

Class Background/Political Designation: OS

worker in shops, 1967-68

PAGES TEXT: 15

Occupational History (7/5/80, 2.5 hrs.)

The informant is an overseas Chinese, born in Malaysia in 1939. He returned to Hong Kong in 1954 to study at lower middle school. Then in 1956 he went to China to complete upper middle school. He graduated in 1959 and tested into a university, where he studied in the electrical equipment and machinery (jidian) department. This was in a Metallurgy College (xueyuan) run by the metallurgy ministry and it was in the north. In their first year they studied chemistry, mechanics, and electronics. As time went along the program became more focused on the subject of electrical machinery and electrical systems for production equipment--designing, theory procedures for producing it. To graduate they had to design a machine--this was their equivalent of the senior essay. They divided the results into three grades, and gave different names, kind of like graduating with different levels of honors. But when they got their work assignments, they all got the same wage.

He was assigned in 1963 to the largest Chemical Fertilizer factory in Canton Municipality. When he first went there, it was under the Chemical Ministry in Peking. In 1966 the plant was sent down to Guangdong Province. After that the ministry continued to give plans and set the size of their labor force. The province could also add responsibilities and give additional supplies for local use. But the province, when it added responsibilities, could not supply all the spare parts and materials, equipment to produce these new things, because the province didn't have them. So from that time forward the plant started to grow, and the machinery shop was the one that grew the most--from the production of pig iron to tooling of spare parts, it had to make all its own parts that the province could not supply. The money to expand the shop came from the renovation funds from the ministry, and funds from the province for 'technical reform'.

When he first went to the electrical equipment shop (dianqi chejian), it included two sections (gongduan). The first was the electrical power section, which included the electrical generation plant, and the second was the electrical repairs section, which handled the repair and maintenance of all the electrical equipment and motors. The repair section was the repair center for the entire plant, and would only be dispatched for relatively big problems which the production shop repair workers and electricians could not solve. Sometimes they couldn't solve the problems, and this was usually because they needed a part but could not get it or make it, either because it was very big or very important. So they would try to make do with other machines, or come up with some sort of innovation or substitute part to get the machine running again. But sometimes machines lay idle while waiting for parts, but not long, because they had to find some way to keep the machine running.

He was the assistant section head (fu gongduan zhang), and at the same time he was a technician. He was in charge of power plant operations. The section head handled only administration, and he did not understand the business of electrical generation systems. The informant was the assistant section head after his first year, right up until the cultural revolution, when he did two years of manual labor as a worker, then after the CR he was a technician again, but not a section leader. He did this until April 1979, when he came legally to Hong Kong.

Wages

During his first year of work, he was a practicing (jianxi) technician and made 51¥ which was equivalent to a grade 15 technician. After one year

he was made regular (zhuanzheng), and assigned to grade 13, 61¥. He did not receive another raise until 1977, when he was raised to grade 12, 68¥.

Readjustments: They had a regular system of promotions and readjustments until 1963, and after that it was cancelled. Then in 1971, after Lin Biao died, they had a readjustment for workers only, based solely on years of service, except if one had a political problem. Before 1963, they had a regular testing system with standards for each promotion level, and based their wage readjustments on this.

There were no promotions or raises until 1977, when they raised 60% of the people in the plant. They had criteria both for years of service and wage level, and also assessed in groups. But there were problems in the assessment meetings because there were so many people who were eligible whose performance was about the same--how could you separate them? This gave rise to big arguments, real struggles. They based the group assessments on ability, but did not test people because so many people hadn't studied for over 10 years--how could they take tests? They mostly relied on years of service and work contribution, but years of service was more important. Those units in the factory who had more workers who met year-lines could give raises to a higher percentage of workers.

When they assessed in their groups, each person first spoke about themselves, their abilities, the year they entered the plant, etc. Afterwards they would begin comments on each person, and then nominate. Often it happened that they nominated too many people in the group, so the name list would be pared back by a wage committee at the shop level, which had representatives from each production group which were elected by the groups. These representatives were not necessarily the group leaders, and also union and women's federation officials would sit on these committees. They would then take out people who had some problems, either in work or behavior, or who had applied to go the Hong Kong.

Then shops sent a modified list up the the factory level, and they look in the personal files to see if there is any reason not to give a person a raise. Then they released a list of nominees for discussion by the masses again. They didn't care how much time it took to assess because all the raises were retro-active to July 1. This was a real headache, people argued all the time, mainly because people were discussing one another in the open, when their performances were all at about the same level. But only 60% of those who met the year lines could be raised. So people began to argue over what precise year they entered the factory.

Before 1963, they had regular tests for technical skills to see if you could meet grade 2,3, or 4 standards for your work specialty. There was no necessary relation to raises. The result of the test would be used as just one criteria for raises when the next readjustment came. Now they have started to give tests again, but this won't work very well because there are so many people who did not study or practice to improve technical skills for over 10 years, because this was the 'white expert road'. So they have forgotten much of their skills from disuse and lack of continuing study. If you tested these people now, they would certainly fail.

#### Bonuses (7/7/80, 2.5 hrs.)

The bonus system they had before the CR was a 'point competition' (baifen jingsai). They assessed people according to different criteria--work contribution, output, quality, attendance, etc. But there were areas where it was difficult to assign points. If you all were about the same in the group, how could you give different points? They gave points after assessments in small groups. So this gave rise to arguments--if no one in

the group causes accidents, how can you separate them? So there were still difficulties. After adding up the points, they would draw lines and separate into 3 grades individually within a group. These were the monthly bonuses.

There were also several individual (danxiang) bonuses, which were for outstanding performances over the year. There was a full attendance (quanqin) bonus, which is for someone who took no leaves during the year, and never came in late or left early. This was about 10¥. There was a 'safe production bonus' given to all members in a small group without accidents for the entire year. Each person would get 20-30¥, but this was very hard to get and it was very rare. They had a technical reform bonus, for making successful technical improvement suggestions. They had a cleanliness bonus, given to residents in unit housing with the cleanest dormitory room. They give small gifts for this one--drinking glasses, notebooks.

The monthly bonus in fact had nine different grades, because they separated shops into 3 grades, and groups into 3 grades, depending on their completion of the plan and performance in other areas. But workers in service workshops were upset because their performance was hard to judge according to output criteria, and they were usually just given a grade 2 rating. So a grade 1 shop, grade 1 group, grade 1 individual could get 30¥ in a month. A grade 3 shop, grade 3 group, grade 3 individual could get as little as 5-10¥. Also, some groups and shops did not get any bonuses for very poor performance or large accidents which caused production to stop. Also, individuals within groups were assessed to get no bonuses. The proportion was lower the better your group was assessed.

Workers felt this was an unfair system, because in many ways it was arbitrary. It was difficult to assess points for a lot of things, and also the performance of a shop as a whole is difficult to compare--they produce different things, some don't turn out products at all but repair things and produce electricity and other services. Also, it depends on how high your quota is set. Workers argued within the group over assessments and groups as a whole were upset with the fairness and comparability of the quotas set for them. Workers were upset largely because the difference between the best and the worst were so high, so they were tense about asking for leave, causing accidents.

During the cultural revolution, a number of workers rose up and opposed and criticized this system, so they abolished it. They called it 'material incentives'. So they started to give supplementary wages, where they took 10% of the average wage in the plant, 5.8¥, and distributed it to all the employees. People received this regardless of their performance--this made workers very lazy. This made things difficult for the workers with lower wages, because they didn't have a chance to increase their income with large bonuses. The people who already had a high basic wage were living comfortably.

After Lin Biao died, about one year or so, they had a bonus system. This began around 1974 or so. But this was a different system than before the cultural revolution. They had simple discussions in each group every month. This was called 'labor competition prize' (laodong jingsai jiang). They assessed workers' performance in a general way, then separated workers into three grades. Only those with serious problems were refused a prize--those with absences over five days, for example. The amounts of money involved were small. Grade 1 was 3¥, grade 2 2¥, and grade 3 1.5¥. The total amount depended on the amount in the plants welfare expenditure fund. This was not much use. The amounts were so small, but it was the

first sprout of the later reappearance of bonuses.

After this, the bonus system gradually enlarged and developed until it became just the same as before, nine grades in all, but they didn't have some of the individual bonuses anymore after 1978, which was the date when it was finally restored completely. When they restored the bonus system fully, there was a complex system with regard to the supplementary wages. Those who had started work before 1967 got supplementary wages of 5.8¥, equal to 10% of the average plant wage in 1967. All workers, technical cadres and staff, and all leading cadres below grade 17 got the same amount. Then there were those who were apprentices or practicing technicians (jianxi) in 1967. They were given only one half of a supplement--2.9¥. Then all those who entered after 1967 got no wage supplement at all. The people who got wage supplements have kept them right up to the present. The amounts have not changed, despite changes in the average wage in the plant.

During 1978, shortly after the complete restoration of the former bonus system, they tried to abolish the supplementary wage. This made the old workers very unhappy. They didn't raise too many opinions about this, but their work activism and efficiency went down so strikingly that they restored the supplementary wages in Canton once again after only 3 months. These old workers were the backbone of production, were often the group leaders, and they couldn't afford having them be unhappy. These 5.8¥ supplements were an important portion of the wage they had come to expect. This effect on work efficiency did not start just when the supplements were cancelled, but began even earlier, when they started preparatory propaganda about abolishing them and the workers figured out what was coming. One reason old workers were unhappy with this policy was that this would give them the same wage as some younger workers of the same grade who were not backbone elements.

They have decided finally to use another method to phase out the old supplementary wages. When a worker is given a wage raise in a readjustment, he will be given an increase in wages up to that grade level, and then cancel the supplement. This often would amount them to a raise of only 1-2¥. But this is unlikely to work out either, because the workers feel that this is such a small raise and they have no idea when their next chance for a raise will be--there are still no fixed rules for that in China, it still depends completely on central policy. So it is difficult for these workers to give up the rights they already have. It is like asking them to waste a wage raise. These supplementary wages were almost the same as being a grade higher anyway.

The new bonus system they have had since 1978 is basically similar to the one before the cultural revolution. They divide shops, groups, and individuals into three grades, based on output, quality, attendance, etc. They have quotas for a number of different things. But the differences in income for the grades are smaller than before. This is a big problem, and for that reason the money is not enough to stimulate enthusiasm to the extent that it did before the cultural revolution. Now the highest bonus possible is 9¥ per month, the lowest about 3¥. The most common grade for individuals is grade 2.

There are also year end awards for advanced workers, only a handful in each plant. They got 10+¥ at the end of the year for a year-end bonus (nianzhong jiang). There have also recently been added a series of 'individual item bonuses' (danxiang jiang) in each shop based on the conditions of production. There is a general limit on the amount of money involved, and the shop uses retention of portions of profits, decreases in costs, etc. to distribute itself as it sees fit. These are usually bonuses gauged by

per-unit overfulfillment of production targets. These bonuses cannot be too great. Any extra money from overfulfilling the quotas over the amount they are limited to will be given to the factory. So the difference in income still is not very great. Generally, the difference in amount of money between the grades of bonuses is not really sufficient to spur workers as before the cultural revolution.

Now when they assess for bonuses there are still arguments just as before. But generally the group leader's opinion counts for a lot when they have these assessments. This means that there is a lot of ass-patting (pai mapi) of the leader and some people ingratiate themselves with the leaders in order to get bonuses (kao paimapi). Generally, if you are assessed well by the leader you will do good. If a leader has a bad impression of you it is hard. Things are in some ways run by the concept "will of the leader" (zhangguan yizhi). If the leader says that Zhang is grade 1, then you can't say no, he's really grade 2. These people are the politically reliable ones, with good class background (chushen), who are political activists and ass-patters.

Group leaders are assessed the same as everyone else. They have their own attendance records, production output, quality, etc. So they are not always assessed at grade 1. Now they assess people after work, but since differences in awards are not that great, they don't want to waste much time on the meetings. So often they use an implicit rotation system--the method is a secret to the above leadership levels. But this helps keep discussions short and arguments to a minimum.

Leading cadres as well as staff in departments and shops get bonuses which are the same as the rest of the workers. The leading cadres participate in small group appraisal meetings with the office staff. The awards depend on the shop or department performance. But leaders get no more money than others in the staff. Plant directors, party secretaries, and other leading cadres at that level do not get any bonuses at all. This includes directors, vice-directors, secretaries, vice-secretaries.

Abolishing bonuses during the cultural revolution increased income inequality. Why does he say this? Because when workers got bonuses it increased their income relative to the higher paid. But when they lost bonuses their income went down, and their livelihood was more directly affected than those people who already had much higher incomes.

#### New Workers (7/12/80, 3 hrs.)

The factory was on the outskirts of the city, in the suburbs. New workers did not come directly from the countryside, and could not since the 1950s. There were several sources for new workers. 1) demobilized soldiers. This was one way to get a factory job if you were in the countryside. You joined the PLA first and then usually went to a factory thereafter. This changed after the cultural revolution. They began sending soldiers back to their villages. 2) workers from nearby county towns. This happened when there was unemployment in the town, and a labor shortage in their city plant. 3) the 'social youth'. Before the cultural revolution, but not afterwards, these people would stay at home and study or register with the labor bureau and await a job assignment. These were the 20% who didn't pass the test for lower middle school, and the 40% who didn't pass the test for entering upper middle school. 4) students assigned jobs after graduation from schools at various levels. 5) children of retiring workers. If after retirement you can have a child of age to take your place you can arrange this. This is called the retirement name quota (tuixiu dingming e). This can be arranged also if you are sick and

have to retire early. 6) 'going through the back door'. This is using power and influence to get a factory job for your children. This is only possible for cadres, and is rather rare.

The plant enlarged quickly during the period he was there, and most of the new workers came from the lower and upper middle school graduates in Canton City. Since 1977 they didn't send them down to the countryside first. The city Labor Bureau arranged this. The graduates without work now go to street collectives.

#### Types of Permanent Workers

Those from technical middle school or above become technicians or skilled workers. After one year's practicum (jianxi), the middle level technical graduates are assessed to see whether they should be skilled workers or technicians. The skilled workers can also be upper or lower middle school graduates who go through three year apprenticeship periods. They had many types of skilled workers--electricians, fitters (this required being good with tools, being able to read diagrams), drill press operators, casting workers, turners (chegong), steel mill operators. All these different kinds of machinists plus various other kinds of construction workers, painters, carpenters, gauge repairman, and many others. About 70% of the workers in their factory were skilled workers, about 30% were ordinary workers (putong gongren).

The wages for all skilled workers are the same. It does not vary by specialty. The wages of skilled workers are higher than that of the ordinary workers at each grade, and the difference at each grade gets bigger as the grade gets higher. For example, a grade 1 worker gets 35¥, while a skilled worker at the same grade gets 39¥. Also the promotion possibilities for skilled and unskilled workers are not the same. If you go through the apprenticeship period you will be grade 1 after three years, grade 2 at the end of the 4th year. So the fifth year, by regulation, you are grade 2. If you start as an ordinary worker, you are grade 1, but you have to wait until the next readjustment to be considered for a raise, and even then it is not certain. This, under normal conditions, might take many years. During the cultural revolution and after it took even longer.

They also continued to give young workers study classes before the cultural revolution, twice a week, to raise their cultural, math level. But after the CR this stopped. In 1977 they started again, because the kids coming out of the schools were at a very low level, they couldn't understand an awful lot of things, not even the simplest math, and couldn't even read that well.

#### Temporary and Contract Labor

They had contract workers before the cultural revolution but not after. They stopped hiring new ones to come after then, and after the CR changed them all to permanent workers, and they became part of the unit permanently. Most of them signed contracts, but many had worked much longer. They raised the demand to be changed to permanent status. Very few in the plant were contract workers. They came mostly from among the 'social youth' in Canton.

Temporary workers were in use both before the cultural revolution and after. Before the CR they came both from the city and countryside. After the CR they came only from the countryside. Temporary workers did ordinary labor, cleaned up, dug ditches, moved goods. Contract workers did some kinds of technically skilled work. Contract workers got wages the same as permanent workers. But the temporary workers were given piece rates, or



they were paid by the job, and could leave if they finished early. This was called the 'contract system' (baogong zhi). Also, they paid wages to their commune, not to the individual worker. Temporary workers did not get any kinds of fringe benefits from the factory at all. They have these temporary workers right up to the present, they come from the countryside. They do not come from the city. They do not have contract workers today.

### Punishments, Discipline

For breaking plant regulations, the first step is criticism in small group meetings (piping). The second step is an official warning (jinggao). Then there are two different kinds of 'recordings' (jiguo). Major (da) and minor (xiao). This represents a 'minor reprimand' or a 'major reprimand'. They are officially recorded in the file. This is fairly serious for your future. If you still don't improve, they will keep you under supervision (liuchang chakan). If you still don't improve, they can expel you.

Some problems are more serious than others, so you can start at different steps in the punishment process. For illicit sexual relations, you will at least start with a reprimand (jiguo). The same is the case for stealing. The most common punishments are criticism and warnings.

They did have some workers who were fired. They were continually getting into arguments, fights, stealing things. These were young hooligans. These people had gone through the entire process of criticism, warnings, etc. They were repeated offenders. No others were ever expelled. You can be expelled for prolonged absence without leave--20 days out of the month. But for bad work, coming late, causing accidents due to carelessness, the worst you can get is a criticism or warning.

### Worker Education

There were a number of educational opportunities for workers before the CR. In their factory they had several classes. Some for cultural (reading and writing) education, and some for technical education. Some were run by the education committee of the union. Some were run by the educational group of the safety department. There were also worker technical education schools run by the plant. The young workers were mobilized to attend, but all workers could attend on a voluntary basis. These were usually about two evenings a week. Technicians were the teachers. They also had study classes arranged in shops where experienced workers would teach younger workers technical skills.

The factory's 'school' gave regular middle school level reading and writing classes to workers who had not yet graduated from middle school. Also they had technical school level technical courses. There were also opportunities to go to other schools, but not normally to universities. You could not audit at a university.

From 1967 to 1977 there was basically no program for worker education in their plant. Technical education was considered the 'white and expert' road. Not until 1978 did they start to run these classes again. Now bonuses are related to your willingness to study, and also the higher your technical level, the better the chance for your bonus and raise. So people are more willing to study than before. Generally speaking, workers will study harder if you link promotion a raises to their study activities.

July 21 Workers' Colleges: They had one in their factory during the Gang of Four period. They said these were university level classes, but



they were more like middle school level. The level was quite low. Also the people who participated in these no longer had to work. One person could go from each shop each year. But these 'universities' were a sham (pianren de). They weren't really university level courses. They spent a lot of time running movements and doing political study--too much. The education in these universities was really laughable.

You had to have five years of work experience to get in, then 1.5 years of full time study, then you returned to your shop as a technician. But they didn't really need more technicians in every shop, so sometimes this was a waste. Also, to take his shop as an example, why would an electrician with five years of experience need to take more technical courses?

The teachers in these workers universities were technicians. They started them up in the mid-1970s, and they were rather late in establishing them--he thinks it was around 1976 or so. These people had to have five years of work experience, be 25 years of age or under, and had to have graduated from upper middle school. People would apply, and the shop director would select the person and permit them to go. These schools were disbanded at the end of 1978, not long after the first group had graduated.

#### Chemical Fertilizer Factory (7/19/80, 3 hrs.)

Leading group: Before the cultural revolution, they had 'one-man management' (yizhang zhi) which they borrowed from the USSR. But the powers of the plant director were not as great as in the USSR. China had plant directors 'under the leadership of the party committee'. This meant that the director and party secretary were not parallel as in the USSR--the director was under the leadership of the party secretary. The director was in charge of production and business, and the party secretary was responsible for politics. Of course the plant director was a party member and a party committee member also.

The director was in charge of all operations. But under him were vice-directors. They specialize in different responsibilities. One was in charge of production planning and coordination (diaodu), one was in charge of machinery and equipment maintenance, repairs and renovations. Another was responsible for logistics, or the livelihood and welfare administration of the plant--housing, canteen, medicine. There was another responsible for sales and supply.

Before the cultural revolution, this plant director and the vice-directors were mostly revolutionary cadres from the PLA, and had received training in management in the years since then, and had many years of experience as the top cadres in plants. He refers to these people as 'old cadres'. During the 1960s some engineers from universities began to be promoted to leading groups. Also there were some leaders who had been old workers, always backbone elements, activists, model workers, who had been promoted over the years to be shop director, plant director.

In their plant, they had one university trained engineer who was called 'chief engineer' (zong gongchengshi), and who was vice-director in charge of production. This chief engineer had been an engineer before liberation and had received college training in the US. Those turned out of Chinese universities since liberation were still rare, and still had not gotten enough experience in management to be promoted to top positions. When there was a big question to be decided, the party committee first discusses it in their meeting. The director is usually a vice-party secretary and also a member of the party committee. A couple of the vice-directors were also party committee members. They also had some basic-level leading cadres

like shop directors and some outstanding workers on the party committee. They also might call an 'enlarged party committee meeting', which will also include some non-party people. They do this when they need the participation of the non-party people involved.

During the period of the cultural revolution, and afterwards, they had a revolutionary committee. They decided to simplify administration, and reduced the administration to three groups: production, political work, and administration. The top posts on the revolutionary committee was filled first by a PLA representative, and after he left by a party secretary. They were in effect plant directors also. They had no experience in production, and things were thrown into disorder. There was a lot of reduplication and inefficiency in the administrative groups, and the three groups got larger and larger because they couldn't handle the work assigned to them. The party committee led everything. This was called 'unified leadership' (yiyuan hua lingdao).

After the Gang of Four fell, they returned to the pre-CR system and abolished the revolutionary committees. At the same time they sent a number of old party cadres to cadre schools to learn business skills. A lot of cadres fear these new policies because before they only knew propaganda and political work, and had been criticizing the 'theory of the primacy of production' for such a long time. Those that are able to handle production are afraid to do so because they fear that later on another campaign will come and they will be attacked again for the same kinds of things.

When they abolished the revolutionary committee, everyone went back to their old jobs--workers became workers once again, soldiers went back to the army. These people had no knowledge of production. An old cadre was installed as plant director, who had been sent down during the CR. There was a lot of this sort of ideological problem among people during this time. They remembered the CR era and were timid, were afraid to pursue production and material incentives.

Shop Structure: They had one shop director and two vice-directors, one branch party secretary and one union head. Then there were several office workers. One handled labor and wages, one handled costs calculation, and there was one safety inspector. They also had a few shop technicians, but they were assigned to the sections and not the shops.

They had two sections, the repair section and the electrical power section. Most shop directors are party members and members of the party branch committee. The division of labor and meetings at the plant level are much like those in the shops. Not all assistant shop directors are party members. Most shop directors were experienced workers with high technical skill and knowledge of work operations. Some were university trained technicians who had worked at the basic level for years and had since entered the party. Then they could be promoted to shop director. But this was somewhat less common.

They had several work groups in his section, there being three shifts to each group. But they had four groups (ban) within each production group, and the four groups (ban could also be translated as 'shift') used a rotation system where there would be one group on rest each day. Each shift had a 'shift supervisor' (zhiban zhang) which did on-the-floor leadership work, production coordination. There was also a repair group which worked on 3 shifts.

As a technician in the section, the informant did repairs that popped up, and also drew up renovation and repair plans which had to be approved by the departments after all-plant meetings.

The shop directors and section heads are not assessed for bonuses along with the workers. They are assessed at leadership meetings for bonuses which

are related to shop performance but differences in the amount of money given them is not that great whether or not they finish the targets. They are just divided into three grades like everyone else.

As a technician, the informant's job was to make sure the entire generation system was running well, that there were no electrical shorts, etc. He inspected the generators for oiling, maintenance. On the basis of these daily inspections, he would base his plans for renovation and repairs of a non-urgent nature. Repairs are divided into three levels of seriousness. Large, medium, and small scale repairs. There were regulations and forms for each of these. He had to get permission from the production control office (diaodu shi) of the production department in order to stop machines to repair them. After they are repaired by the repair group under his direction, he directs the testing and has to certify that the machine now meets the required specifications, and he has to sign his name.

### Section Meetings

They normally did not have many meetings in the section. The most common reason for a section meeting was an accident where someone was injured. Then they would have a meeting to discuss and analyze it. Another reason was to criticize people who sleep on the job, do a poor job, have illicit sex and get caught, engage in arguments and fights. They also had section meetings at the beginning of campaigns to hear documents read. These were mobilization meetings.

The work groups had their own meeting system for political study and production, and assessing for bonuses. They had five after-shift meetings per week for one purpose or another. The content was set by the shop leadership who specified the number of meetings to be spent on politics, and the number on production matters.

### Technical Reform Small Groups

They had these kinds of '3-in-1' groups after the cultural revolution, but not before. They combined workers, leading cadres, and technicians. They were not very effective or useful. They accomplished little. They did not meet often, didn't study much. Workers mostly stayed in the shops, and leading cadres in the offices. They had this kind of group, but really it was usually only one meeting or so where they got the necessary participants together and made a decision, and then went ahead and did it. The group did not meet thereafter. Everyone all had their work to do. He feels that the leading cadres called these meetings when they wanted to make a decision because they wanted to be able to make a report to their superiors that they had done this. It was 'in name but no content' (you ming wi shi). They still have this form today. The people are not taken away from their production tasks for this.

### Four Cleans Movement

They had this movement in 1964. A work team came to the plant to investigate the leading cadres at the shop director level and above. The work team was assigned by the provincial leadership, and included cadres and workers pulled out of other factories. These were people who earlier were activists with good political showing. Some were party members, some were not. They were after the people in power.

When they arrived, all the leading cadres stood aside temporarily while the investigations and criticism meetings went on. They solicited criticism on leaders' work styles at meetings. Of course, there were some workers who used this situation to complain "he took away my bonus! He's suppressing the

working class!" So a lot of the criticism was too severe and there was no reason to it.

Production dropped because the work team did not know how to run production. They threw the entire administrative structure into disorder, and used work time to handle the meetings, hold criticisms, put up wallposters. Even though they had criticisms, these were not struggle sessions like during the cultural revolution.

There was a vice shop director who was a grade 1 technical cadre (this must mean grade 10 on the technicians scale), a college graduate from the early 1950s, and who had entered the party. They criticized him for having participated in a KMT youth league organization during middle school.

They did not let you answer back or protest, they just accused you of being dishonest. This man had been a member of the KMT youth for less than a year, and it was in his file and he had already admitted this to the Party long ago. But now the work team was accusing him of having been a leader and backbone element of the organization. They also went after other leaders for having 'proud and haughty' airs, for punishing workers or criticizing them. This was called suppressing the workers. He was sent down to be a worker, and taken away from leading work.

There was a section head who was given the same punishment, he was also accused of looking down on workers, of having relations with the KMT. They also caught some people in corruption. They had stolen some materials, or had juggled sales transactions and kept the money for themselves. These were people in the sales and supply office. At that time fertilizer was dear and these people could demand extra cash and favors for a sale. If the corruption was over 10,000¥, they kicked you out of the party and the unit and sent you to labor reform. There were other less severe forms of punishment given out for lesser corruption.

The campaign continued for about one year until 1965. The general result was that they had gotten rid of some party cadres, but often the things they were accused of were phoney or the seriousness was greatly exaggerated.

#### Cultural Revolution (7/26/80, 3 hrs.)

There were two factions. One faction was the 'dragons beget dragons, tigers beget tigers, Laozi's son will become a great man' people. These were the people whose parentage was in the '5 red categories'. These were people with good class backgrounds, fathers who were revolutionary soldiers, workers, cadres, etc. They formed fighting teams to attack the leadership but did not allow those with bad class backgrounds to participate. Later, those whose class backgrounds were not as good also formed their own fighting groups. They wanted to participate in the movement too.

As the movement went on, the various fighting teams gradually formed into two major organizations as the small fighting groups formed alliances. They did not recognize the "conservative/rebel" distinction. They both claimed to be the true revolutionary faction. There was no great difference in the viewpoints of the two factions. They both wanted to drag out leaders, get power, have the PLA support them, and then monopolize power in the factory. They were in competition.

They supported and opposed different cadres. They took a cadre to a struggle session, and others would oppose this, then drag off another leader. When they met, they would fight, sometimes they were armed. When this happened, production dropped.

There was also a 'centrist' (zhongjian pai) faction, which didn't support or oppose one faction or the other. But they were very small. It was difficult to be unaligned because the two factions were always trying

to get people to support them and join up. It was hard to refuse. Also, factional alignments city-wide were strange. One faction within the plant would join up with the Red Flag, whereas in another plant, a group with the same viewpoint might be aligned with the East Wind. There was no real relationship between one's beliefs and pledging loyalty to one or another city-wide organization. It was a very strange kind of factionalism.

At the beginning, there were a number of separate, small 'fighting groups' criticizing different leaders for all kinds of different reasons. They gradually united into two major opposing factions which went after different leaders, and tried to protect the leaders that the other faction was trying to attack. Gradually literary struggle (wendou) turned into armed struggle (wudou).

Eventually, all the cadres from the shop leadership level and above stood aside. Some of them went to the shop floor to do manual labor with the masses. Some of them were accused of more serious crimes, some historical, and they were sent to study groups (xuexi ban). The non-party cadres were especially out of luck. These were called 'study groups' but no study went on. These were places where they were to be cross-examined and made to confess their errors. Each faction had their own for different cadres. It was not done in any systematic way. Some cadres committed suicide. Also, all the staff and especially technical cadres were sent down for manual labor.

After the cadres stood aside, the two factions ran the factory. If one faction dominated in one shop, then their leader would run it. If another faction dominated in another, then they would run it. They did not cooperate or listen to one another's orders. When the PLA arrived in the plant, they then ran it.

His factory's production was entirely disrupted from about September 1966 until the spring of the next year when the PLA arrived. Production basically stopped. After that it was on and off for a while, still there were problems for quite some time.

### Revolutionary Committee

When the PLA came the newspaper said they were supposed to 'support the left'. But this was questionable. The PLA was different in every region, and had different orientations in different regions. Their job was to negotiate a peace between factions, prevent armed struggle. When they first came they appointed a management committee (guanli weiyuan hui) and organized study groups for the faction leaders to study the great alliance they were to form.

This management committee was not the same as the later revolutionary committee. It was a temporary committee led by the PLA head and had members of both factions in it. It was supposed to manage the factory. But gradually the power of the PLA in it became greater, until the PLA was itself leading the factory. The PLA group was called "PLA support the left group" (jiefang jun zhizuo zu).

The PLA, after the establishment of a 'great alliance committee', held a series of 'fermentation meetings' where the masses expressed opinions on which old cadres were revolutionary and should be 'liberated', and which of their faction leaders should be nominated. At that time the management committee had changed into a 'great alliance committee' under the leadership of the PLA group. After these fermentation meetings were held, the upper levels of leadership, meaning the PLA and the mass leaders, discussed who should be on the revolutionary committee, which cadres should be liberated. They prepared to restore a management structure of some sort in

the plant. After this, the "Military Control Committee" (junguan hui) decided which people would be on the RC. The head of the RC was the head of the military control committee. There were six vice-heads. Three were liberated cadres--the former party secretary, vice secretary, and plant director. The other three were mass representatives, leaders of the factions which were appointed by the committee. There were nine other members of the standing committee. These were the standing members (changwei). They were the vice-heads and heads of various administrative and technical groups which had been established to take the place of the previous departments which had been abolished. They were all full-time cadres who did not participate in production. Some were former middle-level cadres, some previously were workers who now had become cadres. There additionally were close to 60 regular members (weiyuan). They still had regular production jobs, and were workers and staff members.

The entire body of the RC met once or twice a year. The members of the RC were just members in name, and they had no real leadership tasks.

#### Administrative Changes

The previous departments were all abolished. They renamed the shops, departments, and groups according to military terminology. They organized new groups to take the place of previous departments. The heads of these administrative groups were all standing members of the RC. There were 4 groups in all--this was the same arrangement used in all administrative levels from the province and city downward. There was a political work group, a production group, an 'affairs' (banshi) office, and a security group (bao wei zu).

The security group was in charge not only of the physical security of the plant and state property, but also of illegal behavior and crimes. They also handled people accused of political offenses, and investigated their backgrounds. There were about 10 people. The political work group had about 30+, as did the production group. As time went on, each enlarged to about 100 people. At the end, these departments were even more enlarged than the previous departments before the CR. The administrative group had about 10. The political work group did the work of the former party committee and political department. When the party committee was re-established in 1969, the political department became a department under it. The production group did the work of the previous supply department, production department, production control office, and technology department. The administrative group did the work of the previous plant office and administrative department, and safety department.

#### Cleaning of the Class Ranks

At the time they were beginning to establish a great alliance, the Military Control Committee began to run this campaign. It went on for over a year. After the structure was restored and the RC established, it reached its high tide for about 2 months. By that time, the newly established political work and security groups were running the movement. The political group organized the meetings, did the investigations, and the security group would take the people away and then send them to the countryside. Several hundred workers were sent to the countryside, to their home villages, not to return until after 1972, after the death of Lin Biao.

Who was attacked? Mostly people who were dissatisfied with the present situation, who may have made a remark about the availability of commodities which was subsequently reported, or who may have made a politically-colored



joke or pun. Also people who didn't listen to the PLA or RC leadership. These may have been leaders of previous fighting groups. They were people who had engaged in violent struggle, beaten leaders and other workers, who had raided offices and stolen documents and state secrets. These people were sent to public security bureaus and to labor reform, not back to their home villages.

At the same time, a large number of cadres like the informant--staff and technicians--were sent down to the shops to be workers. The informant worked in the shops for three years, and not until Lin Biao died did he return to office work. They sent a lot of people down to villages, and attacked them during these campaigns, who in reality were good people who had no real problems. The peasants didn't like having all these people being sent to their areas. After all, a farm's a center of production, not a jail.

#### Evolution of Administration, 1972-76

In 1972 or so they restored the departments, and began to call them ke once again. The groups had grown so large that they were unmanageable, and they had to split them up again. They also returned all of the former department personnel to the offices, and returned some of the workers in the offices back to the shops. There were also a couple of vice-directors who had been 'left hanging' for several years who returned to the standing committee to take up duties again.

The PLA also left in 1972, and the party secretary became the head of the RC. The PLA left gradually. At first, all the heads of the administrative groups had been members of the military control committee, and they gradually left one by one, and finally the head of the committee himself left, leaving the plant with no military officers.

There was still some factionalism among the leadership during this time. The old cadres were resentful of those who had attacked them earlier. Then there were a lot of new cadres who earlier had been workers. They had moved up very fast, like airplanes, and they were afraid of neither heaven nor earth. But they didn't know much about leading production. These were not factions, but just two groups of people who didn't get along well with one another.

#### Changes after the Gang of Four

Other than the changes in wages, the first and most striking change was that they began to organized and mobilize workers to study technical skills. They began to restore rules and regulations of the old days. The amount of political study decreased, and an increase in safety meetings, technical study meetings. A group of cadres whose cases had never been cleared up, and some of the people sent to the countryside during the cleaning of the class ranks who had never been cleared, returned from the shops and the countryside.

Almost all of the standing committee members on the RC who had become cadres during the cultural revolution and who formerly had been workers, were sent back to their previous work. But among them those who had gotten into departments or were shop-level leaders, very few were sent back to their previous posts. Only those among them who had committed serious errors were. This is why they say, "cadres can move up, but not down" (ganbu neng shang, bu neng xia).

In 1978 they abolished the RC and restored the plant director system. The party secretary who was leading the RC became the Party secretary, and one vice head of the RC who had been vice plant director before the



CR became the plant director. They established an office of the Chief Engineer, and put an old vice-director from before the CR in charge. They promoted five old technicians to be engineers. Two went to work in the office of the Chief Engineer. The others became the heads of 3 departments. The old plant director from before the CR had been promoted to a job in the bureau earlier, in 1973.

About a year before the Gang of Four fell, they abolished the political department (zhengzhi bu), because it reduplicated the efforts of the propaganda department and organization department which were also under the party. The structure was too enlarged and there was too much duplication, so they abolished it. They still have the security department. You can't abolish that. Its powers are still the same as before.

They had no elections of any officials after the fall of the gang of four. They did have a workers' congress every year, but this was nothing special. They had been having them since the end of the CR.