revisionist influences. A Communist society means the end of imperialism and capitalism. They will be defeated before there can be communism. But then there will be a new struggle--between the new and the old.

(Would Mao then be obsolete?) Truth is truth. For example, Marx was born more than 100 years ago. ~~His~~ Fundamental principles are still correct because it reflects the law of objective development and represents the interests of the working class. As for concrete cognition, there will be struggle. You have to approach it dialectically. Sun Yat-sen played a progressive role, so we don't have a negative attitude toward his revolution in 1911.

(What happened to CR in GPCR? Where are they now?) During the GPCR when we seized back political power, most of the cadres didn't have anything to do. They had no more power because they had exercised the wrong line. but then because of the education of Mao Thought they realized their mistakes and regretted them and tried to correct them, and so we absorbed them into the RC. They are still in leading positions. When they were idle we put them to work in the workshop since they didn't have anything else to do.