

No. 141 (Cambridge)

Background (6/9/90, by telephone, 30 min.)

The informant is 26 years old, currently living in Toronto on a political refugee visa. He was a ticket seller for the Beijing Public Bus Co.: area 4, team 5, route 326. A Beijing resident, he graduated from upper middle school in 1982, began working in 1984. He is neither a party or league member. His parents are ordinary workers in a hospital in Beijing. Before he began working for the bus company he was a temporary worker in his parent's work unit.

When we began employment at the bus company, we sign a contract. Drivers must agree to pay the company 3600 yuan if they leave; ticket sellers 1600. The pay was low and bonuses few. My salary was 34 yuan, and if you added bonuses, I made about 50 or 60 yuan a month. The bonuses were calculated according to points; one month had about 120 total points, and each was worth 20 cents. To tell you the truth, the basic wage isn't enough to buy food.

The bus company's workers thought it was especially difficult to leave their jobs; nobody wanted to work there, the pay was so low. In 1985, [when we had the slowdown strike in the bus company], it began in area 2, but we later took part in area 4 too. During last year's movement the bus workers were very active again, and many of them were arrested (the blockading of streets by public buses was done entirely by the company's drivers).

Around the end of 1986, beginning of 1987, I wanted to change jobs and go to work over at the Xidan Department Store. But the unit wouldn't give permission. Later, I left under tingxin liuzhi. I went to work at the special arts and crafts counter of the Xidan Department Store in 1987, through a back door provided by the Department Store Manager, Liu Huaqun. When the 1989 democracy movement began, I was working there.

I began to participate in the movement on April 15, the day Hu Yaobang died. That evening, I went with some friends to a person's house over at Qianmen to drink some wine to his memory. When we were going home, we saw a floral wreath at the martyr's monument. It was sent by a worker attached to a textile bureau under the Ministry of the Textile Industry (don't want to go into any detail on this). From this time on, I and some people I met there participated in the movement. At first, we didn't know one another's names, but gradually we got to know one another.

We wanted to participate in the student marches, but the students wouldn't allow us to take part. A bunch of us were crowded together around the Xiguan Litai [reviewing stand at the left of Tiananmen], and the people there got larger and larger. Everybody talked over what we ought to do. On April 19, we issued under the name of Beijing gongren lianhe hui a "Notice to the citizens of Beijing" [Gao Beijing shimin shu], and on the 20th we issued "10 Questions" [shi wen shu]. Later, Shen Yinhua and Han Dongfang came over and joined.

Among motives for taking part in the movement, inflation was the main one. In the demonstrations, even the monks said that even though they didn't eat meat, even shuiliubo (water radish) had risen to 70 cents a catty. There was also the ability to change jobs; getting permission to change jobs was the most vexing problem for the workers in the bus company. At that time we called for freedom to select jobs, opposition to inflation, support for the students, and so forth.

I want to say that the workers movement coexisted with the student movement, and when the student movement reached low ebb, around May 29, the workers organized

themselves. At that time, there were few people on the square, and we workers had to show that we were the elder brothers. I advocated that we fight under the banner of the gongzilian. I was mainly responsible for logistics in gongzilian, mainly to get food for everyone. I just wanted to do something practical.

The Origins of Gongzilian (6/21-25, total 20 hrs.)

On the 15th, I went to eat dinner over at a friends house near Qianmen. In the evening I left his house and on my way home walked through TAM square, and several people were accompanying me. Among us was a teacher in the neighborhood. We saw that there were people standing around the revolutionary heroes monument, not many, a few dozen. So we stopped there to look too. By midnight 100 or 200 people had crowded together there. Early on the morning of the 16th, someone sent a small floral wreath, and that was the first wreath placed on the monument. It was sent by workers under a textile bureau under the Ministry of Textiles. Seven or eight people were carrying the wreath, and behind them were more than ten people.

Among us that night there was a man called Wang Dengyue, a worker in the Xuanwu Construction Company. He knew the teacher that was with us. That teacher told us that this time something was sure to happen. So because we thought something was going to happen, we all agreed to make friends, and the next evening come again to see whether anything was going to happen. Also, we agreed on the time and place for our next meeting.

The next day, Wang Dengyue brought along a few people from his unit. Other people from the night before also came. We made friends. There were people from many different units. Wang Dengyue was from a construction company, I was from the bus company, there was a guy from the crane factory. Only after we established gongzilian did I find out his name was Zhao. The crane factory was in Fengtai, the Xuanwu construction company was downtown. Our company was very far from the square.

The 17th was the day that the students came out to march. They yelled slogans opposing official speculation and corruption. At that time we weren't too clear about these questions. We workers saw that the prices were rising blindly, and our wages were low. We knew what the shortcomings of our society were, but we couldn't tell you clearly what was behind it all. In sum, we didn't have much political awareness.

We decided to establish an organization. We felt that the national federation of trade unions didn't work on behalf of workers; if units couldn't pay workers' salaries there was nobody to check up on them. Some units were cutting back on the number of personnel (youhua zuhe), workers were suffering from disguised unemployment, and the factory basically ignored them. I had been deeply victimized in the bus company. My monthly salary was barely 30 yuan. Bonuses were [based on] 120 points, each point worth 40 cents. You couldn't come in late, leave early, no mistakes. We workers most opposed these prices rising all the time, to the point where radishes cost 70 cents a jin, and fish 9.80 a jin.

Because of this, on April 19 we put up a proclamation. At that time, Zhao Pinkang, Xiao Delong, Wang Dengyue, Lao Jing, they were all there. These people were all workers, later I gradually learned their names. On the proclamation, we used the name Beijing gongren lianhe hui.

On April 20, we put up shiwen shu ("Ten Questions") in outrage over the beating of students on April 20. That was in the early morning hours of April 20, at Xiaphuamen, and I was there too. There were only about 100 students there altogether. As soon as the police came, a lot of students left. They said that the students threw soda bottles, but in fact

plainclothes policemen threw them. They used a bamboo pole to hold up a bottle, at the top of it was tied a red strip of cloth, and it mixed in among groups of students. Wherever this red strip went, policemen followed it with swinging clubs. We decided to step forward and help the students, because the students opposed official speculation and corruption. The contents of that thing [ten questions] were all things raised by the workers themselves, they weren't just decided by the few of us.

On April 20, the gongren zizhi hui [people] were at the monument giving speeches, but they didn't use the name zizhi hui, but we certainly wanted to establish that kind of an organization. The speeches said that the union in the factories treated workers unfairly. With all the price rises, you can't even support yourself on your salary. The students' slogan was right. The title of the talk was called "the army and people are as close as fish and water" [junmin yushuiqing]. Why? Because when I went to school, the teachers told us to love the liberation army. But when I saw soldiers beat the students, it wasn't at all like this. At that time the situation was: there were troops in front of the great hall of the people, behind the [Mao] memorial hall there were more soldiers, and also in the museum of revolutionary history. The soldiers had sealed off the streets; you were permitted to go south but not north. So we said, are the soldiers really as close to the people as fish and water? Are the students really right?

A lot of workers came to ask us where we were located, and we told them over by the western reviewing stand (xiguan litai). A lot of people went over there and expressed their willingness to join us.

Some people said that if we established an organization, what in the end would be the final goal? It wasn't very clear. Shouldn't we all go back to our units and talk it over with our coworkers, to see if this way of doing things was all right? But if we [took the time to] ask others, wouldn't it then appear to other people as if the students were speaking on our behalf? Starting then, we all agreed that we would gather there every day.

From the time we put up the declaration on the 19th, to the evening of the 20th, there were about 70 to 80 people participating in our movement. After April 22nd, there were even more.

#### The Early Activities of Gongzilian

At that time, to issue proclamations in the name of a workers' association was pretty bold. From the time we began to get in touch with one another on the 15th, through the time of the proclamation on the 19th, our group was only 10-20 people in all. Each of us talked about our personal experiences, and the conclusion we reached as a result was that workers in every work unit were dissatisfied. The people in our units said we were doing the right thing, and people from other units also supported us. Only in this way could we post a proclamation in the name of a workers' association. The proclamation was pasted up in a number of locations. I pasted one up myself, and others pasted up quite a few.

In addition, we also pasted up a notice welcoming all those who wished to enter the workers' association to come over to where we were. Quite a few people came after the 20th, including Han Dongfang. At the very beginning we didn't know one another's names, and didn't dare ask. We feared that people would be suspicious and misunderstand. Later we got to know one another.

Our earliest documents were written by hand, not printed. Later, after we established contacts with the students, our things were printed up over at the students' place. This was after May 19th.

At the very beginning, we raised the opinion that the students' opinions were not

mistaken. We supported the students. But we also raised workers' own demands. This included stable prices, a return to hairtail fish for .30 yuan a jin, don't discriminate against women workers, etc. We told the workers, when we go to work we ride bicycles, walk, take public buses, but government officials ride in a high class sedan. We don't have housing, but the government people live in foreign style residences, and Zhao Ziyang always goes to play golf. We also asked the government to explain what the national federation of trade unions was, a workers' organization or an organization to suppress the workers. At that time we were all especially dissatisfied with prices, factory systems, and officials.

At the beginning all the workers who took part were rather young. I was one of the youngest among us. Xiao Delong was over 30, Zhao Pinlu was too, Shen Yinhan wasn't too young. Han Dongfang was the same age as I, 26. There was also Liu Qiang, Zhou Yongjun, we were all very close, and chatted all the time, especially after gongzilian was established on May 19.

#### The Formal Establishment of Gongzilian

The banner of gongzilian was formally raised on May 19. At that time, if I remember correctly, it was called Beijing gongren zizihui. From April 15 to May 19, a lot of people came over to us, and among them were many who were very capable. They wrote a few handbills, including "gao Beijing tongbao shu".

Beginning April 15, our activities all took place in the area of the western reviewing stand. On the second day of the student hunger strike (May 14), a man from the management office of Tiananmen came to drive us away, saying that we were damaging historical relics. (They came over again on the 26th, and we proposed to the students that we move over to the square, that it was safer to be together with the students. The students said no, they were the vanguard and had to maintain their purity. With a view toward the overall situation, we stayed outside the square until May 30th, when they finally allowed us to come over).

On May 19th, everyone knew that the order for martial law was coming down. At that time, the students had been fasting for a long time, and the square had been filling with more and more people, clearly more than before. The students said they were the vanguard, and were an opposing tendency (duili qingxiang) to the workers, city people, and getihu. We felt at that time that we should unfurl the workers' own banner, and push the movement to a new high tide. Han Dongfang and Xiao Delong both said, that the more dangerous things become, the more the workers should come out and speak on behalf of the students, and also workers.

Were we afraid? Everybody said they weren't. Anyone who was afraid could return home. It was in order to establish a genuine union. We didn't want wages, we didn't fear expulsion from our factories, we didn't fear divorce (because a lot of our relatives came and yelled at us, and wanted to drag us back home). We wrote all this down on a large wooden placard. Others asked us, do you dare to write down your work unit. At that time we all realized that we should all know one another's names, and should register. From that time on we began to register members. People who wanted to participate had to be currently employed workers in Beijing factories and enterprises, and had to have both a work card and an identity card to prove it. We began the membership registration after May 20. Our organization was basically all employed workers and staff.

On the question of selecting the leaders of gongzilian, everybody had their differences. Han Dongfang, Wang Dengyue, Xiao Delong, Yue Pinlu all wanted to really accomplish something, and in this way laid a firm foundation for Han Dongfang becoming

the leader of gongzilian later on. But there were others who proposed limiting activities to sympathy for the students: because the vast majority of workers were married, had elders and children to support, they feared getting close. But the majority of us said, we can't be afraid. The more afraid, the worse things will be. Only if we unite can we have any power. What we were engaged in was a matter of glory and righteousness (guangming zhengda de shiqing). <sup>glorious</sup> <sub>ardently</sub>

But the students were always rejecting us workers. They wouldn't let us strike, close up the shops. They thought we were uncultured. We demanded to participate in the dialogue with the government, but the students wouldn't let us. They considered us workers to be crude, stupid, reckless, and unable to negotiate.

Before gongzilian was established, we went to the Beijing Bureau of Public Security, and the Bureau of Civil Affairs to apply. We wanted to be legal. Lao Jing and Zhao Pinlu went together to apply. The Public Security Bureau said we were messing around, and didn't give us permission. Its their fault we were illegal.

Precisely because of this, we raised a new slogan, that workers have the right to assemble. Also, at that time we really emphasized that you can't discriminate against women workers, because many workers came over to our place and complained, saying that when units advertised for workers, they commonly would state clearly that they didn't want women. This is really too unfair.

The difference between us and the students was that when we talked to city people and workers, we talked about such practical questions as clothing, food, housing, farming, and so forth. We asked the government how much the nation's foreign debt was, after all, how much longer would we be have to buy state treasury bonds. The purchase of state treasury bonds was always involuntary. From 1984 to 1986, I myself was unable to buy 200 yuan's worth. Workers were very dissatisfied with this. In addition to state treasury bonds, there were bank bonds.

#### Worker Dissatisfactions with Reform

The main reason for workers participating in gongzilian is that the workers and peasants were dissatisfied with the reforms.

1. Youhua zuhe: Youhua zuhe is when a lot of factories should close down, but this despicable government, in order to save its own face, thinks up a trick. That is, they use a high-sounding excuse to send them home. The workers that remain in the factory get 75 percent of their salary, those who return home get three months pay and after that they are on their own. This is a very common thing. If you send these people away, what will you have them eat? I graduated in 1982, and at that time they had already begun this.

Those who are sent away through youhua are those who dare to argue with the leaders. After they are fired they are arrested in an anti-crime campaign. A lot of people laid off in 1982 were dissatisfied, but in 1983 intimidated these people into shutting up. At that time among those they arrested and executed, there really were few who really had been criminals; many of them were workers who had been laid off. These laid off workers had nothing to do, and some had no choice but to engage in crime. Workers were very dissatisfied with this.

Some neighbors of my family had a son who was laid off in 1982. His mother didn't work, uncle was disabled, father had died long ago. He had to eat, no? In 1983 he was executed, the charge was rape. He was done an injustice, no doubt about it.

2. Wages, bonuses, and benefits.

I began working in 1984, at the bus company as a ticket seller. I really wanted this

job. I worked really hard, thought it was good to have a job. The wages I earned were enough for me to eat my fill, but not to eat really well. When I began I made 34 yuan, no bonus.

At that time, a lot of people wanted to work for the bus company, especially as ticket sellers. You were in contact with people and money all day. When we first started, we were all trained at the company in arguing. We argued for two weeks. This is the special training of the bus company.

Bus company workers don't have very good labor protection. This is one important reason why workers participated in the movement last year. At the end of 1984 and early 1985, a ticket seller at Mentougou was cut up by a rider, and his hand was almost cut off. This was Huang Jianzhong of the 336 bus team. The company gave him the basic wage, but no bonus. We were very dissatisfied, but couldn't do anything. I was bus 416 of the 336 bus team, the driver was named Chen Liangdong. One day, we pulled up to a stop, on the west was some farmland, and we were shot at by an air rifle. When we returned and reported it, the unit ignored us, they said we were lying. But the bullet hole was still in the side of the bus.

Benefits were also bad. Ticket sellers have a difficult time. The stops are short, only a few minutes. There's no good meal hall. The rice is too hot, and if we want to eat in a few minutes, we have to pour cold water over it, and because of this a lot of workers have bad stomachs.

If workers are sick and have to see a doctor, the bus company has a regulation that you have to call in and notify the dispatcher two hours before the shift, otherwise you will be counted as absent, and lose your year end bonus. China has a bad telephone system, and many people have no way to get through. So they have to work sick. To tell you the truth, the bonus is only a few jin of green vegetables for the family. Because of their diets, many workers have bad health.

In addition, to see a doctor you have to go to a designated hospital, you can't go to any others. Otherwise they won't allow reimbursement, and still count you as absent.

Workers are very dissatisfied with this system. In 1985, I had a stomach problem, and went over to the hospital on exhibition road (close to home). The doctor gave me a form for three months' sick leave, but the work unit said it didn't count. But it was an emergency. On account of this, I argued with the leader, and the leader hated me to death.

There were also the work systems. We were divided into morning, afternoon, and evening shifts. The first bus left the station at 4:55 am. My home is on Zhanlan Lu, the workunit is at Mentougou, over 25 km through 5 districts. I have to ride the unit's bus, which picks me up at a location over two km from my home. When I miss that bus, I have no choice but to be late for work. If you are late once (if your bus has already left without you), you get no bonus for that month. Three times late is counted as one day absent, and your entire annual bonus is lost. Fifteen days of absence and you are fired. The system is really severe. The bus company workers all look forward to that year end bonus in order to celebrate new year's. If you're not careful just once its gone.

Worker retirement, housing, children taking over your job, all are based on seniority. There is a big difference between benefits with 29 years of seniority and for 30 years. In order to build up a little more seniority, some workers beg factory managers continuously, and give them gifts. And leaders are always trying to deceive the workers. After they get something they delay their answer in order to get even more gifts.

There are big contradictions between old and young workers.

### 3. Prices

Prices rise really fast. When I began work in 1984 things were still OK, but end of 1984 early 1985 prices rose steadily, this was after the anti-crime campaign, society was a little more stable. When prices rise, workers are really dissatisfied. Rice in the city is one yuan a jin, cucumber in the summer you can still get for 2.50 a jin, cabbage one yuan. Before the movement began prices were like this.

The ordinary people said Deng Xiaoping had a lot of gall, he wanted to be higher than Mao Zedong. People recall Mao's time, when things weren't expensive. I think that if Deng Xiaoping was 20 or 30 years younger, the reform could be carried out better. After the reform, we have refrigerators, but look, what are we going to put into them? Nothing. No meat, no vegetables, at most a few pieces of doufu. And the refrigerators are bought with loans. Color TVs too.

### 4. Relationships between workers and managers.

If workers are unhappy with society, they don't work hard. There is a saying among workers: "The factory is my home, the party my mother. No money, I ask my mother, if I lack something, I go to my house and get it [Chang shi wo de jia, dang shi wo de ma. Mei qian xiang ma yao, que dongxi dao wo jia na].

Leaders are the same. The head of our area in the bus company sends out a small bus for his relatives to go out and play in. When winter comes, we workers and drivers take a bus out to buy cabbage and coal.

The duizhang didn't do any work, he just made gestures and ran his mouth and found fault with us all day long. When riders and finished arguing with us, they telephone the unit and complain (our buses have bus numbers), and then my bonus is gone for the month. The duizhang basically didn't bother to ask what the argument was about.

To tell the truth, from the time I started working I never received a monthly bonus. Our duizhang was especially severe. They also had service inspections that they did secretly, they just snuck onto the bus. When we're tired, if we doze off and they see us, they'll put down an X, and for every X they deduct 20 points. In a whole month there's only 120 points; they catch you dozing off 6 times and you're finished. But I always dozed off, because I had to get up so early to make it to work.

### 5. Guandao

The thing that workers hate the most, peasants too, is guandao. In '82 and '83 there appeared a lot of trade companies, they were all run by high level cadre kids. In reality they just cheated the nation and cheated foreigners. They just wrote a slip of paper, or made a phone call, and made a big load of money.

We feel that the government is really outrageous. The government said that all those city people who were demonstrating were hooligans, criminals. We had a guy who made up a slogan, "Youths who have strayed will save a government that has strayed" (shizu qingnian wanjiu shizu zhengfu), about this attack upon us by the government.

We also had a slogan, "sell off the imperial crown, people will have clothing; sell off the villas, the people will have places to live; sell off quickly, so the people can eat."

### 6. Peasant Dissatisfaction

Among China's ten thousand yuan households, 8 out of 10 are in debt. Its rare for them to rely solely on their labor to feed themselves. If a peasant wants to be a wanyuanhu, first he have to get a loan. To get a loan, you have to look for guanxi. And half the loans you have to give a kickback to bank personnel. In addition, you also have to give a kickback to the people who set up the guanxi for you. The money you get into your hands isn't all that much. With the loan you buy a truck, but the truck is often broken; you

have to fix it, and to fix it you have to get a loan. If you get into an accident, you have to pay compensation. Because of this, so many wanyuanhu are burdened with debt. The old buses from our company were sold to peasants.

There's also chemical fertilizer. In '82 and '83 the peasants started to use imported "er an" (Amine #2), it was cheap and the peasants were happy. But the next year the price rose to over 100 yuan. This kind of fertilizer, after you've used it one year you have to use it the next, otherwise there's no way you can plant. The peasants just couldn't take it.

There's also diesel, very expensive. The state is always raking in the money peasants earn through sweat and blood. The horsepower of the pumps they rent to peasants is very small, but they charge 2.50 an hour for them. Peasants are always borrowing money.

In China the people who are rich all have an inside track. Many of the people who are rich now were originally landlords and rich peasants. When they criticized landlords at the beginning, they made them all work the land. They knew how to farm well, so now they are rich. Landlords and rich peasants are by no means all bad people. I've heard peasants say that they gave food back to the poor to eat. Peasants say that when you plant your own land its better than government management. The places where the communists managed things less tightly are the places where peoples lives are the best now. Workers and peasants all see things this way. The places where people live the best lives are on the borders of three provinces, where government control is weak.

Another area of peasant dissatisfaction is birth planning. Overpopulation was caused by the communists. Mao said the more people, the stronger we are; now they make people practice birth control. Peasants don't care about all that, they keep having babies as always. But if you have too many children they fine you, and if you have no money they take your house and land. How can the peasants live? In the villages there are a lot of young guys who aren't convinced, and go to the city. The official statistics say that the floating population of rural people in the cities is 30 million, but the true figure is much higher than that. If peasants leave, their land goes uncultivated. In one year for one mu of land you give the state 34 yuan. They just pay the money and don't plant the land. Otherwise if they cultivated the land they couldn't make any money, the government tells the peasants what they should plant on their land, and the peasants aren't pleased. After they've delivered the grain to the state, the peasants don't get any money, the government just gives them I.O.U.'s, and impoverishes the peasants. After the peasants come to the city to work, their consciousness is raised. In the movement there were many such people who were very active. In '85 in Beijing they tracked down and arrested a lot of the floating population, and sent a lot of them away.

After martial law, there was a peasant who grew cotton who cursed the soldiers, saying that this year he wouldn't plant cotton and let these punks freeze themselves to death.

The head of the capital workers picket corps (shoudu gonren jiucha dui), Liu Zihou, he was about 36 or 37, lived in Changping. He was really close to peasants, and would listen to them complain all day.

#### The Impact of Reform on Workers' Thinking

The reform was not a successful one, it was a reform without an outcome. They did it halfway and then put on the brakes. The benefit of the reform was that it let workers, peasants and other people with little knowledge know what the outside world was like, what workers and unions were like in the capitalist countries. Workers say "Better the grass of

socialism than the sprouts of capitalism.' We'll go take a look later on and see which is no good." Everybody knows things are good abroad.

After the reform, we realized clearly a lot of things. We're not so dumb as before, and slowly we stopped obeying the factory managers. This has some relationship to a lot of foreign investment. Like the Beijing Boiler Factory, which is a foreign firm. We know that foreign unions play a great role in protecting workers interests.

From youhua zuhua to inflationary spiral, this shows that reform had no benefits.

#### Rural Construction Teams and the Urban Construction Workers Autonomous Union

After the reform, there appeared in villages a lot of construction teams, or in other words heibao gongdui. These were all hired by city people who went down to the villages looking to hire, they are all young village laborers.

Heibao gongdui get construction projects through bribes. Its a lot of money, from 1000 to 10,000, even several tens of thousands. For example, if the municipal construction company gets a contract for a million, they will subcontract it out to a village construction team for 800 thousand, and keep 200 thousand. The head of the construction team lives off vacancies and reports overtime. The unskilled workers under him don't know about this, the head of the contracting team and the head of the construction company are in on this together. After the heads have gobbled up all the money, they began to sell off some of the materials, and lower the quality of the project. Many of the projects for the Asian Games were contracted out like this, and the quality surely suffered.

About 20 to 30 percent of the young unskilled laborers in the villages now come to the cities to work. Their consciousness has been raised a lot. They see that peasants don't have any autonomy at all in their own lives, and they are very dissatisfied. They take this information back to their villages.

On May 21 or 22nd, there was established a "urban construction workers of China autonomous union" [zhongguo chengjian gongren zifa lianhe hui]. This was made up entirely of construction workers, and among them were many workers from villages outside Beijing. The ones from the village were probably in the majority, and there were construction workers from Beijing too. Among their slogans were "We construction workers are not convict laborers," "we support the students," etc. A lot of the peasants among them told us about why they left the village for work and what they were dissatisfied about. They basically didn't raise any demands to participate in political affairs, all their demands had to do with their daily lives, clothing, food, farming.

This was an independent organization, it had no connections with us. Where they went later I don't know. They marched, and the students were especially unwilling to meet with them. The student pickets always were driving them away. They were located at the eastern reviewing stand. In reality, lots of people have an attitude toward construction workers from the villages, saying they were all ex-convicts.

#### Workers Movement in the First 20 Days of May

From the end of April to the middle of May, we didn't have any major activities. Everybody went back to their own work unit or to others, asked workers opinions about whether or not we should set up our organization. Lao Jing went to Capital Steel, I went to Beijing Boiler Plant, South. The North Plant was a joint venture with Americans, and they normally don't let anyone go in there. The workers were very nice to me. They suggested that the organization should have a constitution and a formal organization.

We also had contacts with the students and intellectuals. In May a lot of our people

went to Beijing University frequently. I never went myself. My main responsibility was to arrange food for everyone. I was head of logistics throughout.

In reality, workers were dissatisfied for some time already, and had made preparations for a movement. If the students hadn't come out after Hu Yaobang died, workers still would have stood up and spoke out. In fact, the worker and student movements were carried out at the same time. If workers had stood out first, it would have been a lot better. The students wouldn't allow us workers to strike. At the very end it was too late; to call out workers to strike at the end [like they did], nobody would go along with it. They would feel hurt, like the students were toying with us, so we wanted our own union.

From the time the student hunger strike began we had our own broadcasting station. In the beginning we didn't use a public address system, we used a bullhorn. Later we had large speakers. If we needed something, we just pasted a notice on the wall, and someone would come around and provide it. We had people there with every kind of skill, we had a young electrician who helped us disconnect the government's loudspeaker system.

We also marched in street demonstrations, especially after issuing our declaration of May 17. At that time we advocated workers forming their own organization. At that time we had 70 or 80 people with a lot of internal divisions. Some advocated that we openly unfurl our banner, others didn't agree. After the declaration of martial law, we thought that we workers ought to make a showing, ought to show we weren't afraid, so we then made our own banners.

#### The Establishment of Gongzilian

Gongzilian was formally established May 19. More precisely, on the evening of May 18 Liu Qiang lifted up a bullhorn and declared that gongzilian was established, and then returned to the western reviewing stand. It was already the middle of the night at that point. During daylight on the 19th he also declared our establishment. Later, Qian Yumin, Bai Dongpint, Shen Yinhan and others discussed it, and then issued a statement in the name of the preparatory office of gongzilian [Beijing gongren zizhilianhe hui (choubei chu)]. This was our formal establishment.

On May 20 a lot of work units' employed workers entered gongzilian. They said, we have waited for you so long. A worker in his 40s said, even though you are now encircled, and we are on the outside, don't be afraid, you are not isolated.

We started to register members after May 20. They were all issued a card with the name of "Wan Tie" [resilient iron] on it, that is Zhou Yongjun's pseudonym.

There were some differences among us. Wang Dengyue later withdrew from gongzilian. Some suggested risking our lives against the Communists, but most of us advocated reason, peace, nonviolence. We also advocated raising wages, stabilizing prices, right of assembly for workers, right to negotiate, right to strike, abolition of discrimination against women workers, abolition of child labor, etc. We didn't want any person in the government to resign, just wanted to offer some good suggestions to the state. We were expressing the workers demands regarding a system of democracy. Workers wanted a genuine democracy that represents them in negotiations. We thought that speaking the truth is the basic measure of a real human. The government was lying, and stubbornly insisted that we were the ones who were lying.

Gongzilian also said that the All China Federation of Trade Unions didn't push for the workers interests, and wasn't an organization the workers could call their own. By the end of May, the ACFTU started to attack us as an illegal organization. Why is gongzilian

illegal? We went to register twice and they wouldn't let us, it's the government's fault we're illegal. At the end of May, because they wouldn't let us organize as a legal organization, Han Dongfang declared to the entire world that we had been established.

One afternoon, a foreign reporter came to interview Han Dongfang. The reporter brought an interpreter, and the interpreter's Chinese wasn't very good. The reporter asked Han Dongfang, what are you fighting for? Han Dongfang said, we was a legal system, not personal rule, we want our own union, we want laws to regulate everything, and not have everything decided by an individual. The reporter asked him if he was scared, he said that in every generation someone has to sacrifice their head; I'm willing to sacrifice my own head. Deng Xiaoping said, don't be afraid that the people will say mistaken things, only fear that the people will not speak, someone who speaks incorrectly is still a good citizen.

A reporter interviewed Shao Delong, an older American woman, who brought along a young girl to translate. Shao Delong told them that our application had not been approved. There were also some American reporters who sent us food.

#### Capital Steel Workers Autonomous Union

Capital steel had a workers' autonomous union [shougang gongren zizhi hui]. They were an independent organization, and did not have a subordinate relationship to us. They said that their union wanted to promote the organization of steel workers, and that each industry ought to have a union for that line of work. They were a union of steel workers in the Capital Steel Corporation. At the demonstration of all Chinese of the world on May 28, they came out in a factory truck.

#### View of Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and the Party Factions

I really admired Hu Yaobang, because all intellectuals, students and youth liked his ability and practicality. In spite of his illness, he visited over a thousand counties, to Qinghai, to disaster areas, and did a lot for many of the poor. In 40 years, did the communist party have cadres who visited disaster areas? Only Hu Yaobang. When he visited Yan'an, and saw the poor people in the old district, tears came to his eyes. Among all those leaders of China, he was the first to relieve the poor. He was also extremely honest. He's the only honest one among the top leaders. When his hearse came out, soldiers and citizens lined the road the entire way, and his son was on the hearse bowing to the ordinary people. He was very upright, he always was saying that you shouldn't oppress the intellectuals. If you compare Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zedong, Li Peng, Hua Guofeng and the Gang of Four, he's the one who spoke up the most for the people.

When we first heard the news that Hu Yaobang had died, we all felt it was such a pity. He was younger than Deng Xiaoping, why did he have to die? So there was a slogan then, the one that should have died didn't, and the one who shouldn't have did. We demanded an official reassessment of Hu Yaobang's career. People felt a sense of loss and oppression, and a vague sense of anger. I don't know where it came from. Otherwise the movement would not have developed so quickly.

You can say that Hu Yaobang's death made everyone feel sorry. But even if Hu hadn't died, and the students hadn't risen up, the workers and peasants might still have risen up, because the people that the reforms hurt the most are the workers and peasants. We always have a special feeling of oppression.

Zhao Ziyang. When gongzilian was active, we didn't want Deng Xiaoping, and we didn't want Zhao either. Although he came to the square and cried, we felt he did it with a motive. We opposed official corruption, and his sons were corrupt. Merits are merits, but

mistakes are mistakes.

Up to May 20, we still hadn't called for overthrowing Li Peng. We thought that if you overthrew Li Peng, you'd still have "Ma Peng." We didn't have anyone with us who was far sighted to give us ideas. We knew that many of our methods were inappropriate, but we also thought that if we couldn't think of any better idea, just keep on going.

The people of Beijing don't like Zhao Ziyang. There are people who divide the government up into factions: the reform faction, conservative faction, new authoritarian faction, old authoritarian faction, moderate faction, etc. We don't think there is any moderate faction, but there are some people in the leadership with moderate opinions. When all the troops poured into the city, as soon as the people blocked their way they turned around and went back. Only if there were moderate opinions could this happen, there was surely instability at the top. Some soldiers said, we didn't come to get you students and citizens, our quality is not that low. A lot of people with some status in the military came over to us and over to the students to explain this. There was one who was under the headquarters of the general staff, he told us that in the military there were some who wanted to leave a good name to posterity, and also those who wanted to leave a stink for ten thousand years. But unfortunately the ones who wanted to leave a good name to posterity were too few.

On the afternoon of June 3, an old soldier in civilian clothes came over. He cried and said, don't curse the soldiers, the soldiers also come from the people. But the soldiers must obey orders as a bounden duty. The new soldiers who came into the city were not in our army. He was a regimental level officer. He signed a pact with the students and gongzilian guaranteeing that his soldiers would not come out for 48 hours. His words made us realize that if Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and Yang Shangkun were really cornered, they were capable of anything. If among 3 million troops 20 percent were loyal to Deng Xiaoping, we were finished. If Deng Xiaoping were arrested very quickly it would work out, but if you couldn't arrest him it would be no good.

#### Living Standards Before and After the Reform (6/22/90, 7 hrs.)

The reforms allowed all sectors of the economy to cheat one another, and the state wound up the loser. Even hospitals went into business. For example if a worker went to the contracted hospital for treatment, he doesn't have to pay and they charge the workunit. But the pharmacy needs to earn money, so they prescribe bowls and towels and things like that. The producing factories give the things to the hospital to sell on consignment, and the hospital wants to raise the income of nurses and doctors, so they turn the pharmacy into a kind of department store. But nurses and doctores are educated people, they shouldn't do this kind of thing for money; they only do it because they can't make ends meet on their normal salaries. Low incomes is the basic reason why health units supported the students. The medical teams in the square were not sent by the government, they were volunteers who worked after hours. Afterwards the government claimed they sent them.

If you have a friend in a hospital, you can get treatment and good medicine there. Really sick people can't buy good medicines. Ordinary doctors and nurses don't have that kind of power. People outside the hospital have the real power, the officials have the most, and they can write permission.

Workers and peasants are both dissatisfied. Medical care in village is lousy. Its hard to get treatment. If you get sick you can only look for a barefoot doctor. Many people get the wrong shots. Some peasants travel a 100 km to get treatment, and then the hospitals demand a deposit. But sometimes they're about to die. If they were officials, they wouldn't

be treated that way. People in the hospital really aren't in charge. The leaders put money first, and because of this some people die. The peasants are extremely dissatisfied with this and say, we have no money, but we raise the grain that you city people eat. When we're in trouble you don't help. The government didn't stick up for the peasants, only Hu Yaobang, so the people loved him.

At the beginning of the 1980s, my parents combined income was 260 to 280. On this you could raise 5 people, 60 yuan per month each. And we saved 50 yuan a month if we were thrifty. My trip to school was from exhibition road to the zoo, 7 or 8 km. I walked, didn't buy bus tickets. We walked home to eat lunch and walked back, in all four times a day. Back then things were expensive, but prices rose a bit. Fish was 50 or 60 cents a jin, pork a little over a dollar. The family didn't have any dissatisfaction with the upper levels, they could still get by.

After 1982 things got worse. Prices went up pretty fast from '82 to '83. My parents could no longer save money, and had to spend more, we ate less meat and the dishes were less fancy. My parents were really angry. They are old, and have been through many campaigns. They didn't dare talk to us about it, and they weren't sure why this was happening. My father said that he used to make 50, and mother 40, and they could still raise us kids. Now its not enough. Our family only had a Kunlun black and white TV bought in 1982 for 395 yuan.

My father said that if I found a job things would be better. Our neighbors were also angry about this, and couldn't explain why it was happening. In '83 prices went up faster, not just food but everything. A pair of shoes could go up from 20 to 30 yuan. From the time I began school until I graduated from high school, I never had leather shoes or nice clothes, and a lot of my friends were like that too. The anger within families was really great. Especially after the campaign to suppress crime, my parents often got angry, saying that a month's salary only lasted 20 days.

In our courtyard there were three families. Old lady Zhuang was the head of the street committee, was a retired factory worker. She got 21 yuan a month. Her son was arrested during the Cultural Revolution and sentenced to 20 years. His nickname in Beijing was "long necked Han", he could really raise hell, very famous. Before he was arrested, he left behind a child. His mother couldn't raise it, and gave it to his grandmother. Old lady Zhuang got only 21 yuan a month, no enough. She went to the street committee for help, saying it was because her son was arrested, but she still had to live. They ignored her.

Mr. Qi was a retired worker from a printing factory, single, no children. He got 60 or 70 a month, should be able to live pretty well on that, but it wasn't enough. He told my grandmother, we could make ends meet when we made 30 yuan, but wages now can't rise fast enough. I'm a party member, and I shouldn't be talking like this, but it's true. People's anger was pretty big already at that time, but not so severe as later.

1984 and 1985 were a critical juncture for the people. The inflation was becoming intolerable, but the officials were incessantly saying that the people's living standards were rising. When I started working in 1984 they started paying 7.50 a month subsidy for food. The people said, I don't want this 7.50, I just want prices to stop going up.

The government couldn't hear the voice of the people, and couldn't see the people's dissatisfaction. After '84 and '85 people's anger got even greater. In this period all of the defects of reform became apparent. They started laying off people in all sectors, and they started making people buy state treasury and bank bonds.

In 1985 a lot of small and medium sized factories began to go out of business, and they had no way to pay wages. In order to protect the large units, the banks ignored the

small ones. When our bus company went to the bank to borrow money, the bank was not worried because people always had to ride buses. But they overlooked us ticket sellers. They didn't know that we could refuse to sell tickets. If only one ticket seller on one bus refused to sell tickets, you would see.

At that time people began to think of Mao Zedong, but not of him as a person, but of the prices of his era. Before the movement there were people who hung up posters of Mao. This had a satirical meaning. We didn't commemorate Mao Zedong's memory, or Zhou Enlai's, just the prices of their time.

Mao's success was due to the fact that in the first years after liberation, he often went down to the villages, and although this was just a show, he really gained the trust of a lot of ordinary people. They felt he suffered with the people. The people also worshipped Zhou Enlai. Their feelings for Zhou were many times greater than their feelings for Mao. During the movement many of the people who hung up Mao posters were students. This was for purposes of mocking Deng, Li, and Yang, saying the Gang of Three was not as good as the Gang of Four. The Gang of Four deceived the people in all kinds of ways, but never to the extent of this. China's leaders are like the offspring of rats; each brood is worse than the one before. Now the leaders aren't even able to deceive the people.

On the question of how to evaluate Mao Zedong, workers and peasants have their differences with intellectuals. Peasants are opposed to saying bad things about Mao. They say that no matter how bad he was, he still came down to the villages to see us. Now these people in China, they are at the top all the time. They're through, no doubt about it.

#### Scope of Participation in the Movement

After the spread of propaganda, people from all walks of life joined in. Moreover they ~~al~~ expressed their own dissatisfactions and the true state of affairs. For example, people from the bank came out and told the people that the foreign debt was not 20 billion but 40 billion. And repayment burdens are increasing. The government is always saying its our own fault, and the common people hate hearing this kind of thing most of all. You can't push aside the mess the country's in by shifting the blame elsewhere. Only if you say that you made a mistake can you get the people's forgiveness. Where did this money go, the people must ask. Where is the money that we bought state treasury bonds with? If this money went towards construction, then going into foreign debt is not so serious. The government doesn't dare to answer us. Gongzilian raised a lot of questions about this issue.

A lot of old ladies came out during the movement. Before, old ladies were the "detectives with bound feet" [xiao jiao zhen ji dui], going around finding out about everyone else's affairs. During this movement their news travelled fast. They pulled out washbasins and rolling pins, and slept during the day. At night they came out, and as soon as they saw soldiers they would sound the alarm.

In this movement, they had old people in their 60s and 70s, and kids of 13 and 14. An old lady said, I've lived a long life, and I've been through a lot of campaigns, but none of them were ever as exciting as this one. Everybody of one heart and one mind, because we all have a mouth. I don't want anything else, just state price grain, vegetables for a few cents a jin to eat. Still have to raise children, but when the wages of husband and wife are not enough, how can you raise kids?

An old grandfather said that no matter how bad Mao was, I could still eat my fill. Now this Li Peng of yours won't let us eat. People all think back fondly on the price stability before 1980.

### His High School Experience

I graduated from Beijing No. 56 middle school, a key point school under the Xicheng district educational bureau. In 1982, the teachers weren't willing to teach anymore. The students basically didn't listen. During tests, everyone liked open book. When I tested in math subjects were all given to me by my class counselor, and I told my best friend. My class counselor was named Cheng, a math teacher. We got along real well, so he told me the topics of the exam beforehand.

I transferred from 183 to 56 middle school in 1979. Two classes of us went, all male, no girls. The students were very mischievous. In order to get rid of us, the education bureau allowed us all to skip the third year of junior high and go directly to high school. When we got to high school all our classes were just storytelling, physical education, pulling weeds outdoors, etc. By the end of high school, we didn't have much accomplishments but they let us all graduate anyway. The tests were a formality too. We all got graduation certificates. Not one of us made it to college.

When we graduated, the principal cried. The principle and teachers had no way to change the educational system. When we left school, we found out that our educational levels fell below the needs of society. When I think back on my 20 some years of life in China, I feel it was not much different than living like a dog. After eating, I slept, all day until it got dark, I didn't know a thing.

### Background of Gongzilian Leaders

#### 1. Han Dongfang.

Han Dongfang was 26 at the time. He told me he had been a soldier. He's from Henan. After coming to Beijing he taught school for a while, but I never asked him what he taught. Later he worked at the Fengtai railway section, repairs, maybe he was a train inspector. He was an ordinary worker. I never went to his work unit. He was married, wife didn't work. He lived near Fengtai.

Han Dongfang's educational level was probably high school graduate. He had worked for 3 or 4 years. Probably grade 4 or 5 worker. The railway is a place where you can make money, so his basic wage should have been about 60 or 70 yuan, plus bonuses, probably about 130 to 150 a month, maybe higher.

I never heard that he had ever been punished at work. He didn't seem to have any conflicts with his leaders, because his unit's party secretary and shop director came to the square looking for him, saying that if he'd only return to the unit, they would see to it that he wouldn't be arrested by the police. He replied, I won't go back right now. The party secretary said, "aren't you afraid?" He said, "what good will it do to get scared?" I don't know if he was a party member, but possibly his relations with the party secretary and shop director were pretty good, or maybe they knew him fairly well, otherwise they wouldn't have come to the square looking for him. They were showing concern for him.

When he was interviewed by a reporter, the reporter asked him whether he was scared. He said his shop director sought him out, but he wasn't scared. He said he was willing to sacrifice his head for the sake of the nation.

I have notes on a lot of the things that people in gongzilian said.

#### 2. Wang Dengyue.

He was a worker in the Xuanwu District construction co. From Beijing. He was purely a worker who sold his labor power; he was a structural steel worker. His wife sold jiang niurou at Yuesheng zhai. He was a good man, saw questions very clearly. When gongzilian was established, he was on the preparatory committee. But at the end of May,

for some reason, he was no longer on the preparatory committee. At that time he told me that although everyone's opinions were not the same, they could cooperate very well.

His wife's parents were at Tong Xian; a lot of gongzilian's red and white cloth was found by them for us, because at that time red and white cloth was out of stock in many Beijing department stores.

### 3. Xiao Delong.

He was a cook at Qinghua Univ. In his 30s, medium build, wore western suits a lot. He was one of the people who participated in the movement from the very outset. He was an average guy, but it was easy to get close with him. Had bad teeth, so he didn't smile much. When the atmosphere on the square was relaxed, I would try to get him to smile and open up.

### 4. Zhao Pinlu.

He was a worker in the Fengtai Crane Factory, maybe he directed cranes. He had a beard, long hair, always looked dirty. He joined in very early, and later was in charge of the workers picket corps under gongzilian. There was also a "shoudu gongren jiucha dui", but that was an independent organization. The picket corps' responsibility was to protect order, prevent criminal behavior.

### 5. Lao Jing.

I think his name was something like Jing Gang. In his 30s, fair and clear complexion, fat. He always wore a blue jacket and sandals. When he spoke he often had a roll of paper in his hand. He drafted proclamations, and played a big role in the charter. He had education. Somebody told me he worked at a newspaper, someone else told me he worked at a university, but I'm not sure.

### 6. Shen Yinhan.

I'm not sure where he worked, somebody told me it was at China Airlines. He told me that he was originally supposed to go to Japan in April. I didn't have much contact with Shen Yinhan, Qian Yumin, and Bai Dongping, because they later were on the preparatory committee. Shen Yinhan was in charge of propaganda, which I had little to do with. He had a beard, was fat. I saw his mother and younger brother. After they heard he had been arrested they came over to see us.

### 7. Bai Dongping and Qian Yumin.

They seemed like they worked with Han Dongfang over at the Fengtai Maintenance Yard. Both were in their 30s, or maybe a little younger. They had a really good relationship with Han Dongfang, they didn't meet one another after the movement started. They always met with one another. I arranged for their bodyguards.

### 8. Liu Huanwen, Liu Qiang and others.

Liu Hanwen and I didn't know each other. He was over 30, I don't know where he worked. He participated in the meeting of associations from all circles in the Capital on May 20.

Liu Qiang, maybe he was a student [note: he was a worker, GXX]. He had the air of an educated person. At first he was on the preparatory committee, but later he was off it.

Shen Yaqing. He worked in Tong Xian, 34 years old, pretty fat. Worked in a construction team. After the City Construction workers autonomous union was formed, he went over to participate in their activities.

### Li Jinjin was our legal advisor, a student.

Zhou Yongjun; at the beginning I only knew his pseudonym, Wan Tie. He was a graduate student at Zhengfa Univ. He participated in gongzilian started around the 25th or 26th of May or so. Right when gongzilian needed people.

He Lili, in his thirties, was head of the worker picket corps. We knew each other well. I arranged all their food. But I never had money, I always went off and ordered food with slips. He worked at the 3rd transport team of the 7th district; but to look at him he didn't look like a trucker. He lived in Mentougou.

A lot of us were married. I was supposed to get married May 2. But I was always on the square and my girlfriend kept telling me to come back. But I couldn't leave at a time like that. When she came to tell me to leave, I cursed her out in front of a lot of people and decided that I was going to break things off with her. She was really hurt. Her big brother also came over to see me. He worked at the water company, and had experienced a lot of movements. She worked at the Beijing arts and crafts factory. Her father didn't approve of what we were doing either. Later, when we said goodbye she still gave me 400 yuan. When I think of this I really regret the way I treated her.

We also had an old man who later got arrested. He and his wife came together, and were very useful to us. The old guy was short, crew-cut, really able. He was a retired worker, opened his own shoe factory at Mushu Yuan. He helped us carve our seal. Normally he didn't wear a shirt, just a pair of pants and a white undershirt. He said that until the movement succeeded he wouldn't get dressed. They gave me a very deep impression. When he came over to gongzilian, if there was enough food for everyone, they would eat with us, but if there wasn't enough, they would go away for a while and come back after everyone had eaten. They said they weren't looking for fame and power, they just wanted to help out, and say what they wanted to say. Later the government smashed a gongzilian underground printing operation, and the newspaper photograph was of them.

There was also a student from Cangzhou. Curly hair, an education student. On the afternoon of June 3, he formed an assault team [long de chuan ren chongfeng dui]. He also wrote a statement "Long de xuan yan" [Declaration of the dragon?]. At the beginning he and some other students from outside Beijing came over to us together, saying that our Beijing students were undemocratic, that they exclude us students from outside Beijing. He took some white cloth and made an armband, writing the character "Long" on it with black ink. I still have one. A lot of people from that assault team were killed. Later he was arrested.

There were too many student organizations on the square [for me to recount accurately].

#### Gongzilian Activities during the Movement

When I came out of China, the first thing that a lot of people asked me was: how many students were killed? I was really angry, I said I didn't know, I only know that a lot of workers were killed, and only saw a few students killed, and all of them were in the hospital. Students are humans, but workers and peasants are humans too. Why didn't these people ask how many people were killed?

When Beijing's workers and peasants participated in the movement they did so unconditionally. Even unto the death, they never thought about what was in it for them. To this day, I can't really comprehend why these "pure heroes" came out and did and said the things they did, and it makes me really angry [that they have been ignored].

#### 1. Activities following the death of Hu Yaobang.

When Hu Yaobang died, everybody felt depressed. In the early morning hours of April 16, there were about 100 or 200 people crowded around the monument to the revolutionary heroes. There were all kinds of people there, including a lot of workers.

By 4 or 5 in the morning, workers from the Ministry of Textiles brought a commemorative wreath. Among them was a young man with a camera. He showed us his work i.d., and told us that he did youth league work. He took the photos because he said he wanted to record this for history, and didn't want us to become afraid. This young guy later helped us do a lot of things.

There was a teacher among us who said, this time something is surely bound to happen, what do you plan to do? We all agreed to meet the next day at the same time and place.

On the 17th the students began their marches, and a lot of people gathered around to watch. The bystanders didn't yell any slogans or raise any banners, but everybody said the students were opposed to official speculation and corruption, and that was right.

On the 18th more people joined us; at that time we had between 10 and 20 of us. We all said we wanted to form an organization, but later we said we'd simply go back to each of our work units and oppose corruption and official profiteering there. We wrote a wallposter and pasted it up, asking the people of Beijing whether it was all right for the workers to form an organization. I posted one myself.

On the 19th the policemen beat students at Xinhuaamen, and I was there for the whole thing. Around dusk, a girl student read out a statement, and then cried. After the police cars came, about half the students left. The policemen at that time were trying to persuade the students to leave. In the early morning hours, only about 200 or 300 students were left. Then some plainclothes policemen threw some soda bottles, and the policemen started beating the students with their belts and iron buckles. One of the students eyes were severely injured.

There were a lot of city people watching. By daybreak on the 20th, the word spread among the people that the policemen had beaten the students, and it was called the "murder of April 20". Wang Dengyue made a speech about this at the heroes monument, saying that because of this the people should no longer have any good feelings towards the army.

I was there, and I saw that the students definitely did not try to rush through the gate. But the people in the back often couldn't see and hear what was going on, and they pushed forward, forcing the students in to the line of policemen. This was nothing unusual.

On the 21st, a lot of people came over to where we were meeting. We posted up the "Ten Questions", but we still didn't have anyone among us who was educated and knew how to write well. When we wrote something everyone discussed it first. Our feeling was that what the students were saying was right, and workers should declare their attitude. But we really didn't know what we should do. We declared that all workers who were willing should come to the western reviewing stand after work.

## 2. The Street Demonstrations of April 27 and May 4.

For the big demonstration of the 27th, a lot of policemen came to the square. The students came from far away, and ordinary folks helped them push through the police lines. That day the students didn't occupy the square, they just marched on the streets. After the demonstration they all went back to their own schools.

The workers of Beijing understood and supported the students' demonstration. Gongzilian helped the students maintain order and push through the police lines. When workers saw in the editorial of April 26 they said that the students were creating turmoil, they thought that this was nonsense. If the students were really creating turmoil, they government wouldn't need to declare it; we workers would drive them away ourselves. The students were opposing official speculation and corruption. When the students marched by

on Chang'an Boulevard East, one of them told me they had already marched for 7 hours. We bought soda, mantou, and sausages for them. Originally the students planned to march to the officials' area [Zhongnanhai], but there were so many soldiers there that it was entirely blocked up. The gongzilian people marched with them the whole way.

Before May 4 and 5, gongzilian didn't have any of its own marches. The people with strong abilities did organizational work, and others went back to their own work units to gather workers' opinions. The information coming back was unanimous: the workers all welcomed us to form our own organization. For example, a worker at the Beijing Boiler Plant said, don't be like the official trade union. Your aims, methods, goals, and regulations should all be made very clear, and you ought to register and not give the government an excuse to suppress you. Once your organization is established, go ahead regardless of what happens. At that time, there were people who came to help us write our declarations, charter, constitution, and other documents.

### 3. From the Hunger Strike to Martial Law.

By mid-May, during the student hunger strike, the people who would later become important in gongzilian were basically all collected together. At this time, we began to make our names known to one another.

On the day the hunger strike began, the workers got ahold of a bullhorn and a loudspeaker system, both donated by citizens. We were located in front of the public restrooms at the western reviewing stand of Tiananmen. The management office people came over to drive us away, saying that we were damaging historical relics. If even bathrooms are historical relics, then this is really something special.

We issued a proclamation on May 17, more sharply worded than before. We had about 100 to 200 people then. We wanted to form a union, and we called for people with union work experience to come and help us out, give us a little advice and direction.

There were people who advocated going to the government to register. Xiao Delong and Lao Jing went together to the Beijing Public Security Bureau. The Public Security said we were acting recklessly. When everybody heard this, [they said] how can workers marching be against the law, are the students really so wrong? We raised the demand that the government negotiate with the students, and wanted them to explain where the money went that came from the forced sale of bonds to us.

Rumors of martial law were getting more intense by the day, and the health of the students on the square was getting weaker. But the students surrounded the square and wouldn't let other people in. People outside who wanted to know how the students were and what they were thinking were not allowed in either.

At that time we thought that we should formally unfurl the banner of gongzilian in order to give the movement some stimulus. We drew up the gongzilian charter, a proclamation and a "Notice to all Compatriots in Beijing" [Gao Beijing tongbao shu]. Liu Qiang declared over the bullhorn that gongzilian was formally established. But the formal establishment of gongzilian was on May 20, and moreover we used the name of gongzilian chouwei hui in issuing statements.

Among the slogans we put forward was to stabilize prices, increase wages, get enough to eat, make public the economic situation of officials, etc.

The development of gongzilian from April through the official establishment later on was basically the same group of people. After May 19, more and more people came to join us. We talked over our aims, the direction of the struggle, etc. together with the students. In the end, after a fairly long period of preparation and discussion, we formally established

the preparatory committee of gongzilian. However, gongzilian's organizational structure was still not complete, and we still lacked people of ability.

#### 4. Activities after martial law.

Before gongzilian was formally established, we never really thought about whether what we really wanted was a union or an association, we only thought to support the students, support overthrowing official corruption. On May 21, we issued a charter under the name of the standing committee [shoudu gongren zizhi lianhe hui choujian gangling], and our broadcasting station was also formally set up. At that time, our numbers were growing and we weren't at all afraid.

Our first project was to organize demonstrations. We organized one on May 20. Some work units sent trucks. For the next few days we demonstrated daily.

In addition, we began registering members. Workers from a lot of factories came, wanted to join our organization together in a big group, but they requested that we keep their names secret. Several of us separately carried out the work of registering members. On May 23 and 24 I personally registered around 300 people. Until the end, in all I registered around 6 to 7000 workers personally. Some came in groups, some as individuals. I registered three work units: the printing factory, the No. 7 transportation brigade, the coking plant. The director and party secretary of the Beijing Coking Plant set an example by demonstrating themselves. Most of those who came to register were in their thirties, but there were also some in their 20s. Clearly the ones who registered individually were in the majority. Forty and Fifty year olds came to us too; they told us that they were unable to demonstrate, but that they were willing to put up wallposters, bring us food, etc. All of those we registered had formal places of work.

May 22 Joint Meeting of People from all circles in Beijing. At this meeting we workers were very clearly pushed aside. The students and intellectuals were always insisting upon the purity of the movement. When our representatives returned from the meeting, they told us that we couldn't go on like this. We can't just support the students, we ought to have our own slogans. From this time forward, the workers own slogans multiplied, including the rights of female workers, right to select jobs, etc.

The reason we emphasized the rights of female workers is because we workers had our own brothers and sisters. If factories don't want to hire women, then what will our younger sisters do in the future? A lot of workers came over to us to express their opinion on this, so we added this demand. Workers cursed Ni Zhifu, saying that your mother is a women, how can you treat women workers like this? There was also the right to choose your own job, we absolutely must gain this freedom. I have personally suffered from this abuse. When I wanted to transfer jobs the leaders wouldn't let me, they made me give them money before I could leave.

Because of the government's high-handedness, the workers' organization daily become stronger and more unified. We had not even the smallest conflicts among our people. A lot of people outside gave us opinions and suggestions, and a lot of them were union cadres from various factories. These people were older, in their 40s and 50s. They couldn't come out publicly, just give us advice behind the scenes. What they told us was always better than what we could think up by ourselves. Every day these kind of people came, they all knew each other and were introducing one another to us. Sometimes, people would send us notes, and some of them were mixed in with tobacco that they gave to us. The notes were concrete suggestions for organizing methods. Some suggested that we were forming a union, and should not have too strong a political coloration. What you should

advocate are workers' interests. We accepted these kinds of suggestions, and acted on them. We were always propagating the idea that after 40 years of liberation, workers lives were still rotten. This brought forth very good results.

Old workers from some work units came to us every day with suggestions, right up until the sound of rifles began. They said we were young and inexperienced, and that they would help us.

During the big demonstration of May 28, as soon as we unfurled the banner of gongzilian, a lot of people came up to us. Workers told us, in 40 years, no one has stepped forth to speak on behalf of workers, you are the first. We support you. Later, whenever we needed something, no matter what, all we had to do was to post up a notice, and we would quickly have someone bring it to us, always by the next day.

##### 5. Relations with the Students Later in the Movement

Our people in gongzilian, especially the workers' picket corps, always protected the students. On the day of May 28, some students came over to report to us that some students at Huang Village, Daxing County were beaten and arrested. The student picket corps was too small, they needed our support. A motorcycle brigade organized by getihu went out first. We followed behind in a truck. There were six trucks in all, from Beijing and outside. Among those who went were workers, city people, and students. I was up front, but I didn't unfurl the gongzilian banner, because we only had one of them, and if we took it away from the square it might lead to misunderstandings. I took a white piece of cloth and wrote "Youth Army" [qingnian jun] instead. I used this name because I remembered the story "zhuoya he yela". I was in the first truck, holding up the banner.

When we got there, the people in the county offices said that nobody had been beaten there and nobody had been arrested. Later an older policeman came over to us and told us to go over to the transportation brigade. We went. The people at the transportation brigade said they hadn't beaten anybody, that the police department put some people up here. In this way we got 8 students released. We said that the police department had deceived us, and went over there and threw a few stones at their door. The Chinese government quickly said that this was a plot to encircle and attack the bureau of public security.

Beijing Teachers' Academy (Bei Shi Yuan) had a "peaceful speakers' team". I saw it with my own eyes, the students on the speakers' team were peacefully presenting a petition on the street, and policemen came over and beat them up. Some workers were enraged, they said that a peaceful petition is not a petition for a beating. We couldn't figure out why they did it this way. The students continuously tried to convince us, and finally we understood.

On May 27 we were preparing for the demonstration the following day. Our broadcasting station on the square was speaking for workers' interests, criticizing the government, and supporting the students. But we also put forth the wish that students would understand us workers, that workers were together with the students in this movement. Without the help of the getihu, workers, and city people, the workers would not have any support on the square.

During the demonstration of the 28th, we marched behind the students. That day, a reporter from Xingdao ribao came and interviewed Han Dongfang, and as he walked he answered the questions.

On the 28th, gongzilian advocated a workers' strike and a closing of all shops; if it was impossible to strike, workers could slow down. But a strike is our right, to uphold

justice, and protect our own interests. Workers from a lot of work units supported our strike call. Workers said, we simply aren't willing to work for them. But the students wouldn't let us strike, tried every possible way to convince us not to.

#### 6. The Demonstration and Petition after the Arrest of Gongzilian Members May 30

In the early morning hours of May 30, it was reported that someone who seemed to be a gongzilian member was arrested by the public security bureau, and that he had left behind a notebook. Witnesses returned the notebook to us and we discovered that it belonged to Shen Yinhan. Later we found out that Qian Yumin and Bai Dongping were also arrested, they were taken away from their work units.

At noon, our people went to the public security bureau to negotiate. Han Dongfang, Li Jinjin, also a guy nicknamed big brother Liu, and I was there.

The public security guy said they hadn't arrested anyone. But martial law is an extraordinary period, and the legal authorities have the right to arrest or detain anyone. Later they used a video camera to record the faces of all those present. Han Dongfang and big brother Liu came out and told everyone we would have to wait a while. Han Dongfang hadn't brought a loudspeaker, so Wang Dengyue handed him a bullhorn and Han began to give a speech on the spot, right in front of the city public security bureau. Han Dongfang said, "The bureau of public security says we are illegal! Are we illegal? Is their arrest of our people really in accord with legal procedures?"

The public security people cursed us, saying that we were creating disorder. Han Dongfang replied, the police come from the people. All we workers want are the rights that we have been deprived of. Do you mean to tell us that it is illegal to demand the rights we ought to have? The constitution says we have the right to assembly; do you mean to tell us that gongzilian is illegal?" Later he led everyone in singing the theme song from "Plainclothes policeman." A policewoman cried on the spot.

Almost every time Han Dongfang spoke publicly, I was there.

Later we went to the Ministry of Public Security to stage a sit-in, and a lot of student came along. The newspapers said we surrounded and attacked the bureau of public security, but in reality we simply went to inquire whether we were in reality illegal. Since the beginning of the movement in Beijing there had been almost no crime, and very few traffic accidents. The government still declared martial law, but it was the martial law troops that were illegal, the ordinary people did not violate the constitution.

Some fat guy from the public security bureau came over and said: "what law do you know? I am the law." Just then a foreign reporter, Japanese, came over and took a picture, and this guy hit the reporter. The reporter said, I'm japanese, and the public security guy held back his fist and said, I thought you were Chinese.

On the 31st our people were released. By that time our organization was fairly complete. We moved our location to the square. Han Dongfang said, the government has declared us illegal, are you afraid? Everybody yelled, we're not afraid! Then this evening we are going to declare the establishment of our gongzilian to the entire world!

That evening we had a press conference, and printed handbills, to declare to the entire world that gongzilian had been established. We issued our constitution and a proclamation.

Our broadcast station on the square had 3 loudspeakers.

#### 7. Gongzilian during the Massacre

On the 1st and 2nd, there were a lot of small clashes and conflicts between students

and soldiers. At 2pm on the 3rd, students came over to us and said that soldiers were coming, and that they didn't have enough people to stop them. Our people went out to meet the troops. At that time there was a regimental commander named Zhang who came over to us and said he would guarantee that his troops would not come out for 48 hours. A citizen asked, what if the orders from above are to shoot, what will you do? He replied, I'll shoot the first shot myself.

I had no way of knowing which military unit he was from, and the troops themselves also didn't know who was in what army. A lot of soldiers were in plainclothes. The first group of soldiers to come out of the Great Hall of the People were wearing white shirts with white towels attached. The second group that came out were wearing camouflage.

On the evening of the 3rd I saw with my own eyes five gongzilian people killed on the square. And there was a woman who was not gongzilian, I also saw her get killed. Also, the old guy in his 50s who watched bicycles out in front of the Kentucky Fried Chicken store was also killed, shot three times. This was after 3 am on the morning of the 4th. The soldiers specially went after people with banners, people wearing headbands, and people with shooting pictures with flash bulbs.

I was on the square then, and beside me was a lecturer from Qinghua University, named Pan. He was wounded. I also saw a doctor, he walked forward calling to the soldiers to move back, that the students only wanted democracy and freedom, and told them to stop shooting. The soldiers shot him too, whether he died or not I don't know.

I returned to the gongzilian location, and saw that Han Dongfang still hadn't left. We burned some name lists. Then I couldn't hold out any longer (was wounded), and a doctor gave me a white gown, and I went to the Friendship Hospital. At the hospital I saw more than 20 corpses. There was an agriculture student, seriously wounded but still not dead, but he certainly wasn't saved. He was bleeding severely and the hospital was out of blood, so I was watching him die. In the hospital there was a student whose head was shot in the head, he died on the spot.

I sent Pan Yi from Qinghua to the hospital, his leg was severed at the shank, but this was still considered a light wound.

Our gongzilian did not call for people to rise up and kill soldiers. We supported peace. But a student did come over to our place and take up our bullhorn, and said that soldiers were killing people, and that everyone should resist.

On the afternoon of June 4, wounded, I left Beijing.

During the movement, the ordinary people in China were like one big family. Everyone was of one heart in opposing martial law and opposing the massacre of June 4. When I was fleeing, a policeman with a submachine gun pulled me into the service room, shook my hand very firmly, gave me 50 yuan and said, don't ask my name, you go along safely now. When I got off the train, he flashed me a V sign and scared me to death. When I was in a taxi in Guangzhou, the driver saw that I was fleeing from Beijing. He not only gave me a free ride, but gave me 120 yuan.

Gongzilian did not participate in this movement in order to get certain leaders to step down or to get certain other leaders in power. Who is in power and who is out of power should be up to the ordinary people to decide. And we didn't support any faction. I hate [this talk about] factional divisions. In our view, after June 4, there is only one faction in the communist party, the murder faction [sharen pail]. One old man once said to us: you want to negotiate with the communist party, what kind of thing is this party, they came into being through killings, its worth nothing to negotiate with them. He said you are an illegal organization, and the communists were once an illegal organization. You ask

yourself, what government came before the communists? When they established this People's Republic of China with whom did they discuss it? Now you think about what this is really all about.

### Other Workers Organizations

The Construction Workers Autonomous Union.

The Capital Steel Workers Union. What their name was I can't remember, but the words gongren zizhi hui were in there. They drove a truck out to the demonstrations, and the slogan they held up said "the elder brothers are annoyed". The Capital Steel workers sent some representatives over to us to make contacts.

Citizen Hunger Strike Team [shimin jueshi tuan]. These were workers who came to fast after work. They were all married, and sat over there with the students every day.

Citizens' Dare to Die Corps (shimin gansi dui)

Capital Workers Picket Corps and Beijing Workers Picket Corps.

Northeast Tigers Dare to Die Corps [dongbei hu gansi dui]. Long White Mountain Dare to Die Corps [changbai shan gansi dui]. They were both from the Northeast, both workers and students. People from the Northeast are very straightforward. When they see injustice they stand up and attack it.

Motorcycle Brigade. Mainly getihu, but there were also workers. These were all people who owned their own motorcycles. Getihu own them more often, so there were more getihu. When their people were arrested we went over to the public security bureau to negotiate for their release too.

The getihu were particularly active this time. The getihu played an important role in allowing the students to stay in the square so long. One getihu over at Qianmen donated 30,000 yuan. Getihu gave students food, each getihu would guarantee food for 10 to 20 students. They drove around and passed news, and the instruments [duijin ji] used by the students were all given by getihu.

### Organizational Structure of Gongzilian (6/23/90, 4 hrs.)

After the formal establishment of gongzilian, there was a preparatory committee, and later a standing committee. The preparatory committee was established on May 19. There were three departments under it: organization, propaganda, logistics. I was logistics. But we didn't confer official titles like department chief, we didn't have that kind of consciousness (yishi). People did whatever work they were suited to do. Everybody stayed in the headquarters. Workers continuously gave us their opinions; if they were good we accepted them. In this way, we gained a lot of support.

Shen Yinhan was in charge of propaganda. Jinghua and two female students were the broadcasters, perhaps they were from Beijing. Sometimes Zhou Yongjun took part in the broadcasts. And there were two male broadcasters. These students had really good voices.

The broadcasts were based on written statements submitted by the masses. Our own broadcasts were also all written down. We exchanged statements with the student headquarters and the student broadcasting station. Wang Dengyue and Jinghua went there together to get them. The broadcasting station never rested. When the broadcasters were finished reading statements, they played music and songs, including, "without the communist party there would be no New China," and "socialism is good," etc., all were meant in satire.

A lot of people listened to our broadcasts, especially after we moved into the square

from the western reviewing stands. By that time we had a full supply of equipment. Our loudspeakers and the governments were in a kind of crossfire, and ours wasn't loud enough, so we cut the wires to the government's. We had four loudspeakers in all.

There were 40 or 50 people in the propaganda department, all in one tent. A dare to die corps organized by gongzilian maintained order on all four sides. There were four teams in the gongzilian dare-to-die corps. One of them worked in the logistics department. They were responsible for cleaning up. Our logistics department was very tidy. But other tents had everyone's dirty clothes all piled up inside and they smelled dirty.

There weren't too many people working in the headquarters, around 150 to 200. A lot of them slept during the day and came out at night. Each dare to die team had 20 or 30 to 40 or 50 members. Each team elected their own leader and decided where they would like to go to work. If you wanted to work in logistics, you worked in logistics. We saw that the students suffered contradictions [among themselves], really disgusting. We didn't have such positions as general commander and such, we listened to everybody. Some of us who joined gongzilian did so because we had complaints about our factory directors; whatever he said we had to obey. I'm just not willing to put up with this kind of thing. So those of us in gongzilian couldn't do things this way, we wanted to make everybody happy.

We didn't suffer from any contradictions in our logistics department. We had two rules in our financial system: 1) don't accept contributions of money, 2) if someone drops money off and leaves, you have to count it immediately and as soon as you are done counting it you have to let everyone know, and tell them what you use it for. The money mostly was used to buy soda pop and cigarettes. Later on money became more scarce, and we established a rule that soda pop and cigarettes you had to pay for yourself. The places where we actually had to use money were very few; if we needed something we just posted a notice and asked the ordinary people to provide it. At that time, a lot of people were bringing us water and rice, many of them were gongzilian members. At the end of May a material aid group came from Hong Kong, a team brought in by Li Zhuoren. They came looking for us, and I was in charge of making contact with them, and went over to their place to order food. I set a plan with Li Zhuoren to try as much as possible not to waste anything. Li met with Han Dongfang, and I went with them to the Beijing Hotel to talk.

Those of us who worked in factories know the importance of financial systems. We were afraid that if our accounts were not clear, the government could accuse our organization of being made up of people with complicated backgrounds. In these circumstances, we really couldn't ask for money. What's more, if we were all arrested, where would we put all the stuff?

At the same time, we saw that the students had stumbled into confusion over money. They are capitalists; what they had was money; we are the proletarian class. We didn't want to screw things up on account of money, and bear responsibility for shady dealings with money. Later, whether things turned out well or badly, others can't fault us on this. We had our criticisms of the students financial system. How much money the students received and how much they spent, to this day I don't know. You basically couldn't find the people in their financial department.

The task of the organization department was to call everyone together, and when we did something we had to listen to their orders. I wasn't too familiar with the people in the organization department.

We set up these organizations because people suggested that we do so, they told us that we ought to have these kinds of structures. The government said we were an illegal organization, so we had to have a decent organization, and have them think we didn't have

any brains. Our gongzilian was small but complete.

We didn't have basic level organizations in work units, because we never had time to organize them before the guns started to sound. But people from various factories came over to see us regularly; our members basically were all factory workers. We didn't have a liaison department especially for meeting people who came.

#### Beijing Students, Students from Outside Beijing, and Workers

At that time the students from Beijing were eating really good food, while the students from outside Beijing often had nothing to eat at all. We asked the students from outside Beijing, and some of them still had to spend their own money on food.

Later, the ordinary folks gave less money to the Beijing students. The getihu also started taking food to the students from outside, and given their donations to them.

Some people wanted to go over and talk things over with the students, but before we could say a couple words the student picket corps came over and chased us away. At that point we didn't want to stir up trouble, and were unwilling to set ourselves against the students.

A peasant came to bring the students mantou and eggs. He asked a student from Xi'an Communications University: "child, you talk of democracy, freedom, I don't know about these things, but can you tell me why I till the soil but still can't get enough to eat?" This student said, "I don't have anything to say to you." At that point a guy from the workers picket team came over and gave that student a slap, and said "You look at what uncle has brought on his cart for us, how can you have such an attitude!" The student later admitted he was wrong. This peasant uncle just walked away, hurt. As he was leaving, he said, I don't blame you.

We wanted to strike and close down the shops, but the students said, this is our movement, you have to obey us. They didn't let us do it. The workers couldn't take it, so they wanted to form their own organization. By the end, after May 28, we didn't bring up sympathy with the students anymore.

During the joint meetings of May 20 and May 22, we had differences of opinion with the students, but these were not antagonistic ones. After the meeting, on the one hand we advocated sympathy for the students, and on the other hand we advocated workers own demands. Later after the students continued to snub us [gei bizi shang lian], we didn't bring up sympathy with the students anymore.

From April, when the students began their demonstrations, they went hand in hand and would let anyone else in. We could only stand and watch from afar. When we marched, our workers pickets didn't hold hands. In addition to sympathy for the students, we advocated the workers own demands, including prices, wages, living standards. When Beijing people go to work, they are workers, after work they are citizens. A lot of people came up to us and said, your words aren't hollow, when we listen to the students talk we can't understand them. Students wanted democracy, freedom, peace, reason, nonviolence. They were always shouting that the status of intellectuals was low. But they never brought up the workers. And they didn't answer the questions that the workers put to them. I think that they can answer really complex questions, but they can't answer the simple ones. For example, they brought up the problem of inflation, but they didn't explain it. We asked the students, and they said you have suffered, you should stand up yourselves and speak out. They always were talking about awakening the suffering masses, but the ordinary people aren't stupid. They know what's right and what's wrong. What we need is practical action.

*Workers' Attitudes Toward the Reforms*

The workers say that the reforms haven't brought us any advantages. No sooner did Zhao Ziyang go [to Tiananmen Square] and cry, and the students' words changed. After that the students were saying that Zhao Ziyang was going to be removed from power. They said Zhao Ziyang was good, that we should protect him. The gongzilian broadcasts immediately said that throughout the movement, we have never demanded the removal of any one person or the promotion of any one person. If you've made a mistake you should admit it to the people. The ordinary people want to see if your accomplishments or mistakes are greater. What are your sons up to? Do you pay money to go golfing or not? Why is it that the foreign debt gets larger and larger? At the time, we thought that Zhao Ziyang came to the square to deceive people, because he knew he wasn't going to make it. A worker spoke at the "democratic forum" and said that we don't want to consider any man who sheds tears as a good person. If Zhao Ziyang hadn't come down, what would you be doing now? You would still be yelling "down with Zhao Ziyang". Li Peng went too, but he didn't shed any tears. If Li Peng had cried, what would you be saying now?

Some people divide the Communist Party into a lot of factions. I don't see it; I don't have any high theoretical abilities. The way I see it, the Communist Party is all one faction, the "harm the people faction" [hairen pai]. They harm the ordinary people. Some of the people in the government are good, but who's good and who's not I don't know. On the square I thought that the reformers starting point was good, but what have the reforms brought the people? The reformers and Deng Xiaoping breathe out of the same nostril [yige bikong chuqi de]. When you go to work do you ride a bicycle or ride in a car? What do you have in your refrigerator and your home? Reform has brought about a crisis; they know that even more clearly than Deng Xiaoping. You screwed up the reforms, and now you want to take advantage of the movement to shift the blame to another group; no way. Who do we oppose? We oppose you. And that includes Wan Runnan. We oppose corrupt officials, and you are a corrupt official.

The reformers are now saying that if it weren't for the reforms, there never would have been the '89 democracy movement, so the reforms were good. But if the reforms were successful, what are we doing opposing you? They're slapping their own faces. What the reforms brought about was that we're not so dumb as we were before; we can think things over now. The reforms made it difficult for the ordinary people to make a living, though it hadn't gotten to the point of hunger. After the reform there are still a lot of poor villages. In Shanxi there's a county called Zuoquan, the peasants there eat two bowls of rice gruel a day, and eat cornmeal. I've been there. The peasants curse the Communists. They say that before the reforms they could still eat tomatoes, but now they can only eat cornmeal.

In the city, pork prices shot up like a rocket, it sells for 4 or 5 yuan per jin. Fish (daiyu) sells for 9 yuan a jin, eggs 8 per jin. There's a different price every day. Here I'm talking about the state stores. The free market prices are somebody else's affair. Yes, there are appliances in the home now: refrigerators, TV's. But buying refrigerators is a mistake. With the reforms they advocated high consumption, and everyone borrowed money to buy refrigerators, and had to repay later. These things are beyond people's means. Families get all torn up with conflict over these appliances.

Workers know that their wages aren't enough to make ends meet, so they slow down at work.

In 1980 prices were still OK. Later they went straight up, and the ordinary folks didn't know why, they were troubled, they only knew it was because of the reforms. Their

anger came out in their work units. Before they started closing down small enterprises, now they are closing more and more. In the city they lay you off [gao youhua] and send you home with only 3 months living expenses, and still expect you to be grateful to the communist party. In 1983 during the campaign against crime, they suppressed those elements who were dissatisfied. A lot of young people were sent off to Xinjiang and Qinghai. Later the ordinary folks gradually realized that it was because they didn't give them work. If you don't have work you get bored, we talk aimlessly together every day, and we don't know the reason why. Especially young guys like me, we think about the Nationalist Party. Before this movement we used to say that we'd never seen the KMT, and we don't know how bad they are. The Communist Party is so good that we can't eat well. Of course we didn't talk like this on the streets, only in our own homes when we were drinking together and blowing off steam.

Our dissatisfaction with reform is not only because of prices. We see a lot of economic problems. Officials don't do any work, but they have more money than anyone else. We sell our strength but can't get enough to eat. Official speculators speculate in everything: steel rods, spare parts. Automobile companies sell their old vehicles to getihu in the villages, really cheap. But these cheap prices are given to the relatives of the officials down in the villages. Officials are always using their power for personal gain. A lot of people think this over and can't figure the reason why. I always was wondering why my duizhang has the power to prevent me from changing jobs.

Beginning in 1985, the government forced workers to buy treasury bonds, and workers were really dissatisfied. Our own wages are basically not enough, and we still have to buy these; is the government poor? But the upper levels were always spreading propaganda about how rich the country was, how much money everyone has; it makes it all very hard to believe. But there was no way to refute them, we just didn't know. The worker didn't want to buy the bonds, the leaders just deducted it on their own.

We're disgusted with official speculators. They're no different from the landlords and capitalists in the communist propaganda. Now that I've come to capitalist countries, I've seen that landlords and capitalists aren't all that bad. But official speculators are bad, they create a bad social atmosphere. They conduct business by just saying a few words; some of these people really have it made, one phone call and they can have the goods sent over, things that others would have to pay high prices for. Like steel rods, cement, chemical fertilizer, diesel fuel, things like this are all under the state plan, but they can resell them. The things they sell are expensive, and this makes the workers, and especially the peasants, unhappy with the reforms.

There is also speculation in automobiles. Ordinary people can't do this, only people like Deng Pufang. As far as Deng Pufang's foundation goes, even disabled people hate it. All the ordinary people say that if Deng Pufang wasn't Deng Xiaoping's son, he couldn't run such a thing as this Kanghua.

#### The Objectives of Gongzilian

We were interested in democracy and freedom. My understanding is that democracy is when the people are really the masters. The reason why nobody listened to the students' broadcasts in the square is because the democracy they talked about was too lofty, unrealistic. The students were always asking, do you think we have a democracy now? Do you think you are free? I answered them by saying, I feel very free, if I wasn't free I couldn't come here and talk like this; if there was no democracy I couldn't say these words. A student asked me, wouldn't you like an even greater level of democracy? I asked him

what he meant, and he gave me a long speech. I told him, stop talking, the more you talk the more confused it becomes. I asked, can you divide democracy and freedom into levels? He said, you go think about it yourself.

I think that freedom and democracy are not things you can define in one or two words. Democracy is when the people are the masters; freedom is when you can't be bullied on the streets. I do what I want to do, and nobody can restrict me. If a policeman arrests me he has to tell me first what I've done wrong. In China, first they decide your crime, then they search your house, and then they lead you away in handcuffs.

Democracy also includes workers having their own union. Why do a lot of workers agree with democracy and freedom? At the time some students raised a good example, they said in the workshop does what the workers say go or what the director says? We later talked about it; in the factory the director is a dictator, what one man says goes. If you view the state through the factory, its about the same, one man rule. A lot of people came to our broadcasting center and asked us what kind of model we were using to run our union. I couldn't answer them. Everybody wanted a union of our own, but we didn't know how to create one.

At the end, gongzilian's objectives were very clear. Our objective was not very high, we just wanted the workers to have their own organization, independent. Han Dongfang said this: we want rule of law, not rule by men, no discrimination against women. In work units, its personal rule. For example, if I want to change jobs, the bus company duizhang won't let me go. I ought to go home at 5, but he tells me to work overtime for two hours, and if I don't he'll cut my pay. This is personal rule. A factory should have a system; if a worker wants to change jobs, they ought to have a system of rules to decide how to do it. Also, these rules should be decided upon by everybody, and then afterwards anyone who violates them will be punished according to the rules. This is rule by law. Now we don't have this kind of legal system. If we have a good legal system, there wouldn't be so much corruption.

I've been through a lot of happy and unhappy things, and the happy thing was last year's movement. I feel very happy, especially when I talk about it. Before when I was always thinking of arguing with my work unit, I felt unhappy. After the movement began I felt very relaxed, people listened when I spoke, and I could exchange opinions with those around me.

#### The 1985 Slowdown Strike at the Bus Company

In 1985 the Beijing Public Transportation Co. (Bus Co.) had a slowdown, unorganized, nobody established any ties.

It began with route 19, area 2, with a ticket seller who came to work late and had his bonus docked. The driver of the bus couldn't take it, got really mad, but he didn't dare run to the duizhang, he just drove slowly and jammed things up a bit. When everyone saw what he had done, they all very quickly did the same thing themselves. The drivers and ticket sellers all said, our wages are too low, we can't work real hard.

The slowdown was most successful around October 1. It began around April, in June we did it again, but the scope wasn't large enough. Everyone later realized that one bus team was not enough, only if everyone did it at once would it work, including both the buses and the trolleys. When October 1 arrived, a lot of people from outside Beijing were in town, and there were a lot of riders. Everyone was of one mind, and none of the buses went. The drivers said the buses were broken, and we ticket sellers didn't sell tickets. I didn't sell any tickets for over a month; even if the riders asked to pay I didn't sell them a ticket.

Everybody else was the same. When the cashier came over, we just said we didn't collect any money, hadn't sold any tickets because everyone had a monthly pass today. Also, when we came into work we all yelled that our stomachs hurt, that we had diarrhea, couldn't go out, it was like all the workers in the bus company had the runs. If you had another kind of illness, like a fever, the duizhang could tell you to take a pill and you'd be better, but not with the runs.

The first day the leaders didn't realize this was a slowdown strike. After a few days, the upper levels were scared. No tickets were sold, no money came in, and the bank had discovered the problem. At that time we had a single voice, raise salaries, increase the bonus, we want to eat.

Later they raised our wages; the most was three grades, but at least one grade. They also issued leather boots, down jackets, etc.

But later contradictions developed. Who should get the raises of 3 grades? Those who got lower raises wouldn't accept it, while those who got large raises wouldn't strike anymore.

After it was over in Beijing, workers in Dalian did it, because a lot of people in Beijing on errands had seen us.

The party members in the unit were of no use. In our team we only had a few cadres, a duizhang, a party secretary, a dispatcher, and an attendance checker. If the party members reported on us, they wouldn't have an easy time. If we wanted to protect against people who would report on us it would be very easy, nobody would talk to them. But they were of the same mind as we were; if we succeeded, they would get raises too. In fact, already before the movement many people were unwilling to join the party.

There are still advantages to joining the party. If you have a party card, when they distribute apartments they think of you first, and you can still become an official. Officials can get caoxin fei [lit. money for their worries]. A duizhang can get caoxin fei of 30 to 60 a month. Caoxin fei and gangwei jintie are different things; the former is just a means to give cadres more money.

Distributing apartments is a big affair. A lot of people can't get apartments, and have to live in dorms. In the dorm several people live in one room, and you can only get in by going through the back door. In 1985 when they distributed apartments, they drew lots. Our area 4 put up a building over by gongzhufen. They said they would do it by seniority, but there still weren't enough. The leaders said that in order to avoid conflicts, they would draw lots. The workers drew lots till the sun went down, but didn't get any apartments. Everybody was angry, they opened up their strips and discovered there was nothing, and became enraged. The 1985 slowdown was connected with this.

When we want to get at the leaders, we don't curse them to their faces, we just slow down. Also, we take turns going to the duizhang's home to eat and stay, everyone of us goes once, until 11 or 12 in the evening. Before long the duizhang can't stand it.

The drivers and repairmen have an agreement, don't fix the buses too well. Fix it so it will work a few hours and then break down. Repair workers, drivers, ticket sellers are all in on this. The drivers are to the point where they drive the good buses so that they break down, and buses without problems develop them.

Intercity bus ticket sellers also refuse to sell tickets, and the loss is even greater. They don't dare not sell any, they just sell a little less.

Others say that Chinese workers and peasants are unreasonable, but in reality they are very reasonable. The officials are unreasonable, and they don't allow us to be reasonable with them. If the workers were treated well, there would be no reason to slow

down. The workers know clearly that the reforms haven't brought them any advantages, but we don't about demanding democracy and freedom, we just are always talking about how we want to eat our fill.

Worker Slowdowns (6/25/90, 3 hrs.)

It was not coincidental that workers began to become active after the death of Hu Yaobang. According to what I know, there has been activity in the Chinese labor movement every year since 1984. After the 1985 slowdown strike in the bus company, they raised wages. Later the All China Federation of Trade Unions had the gall to tell outsiders that they had led the slowdown. At the end of 1985 and early 1986, the Datong Kouquan Coal Mine, Yangquan Coal Mine, 428 Coal Mine and the Shuangdaogou Coal Mine all had labor strikes. Their workers are all selected from among peasants.

After the Bus Company slowdown strike, the government began to punish workers mercilessly. In 1987 the ACTFU had a public opinion poll published in Renmin ribao, repudiating workers' strikes, saying that this was a small group of workers with bad biaoqian who were disrupting order. Its unclear whether any workers really were taken in by this. They said they went to Shanxi, Hankou in Hubei, Anshan Steel, Jilin and other places to survey workers, and that this is what workers there told them. We got really angry, and everyone pooled their money together so we could go to those places and investigate things for ourselves, see what workers there were really saying. At that time I was really young. The older workers pitched in some money, and I spent some of my own. We went half in an organized fashion, half on our own. The old workers trusted us, and we convinced them. A lot of the older workers in the bus company are repair workers. They were soon to retire, they didn't get wage raises, and were discriminated against in distributing apartments. People without money and without an angle always are out of luck.

We went to the No. 4 and No. 5 mines of the Yangquan colliery. The director of the mines said that we Beijing workers were stirring up trouble, but the mineworkers didn't see it that way. They said we hadn't gone far enough. They said that if we workers put out effort, and didn't get the remuneration we ought to get, we should always do this. During our movement, workers from this mine came to Beijing to support us.

The workers in Anshan Steel and Dalian also supported us. I went to the Dalian Qiulin department store, and ran into all kinds of workers. Among them was a procuring agent who was full of news. The workers in the Dalian bus company had copied us and had slowed down too. We went to the drivers school (after graduation they become bus drivers) and they supported us too. The Dalian workers also said it was right for us not to sell tickets.

We also went to see the workers in the Anziling Ore Mines, and they said they hadn't said anything like what the papers said they did. After we returned and reported on what we found, the workers on route 27 got so angry they slowed down again. But they government never found out about us.

Beijing's Mentougou Coal mine also had a slowdown strike. They told us that they had to go down into the mines, if they didn't they couldn't eat. But they said after we go down into the mines how much we dig out is our own affair. If mine workers don't work for a whole day, the losses are very large. Workers all feel that looking out for our own benefits is justified.

The Henan Coking Works also had a slowdown.

The Beijing Intercity bus co. and the loading workers from the Freight Company

(Area 7), also refused to work. They wasted flour and gasoline when they made deliveries, and they broke the trucks. They really could slow down, especially when moving bricks. Movers would purposefully load too many things onto the truck, and not record the true amount. When they realized that they had lost count, they had no choice but the unload the entire truck again and start over. The trucking department became very sluggish. This was in 1988, also over wage raises; after they raise the wages they still had to raise the food subsidies, because they 70 cents they gave them for eating outside wasn't enough.

The Changping Distillery also had a slowdown. Their products are name brands (Beijing erguotou, Yanlinchun). Empty liquor bottles are very expensive in Beijing, because of their action. The bottle washers purposefully didn't wash the bottles clean, or broke the bottles and sold them to the waste articles purchasing station at 60 yuan a ton.

Workers slowdowns and peasants refusing to plant are connected with inflation, but more important is corruption.

The influence of the 1985 bus company strike was felt throughout the country. In 1986 the upper levels found out who the instigator of the strike was. The public security bureau sent people to investigate, and everyone said that we had no organization, but this just didn't check out; how could you have such a big action without someone instigating it? In fact, every area had its own instigators. Our duizhang hadn't figured it out, but he knew it was connected with me somehow. He didn't dare say so to my face, but he reported on me to the security section. The older workers warned me that I had better transfer out quickly. When I applied for a transfer they gave me a hard time, wouldn't let me go. Later I ignored all that, and left.

According to what I know, the bus company was the first to be able to organize this kind of slowdown. The people who organized it are still there, and as soon as anything happens, they can start up again. During the movement the bus company workers were the most active of all. If you look at how many buses were driven to the streets to block army trucks you'll know what I mean. Bus drivers did all of this. Ordinary people can't drive buses like this. The 60 buses driven to the square to give shelter to the students, this was also done by the drivers. Later when the government saw they were there, they immediately said that they had ordered it done. A lot of bus workers joined gongzilian. After the movement, a lot of bus workers were arrested. The public security bureau arrested the drivers according to the numbers of the buses blocking the streets. You can match drivers with bus numbers.

#### Corruption within Factories

The problem of corruption is important because inflation is important. But what causes inflation? Mainly corruption. A cadre in Guangzhou was executed for a case of corruption over 10,000 yuan. But these 10's of thousands are nothing. Most clear cut are the large corporations. Their money in reality is the people's. Workers are especially dissatisfied with this. Inflation is caused by the misappropriation of money by big officials; otherwise the movement last year never would have reached the point it did.

There is another kind of corruption, the corruption of official business trips. Ordinary workers, experienced workers can't travel on business. Those who go are always those fast-talking slick types. They get a subsidy of two yuan a day, and still look for large receipts to submit for their expenses.

Why is the state's foreign debt getting every larger? This is closely connected to corruption, and the false reports and incompetence that goes with it. These people are undermining the foundations of the nation.

Take a factory for example. The factory has quotas for all its production. The factory makes false reports when drawing up plans, and later sells the excess off. Otherwise you wouldn't have such a large black market. In addition, the people in the factory offices are always getting kickbacks, while the workers are still working strenuously. For example in our bus team, the changzhang and duizhang never eat in our cafeteria, and the cigarettes they smoke are much better than ours. A lot of factory leaders take the factory's products and give them as gifts.

There is a Xizhimen Steel Rolling Mill near Lijiao Bridge in Xizhimen. For the past two years the workers eyes have been fixed on the supply and sales department. The factory's products are under the state supply system. When shipments go out they have to be weighed. But the leaders forced principled workers out of the weighing jobs, and put their own people in their place. How much steel goes out this way its impossible to figure. In this factory there was once a scale worker who reported a driver who loaded too much steel to the factory, and because of this he got into a fight with the driver, and the factory fired him for fighting. He went everywhere telling people about what happened, and he was very active in this movement.

The 003 factory in Tongxian also had this kind of thing.

Inflation has a big connection with corruption, but it also is closely connected with the stockpiling of products. Factories blindly produce their products. If the state plan is confused, the workers aren't willing to work. All this influences inflation.

Corruption occurs not only over money, but also over things. So many things go through their hands; there's both corruption and speculation. Its very hard to buy the Beijing Mudan brand color TV, but they sent over 5000 sets to Shanxi. The 20 inch and 18 inch models sell for over 5000 yuan, or over 4000 yuan.

Right after I started working I ran into corruption. My father told me about corruption in his unit. He was a procuring agent for the No. 1 Infectious Diseases Hospital, and he knew all about corruption in a lot of units.

#### Workers, Intellectuals, and the Reform Faction

Before the movement I had no impression of Fang Lizhi, didn't know of him. I got to know of him during the movement. I have a good impression of his wife, she was elected to the people's congress. I never heard of Liu Binyan until after I left China. We don't know much about the people who are officials.

In the past, I never thought that there was a faction of people above who supported us. During the movement, we wanted to supplant the All China Federation of Trade Unions. We had had enough of hardship, we wanted our own union and to run it ourselves. No matter who's in power, we must have the right to supervise the actions of the government. We ought to have the right to give our opinions to the government. I don't know what political participation is, but in our proclamation and constitution we have an article on workers supervising the government. In my opinion, we have the born right to supervise the work of the government; its not something that the government can give to us or take away. What we fought for was that workers would not be deprived of their rights.

During the movement, the students were always saying "nimen" and "women", but I don't think it should be like that. Its written in the national anthem, "Let us gather together our common aspirations, and with our actions shorten the distance to democracy." Ordinarily, students rarely bring up the interests of workers and peasants. At the time I thought, if you don't bring them up, we'll do it ourselves. And the students said, this is your own business. I have a very strong feeling about this: this movement was not the

student's. If the students hadn't demonstrated on the 15th, the workers and citizens would have. If Hu Yaobang hadn't died, would the students have done anything? The workers would have dared to. If reform had gone on another one or two years, we might not even have had corn meal gruel to eat. If the reforms had been successful, I wouldn't have gone to Tiananmen. We know in our hearts that the reform faction and Deng Xiaoping travel the same road. They are the bureaucratic reform faction.