

PERSONAL DATA

Age: 42

Sex: Female

Education: University graduate (chemical fibres)

Total Years Relevant Experience: 14

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1974      Year Left China: 1979

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native Place/Overseas Connections: Shanghai native/Husband's parent in U.S.

Class Background/Political Designation: unknown

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OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Hangzhou Chemical Fibres Textile Plant, 1961-74  
a) Technician, Shift Supervisor, 1961-67  
b) Shop worker, 1967-69  
c) Staff Technician, Designing Office and Technical  
Department, 1969-74

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

1) Municipal/(1000)

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

shop worker 1967-69

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APPOINTMENTS: 2

TOTAL HOURS: 5.5

PAGES TEXT: 7

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

The informant attended East China Textile College in Shanghai from 1957 to 1961. The college's name was changed to Shanghai Textile College after the cultural revolution. She graduated in 1961, and was assigned to the Hangzhou Chemical Fibres Textile Plant. She first went to this plant to help with designing work for installing pipes, since the plant was still being built, but her specialty was not construction and installation but the technology of technical fibres.

In 1963, the plant began its operations. There were about 1000 employees. She had been a practicing technician (jianxi) for one year at 40.6¥, then after one year was set at grade 13 (standard for college graduates), at 52.5¥. Her position after work started was as a 'shift supervisor' (zhiban zhang), which was the effective shop director for a shift. There were three shifts in her shop, and under the shop director were three shift supervisors. These shift supervisors were in charge of all the small groups in the shop during the shift. So in effect, she was a leader in charge of one third of the workers in her shop. Since the shop director did mostly administrative work, the day to day concrete leadership of the group leaders was left to the shift supervisors.

She did this work until 1967, when all the technical cadres put up wallposters to volunteer to do manual labor, and so she was an ordinary worker until 1969, when she was transferred to do designing work in an office under the plant directors office. In 1972 she was transferred to the technical department, where she also did designing work. In 1974, she was transferred to work in Canton to live with her husband, from whom she had been separated since graduation from college in 1961. There she taught at a technical middle school until she left in 1979.

Organization of the Chemical Fibres Plant

Her shop was the primary liquids shop (yuanyi chejian). Since she understood the advanced technology of the shop, she was fit to lead production. She had to know when to have the machines run at a certain speed, when to run them backwards, at what temperature, etc. You needed to know the technology in order to lead the work of the shop. The shop had advanced technology, and 60+ workers in all.

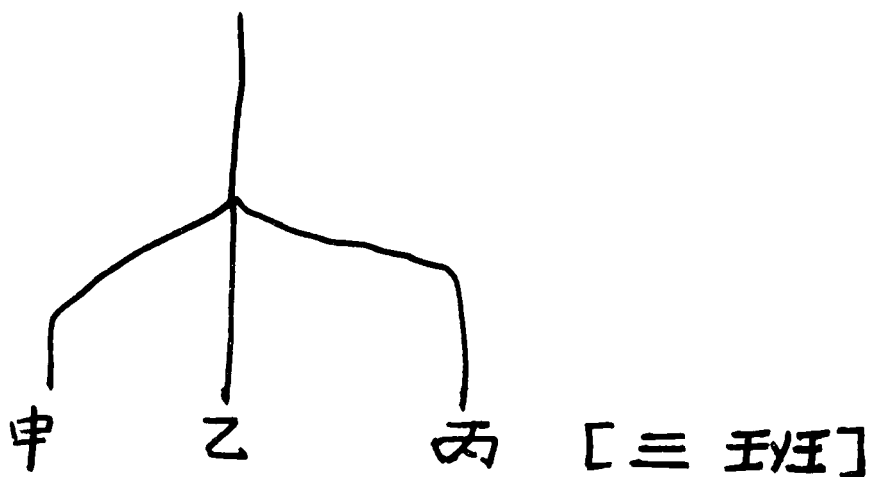
The production of the shop was divided serially into 5 production groups. Each small group had a group leader in charge of production, and an assistant leader in charge of livelihood and records (this person was a union staff member). They also had four worker-managers in the group, and almost everyone in each group had a task to perform. The groups had a 'welfare manager' (shenghuo yuan) who collected rice ration tickets to be sent up to the shop office, collected together, and sent to the canteen to buy meals. The 'propaganda leader' (xuanchuan yuan) wrote notices, orders, and slogans on the group blackboard. Whenever decisions were made, they would be reproduced on the blackboards because there weren't enough published versions to go around. The 'safetyman' leads safety meetings, conducts inspections for safety problems at fixed intervals. The 'attendance checker' (kaoqin yuan) kept records on people's absences, tardiness, and the time they left the shop floor. There were also 8 communist youth league members in her shift, but they did nothing special aside from the organization's work, which was propaganda. Party members in the shop had a special role to perform, especially in carrying out party line. All of the group leaders under her were party members, and other party members, if of low educational level, would be one of the four worker-managers.

# Primary Fluids Shop Organizational Structure

車間主任  
副主任 | 車間技術員  
行政干部

党支部書記

辦公室  
[工會、共青團、學習、保衛]



值  
班  
長  
///  
組長

Production meetings were held once a week, and political study study also, after work. About one hour for each meeting. They also had a meeting once a week for Party members and youth league members. These meetings were closed to non-party members. Once a month they had a safety class of one hour, and also had technical study classes, both taught by a shop technician. This was the normal situation in the early 1960s. After the cultural revolution they had political study almost every day, and began to use work time for the meetings. Every week, they also had all-plant meetings to hear reports by the leadership.

During the '4 cleans' movement in 1965, they started All-Plant Congresses of Workers and Staff. But after this, they didn't have any more meetings. The work teams started this to arouse workers to be "the head of their own house" (dangjia zuozhu). This was not run by the Union but by the Party, since the Union was under Party leadership.

The plant as a whole was led by the plant director under the leadership of the Party Committee. Under the plant director were several administrative and technical departments (ke)--finance, planning, technology, safety, administrative (in charge of livelihood and auxiliary services), quality control (jishu jiancha), materials, supplies, labor and wages. Below the Party Committee were several administrative offices--propaganda, organization, security departments, the CYL committee, and the Union.

Below this were 6 shops--3 service shops, and three production shops. The shop director handles livelihood questions, political matters, and works closely with the Party Branch secretary, and also does some leadership of production. The vice-director of the shop is concerned solely with production, and is responsible for overseeing smooth production processes. For example, if shop technicians cannot repair equipment, he is in charge of getting technicians from other shops to repair--for example, workers from the equipment repair shop. He is also responsible for making contact with other shops and departments about these kinds of production-related matters.

There are also administrative staff in the shops. In the directors office is a procurement officer (lingliao yuan) who is connected to the supply department and who handles the shop's stores. There is a wages officer (gongzi yuan) who is connected with the labor and wages department. There are two kinds of shop technicians--some for production technology (jishu), and some for production technology (gongyi). Some handled equipment breakdowns, the others handled production problems. Some of these technical cadres handled changes in product specifications dictated by the departments, while others handled safety regulations and inspection as directed by the safety department, including inspection work in the shops. They are able to give the shift supervisor orders to carry out. These technicians had an office separate from the department offices.

Original Records (yuanshi jilu)--these were kept at each machine. Meter readings, accidents, problems which occurred, all the operations of each machine were recorded on these charts. The shop technicians did the recordings. There were also other records kept in each production group. Workers' production output, quality, equipment condition, etc. were records kept by each individual worker. If a worker wrote false records, workers on the next shift would surely find out and report it. They also had a shop 'changing of the shift record' (jiaoban jilu). This was a book of records to be read by each shift supervisor when they came to work. They summarized the overall production situation.

Shift Supervisor's Responsibilities--At the beginning of every shift, she visited all the production groups to see if everyone was there, and then arrange to transfer other workers from different groups to fill in empty places. Second, she inspects production situation in each small group, makes sure every-

thing is going according to the plan in each group so that the overall production process can proceed smoothly and in a balanced way. There were key areas she had to inspect at given hours--check gauges, etc., to make sure everything was proceeding ok. She handled the transfer of people to different work posts (between production groups). She also had to convince people to accept transfers. This was difficult to do when transferring people to difficult or tiresome work. So then she would have to do ideological work to convince them. Usually they listened, because if they didn't the person could be criticized in group meetings as someone who sabotaged production. During the CR, people didn't listen to orders at all, and production was thrown into disorder. At the end of the shift, she had to write a shift-change report, and write reports requesting materials, labor, repairs, and she also reports to departments to ask them to solve problems she is unable to handle herself.

#### Wages and Bonuses

In 1961, she entered the plant, and was given a raise in 1962 when she became a full-fledged technician. After that she got no raise until 1978, when (while working in Canton) she was raised to level 12, at 68¥. There was a wage readjustment in 1963 for people who entered before 1958. In 1978, the readjustment had to do with years of work. In her case, it was before 1963. In workers' case, it depended on when they were promoted to their present grade.

For bonuses, they had small group appraisals every month before the Cultural Revolution. They could nominate 60% of the workers, then divided them into 3 grades of bonuses. Once every quarter they had emulation campaigns run by the unions, and they selected 30% of the units and individuals as 'advanced'. They would receive gifts, not money. This bonus system survived until the Cultural Revolution. After the CR they divided up bonus funds into monthly supplements, more money for lower grades of workers, and less for the higher paid. There was not much money involved, about 3-5¥ a month.

#### Rules and Regulations in the Small Group

The term 'systems of rules and regulations' (guizhang zhidu) includes the following things: 1) safety regulations, 2) technical regulations (how to produce things), 3) individual responsibility systems, 4) rounds inspection systems (xunhui jiancha zhidu)--each person has a certain number of things to inspect every shift, 5) tests for workers skill and knowledge, 6) attendance regulations. These things are all handled by people within the small group. The shop director and shop technicians handle safety and quality inspection. All of these rules and regulations are set by the departments.

#### Four Cleans Movement

The 4 cleans movement began at the end of 1965 in her plant. Work teams were sent in, and divided into groups to work on different things. They got to know the workers at first, got to know the situation in each shop, and they organized a workers' congress. Then they investigated the different leaders in the plant for corruption and illegal behavior--especially the supply department people. They held criticism meetings organized against those who were discovered in corruption or leading non-proletarian life-styles. They investigated a lot of people, in fact too many, both cadres and masses. They looked into peoples files (dangan), and especially investigated those with bad class backgrounds. In the production groups, they were told to criticize at least 2 people. She says her group could not find anyone with a problem, so they said not to look only for corruption and lifestyle problems

but also at political thought. They suggested that this would be especially appropriate if the person had a bad class background. They would then be criticized. The results of these criticisms and investigations would determine who would be chosen to be a red guard (hong wei bing). Those red guards who were chosen by the work teams to participate in the movement were few in numbers, and were chosen by the party. They are different from the rebels (zaofan pai). This four cleans movement made workers very unhappy with the Party. Every shift was ordered to have a struggle meeting, and almost everyone was under investigation. There were wallposters, etc. Workers were unhappy but they couldn't express it.

#### Cultural Revolution (3/5/80, 2.5 hrs.)

As the cultural revolution began the older red guards in the factory dispersed (the ones from the 4 cleans movement), and the work teams were criticized. The red guards were leaders in putting up wallposters, were leading criticism meetings, and opposing the '4 olds'. But they listened to the orders of the Party and work team. The targets were still in effect chosen by the Party. In January 1967, the Shanghai Hongse Fanbao was carried in all the papers. Hangzhou had 2 factions of zaofan pai (rebels). First were the Hongbao (红暴). There were many peasants in this faction, in addition to workers. Then there was the Shenglian zong (省联总). This group was connected with the Shanghai rebel organization. (The Hong bao can be translated as the 'Red rebellion', while the Shenglian zong probably means 'Provincial Alliance Headquarters'. These two names are shortened version of longer titles she can't remember.)

Over 90% of the workers in her plant were members of Shenglian. In her plant, the first and most active members of the rebel faction were those people who had been persecuted by the work teams during the 4 cleans. The rebel faction gradually enlarged, partly because of pressure--you would be a member of the xiaoyao pai ('free and unfettered faction') if you didn't join. People also joined because friends had. This middle group of late joiners was mostly made up of technicians, and a few party members.

The conservatives (baohuang pai--also 'royalists'), were people who were close to the Party, and had good class backgrounds. They had a few small organizations of royalists in their plant. They also had 'careerists' (yexin jia), people who tagged along with the party hoping to be promoted later. They had names like 'Gutian huiyi' (吉田会义), and 'Jingkang Shan', etc.

So the rebels engaged in activities like wallposters, struggle and criticism meetings. Most of these activities took place outside, since 90% of the plant belonged to the rebel faction anyway. They went outside for demonstrations and armed struggle. They often left the technicians, the 'waverers' (xiaoyao pai), and the royalists in the plant to handle production by themselves, since the rebels used production time for their activities.

They struggled the following people in meetings--the leading party cadres and the work team members. Engineers were criticized, also some technicians. Plant directors and vice plant directors were also criticized, but not as seriously, since the leading people in power in the party were already criticized. Middle-level cadres--shop directors and department heads, chief engineers, were rarely criticized. She can't remember any. Most of them were members of the rebel faction at that time.

Those who stood aside were the plant director, party secretary and vice-secretaries. The plant director was a vice-party secretary. The rebels had a production committee, and the members of the committee handled production leadership after the leading cadres were forced to step aside. About 80% of the cadres were sent to do manual labor in the shops at that time, and people who did their office work were members of the rebel faction.

The party secretary was put into an empty room for several months, could not return home, did manual labor during the day. They could not leave the plant. He was under supervision. These kind of people were often beaten while being interrogated. There was one worker who died (member of the conservative faction) after being beaten in the factory. They suspected him of being a spy for another organization. There were some other pretty serious beatings during this period, but no other deaths.

#### Production Situation

The influence on production was great. Production stopped several times. At one time it stopped completely for almost half a month as the faction members of the Hongbao surrounded their plant (they were mostly peasants), and didn't let anything in or out for several weeks. This was in June 1967. After this, production continued, but never was completely restored. It took many years before it was restored to previous levels. After the CR many people demanded to be moved to different shifts, units, and often this left labor shortages in the shops. So they hired returned intellectual youths from the neighborhoods to fill the gaps. They had no training, however, especially for such a complex shop. She hears that quality has to this day never recovered to pre-CR levels.

#### Military Representatives

The PLA came to the plant right before the Great Alliance was formed. There were 3 air force officers. She can't remember when this was. It was either late 1967 or early 1968. When they first came, they went around and talked with different workers, got to know the situation. A revolutionary committee was formed after the great alliance. The PLA was responsible for its formation, and were also members. There were leading cadres, mass representatives, and PLA representatives for a short period. During the CR, management systems weren't handled at all. Virtually nothing was handled in the normal ways.

#### Changes in Management

They had the new Revolutionary Committee at the top, and also had RC's in each shop. The branch party secretary was usually the head of the shop RC's, or one of the vice shop directors was. Workers sat on the rest of the membership positions. They were all rebel faction members. There were no longer any shift supervisors. Most of the rest of the staff in shop offices, and many of the leading cadres were sent down for manual labor (about 90% in her shop). The head of the RC in the shop became the equivalent of shop director. He was a former worker, young, and a rebel. There was a large-scale change in leadership personnel in the shop during the CR. Many new cadres, young workers, were promoted to leading shop cadre positions. Old leaders, like the informant, were at first sent to do manual labor in the shops. Gradually, one by one, they were sent back to do office work, or were transferred to other shops, or to other units. Informant, for example, was transferred in 1969 to an office in a newly-established shop where she did designing work. Others transferred to municipal-level offices.

The administrative and technical departments were all abolished during the CR, but gradually re-established after the revolutionary committee was set up. But their members and leaders weren't completely the same. Often new leaders from among workers and staff (former rebels), and new staff members were promoted from among the workers. When the departments re-emerged, they were not completely the same. Some were combined together.

Weng Senhe, Hangzhou Rebel Leader and Informant's Co-Worker

Before the cultural revolution he was a chemical worker (huayan gongren) in a chemical analysis lab. He was considered a skilled worker. He did chemical analysis. This was in informant's workshop. He was in his 30s, but only made a salary of 30+¥, and was transferred out of her plant during the 4 cleans movement because he was continually complaining about his wage level and the treatment of workers. The plant, just about the time the four cleans work team arrived, transferred a few workers to another plant because their work and political performance was considered poor. Weng Senhe was one of them. Informant knew him personally. He was bright, articulate, and his chemical analysis work was always correct. The problem with him was that he talked too much.

He was transferred to the Hangzhou Silk Printing and Dyeing Plant. After that he was an ordinary worker. He became a leader of the rebel faction, Hong Bao, during the Cultural Revolution. Afterwards he became a member of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee. After the Cultural Revolution, he was not the chairman of the RC, just a standing committee member. He continued to build up relations with his own faction's members in leading positions in factories and also mended relations with former leaders of the opposing rebel faction in other factories (Shenglian). About the time that she left Hangzhou in 1974, Weng was leading a movement, not publicly proclaimed, which she refers to as the "shuangtu" ( "双突", "突重入党", "突重提干" ). This means two things. First, that all the old rebel members be allowed finally to enter the Party, and that they be promoted to leading positions in their units. The argument was that these people had already made great contributions to the nation and Party, and should be allowed to enter the Party and be promoted. Many of them still were not Party members. But the Party was slow in this. They still adhered to the pre-Cultural Revolution rules about class background, and many of these former rebels had problems with their backgrounds.

So about the time she left, there was an effort to get these people admitted to the Party, and to have these old rebel activists promoted to department head, shop director positions, etc. The people who were replaced during this period were the 'revolutionary cadres' of the triple combination of the Great Alliance period--old cadres who had survived. These old cadres were moved to other units, shops, and positions. She heard that after 1976 these cadres were investigated, and those who hadn't made mistakes were allowed to stay in the Party, while others were kicked out.