

Age: 39

## PERSONAL DATA

Sex: Male

Education: University graduate (architectural design)

**Total Years Relevant Experience: 23**

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1979                      Year Left China: 1979

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native Place/Overseas Connections: Malaysia OS, returned 1954

Class Background/Political Designation: OS

## OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Technician, Peking Municipal Construction Design Institute, 1957-79

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

1) Municipal/(400)

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

labor at construction sites, one year as part of regular rotation system, 1976

APPOINTMENTS: 1

TOTAL HOURS: 2.5

PAGES TEXT: 4

Occupational History (4/3/80, 2.5 hrs.)

The informant is an overseas Chinese from Malaysia who returned to China in 1954. He returned to China to study at a university, and he did so from 1954-57. After graduating from university, he was assigned in 1957 to the Peking Municipal Construction Designing Institute. There were about 400 employees there, mostly technicians, but there were also some workers who worked in their research laboratories, at building models, and there were also some drivers, cafeteria workers, and repair workers. The Institute was under the Peking Municipal Planning and Management Bureau (jihua guanli ju). The institute was divided into different designing offices. Each office had about 100 office workers in it. Their job was to design buildings. He worked here from 1957 until October 1979, when he came legally to Hong Kong.

Wages and Wage Readjustments

The technical cadres were on a 16 grade scale. The highest wage, grade 1, was 299¥. Engineers were grades 1 to 9. Grade 9 salary was 100¥. Grades 10 to 13 were technicians. Grade 10 was 86.5 ¥, grade 11 was 73.5¥, grade 12 was 62¥, and grade 13 was 55¥. Grades 14-16 were assistant technicians. Grade 14 was 48.5 ¥, grade 15 was 42.5¥, and grade 16 was 37¥.

The difference between technician and assistant technician is a university degree. I had a university degree, so when he first came to the institute in 1957, he was paid 55¥ during his first year as practicing (jianxi) technician. This was grade 13. After one year he was made a regular technician (zhuan zheng), but his wages did not change. In 1963, he was promoted to grade 12. This was a selection according to years of service, work contribution, cultural level, technical proficiency, and work attitude. In 1972 he was promoted to grade 11. It had been such a long time since the last readjustment, and many people had gotten married and needed more money. So they raised some of the employees. The criteria were similar to those in 1963, but with the condition that no one who was already grade 11 would be promoted. This was a raise for only about 30% of the employees.

In 1977, there was another readjustment. This was based on years of service and work attitude and technical level. He was raised to grade 10. Forty percent of the employees were given raises at that time. In 1979 they decided to promote a number of middle-aged technicians to be engineers. These were people in their 40s and higher. They promoted their titles, but did not change their pay or grade. This was because these people had worked for 20 years and were still called technicians, despite their university educations. But this was just a change in title, no change in work. This was done in order to mobilize the activism of the intellectuals and experts. All the technicians were assessed by a special committee. Of the technicians grades 10-13 they raised 60% to be engineers.

Work Motivation

Over a long time there was no change in wages for most people despite changes in their family situation--the addition of wives, children. This had an effect on people's attitudes towards work. The ways that it showed were that people came late, left early, worked slowly, chatted during work time, pretended illness, asked personal leave frequently. They were not docked wages for any of this behavior. This was not a problem in the 1950s and early 1960s. Gradually it became more and more serious after that. Those

who were assistant technicians, and who were still making 30-40¥ after many years of work were in the worst situation.

### Bonuses

They never had bonuses in the institute until 1979. Then they ranged from 4¥, 6¥, to 7¥ per month, three grades. This was also for the purpose of mobilizing labor activism. They had meetings where they discussed people's performance and nominated one another. This was implemented in July 1979.

### Great Leap Forward

Some personnel from the institute were sent down to become workers in factories and construction sites, while a small number were sent to the villages to become peasants for one year. About 10% of the personnel were sent down in all.

In concrete terms, the Great Leap brought about the following kinds of changes in their work. They emphasized integrating designing work with actual conditions. This meant going to construction sites and finding out actual construction problems--investigation visits. They would discuss with workers and foremen at worksites and find out what part of the designs were not practical. They would then revise their plans in the future. This method had some good effect. During this period, there was a lot of overtime, and people worked very hard. There was no overtime pay. They worked much harder during this period than they did during the late 1960s and 1970s.

Even though the Great Leap ended, during the 1960s they continued to use these on-the-spot visit methods to make sure designing work was in touch with actual conditions. But they did not work so much overtime. They still sent cadres down for fixed intervals to do manual labor.

### Four Cleans Movement

In 1963 they had the 4 cleans in the countryside, but they did not have it in the design institute until 1964. They came to investigate corruption, bureaucratism, and whether or not people were selling things on the side.

They came to the institute, held mass meetings. They raised suggestions. They emphasized self-confessions and self-examinations. These were not treated as contradictions with the enemy. Afterwards people would receive criticism based on confessions, then would have four cleans work teams investigate them. There were a number of people who were criticized as cadres who had taken special privileges (duo chi, duo zhan). They had taken preferential portions of goods, and meat, during the lean years which had immediately preceded. This was not a serious problem, but it was still wrong. Nobody was detected in more serious errors in his unit.

### Cultural Revolution

The first step was June 1966, beginning with wallposters. They criticized various revisionist practices. The most common was criticizing the cadres for listening only to the intellectuals, and thus both were taking the 'expert line' (zhuanjia luxian). They were also 'putting technology in command' (jishu guashuai). Around October 1966, they had the beginnings of Red Guard organizations in the unit. There were 2 factions, the rebels (zaofan pai) and the conservatives (baoshou pai). The rebels wanted to criticize and pull down the party secretary and the institute director. But the conservatives didn't want to criticize the leading cadres, but the

leading experts and intellectuals in the unit.

There was a connection between the leading party cadres and the conservative faction. The conservatives tended to have more party members and people who had been in close with the party, and who had received good treatment by the organization. But there was no leadership-follower relationship here, as far as he was aware. Each faction competed to have different leaders support them. After the leaders declared support for one or another, then a relationship began.

Eventually all the leading cadres stood aside, and held criticism meetings for them as they did so. For a while, the leaders of the factions held the positions of leadership, but naturally they didn't agree with one another and there was always arguments between them. During the midst of all this they had political activities and meetings all day long. Work basically stopped or slowed greatly. Basically they did 3 days of work, 3 days of politics. This was an order from the Peking Municipal hierarchy. Many people ended up just staying at home because there were days when there were no meetings, or after meetings were over there was nothing to do, so since no one was watching them, they just went home, rested, did their shopping, etc.

Eventually, since for a long time there was no leadership, the 2 factions continued to argue over everything. They had propaganda teams come, made up of workers and PLA soldiers. This was in 1967. They assumed the duties of the former leading cadres. They led both production and politics, held mass meetings. They tried to persuade the factions to cooperate and form an alliance, and have a common criticism object--the landlords, traitors, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, capitalist roaders, secret agents.

After that they concentrated on uncovering and dragging out the people in these categories who were under suspicion. They held criticism meetings and they were organized by the propaganda team. They also formed 'special investigation groups' (zhuan an zu). After criticism, they put the person under 'control' (xianzhi), which meant he had to report his comings and goings, and ask permission to do certain things. If the problem the person was accused of was severe, they would imprison them in the institute and not allow them to go home. This was the 'cleaning of the class ranks' campaign which went from 1967-69.

Later, they finally established a revolutionary committee, in 1968. The PLA, workers on propaganda team were the leaders, and then there were mass organization leaders, and some of the former cadres. The PLA representative was the head of the RC. Meanwhile the leading cadres who had stood aside were busy studying and writing self-examinations. Not until 1969-72 did they start liberating cadres, allowing them to return to their former positions.

The PLA representatives left in 1971 after the death of Lin Biao. After this, a large group of former leading cadres were liberated. Some of the former leading cadres returned to their old jobs. Some were transferred elsewhere, while some new ones were transferred in. After this, movements were rare, and their work was more normal. But the Gang of 4 did start some campaigns--one to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. This was for the purpose of attacking intellectuals. They criticized the 'theory of the genius' (tiancai lun), which referred to the intellectuals in fact (note how this shifted away from Lin Biao's fawning on Mao, back to criticism of skilled personnel once again). They held meetings to criticize Lin and Confucius, but they did not criticize any individuals in the unit. They used work time to run the meetings. There was 1.5 days of study and criticism every week.

In 1976, he personally did one year of manual labor on construction sites. This was a set system of rotation to do manual labor. They had had this since the CR, and this was not part of a special movement. Each year 10% of the cadres did this. Now they no longer do this since the death of Mao.

After the Gang of 4 fell from power, the intellectuals were very happy. They were no longer 'stinking intellectuals'. Then everybody began to study technical subjects, which were de-emphasized previously. Intellectuals, technicians, and workers all went back to school.

There were also some personnel changes after the Gang of 4. During the 1970s under the Gang there were a number of younger people elevated to leading positions. Afterwards these people were sent back to their former work, and older cadres were put in their place. The younger people did not have the ability or experience required.