

No. 140 (Cambridge)

Background (5/25/90, 3 hrs.)

The informant graduated from junior high school in 1970, was sent down to the countryside for two years. In 1972 was assigned to a tractor factory that produced hand-held tractors. He worked there until the end of August 1989. The factory employed 2800. He worked in the metal casting shop at first, then in the parts processing workshop as a fitter. Did this until 1980, when he became an accountant (hesuan) in the shop office, calculating costs of production, etc.

Wages

He started as an apprentice in 1972. First year apprentices got 16 yuan, then 18, 20 up to third year. Then became grade 1 worker at 36 yuan. He reached this level in 1973, because he got credit for the two years he was sent down. There still were no bonuses then, not until 1979. After one year at grade one, you were raised to grade 2, at 40 yuan. The next readjustment was in 1979. They did it according to a percentage early on. The state said you could promote a certain percentage one grade, and they gave out quotas to each shop and group. They would assess workers and others and give the raises to the backbones, section heads and those who took on responsibility. About 20% as he remembers in the beginning. They met and discussed but in the end the cadres of the shop decided.

After the 1979 readjustment, they gave raises to all except for criminals and long term absence. This was because for a long time there had been no raises. They did it according to need: seniority, wage level, family burdens. In 1984 I was finally raised to grade 4, at 61 yuan. Also got another raise in 1987 to 72 yuan, grade 5 level. This was my qiye ji, or qiye gongzi. There was also a floating portion of the salary that was 6 yuan a month, so I got a total of 78 yuan. If you were absent more than 12 days a month, they could take the floating wage away. This floating portion was decided for each person by the factory. It could change, and they could give different amounts to different people. They can't change the basic wage, but they can change the flatting portion, and even take it away temporarily. The shop director makes the decision and the factory approves. But it doesn't usually change.

Some places have the pinren zhi, where each shop has the ability to get rid of people, and they become bianwai gongren. Then you lose your floating wages, bonuses, and so forth. But we don't have it and so there is no good way to solve the problems of workers arguing with supervisors, or poor work attitude. We don't carry this out mainly because the managers are so worried about funds, sales, and so forth, they haven't had time to carry it out. But they also have to think about whether this reform will work well in our factory. Not necessarily so. The workers don't worry too much about this system, they just want to work and make money. With this system though, workers could be punished, so they probably would not like it. But workers don't actively participate in politics, read newspapers, and think about policies that are coming up, and discuss them and analyze them. They don't have opinions about things until they happen. Few workers sit down and think things through for themselves. They just work and go home. They want a factory that pays more, is more efficient, because they will make more. This they do think about. Workers might think about how to get to a better work unit, but they don't think about how to change things in their current work unit.

### Bonuses

They were restored about 1979. By 1989, our factory took its gongzi jijin, which included wages, floating wages, and bonuses, from their profits. They had a dizeng system of determining this fund. For example, if profits rose by a certain percentage, then the wage fund would rise by a certain percentage.

Bonus funds are given out to shops according to their monthly completion of quotas. Fluctuates a lot. If you don't finish your quota, you get no bonus. The same goes within the shops, for each banzu. Within the shop, they give bonuses according to work time (time allotted to produce each piece of the tractor). Workers want pieces with high times, and easy to produce, to increase the saved work time. This is not the same as a piece rate, which is a fixed price for each piece. Piece time wages, you calculate hours worked by pieces completed in a work day. The differences in pay don't end up being that large. But you get bonuses according to the number of hours of work you complete.

On the average, monthly bonuses averaged about 20 yuan. Production workers sometimes could get 40 to 50, section personnel got less (about 1/3 of the employees did not directly produce). Those who didn't produce got the average of all production workers. Most people got around the average. There were not great fluctuations.

There were severe funding pressures in recent years. Sometimes the day before bonuses were to be paid, they still didn't have the money to pay the wages and bonuses, and still hadn't gotten permission from the bank. But every time in the end we got the bank to loan money to cover it. If they missed a payday, this would have a big impact on the workers and they would really not work very hard.

When workers are unhappy, they daigong, decide they don't care about bonuses, say just give me the basic wage. For example, if the workers get a quotas they think they can't meet, they'll do this, and if many workers do it, production will really fall.

The shop directors try as hard as they can to do things on behalf of the workers, try to get the higher levels to do things for their workers. The shop leaders are very practical and they try to make sure that you do right by their workers: "if you have people's hearts, you have everything" [de renxin zhe, de tianxia]. Workers feel their leaders ought to represent the workers interests to the upper levels, and speak on their behalf.

If you don't break the law and aren't absent more than 3 days (for bonus) or 12 days (for floating wage) they can't take away your bonus. There aren't many other punishments. But they can refuse to help you in solving your problems, housing, and other things in the future. There is no longer any real politics in the factory. They don't talk about sixiang or biaoxian anymore. Its a business now, no more sensitive political matters in the 1980s. Very very little political study now except within the youth league and party organizations.

### Party

In the past the advanced producers could enter the party, people wanted to enter. Now they don't really have high standards to enter the party. Also, people have an attitude toward the party and the behavior of its members, the corruption. They don't want to be party members these days, don't have a lot of respect for the party.

To enter the party today, you have to have a good work attitude, good work ability, willingness to take responsibility. Political thought is different now: it means generally that you respect the party, have proper understanding of its task. Now they

fill out an application form if they are interested. If they think you are qualified, or are close to being qualified, they will try to develop you. To "develop" a person means that they send 2 members to be your rudang jieshao ren to give recommendations on your behalf to the party organization later on.

After you enter the party, if you continue to do your work well (biaoqian hao), you can eventually become a zuzhang or banzhang, or eventually be promoted to the shop office or the factory office. There are some people who aren't party members, but very few at this level. The vast majority of leaders are party members. The earlier you enter the party, the better it is for your chances.

Then what is the role of the party? Before June 4, they had the separation of administration and party, and did it very thoroughly. But who was more powerful, party secretary or plant director? They debated this without end and never had an answer. In the end, the party is mainly responsible for thought work, supervising the completion of tasks. The party really was weakened over the last few years. But they still resisted the strengthening of the factory director (though he can't think of any concrete examples at this point). In shops, the party organization is mainly responsible for giving reports on important meetings, documents from the center, and give reports.

In the shop the branch secretary is supposed to help the director finish the production responsibilities. For example, if the workers are unhappy and are slowing down, they go down and find out what the problem is, discuss things with workers. But they don't play a very active role and don't really have concrete responsibilities. If there is a problem in production, go to the director; if its thought, attitude, livelihood problems, go to the secretary, unless you happen to know one a little better than the other. The shop director should ideally be someone who knows production and takes initiative. The secretaries should know some theories, principles, understand people's thinking. But in reality all the time if the two don't get along they transfer director A to be party secretary of B, and vice-versa. In reality, the differences aren't that great, they're all just leaders. Its always unclear who has the final say. No one has the power to just make decisions themselves. Have to discuss and try to agree. In our factory, the director is 30+, secretary 50+, and there's a contradiction there. The secretary always blocked the director. He had a lot of new ideas, didn't want to listen to the secretary talk about how things used to be done. so the secretary was always disagreeing and refusing to agree with the director.

### Outside work

You couldn't usually make more than about 100 yuan in our factory. We made lower middle level wages. Workers wanted way to make more. The getihu made much more, got rich. But the workers don't have capital, and its not easy to be a getihu.

They don't permit you to hold second jobs. You have to get business license to do carpentry, repair work and so forth after work. There are workers who do this, but not very many. You have to have skills that can earn money. Most of us don't. I had friends who sold things in a stall that his mother rented, another did sewing, another carpentry. They made a lot of money, more than during work hours. Why didn't they quit their state jobs? State benefits. Medical insurance, retirement, insurance. This is most important reason they don't usually quit. If they live in factory housing, they will be asked to move out.

### Housing

About half of the employees live in factory housing. The housing is built on land surrounding the factory. Some buildings are dispersed elsewhere. If you need housing, you go to the union office of the shop, and he handles benefits. He helps you apply. If you qualify (no apartment, or too full), you have to wait until the factory builds housing. No possibility to get housing other than your unit.

Conditions: both spouses work for factory, seniority in the factory, number of people in the family, current housing situation. You have to be in difficult situation to apply. They don't give out housing completely impartially. They do favor cadres. They have a fengfang weiyuan hui. It is temporary, only when there is housing to distribute. Each shop and ke has a person on the committee. They represent the shop's interests. The head of the shop appoints the representative. Has to be someone who doesn't need housing. People will try to gao guanxi with the representative. Of course people will do anything to get what they want. But they still have to really need it to get through the committee. There are always conflicts after they make the decision. This is the most important thing in people's lives. Most sensitive of all social issues. People will even move to another unit to get housing, or raise it as a condition of employment. They might give cadres somewhat better apartments, and ordinary workers somewhat worse. Rent for a two room apartment is about 6-7 yuan per month. Don't know how its set, but rents haven't changed for decades. The cadres do get somewhat better and larger apartments in the factory, but the big abuses are in the bureaus and government offices. Workers live in the same building with cadres in the factory, so there can't be too big a difference. Workers don't live in the offices in our factory, there's really no place that's appropriate. But some people threaten to. We had conflicts, attacks on leaders in the last stages of the Cultural Revolution, when things were in chaos. But now you don't see it. You see this in the papers, but in our factory we really don't have conflicts that are this severe. Basically passive resistance. if you hit someone these days its a criminal violation.

### Mobility (5/29/90, 3 hrs)

You can always quit, become a getihu or anything. Open a small restaurant, peddle, open a hair salon. There were some who did this in our factory but not many. There was one guy from our shop who made clothing and sold it himself. he did a lot better than when he was in the factory.

To transfer to another factory, you have to get them to accept you, and you have to have good guanxi with the shop director. He makes the decision. If the shop director says ok, the factory will do the paperwork for you. In recent years a lot of workers have changed jobs, another factory, various government agencies, various companies, commercial organs. Both white and blue collar workers do this. There's really not that much difference between white and blue collar in China.

This was very common. I would estimate that in the last 5 years about 20-30% have gone elsewhere. They are replaced by people from the schools who are being assigned their first jobs. Gradually, though, factories like ours whose business isn't too good gradually shrink in size. They don't replace everyone who leaves. The people who have good skills often have difficulty getting permission to leave. If you don't go through the factory to change jobs you can't go. Otherwise you can't set your new pay level, seniority, and get various benefits. If you just quit, you don't get any of these benefits anymore.

Also, recently we have had tingxin liuzhi, leave without pay. This way, you keep your benefits and registration in the factory, but go off elsewhere to do getihu work. In return, you pay a management fee to the factory to maintain your benefits, even though no salary. It varies greatly, can be up to 50% of your salary level; depends on the situation in your factory, which decides on a case by case basis. The labor and wages department people will set a figure and negotiate it with the individual. I've heard of amounts of management fees of around 40-55 yuan. The figure is calculated based on some formula for costs of administration and of the benefits themselves. This figure is pretty high though, so not many workers are willing to take leave.

It is much easier to leave jobs now than in the late 1970s. For a period a lot of people like in research institutions were going off to work in minban companies, which paid much more money than in government offices and research units. For a while our technical people were running off to work in such companies, pretty serious trend in 1984-86 or so. A lot went to dianzi yitiao jie (electronics street) in the Haidian district. This was most serious when the new companies were just opening up. Seems to have levelled off since then. This leads to imbalances in people's psychology (xinli bu pingheng). Because you know that others have better work, better wages and treatment. They have left and you are still stuck in the old job. It affects your performance on the job, not so active at work, become very passive and lack initiative. This applies both to ordinary manual workers and to technicians.

Good jobs are: the minban companies, for example in the Haidian district, joint ventures and foreign companies, and getihu. Problem is that this kind of opportunity is very limited. Many more want to work there than can do so. Also rural enterprises in the suburbs, they pay more and will give you good housing. But this is not so good because life in the rural areas is not so good as in cities, the public facilities, shops and cultural things are no good.

How to get jobs in the joint ventures or foreign firms? Like the Beijing Jeep company, a joint venture; their wages are higher, they rise along with the factory's productivity. Heard that their wages are more than twice ours, but the benefits I'm not too clear about. Usually you can get the jobs through guanxi, by knowing somebody who already works there.

They also have workers who retire, get full wage pensions, but get jobs and continue to draw full salary. They go to another factory, especially the ones who have high skills. Our factory had several retired people who did this. The retirement age dropped to 55 for men and 50 for women in the 1980s, from the previous 60 and 55. You can retire early now pretty easily by coming up with some reason like health. Some factories do this in order to reduce the number of people in the labor force.

### Factory Distributions

On holidays the factory gives things to the workers. New year's, May 1, National day. All kinds of things. Sometimes they give them out for free, sometimes they buy things and sell them for less than the market price. Usually things that are expensive or in short supply. They use their connections to buy cheaply and give or sell them cheaply to us: eggs, vegetable oil, fish, sugar, etc. There were a lot of things, like TV's and refrigerators available outside so the factory didn't give them out.

If you have connections with somebody with the power to hire, you can get your child a job. Also you can dingti if you retire early. But this is rare in our factory because we don't want our kids to work in our factory. Its not a good one. The future

of the factory is not too bright because their business isn't good. The prices of raw materials have been going up and they are reducing the profit, keeping incomes down. This is severe in our factory because 80% of costs are for materials alone, steel, iron. And the prices for our products are controlled by the price bureau. so we are being pinched by the environment. So our factory's profits are eaten up by rising costs of production, and this affects our income and standard of living. Impossible to improve it much in this situation. This is common in the machinery trade.

### Standard of Living and Inflation

Has the standard of living risen in the 1980s? Depends on when you compare. Its a good deal better than during the Cultural Revolution. According to average figures, its easy to answer. But in reality its more complicated. In the 1970s you could raise a family of 5 or 6 on 100 yuan. Now that's impossible. There are a lot of material things like refrigerators, color TV's, and so forth we have now we didn't have before. So the material standard of living is much higher than before.

My 100 yuan is about enough to cover the living expenses for 1 person today. Its very expensive to live now. Inflation has been serious the past few years. Ocean fish, was a few mao per pound in the late 1970s. After the price rises beginning in 84 or 85, prices for fish rose about 10 fold. So on my wages I don't dare buy fish. Still have to watch what kind of food I buy. Chicken is really expensive too, and beef. Pork has gone up too, though not as expensive as the others, only a 2-3 fold increase. If you want to eat well, you have to spend about 70-80% of your salary on food. On our salaries we can save a little money but not much.

The worst inflation in my recollection was in 84-85, when it really started to get bad, then in 87-88 it got bad again. This directly influences living standards of workers; can't afford to buy many things now. If you have a family, its really tough. You have to worry mainly about getting enough to eat. You buy the good things like fruit to give the children, and you deprive yourself.

Workers can't understand clearly why there's inflation, and can't understand why government won't control it. Basic reason is rise in the price of raw materials, which is reflected in all the other prices. When there are things like raw materials that are short, you get a lot of speculation, and this makes the prices higher as its reflected in all other prices. Like a TV imported by a company with special connections, as the TV passes from hand to hand the price is driven up. Ordinary citizens do this, and so do profiteering officials.

Inflation is a very severe problem. Many of the old buys think its not as good as the old days. There are many things now they don't dare buy. It would take about a year to save up for a TV. The price of TV's went up a lot in the last half of the 1980s, more difficult now to buy than before.

### Corruption, Workers' Attitudes

Of course workers are dissatisfied with their situation. Otherwise you wouldn't have had such an event as June 4. Inflation is a serious problem, but there's also guandao and tanwu. Also the disruption of the economic order, the imbalances where some get rich while everyone else scrapes to make ends meet. This makes workers very unhappy when they see others getting rich through illegal methods. Chinese people can take hardship if all are about the same, but these differences cause a lot of problems, so we don't feel all that well off when we see things in shops we can't afford, but the

getihu are accumulating lots of riches. We know the cadres are also doing well but we don't have direct contact with them. We mainly compare ourselves with the getihu. But we know the children of high cadres use their parent's power to run businesses and get rich. Its very easy for them. They don't even use their own money to get rich from. Workers don't like it when these dongxi get rich.

Workers do support the reform and the opening up policy. Why, if inflation and corruption is worse? The purpose of the policy is to get more rapid economic development and get higher living standards. Purpose is not to throw the economy into disorder and create corruption. Most workers think this way too. So you can't blame these bad things on the basic policy, then why do they still exist? The real reasons are buliang yisu. They failed to reign in bad behavior.

Workers talked these things over a lot in 87-88. Always talked about prices, inflation. They were very dissatisfied with the inflation. Also talked about corruption and enrichment of high officials, and how others were getting rich but not them.

The getihu give the ordinary folks a bad impression. Even though they work hard, some are bad to the people. Of course if they work hard and provide good service, we don't blame them for making money. But if they do it by price gouging or cheating us, or evading taxes by buying off officials, or using connections to make money, they don't like it. One simple example of the way getihu cheat is that they buy a dress in Guangzhou for 5 yuan, price them at 15 yuan in their shop and say they offer a big discount price of 10 yuan.

Corruption has gotten worse in recent years. In ordinary factories, there's not much because the opportunities are very small. Not much cash is involved. But salesmen and procuring agents engage in it more because they have more money. Ordinary folks know that there has always been corruption, but why so much recently? Because high officials are abusing their powers, letting their children do these things. So people see this and it influences them. They become corrupt too. It becomes a social phenomenon, people's thinking changes. People will do anything to get money. corruption mainly takes place in the government, places where we can't usually see it. Doesn't appear much in daily life. But it indirectly affects our lives, and directly affects our thinking.

#### Shop Management, Outside Contracting

There were about 170 plus people in the shop. Don't have gongduan as in the past. Now we have about 12 banzu, each with over 10 people. About 11-12 people in the shop office. A director, two asst. directors, one party secretary. A technician, a production group with a few people in it (for outside contracting), a cashier, statistician, accountant, various other posts. No union representative (this contradicts what he said last week-check).

If the shop doesn't have enough work from the factory, they won't be able to meet profit quotas, and have to go out into society and sign contracts to process things for others to make money and meet their own profit quotas. This is very common now. We do it with all kinds of units. Like coat racks for other workunits. If ordinary workers bring in the work, they will get an extra bonus. If you don't finish your profit quota, the entire shop goes without bonus. This outside contracting began in the early 1980s when the demand for our products began to weaken.

The shops are therefore fairly independent. They develop their own long term contracting relations with all kinds of outside units. They keep these connections and

develop them over time. About 60% of the profit in the shop is made from factory jobs, rest outside. This is fairly stable now for several years. We have been making thermos bottles, bottle caps, exercise equipment. For example, the old customers are places like a training camp under the Athletic Commission, a bottling plant. Every shop has their own set of relations.

The factory is very favorable to this, and they encourage it, but they don't directly arrange these things for the shops. It can't there are too many shops, about 11 in all. The shop director has some definite autonomy. They sign a contract with the factory for the amount of profit. They can't fire superfluous workers or transfer them to another shop. But they deal with this mainly by letting those who want to leave go.

The responsibilities are then assigned to each group. The shop director is young, about 35-38, party member. Began as an ordinary worker, junior high education. Usually shop directors are promoted from among workers. They have to be to understand the production. Sometimes a worker will go to college and come back as shop director, but still he was a worker in the past.

The director knows how to talk to the workers. He knows how to satisfy their interests. He knows that he depends on the workers to do his job well. They act like ordinary workers, they don't usually try to put on the airs of a cadre. Pretty informal with workers. If there's a problem, ordinary workers can usually go directly to the director to speak about it. But if his relations are better with one of the vice heads or party secretary, you can talk to them.

The kinds of things workers most often complain about to the shop head are things that directly affect their lives. Usually about work matters, like the quotas you are assigned in the group, or an argument you had with group leader. Also the housing conflicts I mentioned last time. Early in the 1980s when we had the old system of only raising 40% each readjustment, that created some conflicts. But generally there aren't very serious conflicts in the shop.

The shop director appoints the group leaders. Sometimes they are experienced older workers, 50-60 years old, rest are usually 30s to 50s. But don't have any real young workers as group leaders. The ordinary workers are people who just know about working, not personnel or management, and aren't interested in all that other stuff. But some have somewhat better sense of responsibility, ability to think about things, so they can become group leaders even though they have only been workers all their lives. Group leaders mainly give out work assignments. There aren't many arguments; if relations are bad, they'll just appoint someone else. The shop director is pretty clear about the situation, so he'll make sure problems don't develop. Workers will make it very clear if they don't like a group leader. They directly curse him and yell at him. Its no secret, they don't hide their views.

Shop directors pay somewhat higher than workers. They have a better chance of getting wage raises than the workers. Usually 2-3 grades above other workers of the same age. They get average monthly bonuses the same as all the rest of us in the shop office. But they can get larger year-end bonuses.

Year end bonuses, the factory director signs a contract with the above levels and gets a certain amount of bonus for completing the chengbao responsibility for profit. Same for shop directors. There usually is only a year end bonus if there are bonus funds left over at the end of the year for ordinary workers. They usually know how much they can pay for bonuses if they meet the quotas each month at the beginning of the year, so they usually don't have much left over for year end bonuses. We basically

had none of these the past few years, especially since we didn't do great at fulfilling the profit quotas. Instead the factory gave us things to eat like a chicken or a fish.

The work groups hardly ever have meetings for politics or anything else. sometimes will have a meeting to greet the new year or something like this. Other than that, only had political meetings if there is an important document or speech to be covered, or if there is some kind of political crisis, like after June 4. The time for self criticism and repudiation meetings has long passed. Workers think that sort of thing is laughable now. They still tried to do this in the early to mid-1980s, but then it was very superficial and formalistic. Workers didn't absorb it, just got it over with and it had no effect on them at all.

They did have a lot of study after June 4. Had to read a lot of newspaper articles about the government line. A lot of factories basically stopped production for 10-15 days in May and June 1989, so the political study after June 4 was all outside of work hours, was not allowed to interfere with production because they were trying to restore it.

After June 4, more political study, but workers still didn't listen carefully, didn't care, didn't like it. Superficial like before. When I left at the end of August 1989, they still had a lot of political study. I heard in other units they had to write confessions and self examinations on what they did during the movement, but not much in factories. They didn't discover any rioters in our factory, nobody came to arrest them. They did have these telephone numbers on TV right after June 4 to report people for rioting, but that's no good because these secret reports are unreliable. You could turn in anyone for personal reasons, whether true or not.

#### The Movement and the Factory (6/4/90, 2 hrs.)

Our factory is far from TAM, around 10 km. But workers lived all over, some lived close to Tam, some farther away or at factory. So it was not hard to get to TAM by bike or public transport. About 40 min. by car. Of course, the workers were interested in this movement. Workers weren't satisfied with their lives, corruption, inflation. So they wanted the state to change these things, they felt very dissatisfied. They all talked among themselves, and said that the students were representing their own inner thoughts and desires. As regards the corrupt officials and the like, the students were calling for an end to that and the workers agreed very much with that. They wanted the situation to change. But workers not the same as students, they have families, steady job, social relations. So the workers thinking was not as lively as the students, they didn't have so many ideas crowding in their heads. The students have lots of ideas and they say what they think. Workers always have a burden on their minds, work, family, and so forth. So they aren't so willing to stick their necks out against the government. So they were happy to see the students speak up against the things they opposed too. So they sympathized and supported the students.

The workers had seen many political movements before, long series of them. So they are worried that their own material interests might be harmed by participation in the latest movement. But they thought it was great that the students would do so.

All the workers were very dissatisfied, so when the movement first began they realized it was necessary and weren't surprised. But they never expected that it would develop so fast or far. So the workers would stand around and talk about what the students were saying, demanding, doing. They talked during work, after, all the time. We could normally talk while on the job. They paid very close attention to its

developments and were very interested.

The workers didn't have an organization, so if they wanted to participate they just went down to the square themselves. There was a gongzilian, a workers own organization. Don't know where it came from. They didn't have any propaganda or organization outside the square, they just had the task of sympathizing with the students. Workers didn't like this kind of independent organization very much, because they felt the gongzilian people didn't have much of a program, and their leaders weren't very able. They just cursed the government, no real practical content. This was an opinion formed by the workers who listened to their broadcasts on the square. They cursed the govt., but no real content to their ideas and slogans.

Nobody stopped the workers from going to the square and mingling. Nobody tried to control them. Mostly workers went down to TAM after work. About the 17th or 18th of May there were huge demonstrations of many hundreds of thousands. There were many students, intellectuals. Beijing Jeep also came out, lots of other work units and factories paraded. A lot of factories would send representatives and a truck to express their support. Our factory sent down a truck with some representatives, only about 30 in all. They had a banner with the factory's name on it. This was just to express support. The leaders said you can go, but not every one, just a few representatives, and he let them use one truck for this. This was both on the 17th and the 18th.

The workers main purpose was to support the students and get the government to change its manner of running things, put an end to corruption and inflation. They didn't have any purpose of attacking any certain leader or protecting any certain leader, or replacing or overthrowing the party. Just wanted the govt. to stop doing things the way it was and change. Workers didn't want great disorder, or violence, just wanted some changes in the government's policies and behavior. There were just so many people taking advantage of the government's policies and positions to make money. They saw all these others making so much, but ordinary folks weren't doing all that well at all, so they wanted to attack against the corrupt people that took advantage of their positions and ignored the plight of the ordinary folks.

We wanted them to stop their children from speculating and making money off their father's power. They wanted the discipline inspection commission of the party center to put an end to this. But the kids of the inspection commission themselves were doing this. If they would just do this the people would regain their trust in the govt. and then the situation might get better. They felt that the upper levels must begin cleaning things up at the very top, that this was the only really effective way. Don't have to put their kids in jail, just admit what they have done to the people, give some factual accounts, and say they wouldn't permit it in the future.

Inflation was also a factor. The fushipin rose continuously in price. Originally we thought there would be some rises, but it turned out that the govt. couldn't control at all, it just lost control. So it became a very serious problem for us. We felt that a very important reason for inflation was corruption. They were closely connected. Productivity was not rising all that much on a national scale, but a lot of people were taking government funds and putting them in their pockets. And they would use the excess money to buy things from the market, bidding up prices. And a lot of things are bought through irregular channels. We felt that if they investigated all these people who had gotten very rich under the reforms they would be able to solve a lot of the sources of inflation. We thought if they took steps in this direction, things would get better, the

state economy would increase, and the inflation would go down too.

I didn't see anyone with a Mao button, but I heard of it. Of course, it means that they aren't satisfied with the current situation and think back fondly of the past. As far as foreign investment, the joint ventures and foreign companies had higher wage and better benefits than ours. That made people dissatisfied, but not with foreign investment, but with their inability to freely choose their jobs. Why do they get so much more than us? Is our labor not the equal of theirs? No? These kinds of comparisons made people less satisfied. Everybody knows that this kind of investment is good for the economy of China. So there is dissatisfaction but it isn't against the foreigners, but the inequalities and the inability to change jobs.

Workers would like their own right to choose jobs, and would not really mind giving factories the right to hire and fire freely if they have the right also to find new work. Workers think about the possibility of unemployment under this kind of system. But they also know that under the current system they can't give full play to their abilities. A new system would be better off for the whole economy and society. So ordinary workers who are capable of working don't worry about unemployment if the system changes this way in the future. They could do it like they do now, with workers they don't want being given bianwai treatment, lowest wages, no bonus, etc., while they are looking for a job.

So production was not much affected during the movement. Not many workers left during work hours. The shop director was also in sympathy with the students. He didn't express opposition to the government. But like everyone else, he was dissatisfied with the current situation, and thought the movement might be able to bring about a needed change. He expressed this by saying things like the students slogans are right. He said this in discussions with coworkers, but never convened any meeting to discuss it. He avoided any overt opposition to the government but made no secret of his feelings. He didn't oppose workers going to demonstrate, but he didn't encourage them to go, either. I didn't run into the factory director very much, but I do know that he did let that small delegation go and didn't oppose it.

Beijing daily didn't have much news on the demonstrations and they never openly expressed support for the students. People's Daily reported every day on the movement, as did Workers' Daily. Same with the TV stations. Beijing TV had little news about the students, but Central TV had a lot of material on it every day. Workers usually read Beijing, Gongren, and People's Daily. Every group in the shop had a subscription to each of these papers.

On June 3 almost everyone came to work. The shooting began in the evening. June 4 was a Sunday. People stayed at home, or looked around to see what was going on. We didn't know what the extent was, we knew the shooting was going on and we could hear it. On Monday, June 5, we were supposed to go to work, but it was still dangerous. The public transport lines and many intersections were blocked. So it was fairly dangerous, we never knew when a conflict would break out and shooting would begin. It was hard to get to work for about a week after that; the factory said if you lived far away you didn't have to come, and wouldn't take away the bonuses, because it wasn't the workers' fault.

After June 4, workers thinking had contradictions, because the problems were not solved in the end, the problems that they wanted solved. They didn't know what would happen in the future. They thought it was awful to have used such force against the students. We all supported and sympathized. Now the government was saying that

these were evil people, violent people. Some people lost hope, they felt if the government could do this kind of thing there was no hope at all for making things better.

There was no change in the workers' wages or other treatment after June 4. They had the workers buy state savings bonds every year, but in 1989 the amount you had to buy was more. They emphasized political study more. They tried to turn around people's thinking, because we all sympathized. Didn't stop production for study, didn't affect production. But they took people out on a rotating basis for intensive study of about 3-5 entire days. He left before his turn came up. Now we didn't dare say what we thought about the political situation or the student movement, June 4. To talk about it was of no use, so we kept quiet. The study wasn't effective, of course, in changing people's thinking. But it controlled them, kept them from talking.

Of course the govt. now has to think over why there was such a movement, and they have to think over what they should do in response. They hadn't done much other than try to changing people's thinking before I left, but later they began to attack corruption, crime, etc.

I think the next time there's a student movement, I don't think the workers will respond so enthusiastically as this time. Its always been like this in China. Each movement in the end fails and doesn't accomplish anything. I don't think the workers will rise up in the future even if nothing changes for the better. After June 4, no one that I know of was arrested in the factory, and nobody came to the factory to investigate, and no one I've heard of was arrested. The upper levels asked our director to find out if anyone participated in the riots, and our director said there weren't any. They asked the shop director and they all said no. In fact they didn't know if they had participated in the riots or not, had no way to know, but they wanted to protect their workers. In the past they had political campaigns designed especially for grabbing people. But this time its not like that, leaders aren't going along with it. The response just hasn't been the same as before.