

PERSONAL DATA

Age: 35

Sex: Male

Education: Industrial college graduate

Total Years Relevant Experience: 10

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1979

Year Left China: 1979

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native Place/Overseas Connections: Shanghai native/Catholic/OS ties unknown

Class Background/Political Designation: unknown

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Apprentice worker, Textile Printing and Dyeing Plant,
Shanghai, 1967-70

2) Student, Shanghai Textile Institute, 1970-73

3) Textile Printing and Dyeing Plant, Shanghai, 1974-79

a) Technician, Technical Department, 1974

b) Section Chief, Synthetic Fabric Dyeing Shop, 1975-79

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

1) Municipal/(1000)

3) Municipal/(2000)

APPOINTMENTS: 4

TOTAL HOURS: 10

PAGES TEXT: 12

Occupational History (6/6/80, 2.5 hrs.)

The informant graduated from upper middle school in 1967. This was during the cultural revolution, and at that time his family was being persecuted for being practicing Catholics. So at age 22 he graduated from middle school and was assigned to a Textile Printing and Dyeing Factory in Shanghai under a Municipal Bureau, which had about 1000 employees. He worked there for two years as an apprentice, then in 1970 he took a test to enter university. He took the test four times in all, and finally succeeded the fourth time. The first time he failed because they ignored the results of the tests--universities were closed during the cultural revolution. The second time he didn't have the proper political qualifications. The third time he tested into a July 21 workers' college, but still hadn't started when he finally tested into Shanghai Textile College.

After graduation in 1973 (they had switched to a 3-year education after the cultural revolution), he was assigned to the textile bureau as a practicing (jianxi) technician. He had no fixed factory, he just went around to various plants in the city's cotton textile system to learn on the job. Then after one year, 1974, he was assigned to another printing and dyeing plant in Shanghai which had over 2000 employees. He worked here until he left for Hong Kong in 1979.

When he first started work there he worked in the technical department. After a couple of months he was transferred to be a section leader (gongzhang) in what they called a 'branch shop' (fen chejian) in the plant. Below the section were shifts of small groups. He did this job until he left in 1979. But during the time he was a section leader he often went to the plant headquarters to do technical work, lead foreign delegations on tours of the plant, and read technical materials. The plant headquarters was in a different building and it housed all staff offices.

Wages

When he first graduated from middle school he made the first year apprentice wage of 18¥. The second year he made 20¥, and would have gotten 22¥ his third year had he continued. His apprenticeship period wasn't much to speak of, there was no set training system really, since this was right in the middle of the cultural revolution. They cancelled the pre-CR apprentice contracts, but still had masters. The contracts had stated a set of rules--the apprentice was to observe rules and regulations, not get married or fall in love, to love the nation and protect state property, don't try to run machines you're not qualified on, don't argue with others, show respect toward your master. If you violated any rules, they show you the original contract, say you violated your contract, and give you a warning. The masters in turn agreed to teach you skills. They gave tests after two years and if you failed the technical part it was the master's fault and they deducted money from his bonus (but there were no bonuses by the time he arrived at the plant. If the apprentice stole, was absent frequently, or if his work or behavior was bad, he could have his apprenticeship period lengthened, or can be fired. This happened rarely, but it did happen. One female apprentice he remembers was fired for her lifestyle. She hung around with hooligans on the street, was loose morally, and got pregnant several times. They fired her. It was more common for those with bad work to have their time as apprentices extended, and this did happen occasionally.

When he first graduated from college he made 48.5¥, and after one year he was promoted to 58.5¥, when he was turned into a regular technician (zhuanzheng). He kept these same wages right up until he left in 1979. He was not qualified for wage readjustments because his work experience was not long enough. Seniority is the most important thing in wage raises in China. He kept the same wages despite the fact that a section leader is usually an administrative cadre of higher pay than an ordinary technician.

In 1973 they had a wage readjustment for those who had worked for over 6 years. Everybody who met the criteria was raised one grade. Later in 1977 they had a small readjustment for only 2% of the employees. He has heard that very recently they have had a large one in his unit (letters from friends), and that people were pretty tense about it. His friend says that this year they are using a new system of flexible raises in Shanghai factories. There are some years lines for qualifying for these raises, but they will assess to see how much of a raise you will get--3, 6, or 9¥ instead of the standard 5-6¥. So now they are assessing not only to see if you get a raise or not, but also to see how much of a raise you will get. And this assessment depends on only 2 factors--attendance since the last raise, and production output since the last raise. For both, they look up the shop records to assess objectively.

Bonuses

Beginning in the cultural revolution they had supplementary wages, not bonuses. Each person got 5¥ or so per month--all the same. If you were absent for any reason, they would deduct 16 cents from your salary for each day absent.

Around 1978 they began a bonus system. Bonuses were a real headache. There were lots of arguments and contradictions over them. Plants had various methods to distribute bonus funds. His plant used a work point system like the communes. Points were given for output, and quality. You had to meet fixed targets. If you didn't you lost points. Also, points were lost for personal arguments with other workers, for causing accidents, getting pregnant, stealing, illicit sex. The highest bonus was over 10¥, and the lowest about 3¥. If you cause a big accident, are absent without leave, cause machinery to break down, there is no bonus for you. Also if you cause a major quality problem in a large lot of cloth, no bonus.

They announced the individual points after every 10 day period. They were figured at the shop office where they had a statistician for each shift. They would add up the figures coming up from all the shops and small groups on the production situation. Every day they had these reports (huibao, baobiao). Depending on the profit in each shop, the shop would get a different amount of points for dividing up the plant's bonus funds. This would derive the total amount of funds available for the shop. Then the shop would distribute these funds with its own point system. The main criteria was profit, not meeting output quotas.

They also had year end bonuses which were entirely separate from these monthly bonuses. There were no quarterly bonuses, they were too much trouble. The year-end bonus could be as much as 40-50¥, the lowest around 20¥, if the plant made high profits and if the worker worked well. They looked at how many total work points you had over the year, and also looked at other behavior in the small group assessment.

Every month a number of the points are determined in the monthly group bonus assessment meetings. Then the number of points figured up by the

accountants can be deducted from or added to. Attendance, attitude, behavior, accidents, previously undetected quality problems are things that they talk about. Workers argue about these things every month. This is because its very hard to decide these things. Also, people would talk about one another behind each other's backs. They would go see the group leader in private to inform on others to prevent them from getting a bonus, and increase their own chances.

This bonus system was effective in stimulating workers. Quotas started to be fulfilled much quicker, the difference was really striking. Before people on the night shift slept on the job. They had quotas which were fulfillable but people just didn't want to finish them. Whether they finished or not was all the same to them. If a worker always asked for sick leave there was nothing you could do. But after bonuses were restored, people began to feel like fulfilling quotas, and became more active at work.

Worker motivation was a big problem before the bonuses were resumed. But the bonuses didn't take care of everything. After they abolished the year-end bonus during the spring festival this January (he hears through friends letters), workers were dissatisfied since they had been planning on the extra cash, and went back to their old ways. They worked slow, left early, came late. So there is still some contradictions but generally worker discipline and activism has increased greatly since 1977. Previously, a lot of the older workers were unhappy because they hadn't gotten a raise for a long time, and were getting the same as some younger people. So they weren't too willing to work hard, and tried to go through the back door to get easy, light work, on the day shift.

Yes, there were strikes in 1975, this was because in the new constitution shortly before they had given the workers the right to strike, and because the Gang of 4 was trying to use this to create disorders. So yes, Wuhan and other places experienced strikes (bagong), but the dissatisfaction also came out in other ways like slowing down or 'soldiering' (daigong). This was a serious and widespred problem in 1975-76. There were many reasons for these strikes and slowdowns. First, local cadres were bad and didn't work hard, so why should workers work hard? So workers were dissatisfied with their leaders. Also workers were dissatisfied with the wage situation. But there were no strikes in Shanghai, it was not permitted. But in other areas they had them. The two problems which caused them were were wages and bureaucrats.

Worker Discipline and Motivation (6/10/80, 2.5 hrs.)

Lack of worker enthusiasm for work is a major problem. It is caused because systems of punishment have been changed so many times, and because criticism alone was not effective. Workers just didn't believe in the rules. Workers would just extend their breaks to long periods. They would go out for 'smokes' and not come back, and in fact would do lots of other things like rest. How could you stop it? You couldn't. Everybody smokes. They just go out for a break and don't come back for half an hour. It is very difficult to get everyone to stop, especially when cadres above you go out for smokes all the time.

So things go very slowly in Chinese factories. Work efficiency is very low, there is a lot of non-productive time during the day. But they do finish their quotas because quotas are set conservatively. They are set conservatively because the leadership is fond of bragging and exaggerating and declaring that all targets are 100% fulfilled. The workers would know just how much it took to finish, and would pace themselves and do no more. They would set aside time for washing clothes, repairing their bicycles,

and sleeping. It was easy to find a place to sleep in a big factory when no one could find you.

What could basic level cadres do about this? They had things they could do, but they could not fire anyone or deduct wages. They had to rely on criticism of that kind of behavior in meetings. They would usually use a 'learn from DaQing campaign' to criticize this kind of behavior. When a team came to inspect the plant, or when foreign friends came, everything was suddenly cleaned up, and everyone was at their posts, and everyone was working hard. But all of this was false.

So they relied on the method of education. Now you can deduct bonuses and this is effective, and you can also assess unfavorably for wage raises. Also, for real bad behavior like stealing and illicit sex, you can use the threat of recording behavior in the person's file, and this makes it more difficult to find an acceptable spouse and also makes it hard for your children if they want to enter the army or university. But this problem got better after the re-institution of bonuses and raises. He always felt that this problem was the most serious instance of waste in China's economy.

Temporary and Contract Labor

Both plants he worked in always had temporary and contract laborers. They had to use them because permanent workers weren't willing to do heavy construction work, (like their building repair workers in the plant) and in the summers when it got really hot in Shanghai many workers took sick leave and needed extra workers to fill in.

The contract workers who did construction work all came from the countryside. The temporary workers all came from the neighborhoods, from residents committees. The communes outside of Shanghai have a high population, and small amounts of land, so they have extra labor power and need money. So they hire themselves out as construction workers and casual laborers. These contract workers for construction work were usually hired by the back door, using guanxi with certain people in the villages. This took place usually through friends or relatives in suburban villages who were asked once or twice to buy and bring in certain foodstuffs like pork or fish. Before long the person is doing this regularly for a lot of cadres in the plant and getting paid for it. Later he might be hired as a contract worker just to keep him around, and help compensate him more. Usually if these people are real 'can do' (hen you banfa de) types, they have a lot of friends in the countryside, and when there is construction work to be done, this man becomes a contract 'gang boss' (bao gongtou), and has an illegal construction team going. When the work is finished, this individual would get the money and pay in turn the members of his team. This method was very common, and a lot cheaper for the factory than hiring a state construction company and having to wait for their services. They did have contract workers assigned by the labor bureau, but this was rarer.

Temporary workers were hired in the summer because of lower labor efficiency in the heat. From mid-June to September it was like this. These people come from offices under resident's committees. Often these were people from families of the employees, and they could work there if they lived in the surrounding neighborhoods, and were arranged through the neighborhood offices. They made 1.2-1.3¥ per day, about 30+¥ per month. Wages were figured by the day, and paid by the month. These people can be fired at any time, but given their situation and their need for income, their work enthusiasm is high, and they are rarely fired. Their activism is higher than permanent workers. They are willing to do any kind of work, unlike

permanent workers who refuse to do certain things. So many people felt that the state should only keep about 1/3 permanent, skilled workers, and for the rest hire temporary workers, and thus solve the worker productivity problem.

First Textile Plant, 1968-70 (6/12/80, 2.5 hrs.)

After he first entered the plant, there was a period when they really were short on labor, so after they saw he could do the work, they let him do just about the same work as a normal worker. He worked in a shop where they printed a floral pattern on white cloth. The process was mechanized and he operated a machine which did this.

Small Group Management: His group had about 10 people. They had a group leader who did overall production arrangements, and work assignments. This man was a party member, and did not have a fixed production post. He comes early, stays late, makes sure everything is in order. He hears reports from previous shifts and gives reports to the next shift. He arranges meetings and sums them up. There are daily production reports to fill out (actually, he delegates this task to someone else), and other reports. He also talks with the section head, receiving instructions and telling him about their production problems.

The assistant group leader is usually in charge of political study, is the union leader, and is in charge of welfare benefits in the group. He is the one to request welfare supplements from--especially those for economic hardships. He is not necessarily a party member but is usually a younger worker who is able to speak well.

They had the 2 leader, 4 personnel (liangzhang siyuan) system. The state labor bureau had a regulation saying that they had to implement this system. This was the unified small group management system that they had since liberation. The labor bureau also set limits on the number of cadres which could be non-productive workers. Small plants could have no more than 18%, large ones 12%.

They had a shenghuo yuan, who handled fringe benefits. He distributes monthly bars of soap to the workers, goes to the finance department to pick up the monthly wages, and gives out towels periodically. He passes out the face masks to prevent breathing of cotton fibres. This is fairly easy, and you only have to do this kind of stuff once a month.

The quality manager (zhiliang guanli yuan) is an older worker with good technical skills. Whenever a quality problem pops up, or an accident occurs, he works together with the group leader to solve it. If there is an accident, he fills out the accident report, guarantees that the accident was not due to sabotage, and states the reason. This is also a very simple job, not very time consuming.

The security worker (zhian yuan) cooperates with the security department. These people are activists who are politically reliable. They make sure people are attending meetings, and they guard things to make sure there is no stealing when others are at meetings, he guarantees that accidents are not due to sabotage. He raises opinions about security related matters. If there is a problem with stealing things, or anything irregular at all in the group, he immediately calls the security department and leads them to the person or problem.

The 'safetyman' (anquan shengchan yuan) raises opinions in meetings about safety precautions and methods of work. These are usually experienced workers. This is fairly easy to do, as are most of these worker yuan positions. None of this really takes much time. It is fairly easy to do.

Normally the small group was supposed to meet twice a week for study,

but during 1968-70 they had meetings all the time. The number of political meetings depended on the political climate above, among the top leaders. For production, they had discussions (pengtou hui) for one half hour every day before the shift. This had 2 advantages. It made certain that everyone got to work on time, and it helped to discuss orders from above and problems encountered in production. So they would use this time to discuss directives about safety, quality, etc. This was where notices and communications from the plant leadership were relayed. The meeting is led by the group leader.

During this period quality control was not handled well, because the leadership was paralyzed, the 'rebels' were running around outside the plant, and the leaders had all been knocked down. The economy was bankrupt during this period, as they used to say--"One person worked, but five people ate". This meant that people didn't work but still got paid.

When he first arrived in the plant in 1968, all the leading cadres of the plant, of the departments, and the shop directors, vice-directors, and party branch secretaries--every single one of them was sent down for manual labor. Former workers and staff members who belonged to rebel organizations were the new leaders of production. When he first arrived in 1968, there was no revolutionary committee. This was not established until 1970. Nor had any PLA representatives come. Depending on production and the size of the plant, the PLA representatives were dispatched. They did not come to their plant directly, but they did go to their company headquarters in the city.

The plant was being led by the rebel faction--the only faction in the city. The conservative faction had been destroyed in the big incident of January 1967. At that time the entire city rebel organization had a general headquarters, and had a branch headquarters in every bureau, company, factory, and had sub-departments in every shop. They appointed active members of the organization to be leading cadres at each level of the factory.

At the top of the plant was a production leadership department (shengchan zhihui bu) made up of members of rebel factions, almost none of whom were party members. At that time the party was considered a 'stinking' organization, and these people were those whose production showing earlier hadn't been very good, and they didn't pay much attention to it at this time either. There were about 7 people in this leading group. In reality, they didn't really lead production, they just ran politics, and left for armed struggle outside. The whole plant was organized like a branch of the General Rebel Headquarters. The plant was considered a da dui (大队) the shops fen dui (分队), and the section and small group were the zhong dui and xiao dui, respectively. All the leaders at each level were active members of the rebel headquarters organization. This was a time when Party members all were kicked out of office, and a lot of non-party members were raised to leading positions. Of course, all the shop directors were party members, so they all stood aside, but this also happened right down to the production group leader level. If a production group leader did not participate in the rebel organization, or if he was a party member, then he would be out of office.

At that time, most of the people in the plant were members of the rebel headquarters. But originally the older workers and most of the department staff were members of the conservatives (赤卫队), and after it was suppressed, part of these people, thinking of their own interest, their families, joined the rebels and were permitted to do so. Also, there were a lot of former members of the 'free and unfettered' faction (xiaoyao pai) who joined the rebels after they say they would win out. This faction was

very small by that time, mostly older, educated people, both workers and staff. Finally, there were a lot of party members--just average, not leading members--in the rebel faction at this time. Mostly younger party members. They saw this as a good opportunity to move up into leadership positions. So the rebels were a large organization at that time, and very powerful. The leaders at each level of the factory were leaders within the rebel headquarters organization.

Under the slogan "simplify administration" most of the staff departments, paralyzed since the beginning of the cultural revolution, were abolished. Almost every one of the former leading cadres and staff members was working in the shops at manual labor. From late 1968 to early 1970, production never stopped, but slowed greatly. There were no fixed targets or quotas for output or quality. It might take three months to do one month of work. There were no individual quotas at all. If you wanted a worker to do something, you told him. If you didn't tell him, he wouldn't do it--things were in disorder. Not until he was in college around 1973 when Deng was restored to power, did they begin to re-institute quotas for individuals. People in leading positions were afraid to bring them back before then because they had gotten into so much trouble before, and were not willing to take the risk again. So production during this period was low, and quality was poor. There were no real quotas for either output or quality.

Revolutionary Committee

The revolutionary committee was formed by the duizhang, or the top leader of the plant at that time, on orders of the duizhang at the company level. The plant leader prepared a name list of various faction leaders in the plant, and had a formula for number of women, worker, old cadre representatives. Most of the people were party members, and not necessarily young ones either. The young ones were considered too unreliable. So after preparing a name list for both the RC and the smaller versions of RCs in the shops, now called 'groups' (zu), they gave the list to the masses to discuss and raise opinions. Nobody bothered to raise any opinions, it was of no use anyway.

The head of the RC was this duizhang, the leader of the rebel organization in the plant, not a party member, relatively young, formerly a worker. The vice-head was the former plant vice-director, a party member who was now a liberated cadre. The other vice-head of the RC was originally an engineer, party member, and a former leader of the technical department. The other four members were the current leaders of the departments, now smaller and called 'groups' (zu), who formerly had been ordinary staff members who, through activism in rebel activities, had risen to department leadership positions during the CR. A lot of workers at that time used connections in the rebel headquarters during that period to open the back door and get appointed to staff positions. These people were all considered 'worker representatives' so there was no need to appoint shop-level workers to be members of the RC.

At the same time they established a number of staff departments, called 'groups', which were greatly reduced in size. Some former departments were abolished, and some they combined together. Most of the former staff members and leaders were not trusted and stayed in the shops doing manual labor. They had a 'production task group' (shengchan yewu zu), which did the jobs formerly done by the technical, transport, production, planning, and sales and supply departments. They had an 'organization group' (zuzhi zu), which did security work and political work, also public safety. They also

had a livelihood and logistics group (shenghuo houqin zu), which handled the clinic, housing, and the canteen. Finally, they had an office which handled political propaganda, filling out of forms and reports, and made approvals for marriages.

The formal number of people working in these groups was not great, but there were a lot of people on temporary assignments to work in these groups, especially in the organization department, where there were all kinds of people on special investigation groups of people's cases, going outside to ask questions and travelling elsewhere. A lot of functions formerly handled by the old departments were handled in these groups, which were quite large, but which only had 1-3 people to handle the work formerly done by entire departments.

For example, the technical department was the biggest one before the CR, and had over 40 people. But the production affairs group, when it was first established, had only about 10+ people, and also handled the functions of five departments in addition. But this group gradually enlarged, as did the others, as they handled the work. By the time he left for college in 1970, it was so large that the group itself didn't even know how big it was. They had people connected to it under all sorts of capacities. Basically speaking, things just went along confusedly (huli hutu).

The informant didn't participate in any faction. He came too late, and with his family background, (high level staff worker) and his catholic background, he wasn't qualified to join. They would not trust him.

Second Textile Factory, 1973-79

He went to the university in 1970, graduated in mid-1973 and was assigned to the Textile Dyeing Mill, which was in another company in the city. At that time they studied in the textile college for 3 years, while the fourth year was one of practical work (shixi). In that year he went around to several different plants in the company to learn his specialty. His specialty was the printing and dyeing of chemical fibres, and his plant, to which he was assigned in mid-1974, was a chemical fibres plant. First he went to the production and technology department (shengchan jishu ke) to be a technician, and before two years were up he was transferred to be a section chief on the shop floor. By that time they had restored almost all of the original departments (this was 1974), called them ke, and there were many of them.

At that time, in his production technology department, they were at work studying and establishing rules and regulations regarding the technical processing of chemical fibres--temperature, time periods, etc, which would be used for setting quotas for each machine and for individual workers. This took one to two years, and thus they still did not have individual production and quality quotas until 1975-76. Why didn't they use the pre-CR technical regulations? First, this was a new technical process, and second, they had criticized the old regulations so thoroughly that it was necessary to start from scratch. They had just previously implemented the party's cadre policy and had returned most of the former staff workers to the departments. At that time, Deng had just come back and they were in fact following the policy set down in the pre-CR "70 points on industry" which had been copied from the Soviets. It urged all plants to make a profit, increase the turnover rate of capital, and have workers work hard.

When they implemented the party's cadre policy and rehabilitated the old cadres they increased the number of leading cadres. Former department heads became vice-heads, so each unit had several vice-heads. There were of course conflicts between the old and new leaders. How could they get along?

The newer ones didn't really know their work, and had gotten where they were by oppressing others, including the old cadres. So they did not cooperate well at all. They were at odds, but not in the open. They were continually at odds behind the scenes, were disagreeing secretly and doing things behind each other's backs to undermine the other's decision. So behind the popular slogan at the time, "Unite and achieve still greater victories!", there was a much different reality.

Factionalism at that time was very complex. It was not a question of two factions, and certainly not the former factions of the CR, but a whole complex of people who were dissatisfied or in competition with others in their units. The plant was full of these informal groups (banzi), which had connections to people in the revolutionary committee who were their friends, and who also had connections right up to the bureau and even the city government. So they would oppose decisions behind the scenes, start rumors behind people's backs to ruin their reputations. This was a serious and unsolvable problem, and they still have it today. But most recently it is somewhat less serious because they have gotten rid of many of the former leaders of the CR era.

This problem of factionalism had concrete effects on management. It affected who the cadres would give assignments to, whether or not you would enforce regulations strictly for time or quality, whether or not you would obey an order sent down from above, or listen to a superior when he tells you to do something.

Synthetic Fabric Dyeing Shop, 1974-79 (6/14/80, 2.5 hrs.)

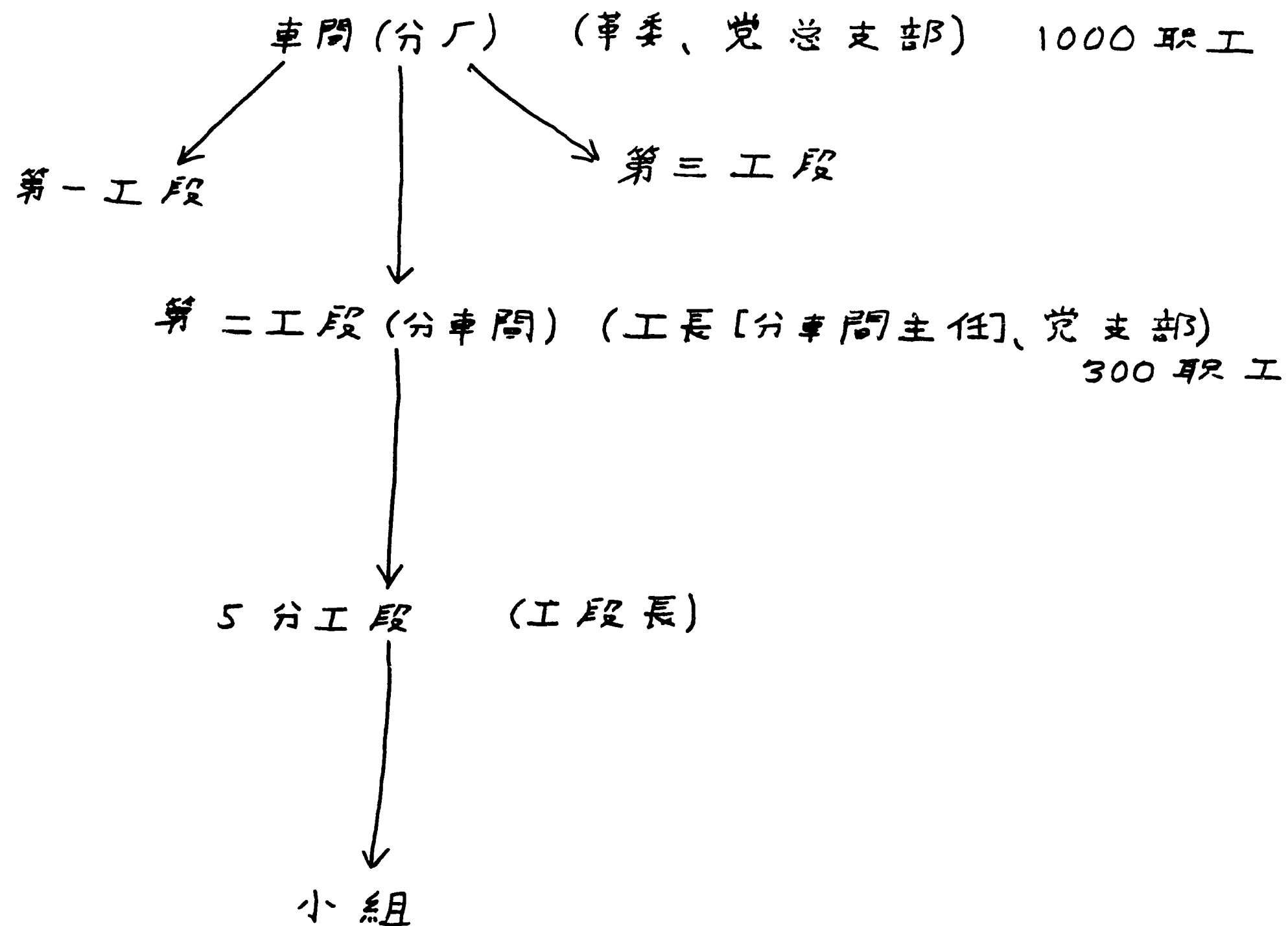
His section (which he also refers to as a branch shop) had over 300 employees. In the shop, there were 5 sections in all, and the production process started with white synthetic fabrics, dyed them, and ended up with it wrapped up in bolts and ready for packaging. There were about 1000 employees in all in the shop, which he also refers to as a branch plant. The first section prepares the cloth into a form that can be placed into the dyeing process, and which will fit the machinery. The second section does color dyeing, which included a machine process of heating and putting pressure on the cloth. The third section is another cloth preparation section which inspects for obvious problems and mistakes, repairs them, and wraps them up. The fourth section is the QC inspection station and the fifth, the packaging section.

The leadership was a shop director and vice director, who handled all around production problems and processes in the shop. He inspects the situation every morning in the shops, finds out the problems and accidents. If he finds something, he acts to solve it, and seeks out the section leaders. Then he calls a meeting of leaders after the shop's work gets underway (pengtou hui). These meetings are held before the shift. He hears reports on production situation and plan completion.

There is a branch secretary and two vice branch secretaries. They hold meetings for either production or political campaigns, but they do not handle concrete problems. For example, if there are problems with worker motivation or contradictions among workers, they will hold meetings to help them solve the problem. There were too many party secretaries for the work they had to do. But the party member has to be an official, right? If they weren't officials, what else could they do?

In one office the above people worked, and they were assisted by a statistician, a shop technician, and a quality control man (zhiliang jian du yuan). The statistician handled all the production statistics. Every

Branch Plant Organization



day there are daily production reports from the sections. He added them together, made a shop report and sent it to the planning control department (jihua diaodu ke). The technician was responsible for problems that occurred in the technical process of production--for example, if the cloth is coming out wrong in one machine, he inspects it and takes care of it. Also if the shop wants to start producing a new item, he oversees this, sets the technical process in accord with directives from the technical department. This man did not handle ordinary equipment repairs--this was handled by the equipment repair shop of the factory. The quality control man represents the quality control department of the plant. He pulls out and inspects finished products from various sections and groups right as they come off the machines. He takes them in a hand cart back to his own tables and inspects them. If there is a problem he fills out a report specifying what shop, section, group, machine, worker was involved and sends it to the quality inspection department. His work is different from that of the quality inspection section, which checks over each bolt of material and sorts it into three groups--first, second, third grades, and substandard (dengwai). The substandard goods are those that need mending, and are considered waste articles. Sometimes they can repair them, depending on what the problem is. Sometimes they can just mark out the bad spot so that clothing makers will not use it. Grade 1 goods went to national markets, and international markets, grade 2 went to internal clothing makers, and grade 3 went to handkerchief, underwear, and napkin makers. If the substandard goods are beyond repair, they can be sold to paper-making factories, or to a state waste-article company.

Below the shop office were five section leaders. They did not take part in production. They handle meetings, inspect the production situation, make job assignments. In their five sections, there were three with over 40 workers, and two which were somewhat smaller. The quality inspection section was the largest, with over 60 people.

The small groups were led by the group leader, vice-leader, and 4 'personnel' (yuan). The system is described above. This '2 leader, 4 yuan' system was not really restored until about 1973 or so, and was not in use during his experience in the first textile plant. During that time the small group was just led by the group leader, and that was it.

The basic level accounting system was very simple. There was a clipboard attached to each machine, each of which had 3-5 people working at it. One person on the machine would be responsible for filling out the form--what time machines started, when they stopped, how much output there was, what quality problems there were, what accidents and breakdowns occurred. These records were collected each day by the section (branch shop) statisticians.

Above the section was the shop, or branch plant, which had 1000 employees. This level had a union office, a director's office, a party general branch office, and several office personnel. It also had a shop revolutionary committee before 1979, which combined administrative and party work. The party branch secretary was the head of the revolutionary committee, and handled politics. The vice-head was the vice-party secretary, and he handled production. There were seven other members of the branch plant RC at the time, the three-section, or branch shop leaders (of which the informant was one), one person that did labor welfare work, one person that did 'logistic' or administration, and a union cadre, and a women's committee member. These last four people were not party members and were former rebel activists. The head and vice-head were regular party members, not former rebels. The rebel leaders of the shop had long before been gotten rid of. This was before 1973, when he came to the plant. These last four people were

full time office workers. The revolutionary committee met about once a week.

In 1978, the party and administrative structures were separated and they had a shop committee to handle administration, and they separated the party general branch office away from it. Then the former vice-head of the revolutionary committee, who was also the party general branch vice-secretary, became the 'shop director', and at the same time was called 'plant vice-director'. He was still vice-secretary of the party general branch. This man was formerly the shop director before the CR, and had long before been liberated. The other people in the old revolutionary committee stayed the same, and the only real change was that the party secretary for the general branch no longer headed the administrative structure. This new administrative committee was called the shop committee. After that, the shop committee handled only the administrative and production matters, and no politics. This was left entirely up to the party organization.

Then the party general branch handled political campaigns, internal party problems, personnel problems in the shop, or any other problem in the shop besides production. This included transfers, promotions, raises and assessments for raises, and wage readjustments. His power is rather large.

Changes after the Gang of Four

The biggest change was the reorganization and strengthening of the factory (zhengdun gonggu). This meant on the one hand separating party from administrative work. On the other hand it meant the removal of leftover cadres who had been in these leading groups at the branch plant level and above, who had suddenly gained their promotions during the CR. All of them were sent down to do workers jobs at this time. In his branch plant not too many were involved since many had been gradually sent down earlier, and the old rebel head of the branch revolutionary committee had been sent down in the early 1970s. These people in the branch plant level had occupied positions like the women's representative, head of the administrative group or vice RC head. They were all turned out of power.

They had elections, once, in 1978. They elected leaders of the branch plant, the branch shop, and the branch section, but not small group leaders. They had nominations from small groups, who elected representatives to a nominations group, and they prepared a nominations list of candidates. There were several candidates for each office. Then they called an all-branch plant meeting of 1000 people to elect the leaders by secret ballot. The election (nomination) committee was in charge, and they voted for candidates and counted them up right in the meeting. If someone did not get a majority they would transfer the incumbent out, and transfer in someone else. There were two section leaders who failed to get a majority, and they were transferred, trading places. So in the end, all the incumbents were re-elected to the same kind of post. You couldn't really change to new ones because these were different jobs. No challengers got a majority, the vote was too split up. So the incumbents just transferred if they lost. The same was true for the lower levels.