

## PERSONAL DATA

Age: 39

Sex: Male

Education: College graduate (industrial chemistry)

Total Years Relevant Experience: 15

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1978

Year Left China: 1978

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native Place/Overseas Connections: Guangdong native/OS connections unknown

Class Background/Political Designation: unknown

## OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Chemical Fertilizer Factory, near Canton, 1964-68

a) Lab technician, Lab head, 1964-68

b) Acting plant director, 1968

2) Laboratory head, Aluminum Factory, Guangdong, 1969-78

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

1) Province

2) Province

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

labor tempering after graduation, four months, 1964;  
cultural revolution experience unknown

APPOINTMENTS: 6

TOTAL HOURS: 13

PAGES TEXT: 9

Occupational History: (12/12/79, 2 hrs.)

The informant is from Chaozhou, Guangdong province. He entered Guangdong Normal University in 1960, and studied in the Chemistry Department. His specialty was the chemical analysis of industrial materials. In 1964, he graduated, and was assigned to a Chemical Fertilizer Factory on the outskirts of Canton. The factory was under provincial administration. He was a practicing technician for one year, then made a full-fledged technician. He was assigned to Laboratory work after a short period of manual labor to familiarize himself with the plant and the production process. After one year, in 1965, he was promoted to be the head of the laboratory. In 1968, in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, he was promoted to the position of plant director after the original director stood aside. He was the 'expert' plant director and handled production; there was also a party member who was the director in charge of politics. In 1969 he was transferred to a new Aluminum Plant in Guangdong. Here he worked in the laboratory also, did experimental work and was head of the lab. In the beginning, he was responsible for setting up the lab, and during this period he traveled around to buy equipment for the lab. After this period, he settled in as lab director. He worked as lab director up until he left China to come to Hong Kong, legally, in February 1978.

Chemical Fertilizer Plant Experience, 1964-1969 (12/19/79, 2 hrs.)

The plant had about 500 workers and 50 cadres. It had the third largest output of chemical fertilizer in Guangdong province. There was one plant director, who handled all aspects of production, and one vice-director, who handled technical matters only. Below the directors were the various departments and the laboratory. They had a technical department, a finance department, sales and supply department, general affairs department (this handled livelihood matters and the dorms and canteen). Each of the departments were divided into 'sections' (gu), which handle more specialized matters within the sphere of the department's responsibilities. There were four shops: phosphate fertilizer, sulphuric acid, aluminum sulfate, and machine repair shop. Each shop had about 100 workers. Each shop was divided into sections of about 20-30 workers each, and each section was divided into groups of about 4-6 workers each.

Personnel: They had no engineers in the plant. They had three laboratory technicians, and several laboratory assistants (12) who were normally technical middle school graduates. University trained technicians cannot get a raise in pay without a central document ordering it. A first year practicing technician (jianxi) gets 46¥, while a second year technician, after being 'made regular' (zhuanzheng), gets 56¥. All the technicians in the plant got about the same wages, because they all had graduated between 1962-65. Middle-school trained technicians were assistant technicians (zhuli jishuyuan) after graduation. Those who had studied at professional training colleges (zhuanke xuexiao), would be full-fledged technicians, not assistants, but would make about 4¥ less at each pay grade. So there were three educational grades for technicians. Those who attended a full four year course in a university or an industrial college would be technicians. Those who attended professional training colleges, a 2-3 year course, would also be technicians, but get less pay. Those who attended middle schools or special middle schools for professional training (zhongdeng zhuanke xuexiao) would be assistant technicians.

Workers worked on an 8-grade scale, grade 1 being 36¥, with 6¥ increments at each step. Most of the workers in the plant were grade 1 or 2 workers, with the majority being grade 2. In the shops, they had workers who were called 'lab workers'. They controlled the production in shops under the direction of the shop director, and if there was any difficult matter, they would consult the lab office. These workers learned their skills at another plant during a several month period, and afterwards became skilled workers. The difference between 'skilled' and 'regular' workers is as follows: The technical workers (jishu gong) had to go through a three-year apprentice training period before they were made full-fledged workers (zhuanzheng). These are workers who are usually young (18-21) when they start out, and their educational level is relatively high. They mostly have graduated from lower middle school or above. They make 20-22¥ during their first year, 24-26¥ during their second, and 28-30¥ during their third and final year. Grade one workers get about 34¥, where unskilled workers get only 32¥ or so. Skilled workers get about 2¥ more at the same grade level than unskilled workers, but this depends on the region and the type of skilled work you do. These skilled workers are promoted more quickly than regular workers, are the 'backbone' of the factory's work, and play an important role. Unskilled workers are called "shulian gong", which in fact means 'skilled worker'. So the real distinction here is between 'technical workers' and 'skilled workers'. The 'skilled' workers begin work at any age, there is no apprenticeship, and they go directly to level one. There are no restrictions about educational level. They are promoted more slowly. They are less important for production. They do more difficult manual labor and are in the majority of the labor force. Since differences between each grade on the 8 grade scale is about 6¥, the differences between 'skilled and technical workers cannot be more than about 2¥, since any more would put you too close to a higher grade. So to repeat, the more skilled workers are called 'technical workers' (jishu gong), while the less skilled ordinary workers are called 'skilled workers' (shulian gong). (Correct?)

Personal Job Experience: The Laboratory Director was responsible for planning and dispatching (diaodu), to direct the work of the lab technicians, to draw up work procedures and make work assignments. Above him was the assistant plant director responsible for technical matters. In 1968, he was raised to plant director, because the situation changed in the plant during the CR. The past directors was attacked for bureaueratism, attitude problems. The informant was elected director at a mass meeting, but wasn't really willing to be director. But with the encouragement of the machine repair shop director, he was convinced. But he really had no choice.

I really respected the old plant director, who still worked in the plant office but as an ordinary cadre. He consulted him on major decisions. The old plant director later did some manual labor, and was sent to a May 7 cadre school. Later he was transferred to another unit. During the short period I was plant director it was almost impossible to manage the plant. Workers had no discipline, and transport was in disorder. Their plant didn't shut down, because it had plenty of raw materials on hand, and other raw materials continued to arrive from overseas companies with whom they had contracts. There were two factions in the plant, but I was not inclined towards one or the other. He put technology first, not politics.

#### Compensation, Work Discipline, Work Habits (12/27/79, 2.5 hrs.)

Workers and cadres both have poor work habits. For example, cadres come to office punctually, leave on time, but have very poor work efficiency. Often they read 'reference news' (cankao xiaoxi) during work hours at their desk.

This is because the paper is interesting, and has outside news. With workers, the problem is that work is not related to pay. Whether you finished 15 packages or 10, the pay is the same if one's grades are the same. No matter how hard you work, the compensation is the same. So workers purposefully take their time at work. This is not because workers talk together and consciously plan this kind of slowdown. It is an attitude problem caused by a complex of material (wuzi) problems.

The first material problem is the wage problem. So many workers are stuck at the same pay level for a number of years. This means that workers of different abilities stay at the same pay grade, so how can a worker put out effort in this situation? There are also the examples of apprentices getting the same pay as their masters after only 1 yr. of training. Also workers of different abilities, performing different jobs of different importance and levels of responsibility, were getting the same pay.

Readjustments: There were no readjustments for over a decade. Cadres got one around 1965, and then in 1978. In between there was no major readjustment in wage levels. For example, if you graduated and began work in 1965, you would likely not have gotten a raise for 12 years. For workers, aside from the yearly automatic raises for workers from grades one to two, which is an easy step to make, there were no major across-the-board adjustments from 1966-77. There was a readjustment starting in 1977. So there is a large logjam at grade 2, because there were no major readjustments for grade 2 and above for 11 years. It does not take a readjustment to raise workers from 1 to 2.

This is a big problem because a man's family situation changes greatly from the time he first enters the work force. When he's young and single, he is grade 2. Ten years later he has a wife, kids, and he is still grade 2. In informant's case (technical cadre), he got 46¥ right after graduation in 1964. After working one year he was raised automatically to 56¥. Not until 1977 was he raised to 62¥. Of course there were other sources of income--they were given electricity fees (50% of monthly bill), a supplement of 2 mao a day for working with poisonous chemicals, and his medical fees were paid. But this didn't increase over time, and wasn't disposable income. He married in 1974, so there was no great hardship on his family--especially since his wife also worked.

This frozen wages problem was therefore a common one to both workers and cadres. There were two sides to the problem. 1) some people do relatively complex work, others do simple work, but the same pay. 2) two workers in the same unit at the same pay grades doing the same type of work--one can work hard and the other loaf, but they still get the same pay.

The second material problem is housing. Some people's housing problems are not solved so it influences their work. This is caused when employees have children yet can't get assigned to larger quarters. This is common. Third, there is the commodity supply problem. Major commodities are rationed and supplies fixed--grain, oils, sugar, pork, fuel, cloth. Are these rations enough? (Informant laughs) The most important problem in rural areas is grain. If you have a lot of people in your family who don't eat a lot--kids under 12, old folks, then grain is enough. But if you have a lot of adults, a real problem develops. This is because the adjusted increments by age group are not enough. There is a similar problem with oil and fuel. The problem is not so much that supplies are tight. It is basically enough, just that it is a low living standard. The only way to increase supplies is by the free market, but these prices rise year by year. Or one can go through the back door, either through friends and relatives, or through one's personal status. On the free market side, the problem is inflation.

Fourth is the problem of children's education and employment. All children are sent down after middle school (to the countryside). The problem is getting them back to the city and into a job or a university. Fifth is the problem that families are often separated because husband and wife are not always assigned to work in the same cities.

As far as cadres go, class lines have affected the work of relatively older university graduates, people who often have bad class backgrounds. They don't give important work to these kind of people, and often don't listen to what they have to say. This affects their morale. This is a common problem for intellectuals. A burden especially is a political campaign is in swing. This occurs despite the claimed policy that it is more important to consider one's political expression (biaoxian) more than one's class designation (chushen). But many cadres in the Party still do things this way. 'Bad' class designations are landlord, rich peasant, capitalist, those who worked for the KMT. 'Good' class designations are worker, PLA, cadres, poor and lower middle peasant. The meaning of all this is that when a campaign comes it is the intellectuals and cadres who are always criticized--especially the older ones with bad backgrounds--who suffer. So these intellectuals, in research institutes, technical departments, etc., fear political movements. For example, during the cultural revolution they often referred to 'stinking intellectuals' (chou zhishi fenzi), but now the problem has eased because intellectuals are important for the 4 modernizations. Some cadres in Peking had a counter-term for 'stinking intellectual'. They said 'stinking beancurd' (chou doufu)--it might smell bad, but it tastes good.

#### Disincentives, Punishments (1/2/80, 2 hrs.)

There are no 'firings' in China (jiegu), but there are 'expulsions' (kaichu). But expulsions are for serious political mistakes, and must be approved by upper levels above the enterprise. Expulsions include: recording the matter in one's personal dossier, decreasing salary, demotion in title, transfer to a different unit, to different kind of work.

But there is a cumulative continuum of punishments, depending on severity of problems. The first step is 'criticism' (piping), relatively mild in one's work group. Second is more serious criticism (pipan). Third is a transfer to another job in a different factory or to manual labor in the same factory, while retaining one's wages (often this will occur for a worker criticizing a leader in an unauthorized wallposter). Fourth, they will either demote, lower the wages, or change the work assignment of someone, or any combination of the above measures. They can also extend the amount of time before zhuanzheng, or extend apprenticeship period. Fifth is to be under supervision while remaining in the plant (liudui chakan), or being under supervision while remaining in the party (liudang chakan). This is for a period of 1-2 years, and is the last step before expulsion. Lowering wages, etc., as in the fourth step above, is also possible at the same time. There are no special people assigned to supervise or watch these people, this just means that at the end of the year the masses and the leaders assess one's political expression. The person writes a report and a written self-examination and turns it over to the party branch or political department, or to a work team. The most important factor is that a person recognizes his error. Leaders usually don't want to extend the problem, so they don't usually drag out the period of supervision if a contrite self-examination is submitted. The final sanction is expulsion. This is for serious mistakes. The person is removed from the enterprise and from the entire industrial system, sometimes sent back to original family village. For serious errors, one does not go through all the above steps, but directly to expulsion. If you don't have a commune or home village, they send you to find employment

in collective enterprises, and must find the job yourself. Since these enterprises are a kind of dumping ground, the class backgrounds of the people who work in these enterprises is very complicated. They also include people who resist work assignments and being sent to frontier areas, and also people who have been expelled from other plants. Also released labor camp prisoners. State-owned enterprises cannot hire these expelled employees. These are all internal contradictions among the people. For more serious offenses, one can go directly to labor reform camp if the problem is declared one between the 'people' and their 'enemies'.

It often happened that people would be transferred for revenge. You can't lower wages, demote, because this would be too obvious. Also you need higher level approval for this and need to state reasons. So usually if a cadre had it in for someone he would look for an excuse to transfer them out of the unit, if possible to a harder job in a tougher kind of factory. This happened often.

It is very complex to decide on punishment to give someone. There are no fixed rules governing this. In a political campaign the 'cliamte' (qihou) will usually determine the severity of punishments, and the conception of what is a crime for which people can be punished. Also the severity of treatment depends sometimes on class background of the accused. For example, in one instance that he remembers, during an anti corruption campaign of which there are many, there was a case where one bureau official stole over 10,000¥. He was shot. If this had not been during a campaign, he might only have been criticized.

Types of mistakes (cuowu) for which one can be punished: 1) political thought (sixiang), 2) economic corruption, 3) technical mistakes (ie. if a design is bad on a motor, and it explodes, or a bridge collapses--this is professional negligence. Example, in his factory they built a meeting hall, but the arch was real bad. The designer was demoted. 4) 'workstyle', which includes 'lifestyle'. The most common problem here is extra-marital sex. None of these steps apply to workers who simply don't work hard. Workers often fake illnesses to get sickleave, and then go out to do other things. If they are caught, they only get a light criticism (piping). There are criticisms, both piping and pipan, continually. But the more serious punishments are quite rare.

Some examples: There was a worker in the purchasing department, who was originally another plant's assistant director. His mistake was having affairs with 2-3 young women in the factory. He had to change jobs because his reputation was lost in the original factory. People would not listen to him. This was a transfer with demotion. An example of transfer without demotion: Within his lab was a skilled worker. His work was bad. He was a little dumb, did not work hard. So he was transferred to regular work in the shops, without cut in pay. He often slept on the night shift. Later his work still didn't improve, was still very lazy, and didn't do any work at all. So since he could not be fired, demoted, etc. for just this, they waited until the local light industry bureau ordered the transfer of several workers to another plant. Then they dumped this problem worker on the other plant. Sometimes a plant official will tell a bureau a worker is useless and they don't want him, so later he might be transferred.

Transfers can also be used when there are conflicts, or when a worker criticizes his leaders. The leaders can get the worker transferred. An example. There was a demobilized soldier working in the factory around 1977 and he got into a fight, was criticized later by the Party secretary. He then attacked the Party secretary and threatened to twist his neck. He was transferred later on. I say there is no way to expel a person for laziness or poor work. It is impossible. Can do other less serious things,



but cannot expel. This most serious punishment is saved for corruption, crimes, political errors, and for victims of campaigns.

#### Temporary and Contract Labor (1/12/80 2.25 hrs.)

This category of workers can be fired (jiegou) unlike permanent workers who, when removed, are 'expelled' (kaichu). There are several types of non-permanent workers. First is 'seasonal' (jijie) labor. These are people seasonally hired, from september-february of each year, for example, during the sugar cane harvest. During this time sugar processing factories began to work very hard. During the rest of the year they do other kinds of work, like making paper, alcohol, wax, and other sidelines. But during the sugar season they need a large influx of labor. This is also true for canning factories.

Where do seasonal workers come from? They are people from cities with no fixed jobs, some who live on temporary jobs, some who have been expelled from state-sector jobs. Also there are some from rural areas. The factory gets them by notifying the labor bureau, which notifies basic-level street associations in the same cities. The mass organizations under these street committees then get the names of workers and submit them to the factories. The factory then decides on the basis of who worked well the last time (if they know the person), whether or not they want them. The factory then notifies the labor bureau of its needs, the labor bureau being that at the level which supervises the factory.

These workers are paid by the day at a rate which approximates a grade 2 worker, and they get overtime pay. Work discipline among these workers is poor. They fight and quarrel among themselves, steal and go to the canteen a lot. It is not unusual for them to be fired for these things, even during rush periods. He knows about this because a sugar plant was near his fertilizer plant in the suburbs of Canton. He also went to a number of factories while travelling around.

Temporary (linshi) workers. This is simpler than contract work. They hire these people temporarily for 5-10 days or so. They do 'odd jobs' (zagong). Sweep, clean, etc. The time and number of people is not fixed, not under the state labor quota, and the money does not come from the planned wage bill. Their wages come from production expenses. (this is true also for seasonal workers). They use the same method to find these workers as they do seasonal workers, except they first get permission from the Labor bureau, then directly call labor service stations and have them send over a few workers. Labor service stations handle temporary labor only, while mass organizations handle seasonal workers. Also temporary workers don't do regular work--run machines--as do seasonal workers. Wage levels are about the same as for seasonal workers--equivalent to grade 2 when calculated on a monthly basis. People without jobs in a neighborhood sign up with the local labor station, under the local neighborhood committee. When they work, a certain % is taken out of their wages as a management fee. Each street committee office has a labor service station. Seasonal workers do not pay any management fee.

Contract (hetong) labor has a fixed period of work--1 month, 2 months, 6 months, a year. These contracts are signed between factories and communes usually, but sometimes contracts are not signed. At times they also sign with street committee offices, but rarely. They do the same jobs as regular workers. If a factory can manage to get its labor quota raised, then it often will rely on some of its better contract workers, and make them permanent ones. Contract workers are often told that if they work well, there is a chance to become a permanent worker. So work discipline and behavior is better among these than among temporary and seasonal workers. Contract workers are usually

paid at the level of a grade 2 worker. But they give a portion of their wages to their commune brigade. Some of their wages are paid directly to the brigade (30-40%), but the rest is given to the worker in cash. The money paid to the brigade buys work points and gives his family and himself a supply of grain. Contract workers usually live in dorms. But seasonal workers do not. Sometimes contract workers get labor insurance, work clothes, and medical expenses, but not always. I adds that in law this is not the way it should be done, but often if contract workers are injured at work, they will secretly change them into permanent workers and give them insurance benefits. He gives the example of a temporary worker who lost an arm in his factory, and he had his expenses paid by the local labor bureau and is now a doorman at the factory.

Generally speaking, fringe benefits vary, and depend on the terms of the contract. This is specified beforehand. So it is not always certain what fringe benefits a contract worker will get. But they can use the clinic, canteen while in plant. If a plant decides that it doesn't need permanent workers, it must notify upper levels and have them transferred to other units, but this is not true for non-permanent workers. Non-permanent workers do not get hardship welfare supplements either.

#### Cultural Revolution (1/23/80, 2 hrs.)

There were two factions in the plant, the Red Flag, and the District Headquarters (East Wind). They were split over which of the leading cadres to purge. People decided who to criticize on the basis often of informal relations with leaders. Leaders of factions vied for the support of leaders by talking with them and asking them to attend their meetings. Gradually factional relations formed, informally, but not out in the open. This usually occurs with First Party Secretaries.

At the beginning, you could separate factional leaders by their characteristics, but gradually these distinctions became less clear. Older workers, CYL members, union activists tended to join relatively conservative factions, while young workers were more radical. There was also a fairly sizable "tea drinking faction" (he cha pai). When factional activities began, they went home. The size of this group depended on the degree of activism in the factory. The more activism there was, the fewer that were middle of the roaders. Activists would often pressure people to join.

At the beginning, the activists criticized the 'four olds' and the 'monsters and demons' (niu gui she shen). These were people with bad marks on their records--KMT connections, landlord background, etc. They were struggled (dou). At first just criticized, but later paraded in the streets with a hat on. This also happened to people of bad class background, but who were not actually former landlords, etc. This later developed into a situation where they criticized those in power taking the capitalist road. Every put up wallposters, criticized this and that cadre, and left the plant for 'exchanges of revolutionary experience'. The anarchism at the time, I says, was just like that they now have in Iran.

Most important targets were the first and second party secretaries and the plant director. They also wrote wallposters against other lower level cadres and staff, but usually didn't struggle them. The staff participated, but only passively. Production gradually dropped off as factional activities increased. Workers started to go on exchanges of experience, and other factories stopped providing raw materials, and there were transport problems. There were no striking problems due to activity among their own labor force. In his factory the problems were due to the reflected influence of factories disrupted elsewhere in the system. The



worst time was the period of armed struggle in Canton, 1967.

#### Establishment of Revolutionary Committee

They had PLA representatives come to the plant for a period during 1968, they gave power to the Revol.committee but they didn't stay. In Canton, if you had a small plant and things were fairly normal, the PLA wouldn't stay. The Revolutionary Committee was established in 1968, after Mao said the RC was good. Basically the same leaders as before, only now power was exercised in a different form. When the PLA first came, they were told to form a leading group of production (shengchan banzi), of about 5-7 people. The members were either shop directors or staff members. Informant was selected chairman of this group, and was called 'plant director' (chang zhang). The old cadres had stepped aside. The PLA came, organized a meeting where people were selected for this production leadership group. The PLA organized and controlled the meeting. Workers raised their hands to show approval of the nominees. Candidates were earlier solicited by shop directors, there were more candidates than for offices. These people were all familiar with production, and they could handle the job as well as any party secretary or plant director. There was still a party secretary and a party committee, and they still had their own organizational life, but their reputation had fallen, they didn't say much and kept quiet, stood aside.

Then the RC was set up, on the basis of an order from the Provincial bureau. At that time, there were a lot of transfers of those leading cadres who were criticized as capitalist roaders wrongly. Often this just involved trading leaders with another unit, but very few stayed in their former factories. People started to be sent to May 7 schools (staff members, like the informant), on a rotating basis. Three mos. to a year--not a fixed period. When the RC formed, its leader was the new Party secretary who had come to the plant. It had eight members. The director was the new party secretary. One factional leader was a vice-head. One former supply cadre was a vice-head. One former vice plant director was a vice-head. Then there were 5 members, one shop director, one group leader, and a women's, youth, and workers' representatives.

These members were selected by the leadership after discussion, and organs above the plant level chose the members. All members of the RC were chosen by upper levels. The old factory director went to a May 7 cadre school, as did many other leading cadres. Generally, they stayed there until there was a new assignment for work. If there was no new assignment, they stayed. They tended to pile up in the schools. In his plant the director eventually was assigned to a leading position in a bureau. The way the RC led production was basically the same as before. There were many meetings, but the Party Secretary was basically in charge. About 1969 production was finally restored, but in other problem areas--Sichuan, Jiangxi--they had problems until the 1970s.

At the end of 1969, informant moved to a newly built Aluminum Plant in Guangdong, also under provincial administration. So when the post-Gang of 4 movements came, there were no real factional problems, criticisms, promotions, since they didn't have any history. But when they heard the Gang of 4 fell, they had a big banquet among the cadres, ate a ton and drank up all the wine in the province.

When he moved to the new plant, he was in charge of lab work. First he established the lab by travelling around to buy equipment, later he was lab head. In his region, they combined tech. and administrative cadres into one scale. He was 20 or 21, can't remember clearly. This is around 68#. The only raise he got was when he was automatically promoted

(zhuanzheng) after his first year as a practicing technician. Then he was raised again in 1977, right before he left. He kept the same wage grade throughout, despite the job changes. The 1977 readjustment was on the basis of the year entered the plant, and on work performance.