

PERSONAL DATA

Age: 43

Sex: Male

Education: Medical College graduate

Total Years Relevant Experience: 5

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1968

Year Left China: 1980

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native Place/Overseas Connections: Jiangsu native/OS ties unknown

Class Background/Political Designation: Landlord

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OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Factory doctor, Shanghai Textile Factory, 1964-68

2) Medical worker in villages, 1968-73

3) Chief of Internal Medicine, Provincial Hospital, 1973-80

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

1) Municipal/(4000)

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APPOINTMENTS: 2

TOTAL HOURS: 3

PAGES TEXT: 2

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Occupational History (5/24/80, 1 hr.)

The informant was born in 1937 to a landlord family in Jiangsu. He grew up in Shanghai. After graduation from medical school he worked in a textile factory in Shanghai, as the clinic doctor, from 1964-68. From 1960-64, right after graduation, he worked as a doctor in a Shanghai hospital, and was later transferred to the factory. In 1968 he was sent to the countryside for a while, living in the villages, and later did work in a small county hospital. In 1973, they implemented the party's intellectual policy, and he was transferred to a provincial hospital where he was chief of internal medicine. He did this until January 1980, when he came to Hong Kong legally.

Experience as Factory Doctor (5/31/80, 2 hrs.)

He was the leading doctor of the factory clinic. They had under 100 beds in the clinic, this for a work unit of 4000 employees. The beds were for outpatients. They had both an inpatient and outpatient clinic. The bed-staff ration was 1.1, so they had about 100 staff workers. There were five kinds of staff workers. They had a party branch secretary, and a clinic head (yuanzhang) who was also a party member, and the head of the clinic. He could be a doctor, but sometimes he was not. But this person didn't need to know about the business. They had over 20 doctors, and about 20 nurses. In addition there were a lot of political workers and party staff, also cashiers, accountants, receptionists, and administrative personnel and service workers.

All the doctors in the clinic had the power to sign workers' sickness certificates, a sick leave form. Once the form is signed, they must notify the shop and group leaders. He will give a certain number of days rest. Then the form has to get approved by the section or group leader. But in most cases they just follow the doctor's opinion. But sometimes, if the doctor fills out the form for 7 days of rest, the shop or section leader might approve it only for 3-5 days. The doctor makes the judgment about how many days rest a person needs.

Were there any people who weren't really sick but just wanted leave? Yes, too many! There were two ways this took place. First, if the person had good relations with the doctor they would just tell him up front that they needed a rest, had family problems, etc. These were people that had good guanxi. The second way was that a worker would come in complaining of a sickness, but would be feigning illness. This is more difficult because science isn't so advanced. What if a person has a headache? No amount of examining can tell you whether the person really has a problem or not. So it's difficult.

The first method usually worked, because these people have good relations with the doctor and the doctor has sympathy with them. The second method also works most of the time because of the limits of science. The real problem is not sickness but that people aren't interested in their work. The most common method of getting sick leave was the first.

There were ways of going through the back door. If you don't know a doctor personally you ask for the help of a friend who knows a doctor. Then the friend can introduce him to the doctor and help set up good relations. It was very common for doctors to receive gifts and favors from workers. Apples, oranges, candy, small things worth no more than about 2-3¥ or so. Doctors could also get free repairs from people who would come to his home. On occasion, they would give you grain ration tickets, although they didn't

need these, since they had enough and they were very common.

The informant says he had no use for these things personally, because he got overseas remittances and his family's economic situation was very good. When he was offered these favors he refused. But people would insist and sent them to his house. Other doctors would accept these things--almost as much as leading cadres who were the worst in this respect. He looks down on these practices, and says it is a shortcoming, and calls the many doctors who do accept these gifts "Philistines" (yes, he comes up with the english word for this).

They always had this problem, but before the cancellation of the bonus system in 1965 it was not widespread. But it got progressively worse after 1965. Especially during and after the cultural revolution, right up to 1978. There was about 10 years when this was a major problem. Of course the party secretary would set limitations on the number of sick leave forms to give out, but this was just his personal order, not a set regulation. So enforcement was lax. If he happened to be interested in the problem that month, the party secretary might check the records, but mostly he just gave the order and forgot about it. The enforcement of these kinds of small edicts was just a mess. Each secretary made up his own laws and rules, but there was no system of regulations and enforcement.

Cadres would sometimes do this sort of thing to get sick leave, but this was rare because their work conditions were better than workers, and they could relax at work.

#### Provincial Hospital Experience

He worked in a cadres ward. There were special privileges for cadres depending on the time period we're talking about. Right after liberation all cadres were about the same. But up to the time of the CR certain levels of cadres had developed to the point where they enjoyed special privileges--better, bigger rooms, more expensive medicine and better service. Even the attitude of the attendants were different. During the high tide of the CR they completely did away with these privileges, but within a year they had come back.

Cadres also fled to these hospitals when they feared a political campaign. This began in the 1950s, and continued right up to the beginning of the CR. But it was most serious at the time of the CR. Cadres usually came to the hospital to escape criticism, or to lick their wounds after losing a struggle. Cadres from all levels came in at that time, because there were struggles from the party center right down into units. Sometimes they went early because they knew a political struggle was coming, and sometimes they went right in the midst to escape, and sometimes went after being struggled and defeated. They of course continued to draw full wages during the hospitalization. The old ones would claim arteriosclerosis or hypertension, which of course most of them had anyway. But they were not so serious as to require a hospital stay. But they insisted on admission.