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PERSONAL DATA

Age: 50

Sex: Female

Education: University graduate (Law)

Total Years Relevant Experience: 9

Last Year of Relevant Experience: 1966

Year Left China: 1977

Initial Immigration Status: Legal

Native Place/Overseas Connections: China native/Parents OS Indonesia(pre'49)

Class Background/Political Designation: OS

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## OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SUMMARY

Positions Held: 1) Industrial Reporter, Provincial newspaper in coal  
mining district, Henan, 1958-62

2) Secretary, Director's Office, Coal Mine, Henan, 1962-66

3) Teacher, Middle School, Henan, 1966-77

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

2) Municipal or Province/(2000)

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

at various times in career

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APPOINTMENTS: 3

TOTAL HOURS: 5.75

PAGES TEXT: 8

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Occupational History (5/18/80, 1.5 hrs.)

The informant is of overseas Chinese background, although she never left China until she came to Hong Kong in 1977. Her mother had come back to China from Indonesia before 1949. She graduated from middle school in China in 1947, worked for a couple of years, and then after liberation did organizational work in the early 1950s--anti-corruption, land reform, socialist transformation of industry campaigns. Later she entered a university in Peking and graduated in 1957. Then she was sent to do work in the countryside for a period. She had specialized in law, so at first she was assigned to a Court for a short period, but later she was assigned to a provincial newspaper in Henan as a reporter. This was a small local paper in a coal mining area, so she naturally wrote on mining often. She talked often with party secretaries, mine directors, and other officials. She did this from 1958-62.

In 1962 she was transferred to be the secretary in the administrative office of a coal mine, called the 'xingzheng' office, under the mine director in an enterprise of 2000 employees. Her job was to take notes, help arrange meetings for the director, attend these meetings and help out. In the office they had 4-5 people--one secretary, 2 office personnel (banshi yuan) who were general office helpers, a typist, and one corresponding secretary. There were also some minor people who also helped out--for example phone operators. The secretary's job was to write up minutes and reports, write up plans, and conclusions taken at meetings in which the director took part. She worked with the mine director in virtually everything he did. This was the director's office--they also had an administration department (xingzheng ke) which was separate.

She did this work until 1966. After this she became a middle school teacher of political economy in the area, and did this until she left for Hong Kong legally in 1977. During this period she still had contact with industry, because from 1967-76 every year she and her students did manual labor and 'on the spot investigations' in factories. She went to a number of factories, so many that she has forgotten, but she did go to chemical and machinery plants.

Wages

After graduation from college she was a grade 22 administrative cadre, and was paid 51¥. Usually college graduates get 40+¥, but since she worked as a cadre before college she was given more money after graduation. Around 1962, they gave raises to about 4-5% of the cadres, and she got one. During the same readjustment, they raised a large number of workers. She was promoted to grade 21, and got 57¥ thereafter. Later, when she moved to a different area to be a teacher, she was raised to 59.5¥, but this was due to the cost of living differential between the two areas.

Bonuses

In the mine, they had a system of monthly assessments in small groups. Everybody discussed individual performances. First they discussed attendance, then they considered work activism and attitude. They also looked at relations with other workers. They also looked at political thought, and whether or not you are an advanced or backward element, whether you think of the collective or think of yourself, whether you are satisfied or always complaining.

For workers, they divide them into 3 grades: 9¥, 7¥, and 5¥. After the selections are made the name list is sent up through the section and shop leaders to pare down the list and give permission. Finally the list is sent

to the labor and wages department and the money is sent out.

Cadres in offices, like the informant, had quarterly assessments, not monthly ones. Grade 1 was 25¥, grade 2, 20¥, and grade 3, 15¥.

Not everybody received bonuses, since there was a fixed number of people to get each grade, and a fixed number to go without. These were generally adhered to at the shop level and work group level, although some exceptions were sometimes allowed. But the figures had to balance at the enterprise level. About 50% of the employees went without bonuses. About 5% got grade 1, and more got grade 2, while the most got grade 3. This was abolished in 1966.

They also had other material incentives, like supplements for hazardous work below the surface. Miners got much higher grain and meat rations.

### Discipline and Firings

If someone's work wasn't good, they did educational work. This was the job of the party organization. They thought if your thought was good, then your work was good. If your work was not good, then you must have some sort of thought problem. So they would then talk to the person--what's the problem? Family trouble? Economic problems? The second step is to criticize the person in the small group. There are all kinds of organizations to apply pressure--the union, youth league, and other party members. The third step is to take away the bonus.

If these fail, then they move to administrative measures. First comes an official warning. Then comes entering the problem on the person's dossier--this is called 'recording'. In the most serious cases, they will suspend a person for a few days with pay. The final sanction is to expel the person from the plant, but this is very rare. In all her years in the mine, only one worker was fired. He had not come to work for a long time, stole things, engaged in illicit sexual relations. So he was expelled and sent to his native village. People really fear being expelled, because that means you can be sent to the countryside.

### Worker Motivation

There were not problems with worker activism in the early 1960s when she worked in industry. They still had the bonus system then. You can say that this period (from the great leap to the CR) was the best period for worker activism. Only during the cultural revolution and after did it become a mess. Beginning in the cultural revolution, there were no competitions, no comparisons, no assessments, no bonuses. After the cultural revolution she often went to factories with students, and she could see that things had changed. Women would wash clothes on the job, repair their cloth shoes. Why? Because the leaders were still paralyzed, and had been accused of being capitalist roaders, and didn't dare discipline workers. Anyway, no one would listen to them if they tried. Also workers could use all kinds of methods to get around regulations. After the CR there was a backdoor for everything, and it became very serious.

### Great Leap Forward (5/26/80, 2.25 hrs.)

During 1953-56 they handled the transformation of private capital well. Then they had Party Rectification, and the following anti-rightist campaign. After the anti-rightist campaign the Party was actually in control of everything, because people were afraid to say anything which did not praise the CCP and its policies. The General Line for the transition period had been completed. The slogan for the general line was "go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building

socialism". (see the URI glossary of political terms, p. 143, entry 0461). This was the beginning of the Great Leap Forward. They raised the slogan 'arouse the masses' (fadong qunzhong). When the Great Leap actually came, they handled the "all out, faster" part, but not the "more economical". In fact you can just say it was "fast" and nothing more.

For example, all units began to make steel by traditional methods. Party secretaries would ask directors every day how much they had produced. They held meetings periodically where each director was in attendance, and had a kind of competition where each one would declare how much they would increase production. The more they declared, the better they were looked upon by the upper levels. As a reporter during this time she participated in some of these meetings and wrote stories about them. These meetings were enlarged meetings of the Municipal Party Committee of the City. Each plant director would attend and give a testimonial.

When the directors returned to their enterprises, they would hold an enlarged party committee meeting, with various shop leaders and other leading cadres in attendance. They transmitted the demands of the Municipal Party Committee. In the mines, each district (qu) director had to listen to these reports, raise opinions, talk about the situation in their units. The department heads also gave opinions. The district directors were given new targets of how many tons they must produce during the next period.

After this meeting, if all foreseeable problems are ironed out, they call an all-plant mass meeting. All workers attend--from all three shifts. They gave the workers their new tasks, and tried to whip up their enthusiasm.

In fact, all of this target setting had little to do with reality. The leadership was happier the more enterprise leaders pledged to produce, but in reality they couldn't produce these things. There was also false reporting from the bottom, in the shops and groups, right up to the top level. The most exaggeration took place at the top. Party secretaries did not find out until later that they were all false.

An example of the waste this caused were these small steel furnaces. People stayed up all night several nights in a row, there was always overtime, and even little children came in to help. They pulled out metal window frames, iron bedframes, file drawers, and melted them all down.

They also had 'on the spot' meetings in the districts organized by the top leading cadres, who went right down into the mine to hold meetings with groups or work areas that were doing well. The leading cadres ordered these meetings. They also had technical innovation (gexin), like having technicians improve a drill so it can work faster. There were innovations in the dynamiting process to make it possible to blast faster, but she is not clear on the details.

When they worked faster in mining they tended to neglect safety. Accidents increased. In one case they had a cave-in that killed 8-10 people because workers in a higher level shaft were drilling too far down and dynamited before the lower levels had put up support beams. The intervening layer of rock caved in.

They did increase production, but not as much as they reported. They also made some good technical innovations. They overfulfilled output targets, but waste was very high. They didn't record costs--materials, labor used. They didn't run things according to scientific laws, they just did things they wanted, subjectively, and tried to push their ideas through. But it was very costly.

As part of this campaign, almost all the members of the staff offices went down into the mines to work. They only stopped if there were meetings above. But if you went to the department offices in the mines during the

Great Leap, you wouldn't find anyone there. There were no bonuses during the Great Leap. They assessed people for a "red flag" award.

She knows what she knows about this process because as a reporter she attended enlarged party committee meetings in mines, and all-mine employees meetings, and also went to model districts and small groups to talk with the leaders and workers. She wrote news reports and sent them back to the city newspaper office.

#### Mine Organization

Her mine had one director and 2 vice-directors. They are under the orders of the bureau and also the party secretary. The director was the vice-head of the party committee, and both vice-directors were members of the party committee. The director handles all work, and oversees the entire process. He attends to the work of all the departments--both administrative and production. Each of the vice-directors concentrates on production. One will be responsible for the night shift, the other for the day. Or they will divide their responsibilities by districts (qu). They are responsible for helping to solve major problems in production that pop up. The director works most closely with the departments, while the vice directors work most closely with area chiefs (quzhang).

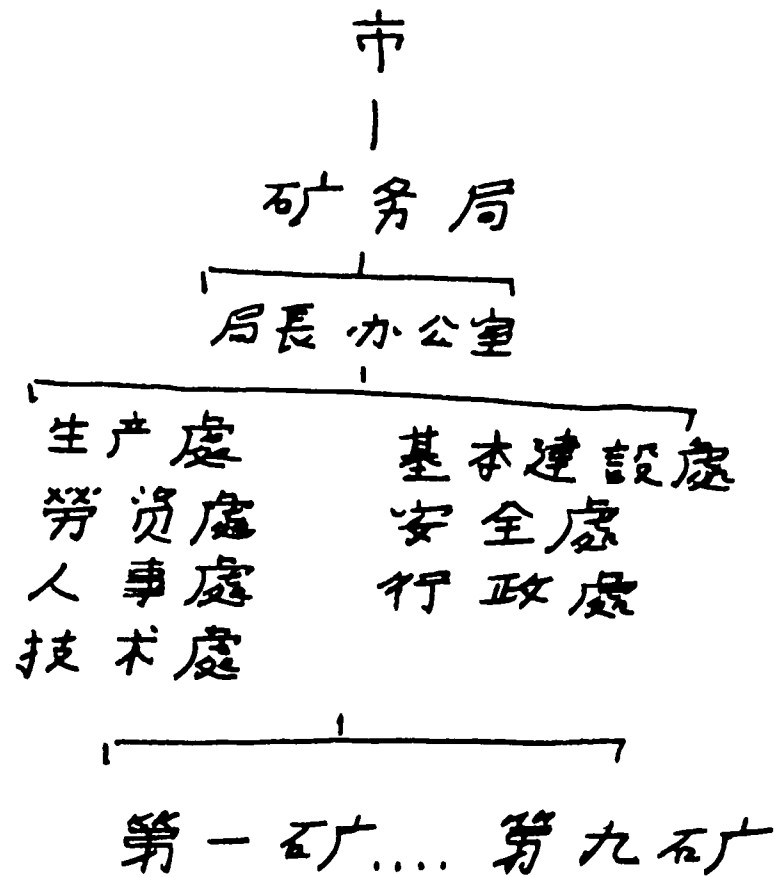
The secretary in the director's office handles all the plant director's communications that are written down, and arranges his phone calls. If an order is important, it will be written down and then someone will be responsible for carrying it out. They had 2-3 messengers in her office, young kids, who would run memos to other offices. These were written notices (shumian tongzhi). This was the most common form of communication, since telephones were not the automatic kind, and it was hard to call through, and it was not always certain the person would be in his office.

Another way of relaying orders was through meetings. Each month they had an enlarged Party Committee meeting, where the leading cadres at each level would attend (if they were party members). They would talk about production, but in general terms only, and only about the largest problems. Also, every week they had a regular party committee meeting of the 7-8 party committee members. This included the leading group of secretaries and directors, and a few department heads and maybe an area chief. She sometimes attended these meetings to take notes for the director. These were largely meetings for Party organizational life, where they would hear reports from the rest of the party organization--the party branches, and the party small groups. They hear reports on the organizational and political, ideological and study activities at each level. They sometimes discussed production and its problems, but just in a general way. Mostly they just talked about party organizational matters and politics.

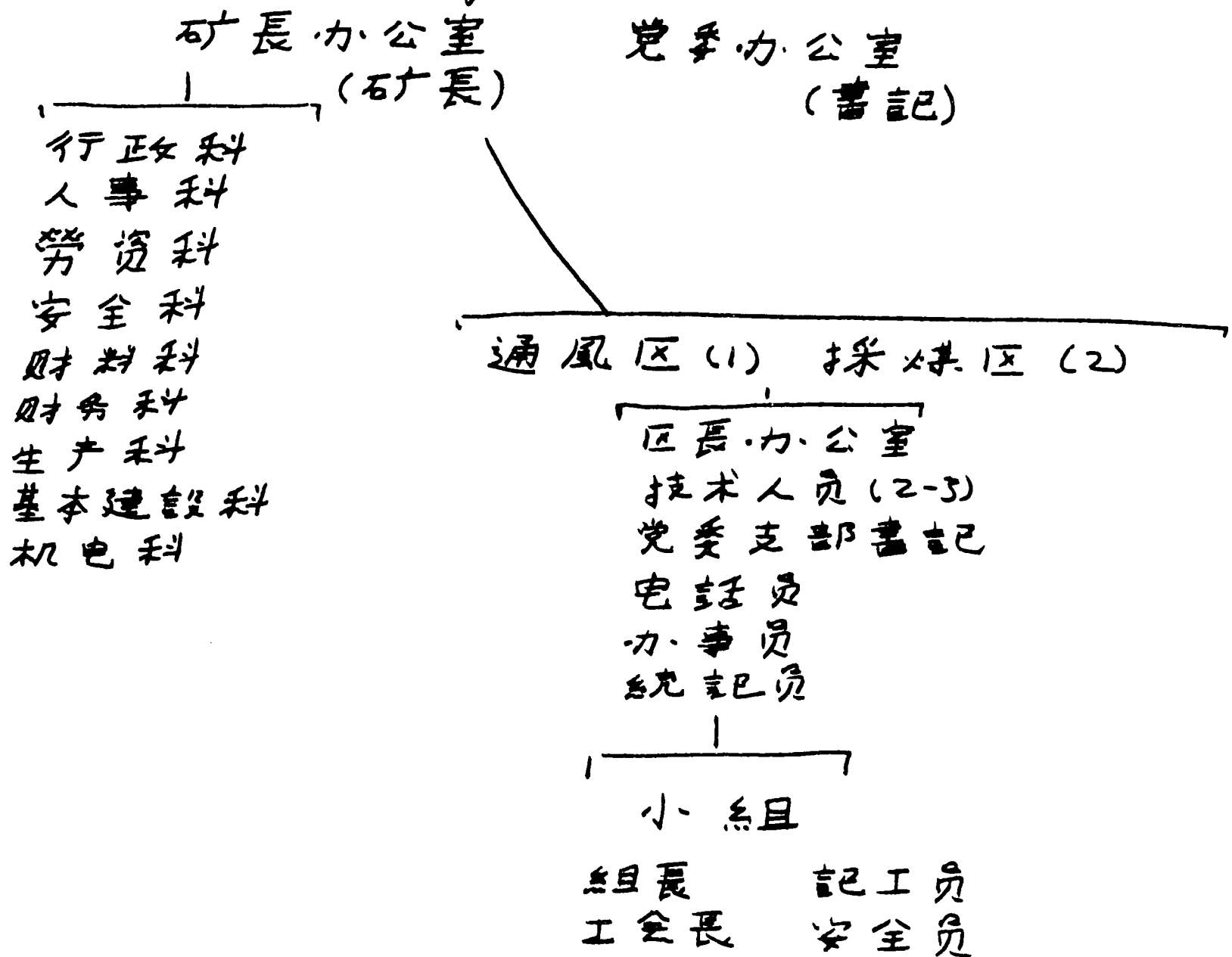
The mine director himself convenes 'production meetings' at least once a month, but there is no set period for these, they vary by situation. The leading cadres from the departments and areas attend, also leading technicians and secretaries. They talk about overall operations in detail, and talked about concrete situations, asked in detail about conditions in each sub-unit. They talked about safety precautions, and preparations.

Before these meetings are held the director's secretary goes around to talk with the various area chiefs and department heads, and the 'technicians in charge' of the production department. This last person is equivalent to the chief engineer, and he works closely with the director. In their plant his scale was not high enough to be called 'engineer', so she refers to him as a technician. In these talks the secretary finds out about the situation and problems in each sub-unit, writes up notes, then submits briefs to the

# Mining Bureau Organization



## Mine Organization (2000 职工)



director which he read in preparation for the meetings.

There were other meetings. They had 'business meetings' (yewu huiyi) of the personnel in each department to discuss their speciality, and their work. Every month they also had an all plant mass meeting (quan kuang dahui) about the month's production. The mine director would give a report, give production figures and goals for the next period. He will discuss which work teams fulfilled their quotas well, and in what areas there were problems. This meeting took place during work hours, so they kept it to about one hour. All employees of the mine would attend, and would then be able to raise opinions about the problems and the plans. Workers rarely said anything, and if they did it was of little consequence. This was basically a formalistic 'asking of opinions'. In fact, everyone has already been sounded out and opinions heard during the preparatory period previous to the meetings, so they know what's on people's minds, and what opinions there are in the plant.

#### Workers' Congresses (6/2/80, 2 hrs.)

They had these before the CR. They met at least once a year. All the leaders attended. For ordinary (non-leading) cadres, about one representative attended for every 20 in the enterprise, while there was about 1 worker representative for every 50 workers. They met usually for about 3 days, all day long, and these people didn't do any work during these days.

First there are reports about the year's outcomes and situation with regard to plan fulfillment. They then divide into small groups to discuss. Then each group writes up a report of their opinions and suggestions. Then they have a summing-up meeting where they discuss all problems and opinions. They discuss different problems--production, safety, quality, basic construction, wages. After returning to the small groups, they discuss the meetings in the small groups with the representatives.

Representatives are selected usually by a show of hands in the small group--cadres in department offices sometimes would cast ballots. Of course Party opinion was important in nominations. But after the party had to approve the nominee--they had to investigate the nominated individual to make sure he has the right political background and history. About 90% of the nominees were found to be all right. These representatives must have good political thought, good work records, good attendance records, good relations with their coworkers, and good class backgrounds.

If a campaign came, there generally were more meetings in the plant. It depended on the nature and size of the campaign. But they would usually have a 'mobilization meeting' (dongyuan huiyi) at the beginning to give speeches and hear opinions, after that it varied by the campaign.

#### Reports

In her office, there were others who handled the statistics and reports. The most important were the daily production reports which were filled out by each group on each shift. They would go up to the production department or to the production control (diaodu) office to be added up and analyzed. The purpose of this is to find out exactly where there are problems, solve them immediately, and assure balanced production. There were other reports of lower frequency--on wages, safety. These varied according to the type of report. The plant director receives copies of all these reports.

#### Party Role in Management

They did not have a political department with that title in the mine

but they had an office under the party secretary that you could call a political department. There were no departments (ke) under the party. There was no cadre department, etc. The personnel department was under the mine director. The party secretary did not both with day to day production matters. He attended production meetings, would listen, raise opinions afterwards. He also handled the propagation of good experiences, the criticism of bad experiences, and the picking of advanced workers and units.

This was the situation in the early 1960s. It was different during the Great Leap. The party secretary would raise extremely high targets for coal, and no one could oppose him. For example, once during the Great Leap they raised a demand for a high output of coal that was impossible--even if the entire cubic volume of the mining district had been pure coal, they couldn't have met that target. When party secretaries raised opinions during the Great Leap it was not usually based on science. Also, in 1959 they had an anti-rightist campaign against those in the party who had doubts about the wisdom of the Leap. This was in the midst of the movement, and affected all party cadres but mostly basic-level party cadres. During the 1960s the party secretaries did not involve themselves in production in this way.

#### Union

They had a union, and its functions were connected with the workers' congress. The union had a chairman at the top, and the organization was divided into union small groups. They also had a union committee at the plant level. Every small group had an administrative leader and union leader. The union leader led the selection of the delegates to the congress. The union was also responsible for workers welfare. The union cadres worked at the administration of these matters along with the administrative department.

#### Political Study

The workers had political study about once a week, before or after the shift for about one hour. The staff had half a day of study at least once a week, sometimes twice if there was a campaign. In general, when a campaign came the number of meetings would increase. Also, the business meetings would often be cancelled and replaced by political study. Political study was generally to read and discuss important central documents, meetings, policy changes.

#### Political Campaigns

There were no big political campaigns during the period she was in the mine. They did not even have the four cleans movement, or the socialist education movement. But during that period there were smaller campaigns to study Mao's thought, and also to study DaQing and Dazhai. There were no factions of any importance in the mine before the cultural revolution. By the time that movement began, she was already teaching in a middle school.

#### "Going Through the Back Door"

Before the CR, they generally ran things according to set procedures. But after the CR there was a back door for everything. Managers could go through the backdoor for production materials, labor. Individuals could go through the back door for ration coupons, work leave, and for buying scarce items. Managers also used the backdoor for their personal interests,



so despite their low wages they lived quite well.

Why did this situation get worse after the CR? Conditions were this way--wages were low, material things were scarce. So people used whatever advantages they had, given their positions in society. So procuring agents and workers in canteens, and those who managed personal dossiers, etc. were willing to exchange favors from others, and cultivate connections (gao guanxi) to live easier and for mutual advantage.

Of course, they did have these things before the CR too, she can't say they didn't have it at all. Its just that it was on a smaller scale and kept secret before the CR. They didn't do these kinds of things openly. But after the CR this became much more widespread, much more open, and used in common everyday situations. You can say that after the CR they "used ganging in the place of policies".

At the outset, in the early years of the People's Republic, people's ideology was better, they were more willing to serve the collective and not think of their own interests. But this started to change after the anti-rightist campaign in 1957. From that time forward the Party increased its power, attacked intellectuals and after that people began to tell the Party what it wanted to hear, and withdraw from true and active involvement. People began to think more about how to protect themselves and to look out for their own interests. This was the beginning of the period when the Party and when Mao became cut off from reality. Mao only listened to those who agreed with him--all others were rightists. Mao didn't understand economic efficiency, economics, science. He was from a peasant background and had mostly an education of reading classical books. He just didn't understand, and refused to hear opposing opinions.