

PERSONAL DATA

Age: 41 Sex: Male

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Education: University graduate (Beijing U., radioactive chemistry)

Total Years Relevant Experience: 12

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1972 Year Left China: 1972

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native place/Overseas Connections: Indonesian OS, returned 1950

Class Background/ Political Designation: OS

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Technician, Production Control Department, Phosphate Mine, Kunyang, Yunnan, 1961-63

2) Kunming Auto Repair Plant, 1963, 1968-72

a) Technician, Laboratory, 1963

b) Repair worker, auto repair shop, 1968-72

3) Planning staff, Kunming Materials Bureau, 1964-68

Administrative Level of Work Unit/(No. of employees):

1) unknown, probably province/(?)

2) Municipal/(340)

3) Municipal/(?)

Experience in Full-time Manual Labor (for non-worker occupations):

one-year labor tempering after graduation, 1961;
production worker 1968-72

APPOINTMENTS: 6 TOTAL HOURS: 15 PAGES TEXT: 14

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No. 4

(Dec 18, 2 hrs.)

Occupational History:

The informant is Indonesian by birth, lived there for 12 years before migrated to China with his 3 older brothers. They migrated to China in 1950, for 2 reasons. First, it was easier to be admitted to university in China, and was cheaper, and they also wanted to escape the draft for the Indonesian army. They went to Canton after a stopover in Singapore to get an immigration visa, and were then sent to Peking. After about a month in Peking in 1950 they were sent to Harbin, where the informant received his secondary school education. At that time in Harbin Russian presence was quite obvious, and the Russian experts living there consumed quite conspicuously, enjoyed a number of special privileges, and were not particularly well-liked. He tells a number of anecdotes about Soviet war atrocities in Harbin which were remembered by the Chinese there, and about the status of Gao Gang at the time.

In 1956 he entered Beijing University, and studied in the radioactive chemistry department there, receiving his degree in 1961. Upon graduation he was dispatched to Yunnan, where he worked at manual labor (duanlian) for one year, as was the policy at that time for college graduates. The work unit was a well-known open-face phosphorous mine near Kunming*, which originally was a labor reform camp, and which the state turned into a state-run enterprise in 1960. Many of the workers there were ex-convicts from the labor camp days. Informant worked in the Phosphoric acid shop.

In 1962 he was transferred to the diaodu ke in the same enterprise. There his job was to go to various workshops, find out the progress of production in each, find out which shop needs more materials, tools, etc., and then arrange to have them dispatched to the shops. This including arranging for transport of materials into and out of the plant. The plant had five shops: 1) caikuang--where the ore was broken up and loaded onto trucks; 2) linfei--where phosphate powder made into phosphorous fertilizer; 3) mofen--where ore was crushed into powder; 4) liusuan--suphuric acid shop; 5) lingsuan--phosphoric acid shop.

In 1963 he was transferred to the Kunming Auto Repair Plant. He claimed he had a health problem, and had his overseas relatives write letters from abroad to help him get out of his job at this rural phosphate enterprise. This enterprise was under the Kunming Municipal Transportation Bureau (ju). He was a cadre in charge of setting up a central laboratory for the transport bureau. This laboratory was for testing the composition of parts for locomotives. After this lab set up, he was again transferred, the same year, to the Wuzi Ju (materials bureau) of Kunming city. There his work was to check on various warehouses in the city and to do inventories of factory stocks, and dispatch motors to the countryside. He worked in the office in charge of warehouses and stocks (qingcang)

In 1964 was transferred to a different section in the Materials Bureau, the Machine and Electrical Products section (jidian chanpin ke), where he took part in planning work for the heavy industrial system of the city, which included over 100 enterprises. He worked here until 1968 when, in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, the factional infighting within the bureau became so intense that he thought it best to leave (since he was deeply involved). He returned illegally to the Auto Repair Plant where he had experience some years earlier, where he became a regular worker and engaged in manual labor in several shops. At first he worked at disassembling the trucks and washing the parts, then later worked in the chassis, engine, and transmission shops, where he learned and performed repair work. In 1970 his plant moved to the suburbs, and combined with a large tractor plant. Still a worker, he began to work on tractor repairs. The plant tried for a while to produce autos, but with no success. In 1972 he came legally to HK.

(Dec 21, 2.5 hrs.)

Phosphate Mine Experience:

In 1961, after graduating from BeiDa, he was sent to Yunnan to do manual labor for one year in the sulphuric acid shop. This was state policy at the time. New technical graduates had to do one year of manual labor. His job was the toughest in the shop. He took chunks of sulphur, crushed it, refined it, pumped it into furnaces to heat it, and then turned it into acid. The temperature in his shop (itself the toughest in the entire enterprise) was often about 44 degrees C, and the air was very acrid and irritating to the lungs and throat. If you put chunks of sulphur into the acid bath too quickly, you would get burned by the acid. The acid itself was pumped into an oven in liquid form and heated. Liquid sulphur was pumped into the furnace like a shower.

He worked night shift, and began at midnight. When he first came to the shop, he went to the storehouse (canku) to pick up the blocks of sulphur, put them in small carts, and bring them to the shop, where he crushed them up so they could be melted. This was the most bitter job in the shop. They gave him this job because workers didn't ordinarily like college students because they were boastful. Other students often argued with workers about the theoretical side of the production process, and were too proud and boastful. The workers didn't like this at all. But I's method was not to talk to workers unless he was spoken to, just do this menial job as best he could. Gradually the workers came to respect him on account of this and later began to ask him questions about technical matters. I's strategy was not to offer technical advice unless asked. This strategy later led to good relations with the workers. When, after he became a technical cadre, cadres were sent to do manual labor in the workshops, I was not afraid, because he was on good terms with the workers and also knew he could take the worst there was. But the other cadres were afraid.

During this first year, he worked in the combustion (ranshao) section (gongduan). There were five people in his small group. I's job was to move the raw sulphur, crush it, feed it into the vats and monitor the machinery which melted it. Another worker was responsible for monitoring the overall technical process--the pipes, gauges, and catalyzing process--where materials were to be mixed in precise proportions. Another worker took care of maintaining the pipes and storage vats for the acid. Another inspected the ph of the acid and its viscosity. A final worker, a kind of utility man (jidong), moves around the group to do any job that needs to be done, and fills in for those absent. In addition, there was a group leader, with no fixed duty but he would help whoever was busy, and oversaw the entire group work process. But if he was in a bad mood, he wouldn't do any work. This group leader was an old worker and a Party member. Almost all the group leaders were Party members.

Pay, Bonuses: Informant was paid 46Y, which was what first year Univ. graduate technicians got. The group leader was paid 49Y. The average worker got 33Y. Bonuses were given to those small groups in the sections which were successful in the labor competitions held each month. The bonuses were divided into three grades: 1) 25Y; 2) 12Y; 3) 5Y. The winning groups would gather workers together to meet and decide who got what grade of bonus. It was suggested at one of these meetings that I get the highest grade (25Y) since he had the most difficult work. But on this occasion I figured that since he already got 46Y a month and was a freshly graduated student, if he got this high of a bonus it would lead to later conflicts with the other workers. So he declined the high bonus and suggested that they all get an equal bonus, which is what they eventually did. To prevent conflicts over bonuses, this is often what happened--workers would suggest equal ones. In his group it was

always like this. But in other groups workers didn't do this and continually quarreled over bonuses, or were suppressed bad feelings. After the groups made their decision, the shop head had to approve their decision.

Meetings:

Before 1960, political study was three days a week, with technical study every monday. These meetings were held after the shift. After 1960, specifically after the split with the USSR after the 20th CPUSSR Congress, they had political study every day, and no technical study. First came the anti-rightist, then the Peng De-huai affair, etc. Right up to 1972 they had political study every day. You might think that workers would be too tired to study after a shift, but work in China is not like in Hong Kong. Workers work much more slowly, because political study is tiresome, and there are continual livelihood problems, like not getting enough to eat, and not being able to get enough of certain kinds of commodities. This situation of slow work would change only during the end of the year, or during the period preceding a major national holiday, whenever there was a major push to speed up production to meet targets. This was a thought (sixiang) problem, brought about by livelihood problems: low wages, few consumer goods, rationed meat, rationed clothing. I feels that if there were a way for workers to get more pay and goods if they did work harder, then they would certainly do so.

(Dec 30, 2.5 hrs)

Work Discipline, Work Habits:

Two words to describe the work habits of workers in China: tuotuo lala (dragging), and daigong (slowdown). The first refers more to work habits, the second to a more conscious effort by workers to express dissatisfaction. I divides the reasons for this into three groups: 1)wages 2)livelihood 3)class designation system.

1) class designation system (chushen)--there is discrimination against people of certain class backgrounds, and this affects their enthusiasm for work. I suffered from this especially. I used to complain to his wife in private (didn't dare say so openly--"If you're class background is good, then everything else is just fine" (chushen hao, shenmo dou hao)). And there was another popular, more classical allusion to this, which roughly translates, "Dragons beget dragons, phoenix begets phoenix, the son of Laozi will be a great man" (龍生龍, 鳳生鳳, 老子英雄兒好漢).

Concretely, this meant that those of bad class backgrounds couldn't go to conferences, participate in armed militia training (only in the ordinary, basic militia). They were discriminated against in college admission, wage raises, job appointments after graduation from university. (Take I, for example). Often those of bad class background got placed in jobs that are undesirable and have nothing to do with what they have studied in college (again, take I as an example--it seems here as if he is relating his personal experience in the third person). In job assignments within work groups, they end up doing most difficult jobs, such as when I first came to the mine. Those with good class background at this time didn't have to go through this year of manual labor. I also went to the countryside every year starting in 1963 until 1971, and went twice a year, 15 days each time.

I's personal chushen was of middling status--independent occupations (ziyou zhiye). His father was a shopkeeper. But his problem came from the fact that he had overseas relations, and remittances.

2)livelihood problems: You can't get to listen to good music, and can't get tape recorders. I had to listen to Indonesian and Australian radio stations secretly, and would get into trouble if caught. Every day after work from 7-9 pm, and also on Sundays he would listen. During the Cultural Revolution I was also persecuted for his foreign style of clothes--he was said to have

been propagating capitalist styles of thought through his clothing. The people slit his pants up the sides as punishment--these were people in his factory. He was also criticized in his study group, and his name was also mentioned and he was criticized at a mass meeting.

Later in 1972, the people in his unit who had cut his pants came up and apologized, saying that it was LinBiao's influence which had caused them to do that. He replied, OK, the past is past. Did he resent them? What could he do--one of these people was his shop director.

At that time food was once again in short supply (the other time was the early 60s--I tell of people getting beri-beri). I went out every day to buy canned food, and this aroused suspicion of others. They suspected him of corruption, but actually I had the money because of remittances from his family overseas.

3) Wages: Raises were not forthcoming. For example, I's experience. He graduated in 1960, in September, and went directly to Yunnan where he was assigned as a technician on probation (jianxi jishuyuan). He was given 46Y and after one year of training on the job, was zhuanzheng, or turned into a regular technician (zheng jishuyuan), and made 55Y. After that, up until the time he left in 1972, there was no promotion or raise given to him, except one he was able to get by subterfuge during the chaos of the Cultural Revolution (see below). He was a grade 13 technician, with 15 being the lowest grade for technicians, and grade 11 being the lowest engineer, but I am not too sure about this. No change in this as long as I worked as a technician. Around the end of 1966, while working in a municipal industrial bureau in Kunming, I heard about a central document about a wage adjustment from a friend who was able to read these secret documents. Later during the Cultural Revolution, when I went back to the Auto Repair Plant, he asked for a test--a theory and practice test--passed it and was given a raise and qualifications as a level 6 worker. His wages went up to 68.8Y, and he was the only one in his plant during the cultural revolution to get a raise, and was the last person to do so through this testing system which had earlier been abandoned. He went up to the Party secretary, told him he wanted to take the test and get a raise. The Party Secretary hadn't heard about the document, so I told him to go and check. Of course, this was not exactly legal, but due to the chaos of the cultural revolution he was able to pull this off. After all, his coming back to this plant was on his own initiative and was technically illegal anyway, but there was no one enforcing the laws then. Even though he had come to this repair plant, his papers and documents stayed at the Materials Bureau. Anyway, the Party secretary was quite surprised to find that there was in fact such a document, and wanted to know how I knew about it. I said "a voice from Peking"--you needn't know anything else". This sufficiently intimidated the Party secretary, who figured that I had a friend high up in the Party in Peking, so the local Party secretary complied. This was the only raise I got while in China, and it was illegal.

I say that things like this happen all the time in China--people bend rules and get favors due to connections (guanxi). In this case it was his friend in the Party, who leaked the contents of the document. I used this to his advantage.

Master-Apprentice Relations:

I felt the old master workers at the auto repair plant were conservative because they were unwilling to share their skills with inexperienced workers. Whenever a key repair needed to be done, they sent I away to get tea or something, then fixed it in his absence. Later I snuck around and looked from behind another truck, and this is how he learned some of his skills.

Why did these more skilled workers act this way? This is a conservative attitude left over from China's feudal past. Masters don't have education or theoretical knowledge. So they don't want others to have their skills--they treat them as their own. Like the man who sold a famous recipe for Yunnan Baiyao and left out one herb, or like wanting to keep trying for a male child despite the fact that one already has 7 girls--feudal remnants. Many of these old masters are left over from the KMT days, and remember better times. Many are fond of wine, and have the younger workers give them their ration tickets.

(Jan 3 2.75 hrs)

Auto Repair Plant:

There were no worker-managers in the Phosphate Mine, but there were some after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in the Auto Repair Plant (I there during 63-4, 68-72). Since it was not a large plant and was run by the city, they didn't have any formal worker managers until then (I seems to know that they were around in different enterprises and industrial sectors). During the period of the CR when they were building the triple combination (sanjiejie), workers were nominated as worker-managers. They were promoted to be shop leaders, or were represented on Revolutionary Committees. Each faction nominated the leaders of their own factions (who were all workers), and gave them to the PLA representatives, who discussed the nominations with the Party Committee members.

The PLA then selected 9 members or so from the plant to sit on the revolutionary committee. There were five members in all on the RC who were workers. One was the equivalent of a shop director, and others were in charge of products testing (jianyan), processing (jiagong), forging (duanya) and supplies and transport (houqin).

The plant had 340 workers in all, one shift, and was administered by Kunming City.

During the CR, the names of the various divisions within the enterprise were changed according to military terminology--this was PLA's idea. They set up a revolutionary committee, studied the PLA, and implemented (in name at least) PLA type organization. Changed names, abolished position of kezhang and the sections that corresponded to them, even though the members of the former Ke still did the same work, in the same place (office). The ke were now called zu (groups). The factory was called ying (battalion), the shops lian (company), the small groups pai (platoon), and below the small group level were established ban (squad). But the actual changes these implied are hard to say, because the factory really had no fixed structure, or stable production during 1967, 1968, 1969.

There were 3 stages in the CR relative to management power.

- 1) before January 1967, where the situation in the plant was calm.
- 2) after Jan 1967, when struggle between factions and power seizures began, no production, all meetings.
- 3) beginning early 1970, finally established revolutionary committee and PLA entered factory. Production began to revive.

Small Group Management:

It was the same in the auto repair plant both before and after the Cultural Revolution, except during the CR, there was no management of small groups of any sort. The leaders included the group leader (zheng zuzhang), the assistant group leader, and the records keeper (jilu yuan). All of these are workers, all participate in production, and all are paid by the worker scale. The jilu yuan is a worker who has had some education, and is responsible for recording each person's daily output. He keeps track of worker job-code numbers for purpose of quality control later on.

昆明汽車修理廠

(340 工人)

(1966 以前)

廠長

- responsible for enterprise relations
w/ other units and authorities

副廠長

- responsible for internal
plant operations

試車檢驗
quality inspection

生產科

計劃科

供銷科
↓
倉庫

財務科
↓
食堂

治安
保衛科

← (security section)
1) sm. # of members
2) all Party members, PLA
3) Political investigation
4) theft, property

修理車間

(30 工人)

引擎組
底盤組
engine chassis

變速箱組
transmission

加工車間

repairs spare parts
(in China, don't have new ones) Divided
into many groups acedg.
to specific tooling
process.

鍛壓車間

鍛工組

(forging group:
straightens bent chassis &
other parts)

木工組

carpentry

銅工組

doors, roof,
steering wheel,
passenger compartment

In small groups, before the CR they had group meetings each evening from 6-8. On Mondays they had business (yewu) meetings, which included technical education courses, in which I was involved in teaching. Also includes production problems discussions. The teaching is simply done by members of technical departments who quiz the workers on how to solve certain problems, and who later explain solutions. All are practical repair problems. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday nights, political study. They read editorials and discussed them. On Friday, shenghuo jiantao, criticism and self-criticism sessions. During the CR and after they had political study every day after work, six days a week and sometimes on Sundays. Also, during 1967-72, if there was currently a campaign of some sort, they would also use shift time for study.

(Jan 10, 2.75 hrs)

The parts needed by a production group had to be ordered from the stores (cangku)--tools, spare parts for the automobiles, etc. Workers had to fill out a form, and give it to the shop director for approval. Some tools were scarce and everyone wanted to use them, so there was a regular system of checking them out of stores. The form used to get spare parts and tools was called lingliao dan. This system did not change during I's stay in the plant, except of course during the Cultural Revolution, when it was neglected.

Contract Workers:

Both the phosphate mines and Auto repair plant had temporary and contract workers. The phosphate mine had from 100-200, and the auto repair plant had 7. I say there is no distinction between temporary and contract labor. They were hired when the plant put in a request to the municipal bureau which managed them (in the Auto repair plant case, the Kunming Jiaotong Ju). Then they would ask Street revolutionary committees to assign workers. They were used for abnormal jobs, like construction, and did these jobs exclusively in the plant--they did jobs ordinary workers did not do. In the phosphate mines, they were hired to do the job of breaking up the phosphate-laden rocks with pick-axes.

Temporary workers had a chance to turn into permanent workers, but first the plant had to get permission of the provincial industrial bureau (ting--the mines were provincially administered), and then they could make the formal change to permanent status. This happened rarely, and only with the best workers who had good relations with others in the plant.

The wages for temporary workers are figured by the day. At the mine, they made about 34Y if worked every day (a grade 1 worker made 37Y). At the auto repair plant, temporary workers got about 28Y.

Temporary workers do not get any of the supplements and insurance benefits accorded to formal workers. Formal workers get sick leave which they often use just to get a day off. They pretend illness--purposefully burn their hand with acid, put chicken blood in their urine sample, etc. Workers often did this when they were unhappy on the job.

Technical Workers:

There is no such thing as a separate scale for technical workers in China. So-called technical workers--those with skills--are paid on the 8 grade scale like all other permanent workers. Jobs, further, are not divided up so clearly in China as they are in H.K. In Hong Kong, if you are a certain type of worker, you can do only that type of work. In China you can be transferred to any kind of work or to another shop if needed.

Plant Directors;

Phosphate Mines: The director was a former PLA soldier from the war for liberation, and a Party member. He had no skills, and his job was to promote revolution and production. He leads by holding meetings, and presenting tasks to the various departments--planning, production, materials, etc. He does none of this work himself--he is more of a coordinator. After the departments have completed their tasks, they provide reports to the director. The departments are where the trained specialists work. Originally, the posts of Party secretary and plant director were separate ones, but over time the two roles have been merged in all but the biggest plants. Plant directors otherwise must always listen to the Party secretary's orders.

Auto Repair Plant: The plant director was a Party member, but was also previously a laoban of a small repair shop for trucks during the KMT period in Kunming. Various department heads were also from the PLA pre-liberation days. They were political cadres, like the director, with no specialized knowledge, although they could after several years acquire thorough knowledge of the plant's operations and problems. These people got these kinds of jobs often because they were old, or their health was poor and needed a desk job. They exercised leadership over the specialists in their departments; but did not do the actual work of the departments which required specialised training. These old PLA cadres had many special privileges and positions.

Cadre Privileges:

Party cadres in the repair plant got three catties of meat for every ration ticket that specified one catty. This was just done by the people that worked in the canteen. Cadres also used their knowledge of the industrial system to find out about job openings in other factories and secure jobs for their children, avoiding for them the fate of being sent down to the countryside.

Quotas, Wages:

In the phosphorous mines, the plant used white flags on wall posters to shame workers who did not meet their quotas, while model workers had red flags pasted next to their names. This was done continuously, names for all the workers being posted in a central place in the plant. A kind of system of models and anti-models.

Despite all of I's job changes over the ten year period, from mine to planning section to industrial bureau, and back to auto repair, the only change in his wages was during the CR when he managed to get a raise by becoming a grade 6 worker, where previously he had been a grade 13 technician. This implied a raise from 55Y to 62.7Y. Regardless of job changes, or the raise (or lowering) of status implied (ie. to shop floor, or bureau office), there was no change in I's wages. This situation is common in China--people's wages are tied to their persons, not their jobs.

Cultural Revolution:

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, I was still in the Materials Bureau of the municipal government. Early in 1966 his study group had criticism sessions of Wu Han's play on Hai Jui every night. At that time he went home to eat at 6, and then went back to his unit at 8 for two hours of study. Later wall posters were written criticizing the play.

Shortly thereafter I was criticized because he had been in the country for over 18 years but had never joined the CYL or the Party. So he was called politically backward. He also had overseas family ties, which made things worse. So for a while he was criticized for 8 hours a day in study meetings--this went on for a couple of weeks. In the meantime the Bureau staff had

ceased to work, and engaged in revolution full time. This, along with the criticisms of I, took place over a period of months. The transportation network, on which the Bureau's work on materials supplies depended, had already been disrupted by travelling students. Two young Party members in the bureau led the criticisms of various members--at this time there still were no factions.

Later factions appeared, and people began to go after the section leader, the bureau chief, and the 'white experts'. I was criticized at the time as a "stinking intellectual" (choulaojiu). He was criticized continually for three months until mid-66. A steel plate was hung from his neck which weighed about 25 kilos, and on it was written an epithet which read "monster and demon" (niugui sheshen). Later he was led around within the bureau on display, and once around the streets of Kunming. During this period he was made to walk around the bureau offices eight hours a day, and if he slowed down was prodded by those who were supervising him to go faster. He was never beaten, although others were.

In 1967, the direction of the movement changed. They began criticisms only of the bureau director and assistant directors. Then he became active in leading criticisms of the top leaders, in part to redress the wrongs he felt he had received earlier in the movement. But he argued against doing humiliating things to the people criticized (placing a cap on their heads, making them parade around with placards hanging from their necks), and also challenged these erstwhile red guards about the unfair treatment these same people had earlier accorded him. He reminded them that the Party's policy was not to attack average people, just the leaders.

Later I organized a group--the 'struggle team' (zhandou dui)--to lead criticisms of bureau leaders. He was a real activist, and spurred others to forward criticisms within his bureau. Later, all the bureaus in the municipal government had such groups, and they joined together into an overall organization for government administrative staff. This became one of two factions among the government workers. I became the leader of propaganda activities for this group, held an official position.

Why did I join the group and become an activist? If he did not actively take part and make criticisms of others, he felt he could not right the wrongs he suffered previously in the movement. He just couldn't complain through wallposters--they wouldn't accept and believe this. So he actively joined the movement and stressed that the problem lay not among the staff like himself but among the leaders.

Others joined the groups because they wanted to keep within the flow of current political tides. Most staff felt that they should join in order to avoid being targets of criticism themselves. I felt that this was a general tactic, which workers also did in the auto repair plant. People joined groups in order to prevent being criticized.

After an incident of physical struggle with other factions and a stint of brief imprisonment by his rivals, I was released by the other faction and he decided it was time to get out of the bureau. So he went directly, without permission, straight back to his old auto repair plant. There he was assigned to manual labor--this was September 1967. When I made this move, he presented it in a wall poster at the bureau, and to the people at the auto repair plant, as a desire to engage in manual labor. The factions at the auto plant bought it.

When he returned to the plant, things weren't too severe. There were two factions, but still no fighting in the factory, no physical struggle. Work continued, but there were many meetings and debates. These were meetings of factions, not the meetings formerly mandated by the administrative structure.

I decided at this point not to participate. He knew he had a bad chushen because he had overseas connections, so he was unlucky. He also knew that physical combat was certain to break out at some point, so he decided it would be wiser not to participate.

The provincial revolutionary committee was established in 1970(Aug), and then the municipal revolutionary committee was established later that year in October. The revolutionary committee in the plant was not established until the first days of 1971.

In the meantime, there was not much fighting within the factory from 1967-70. At one point in 1970 (March-June), one faction left the plant completely to joining with others in outside coalitions.

During this period, the factional leaders ran the repair plant. One faction, the larger one, seized power. The leaders of this faction then decided when and how to do things. If a request for a truck repair came from another unit, the faction leader would first call on the phone to check that the senders were from a similarly inclined or allied faction before they would agree to repairs. The large faction had about 200 members, the smaller one (which withdrew from the plant for a while) had 80. At this time, the plant director was working in repair shops, but was asked at various times to help solve problems. He was asked for advice by both workers and faction leaders.

The same was the case for the asst. directors and section heads. They all were doing manual labor in the workshops. The staff of the various departments still did office work, but reported instead to faction leaders when their jobs were completed. Faction leaders ran the entire operation, but didn't care much about production. The state, further, did not expect the plant to make a profit, since nobody was running things at the municipal bureaus either (as I's earlier experience attests). During this three year period, the plant repaired about 3 to 5 trucks a month, whereas before the CR they had fixed at least 70 per month.

The Party organization had no activities during this period. They, like the administrative cadres, were doing manual labor in the shops. They did not participate in the movement apart from writing a few wall posters. But the worst treatment was reserved for the former Party secretaries. They did manual labor during the day, and for one year during this period were kept in a 'cowshed' (niupeng). At night they were locked in this room in the plant, and during this time they were allowed no visitors. These 2 party secretaries--the plant first party secretary and vice-secretary--started their shift at 8. But they had to be outside the plant gates at 7am, with heads bowed and repeating apologetic phrases to the workers as they passed through--like the following, which roughly translates: "I have erred, and should die 10,000 deaths. I ask punishment from chairman Mao. I ask punishment from the revolutionary rebels" (**我有罪.罪该万死.向毛主席请罪.向造反派请罪**). Some workers would laugh, slap them several times across their bowed heads, curse, and tease them. Others would whisper secretly that they thought this was too extreme, but they were afraid to be openly nice to these men. The same kind of humiliating ritual was repeated in the canteen at lunch. The secretaries knelt at the head of the room and repeated the same phrases, heads bowed, and only after the workers were finished eating did they get their food. These men went through this for 1½ years.

(Jan 14, 2.5 hrs)

During the CR there was generally poor work discipline among those workers who remained in the plant and worked. If the shop director wasn't around, the workers generally put down their tools and took a smoke. When they worked, they worked very leisurely.

Formation of the Revolutionary Committee

Shortly after the central directive to unite the factions, 3 unarmed PLA representatives came to the plant. This was at the end of 1970. At first, they just went around the shops and offices asking people about the factional situation in the plant, but didn't do anything concrete. They talked not to the leaders of the factions, but to the original leaders of the plant, and also talked to workers during rest periods. After political study meetings the PLA would ask old workers to stay afterwards and discuss the situation in the plant, and find out the points of disagreement among workers.

After this, they sought out the 2 factional leaders to discuss things. They also talked with the old plant directors, the section heads, and other leading cadres. They held a meeting with all old cadres and with factional leaders. They discussed how to make an alliance, and who would sit on the Revolutionary Committee. These people raised nominations, and discussed them. But the PLA was firmly in command over the entire process.

While all this was going on, the PLA was also leading the rebuilding of the Party Committee. The discussions to reestablish the party committee were carried on in secret, with only party members attending (only some were workers). Party committee was established before the revolutionary committee. The two old Party secretaries, who had been held prisoner in the cowshed, attended these meetings and were restored to positions of power. Thus the rebuilding process for both committees were carried on simultaneously, with the Party committee being finalized first.

Composition of the RC: The PLA asked people to join and in the last analysis decided who would be a member, after discussions. Workers did not participate in this process, except when they chatted with PLA representatives on the shop floor (but only some had a chance to do so). (Many workers in the plant were not really interested in the CR, even though almost everyone was aligned with a faction. In I's estimation, only about 40% were really interested in what was going on. All joined, of course--no choice. But whenever they had a chance, when no one was around the plant that day, these workers would run off to their homes. Most found the CR of no interest).

The PLA reps. then made out a name sheet and pasted it on the plant wall, and had the whole plant study and discuss it. Then they pasted up notes made during the discussions. Nobody opposed their nominations anyway--no one dared. There were 11 members of the RC in all: 3 PLA reps, 3 leaders from each faction, and 2 old Party cadres (one of whom was the unfortunate cowshed cadre).

Within the revolutionary committee was a five member standing committee (changwu weiyuan hui.) which included 1 PLA representative, who was the chairman of the committee and acted as plant director, and who also was the new first Party secretary and chairman of the Party committee, one vice-chairman, who was the former party secretary (and a cowshed hostage), and who was the new Party committee vice-secretary, and 3 standing members (changwei), one of whom was a PLA representative and 2 faction leaders, one from each. This group directed production in general from day to day. The faction leaders were regular workers, except they were the ones who had the guts to speak up and fight. (see attached diagram). The RC itself, the larger body of 11, met only irregularly, and often went over a month without meeting.. They only met if an important problem occurred, or if an important decision had to be decided.

The plant authority structure changed something like this: the posts of kezhang and plant director were abolished, and the leaders of the ke became part of the regular staff of their departments. The standing committee of the RC led these staff offices directly. Whenever a problem occurred or whenever they wanted something done, they went to the section office and discussed it with them. No responsibility system, just a system of informal communication.

The PLA representatives were all members of the Party Cttee, and the PLA rep who was chairman of the RC was also the first party secretary . There was no fixed term of office for the standing committee or the revol. cttee. as a whole.

There was no office for the standing committee. The members just made a tour of the plant every day, talked with the workers before the shift. The chairman of the standing committee, of course, had his own office in the Party Cttee. offices.

Of the two old party cadres described above: the former first party secretary became the assistant head of the standing committee of the RC, also became vice-party secretary. The other party secretary, while still doing manual labor as a crane operator in the disassembling of trucks (he lifted off the cabs), was still consulted on a number of questions. He understood the entire production process, so he also acted as a diaoduyuan--a coordinator of the entire work process. He made sure the right number of trucks were entered into the repair shops, and that the rest were finished before the new ones were disassembled. This is a pretty complex job, and I says this man was smart. He was an old Party cadre--no theoretical or expert knowledge, but a long period of practical experience in the plant and he knew the specifics of the plants operations.

After the RC was established, the production situation got better. They still didn't reach the pre-CR production levels of 70-100 repaired trucks a month. Still only about 60 per month. They were very busy during 71-72. There were many PLA orders, mostly trucks from Vietnam to be repaired. .

Why wasn't production fully restored? Because people's thought (sixiang) had not yet stabilized (anding). Food supplies were still poor. There still was an awful lot of political study each day, and a lot of criticism sessions, and a very strict political atmosphere. Things were still pretty tense. Also, since wages had not been raised for a long time, workers were becoming very lazy. Whenever they had a chance, they put down their tools and took a smoke. They promoted advanced workers--but no one else. But even if you were selected an advanced worker, it was no use--they still didn't give you anything but a piece of paper. Nobody was interested.

Even after the CR, there were still gaps between the factions (at least up till 72). Example: one of the faction leaders was a shop director. He liked to get drunk, and often took trucks out for 'test drives' to get drunk. But other workers in the shop who were from another faction were angry about this, but didn't dare speak because he held power.

These new shop directors were activists or leaders in onefaction or another. The old shop directors went to do manual work, or helped new shop directors (now called lianzhang) manage the shop. The old directors had no formal title, and at times still worked in the office as a helper. But if they did this, they still did at least one day of manual labor per week.

The two factions each had accused one another of being capitalist roaders (zouzi pai). One group wanted to protect the old leaders (the baohuang pai), and the other wanted them criticized and removed (zaofan pai). The conservatives tended to be older workers. The radicals tended to be younger. But there was not clear occupational difference between the two groups as far as I could tell. This goes for temporary and contract workers too--they didn't tend to join one faction or another. The difference is age, and I says this is because the older ones have families, wives, and have to think about their security. The older, conservative workers tended

to think that if there was a mass movement, many errors would certainly result. This is because in such a movement it is very difficult to tell who really had made mistakes worthy of criticism.

Political study during this period: The group leader would begin the meeting by yelling orders: "Greet the great Chairman Mao!" Everyone jumped up, bowed to Mao's portrait hanging on the wall and chanted "Long live Chairman Mao!" 3 times in succession. They then turned to the appointed page in the little red book and read aloud Mao's quotations. They also had a special dance (zhong zi wu)--a 'loyalty to Mao' dance, which they did after study or during breaks mid-day. I hated this, and tried whenever possible to escape by hiding under a truck and smoking a cigarette.

The PLA representatives were still in control of the plant when I left in 1972.

厂革命委员会

常委委员会 (五个人)

主任
代表
常委第一书记 (以前党委书记)
厂(厂)长

① 副主任
党委付书记
付警(厂)长

③ 常委
① 军代表
② 两派代表

革委会委员：
① 军代表
④ 派代表 (每派2个)
① 原来干部 (原来的副书记和副厂长)

① 主任
军代表
党委第一书记
警(厂)长