

Revolutionary workers at the No. 12 State Cotton Mill in Shanghai denounce the crimes of China's Khrushchov and pledge to eradicate the vestiges of his poisonous influence in their mill.



Textile Workers

Repudiate China's Khrushchov

WE revolutionary workers and staff members at the No. 12 State Cotton Mill in Shanghai have launched a "people's war" of mass criticism as our part in the nationwide high tide of denouncing China's Khrushchov. Everyone among our 6,000 workers on every shift and in every work group is eager to expose and criticize his counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its manifestations in our mill.

We have more veteran workers than most places because our mill has been in operation for more than fifty years. They were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed under Japanese imperialism and the rule of the Kuomintang bureaucrat capitalists, so they have a bitter hatred for imperialism and capitalism and deep love for the Communist Party, Chairman Mao and socialism. During the first three years of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) our mill was full of revolutionary spirit. Everybody was studying Chairman Mao's writings. Inspired by his ideas

The above article was prepared by the Liaison Station to Criticize and Repudiate China's Khrushchov at the No. 12 State Cotton Mill in Shanghai.

that we should serve the people and make politics the supreme commander and the soul of all our work, we were vying with each other and helping each other to do our work better, and we accomplished our production tasks very successfully.

The Sinister Hand Reaches In

Then the sinister hand of China's Khrushchov and his gang reached into our mill. In the autumn of 1961 their agents in Shanghai—the handful of capitalist-roaders in the former Municipal Party Committee—on the pretext of strengthening management in a number of Shanghai factories, instituted a whole series of revisionist measures which were really capitalist measures.

For achieving industrialization there are two roads, two lines and two methods—the socialist and the capitalist. The socialist road means relying on the working class and the broad revolutionary masses, on putting politics in the forefront, on the revolutionary consciousness and initiative which Mao Tse-tung's thought arouses in hundreds of millions of people, so

that leadership of enterprises will be truly in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries. Taking the capitalist road, on the other hand, means relying on a few bourgeois "experts", on material incentives, and on conservatives so that the leadership can be usurped by a privileged stratum representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. Through his agents in Shanghai, China's Khrushchov tried to restore capitalism in our mill.

The first thing they opposed was our study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Their new rules and regulations emphasized "production first", but made no mention of the need to revolutionize people's thinking. Some time before, we workers had on our own organized spare-time groups for political study. The capitalist-roaders in our mill not only did not support these, but they tried to undermine them by spreading the idea that political and ideological work was nothing but a promissory note, while technical measures were like ready cash. Political and ideological work, they said, was like water far away, which could be of no help in putting out a fire nearby. On the pretext that the shops must

be neat, they wouldn't even allow us to put up portraits of Chairman Mao or quotations from his works. But they had no objection to putting up baskets of paper flowers which were given as production awards.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.**" We workers understood these words well. We knew that the Great Leap Forward had achieved what it did precisely because Party leadership and education in Mao Tse-tung's thought had been strengthened.

The agents of China's Khrushchov and his gang, however, advocated one-man leadership, which gave complete power in administration to the mill director, and power over production and technical matters to the chief engineer. In this way they completely abolished the collective leadership of the Party committee and the workers' participation in management. All we workers could do was to obey orders and follow the regulations. A new air of "expert control" and "technology decides everything" pervaded the mill. Because of their "technical know-how", some backward and even reactionary bourgeois intellectuals gained control over important work, while cadres from workers' families were discriminated against. "The leadership of our mill was no longer in the hands of the proletariat, but in the hands of bourgeois technical authorities," the workers recall, thinking back over that time. "They were not carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Material Incentives Pushed

Chairman Mao teaches us that "**Political work is the life-blood of all economic work**". He stresses that we should put politics in command, regard the human factor as primary, and revolutionize people's thinking in order to promote greater, faster, better and more economical results in production. But China's Khrushchov energetically put money in command, trying to stimulate production through

material incentives. Lauding bourgeois individualism, his henchmen, the two top leaders in Shanghai's now-defunct Municipal Party Committee, visited our mill twice, trying to sell their master's revisionist goods. Through their "great concern" for our plant, we became one of the two Shanghai mills serving as a testing ground for the partial piece-rate system.

We had originally received a fixed monthly wage. After the partial piece-rate system went into effect, we received only half our pay in this way. The other half was paid on the basis of whether or not the worker fulfilled a certain quota. If a worker fell short of his quota for quantity or quality, a deduction would be made from his pay, but if he surpassed it, he would get a bonus. There were also provisions for other kinds of bonuses and special allowances. For every quota there was a long list of standards. These would be raised about every three months, so that as soon as a worker, with great effort, managed to reach the existing standard, he would have to knock himself out to reach a higher standard. And if they didn't meet the standards they'd take a loss in pay. These were the so-called advanced methods of raising labour productivity! The real aim was to force us workers to sweat just for money and to turn us into spineless tools of the capitalist-roaders.

Furious Condemnation

Now, in the cultural revolution, at meetings both large and small in our mill, these material incentives are furiously denounced. Everyone is eager to tell how they poisoned his or her own outlook. This is what operators in the loom section say: In the past we thought of each other as class sisters. We used to be concerned about each other and help each other. Sometimes we'd get to work ahead of time just to help our sisters on the shift before us to finish their job. We kept a close watch on quality, and anyone who put out a below-standard bolt of cloth felt worse than if she'd lost something she treasured. Sometimes when weavers found out that the inspectors hadn't caught a defect, they would

help to look for it. Once even after some bolts with flaws had been packaged, we undid all the wrappings until we found them. But after the partial piece-rate system was introduced, we spent all day worrying that we might be fined. Many became concerned only about their own interests and our former relationship of intimate class kinship was ruined.

Workers from every shop pointed out that the most vicious aspect of the material incentive programme was the way it corrupted people's thinking. As soon as some workers got more money, their minds became occupied with eating and dressing better and they lost their interest in collective production and national affairs. They even dropped out of political studies. One worker in the warping section recalled with bitterness and remorse, "The only thing in my mind was how to avoid being fined and how to get a bigger bonus. One night when my children were making so much noise I couldn't sleep, I said to them, 'Be quiet. Let me get my rest so that tomorrow I'll be able to work better and earn more money to buy nice things for you to eat.' This vicious system not only poisoned me but was even influencing the way I educated my children."

Soon everybody came to understand that the most horrible effect of the material incentive system lies in its imperceptible corrosion of a person's revolutionary will. It makes a person work hard for money but forget about safeguarding the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This amounts to abandoning the revolution. We must be particularly on guard against "sugar-coated bullets" such as these from China's Khrushchov. "In his sinister book on 'self-cultivation', China's Khrushchov teaches people to take a small loss so as to make a bigger gain," Han Chin-mei, a veteran worker in the warping shop, exclaimed at one meeting. "But if we take a little gain from the likes of him, we will suffer a big loss! We must never let this happen!"

Controls and Restrictions

Chairman Mao teaches us, "**The masses have a potentially inex-**

haustible enthusiasm for socialism." He also teaches us that building socialist industry is the joint undertaking of hundreds of millions of Chinese people. Only when we believe in and rely on the masses and respect their creative spirit can we run socialist enterprises successfully. But China's Khrushchov and his gang wanted to do exactly the opposite. Taking the stand of the bourgeoisie, they feared the masses, strenuously opposed the mass movement, and did their utmost to control and restrict the masses. Their agents in our mill drew up a 330,000-word, 170-page document of new rules and regulations. Many of these were designed to hamper the initiative and creativity that the workers have used to build socialism. These rules and regulations are now angrily denounced at criticism-repudiation meetings as "invisible chains around our necks so that we couldn't move". One speaker declared, "We workers were only allowed to obey, but not to rebel!"

One of the things the capitalist-roaders did was to put these regulations and the names of the parts of every machine on a set of cards. At any time a worker could be asked to draw one and repeat the rule from memory or identify the machine part and describe its function. He didn't even have to violate a regulation to have his pay

docked, all he had to do was fail to recite it correctly.

Under these new rules and regulations, many of the inventions and innovations which the workers had thought up after the Great Leap Forward began were tossed aside—even those already functioning well in use—because they hadn't been proven by so-called formal scientific tests. For example, they stopped using equipment for the automatic cleaning of the shops invented by the workers and much welcomed by them. The words of the chief engineer and some of the technical authorities became like the scripture. Even if what they said was wrong, we had to obey them. At one time, we began getting a new kind of cotton which we felt should be worked at a higher moisture content than the raw material we had been using. The chief engineer would not accept this reasonable suggestion, and consequently a great deal of poor-quality cloth was produced. Instead of admitting his own mistake, however, he put the blame for this on the workers and ordinary technicians.

As a result of the material incentives and curbing of the workers' initiative, in the three years between 1962 and 1964, the mill's total output was 13.46 per cent less than that during 1958-1960, the

first three years of the Great Leap Forward.

The Workers Rebel

We workers have been against this revisionist stuff for a long time. Class-conscious veterans watched its development with deep anxiety in their hearts. "These things are diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's idea of putting politics in command, and to the many new things that were begun as a result of the Great Leap Forward", they often mused. Many of the older operators had protested to the mill management, "We're working for the revolution, for socialism. We have high consciousness and initiative for production. These rules and regulations are completely unnecessary."

Liu Lan-ying, an outstanding worker in the loom section, many times told the mill management of her opposition to the partial piece-rate system and the bonuses, both verbally and in writing. "I'm a Communist," she said, "and should follow Chairman Mao's teachings in *Serve the People*. It's my duty to do more work, and one shouldn't get extra pay for it. If we get more money every time production advances we'll become divorced from the masses and forget about the revolution and the suffering of our class in the past." Although she pro-

tested again and again, the capitalist-roaders would not listen. "If you have too much money," they said, "go out and buy something better to eat and nicer clothes." But Liu Lan-ying persisted in her resistance to the material incentives. Every month she put the bonus she received into a special bank account, which she refused to touch for herself. The only time she drew out any of it was to help some elderly workers who had been fined for not meeting their quotas.

When the cultural revolution began, we workers put up many *dazibao* (big-character posters) to expose and criticize these revisionist measures. But at that time power was still in the hands of the capitalist-roaders. Many of the people who had raised criticisms were surrounded and attacked, and even branded as "counter-revolutionaries". Early in 1967 in the "January Revolution",* Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries seized back power from those who had usurped it—the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party. The capitalist-roaders in our mill were also overthrown, and the revolutionary workers and staff members became the real masters. At that time we were still not clear as to who was the arch-criminal behind all this revisionist rubbish. In April of last year, the plot of China's Khrushchov to restore capitalism was exposed to the public. So it was he who was the main backer of the capitalist-roaders! It was he who had made us suffer so! Our teeth clenched in hatred, we plunged into the struggle to criticize and repudiate him.

At many criticism-repudiation meetings over the past few months, veteran workers, with tears in their eyes, have recalled how they had suffered and been oppressed before the liberation. Liu Hsiang-lien, an outstanding worker in the spinning department, had been taken from her village at the age of 12 to become a child labourer at the mill. Listening to her story we could almost see before our eyes her tiny half-starved figure, the boss's whip, the foreman's fist, the 12 hours of hard labour daily, the

* See "The Great 'January Revolution' in Shanghai" in the April 1967 issue of *China Reconstructs*.

STAMPS OF NEW CHINA

Long Life to Chairman Mao

THE STAMPS in this commemorative set were issued separately between July and October to honour the 46th anniversary of the founding of the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party.

Each stamp carries a semi-profile likeness of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of China and the world, wearing military uniform. Below the portrait is the inscription "Long Life to Chairman Mao", which is the title of the whole set.

Stamp 1, 4 fen. Chestnut.
Stamp 2, 8 fen. Brown-red.
Stamp 3, 35 fen. Red-brown.
Stamp 4, 43 fen. Red-orange.
Stamp 5, 52 fen. Carmine.
Size: 28 × 40 mm. Perf. 11. Re-cess printed.



Liu Hsiang-lien (first from right), a child labourer before liberation, discusses work problems with other members of the revolutionary committee.



Learning advanced experience from one another in order to do a good job of both production and revolution under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.



mouldy "company meals", the damp and filthy living quarters in the mill infested with bedbugs and mosquitoes. . . "China's Khrushchov wants to pull us all back onto that road," she shouted. "He wants us to suffer like that again. But his dreams will come to nothing! We'll never let him do it! Never, a thousand times never!" The whole audience rose and shouted with her, "Let us never forget the sufferings of our class. Our hatred is made of blood and tears!"

Victory

The revisionist measures that China's Khrushchov and his gang had forced on us were finally smashed to smithereens. As a result of a strong demand from all the workers, our mill has abolished material incentives and restored the old wage system. All the regulations which curbed our initiative and creativity for building socialism have been smashed in a furious storm of criticism and repudiation. A new proletarian order of revolution and production is being established in every shop. Our proletarian revolutionary leaders of the mill, together with the masses of the workers, are running it as a socialist enterprise according to Chairman Mao's instructions: always put politics in command, strengthen Party leadership, vigorously carry out mass movements, carry out the technical revolution and put into practice

the "two participations, one change and the three-in-one combination" (that is, cadres participating in physical labour and workers participating in management; change of old rules and systems; and the three-in-one combination of leaders, technicians and workers in work).

The whole mill is firmly grasping revolution and vigorously promoting production. During the first half of 1967 total value of production surpassed the plan by 4.35 per cent, an increase of 6.21 per cent over the corresponding period of 1966. Production value for the third quarter of 1967 surpassed the original target by 2.98 per cent, and the quality of both yarn and cloth have improved.

At present we revolutionary workers at the mill are in a new campaign to study Chairman Mao's thought. We carry on our discussions about applying it not only during the special study period but even before and after shift, and spend our off-hours at home seeking the answers to our problems in his writings. We are determined to better arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to thoroughly criticize, repudiate and discredit China's Khrushchov and his gang. With the thinking of Mao Tse-tung we will create a revolutionized and militant proletarian army in our mill to defend our socialist state power and guarantee that it will never change political colour.