苏家俊访谈记录

Su Jiajun interview transcript

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**Interviewer: Wen Hui**

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**采访地点：**云南省楚雄洲双柏县大庄镇，大河边村

Location: Dahebian Village, Dazhuang Town, Shuangbai County, Chuxiong Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province

苏家俊，1939年出生，楚雄洲双柏县大庄镇大庄村**采访梗概**：

Abstract:

采访人与被访人有亲戚关系，称被访人“舅姥爹”，即舅姥爷，因为被访人家庭属于地主，曾经历过家庭被抄家的土改，采访主要内容涉及：土改当时发生的情况，抄家，分田分财产，“大人（成年人）被关，小孩子被赶跑”。采访的另一个重点是，因为被访人认识采访人的爷爷（解放前是地主并做过县长），解放后被判刑在劳改农场10年，回到家乡村子被管制劳动（当时是1960年），采访人通过被访人回忆，讲述采访人爷爷从劳改农场回到村子后“被管制劳动”的生活。

The interviewer is a relative of the interviewee and called him “uncle grandpa” (uncle of his mother). As the interviewee came from a landlord family, he experienced the Land Reform when his family’s possessions were confiscated. Topics of the interview included: what happened during the Land Reform; confiscation and redistribution of his family’s land and wealth; “Adults were jailed and kids expelled.” The interviewee knew the interviewer’s grandfather, and through the interviewee’s memory, the interviewer recalled the life of “work under control” of the interviewer’s grandfather after he came back to the village from the labor camp farm. The interviewer’s grandfather was a landlord and used to be a county magistrate, therefore he was sentenced to ten years of reform through labor on a labor camp farm after liberation. He came back to his home village and worked under control. That was another main part of the interview.

**采访抄录**：

Transcript:

文慧：你叫什么名字？

Wen Hui: What’s your name?

苏家俊：我叫苏家俊

Su Jiajun: Su Jiajun.

文慧：你属什么？

Wen Hui: What is your zodiac animal?

苏家俊：属兔。

Su Jiajun: Rabbit.

文慧：你几岁了？

Wen Hui: How old are you?

苏家俊：好像是七十二三了。

Su Jiajun: About 72 or 73.

文慧：不记得了吗？

Wen Hui: Don’t you remember.

苏家俊：反正是属兔的。

Su Jiajun: Anyway, I was born in the year of rabbit.

文慧：你吃过伙食团吗？

Wen Hui: Have you eaten at People’s Commune Canteen?

苏家俊：吃过了，吃伙食团那会儿差不多十多岁，将近二十岁。

Su Jiajun: Yes. I was almost twenty at that time.

文慧：还记得那时候吃伙食团怎么吃的吗？

Wen Hui: Do you remember how did you eat at People’s Commune Canteen?

苏家俊：吃伙食团就是全部聚在一起，生产队统一办伙食，吃大锅饭。农民，一个生产队办一个伙食团，像我们集体单位也是办伙食团。

Su Jiajun: Everyone gathered together and the production brigade cooked for all, the so-called “daguofan (egalitarian great pot).” Every production brigade had its own People’s Commune Canteen, so did collective units like ours.

文慧：那个时候你在哪？

Wen Hui: Where were you back then?

苏家俊：那时我在易门，办伙食团时就在易门了。也是六几年。

Su Jiajun: I was in Yimen since People’s Commune Canteen began in the 1960s.

文慧：嗯，五九年到六一年。

Wen Hui: Yes. It was from 1959 to 1961.

苏家俊：五九年我还在双柏。

Su Jiajun: I was still in Shuangbai in 1959.

文慧：那个时候办伙食团了吗？

Wen Hui: Did People’s Commune Canteen start at that time?

苏家俊：那个时候没办。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：那个时候双柏没有伙食团吗？

Wen Hui: There was no People’s Commune Canteen in Shuangbai then?

苏家俊：那会儿不办，五八、五九那几年是大练钢铁。

Su Jiajun: No. In 1958 and 1959 the focus was the Backyard Furnace Campaign.

文慧：那那会儿你在哪？

Wen Hui: Where were you at that time?

苏家俊：那会儿我就在易门了。54年就出去了。52年土改结束就去了易门了。

Su Jiajun: I was already in Yimen. I left in 1954. After the land reform ended in 1952 I went to Yimen.

文慧：吃伙食团能吃饱吗？

Wen Hui: Were you able to have enough eating at People’s Commune Canteen?

苏家俊：那会儿怎么能吃饱，名义上，给我们吃42斤，因为是伙食团，人人都要节约，所以只能吃32斤粮食，基本就是一顿有几两米饭吃。

Su Jiajun: How could it be? Nominally we got 42 jins (translator: one jin=500 grams). In fact, we only had 32 jins because everyone had to save some. Basically, we got a few liangs (translator: one liang=50 grams) of rice for each meal.

文慧：那吃不饱怎么办呢？

Wen Hui: Then how did you do if you were hungry?

苏家俊：吃不饱也没办法，总之人家就给那点儿吃的，我们还算好，农民可能会有蚕豆，白薯，这些掺着吃。没有的时候么，草根树皮，山上的橄榄，易门叫的渣子，我们叫多依（一种植物、野菜）都拿来吃。那个时候的副食品沙糕都是糖林果，叫橄榄糖，橄榄蜜饯，有糖的时候裹一点糖，没糖就把橄榄炸了以后拌点盐，就叫橄榄蜜饯。

Su Jiajun: Nothing. That was all they gave you. We were on the better end. Peasants might eat broad beans and sweet potatos (with rice). If these were gone, grassroots, bark, white olives, a wild herb that Yimen locals called “zhazi” and we called “duoyi” were all eaten. Shagao cakes, the subsidiary food back then, were made from tanglin fruits. They were called white olive candy or sugared white olives. They coated white olives with sugar if they had sugar. If not, they fried white olives, lightly salted them, and called them “sugared white olives.

文慧：你有没有吃过多依呢？

Wen Hui: Have you tasted duoyi?

苏家俊：吃过，多依还是好吃的，多依糖，野菜嘛，山上的，他们叫的什么白大药、什么沙老树。

Su Jiajun: Yes. They tasted good. That was why they were called duoyi candies. As for wild potherbs, there were baidaya and shalao trees in the mountains.

文慧：沙老树怎么吃?

Wen Hui: How did you eat shalao trees?

苏家俊：沙老树的根挖来以后和糯米粑粑一起吃还是有点黏的，沙老树头也是拿来处理以后和腌菜一起吃。

Su Jiajun: Dug the roots out and mixed with rice cakes to eat. They were a bit sticky. New leaves were treated and eaten with sauerkraut as well.

文慧：是什么味道？

Wen Hui: How did they taste?

苏家俊：反正不是很好吃，吃着像树脂的味道，只是吃进去不会中毒。像我们单位，那个时候还叫单位，在没有菜的季节有个糕点厂，他们又做咸菜，做咸菜也做豆腐的话，有些豆腐渣就吃了，现在谁还吃豆腐渣。

Su Jiajun: Not tasty. Like resin, but they were not poisonous at least. For example, our unit—it was called a unit back then—had a desert factory when there was no vegetables, the factory also made sauerkraut and tofu. Some of the tofu residues were eaten—who will eat them now?

文慧：你吃豆腐渣吗？

Wen Hui: Did you eat these residues?

苏家俊：吃呀。

Su Jiajun: I did.

文慧：那豆腐渣怎么吃呢？

Wen Hui: How?

苏家俊：拿来煮煮放点盐，没有油脂。山茅野菜么，采那些树叶子，其实有些去山上找山茅野菜，生产队给一二两米去找，找来不够吃，也没有力气爬山。有的生产队，在白薯挖回来的那个季节，炸了以后用老米糠拌了吃，那会儿日子是难过的。所以，你爷爷在伙食团那个时候，后来从伙食团回来，他和我在一起。

Su Jiajun: I boiled them and added some salt, but no oil. Speaking of wild plants, we collected tree leaves. The production brigade would give you one or two liangs of rice for those who went to the mountains to collect wild plants, but it was not enough to eat and you didn’t have the energy to climb mountains. Some production brigades would boil sweet potatoes they dug when these plants were in season and mixed them with old rice bran to eat. Those days were tough. So, your grandfather was with People’s Commune Canteen at that time. He later came back and stayed with me.

文慧：我爷爷你见过了？

Wen Hui: You met my grandfather?

苏家俊：见过了，他刑满释放回来就和小礼（指文光礼）， 小礼和他就在那小间房子里。

Su Jiajun: Yes. After he completed the sentence and was released, he lived in that small house with Little Li (Wen Guangli).

文慧：在哪里？

Wen Hui: Where?

苏家俊：在原来你家的老房子后面，你家的花园，后面那里盖了点（房子）住着。你爷爷那间房，还没有这间的一半大，地上还是潮的，就铺一点睡的地方，饭也在那里煮，也在那里睡，晚上点一点煤油灯，我回来的时候经常去跟他聊聊。

Su Jiajun: Behind your family’s old house. He built a house in the old house’s garden to live. Your grandfather’s room was less than half the size of this one. The floor was moist with only a small space cleaned up to sleep. The same space was used for cooking too. In night he lighted a small kerosene lamp. I always went talking to him after coming back from work.

文慧：你还经常跟我爷爷聊聊。

Wen Hui: You frequently talked with my grandfather?

苏家俊：是的，认识。我出去的时候，你爸爸他们就不在家了。你奶奶也认识呢，还有你的两个姑姑，我到都认识呢。

Su Jiajun: Yes, I knew him. When I left home, your father and others had already gone from home. I knew your grandmother too, as well as your two aunts.

文慧：我爷爷回来的时候，你记不记得他怎么回来的？

Wen Hui: Could you recall how my grandfather came back?

苏家俊：就是从劳改处回来，车站就在运动场，人家让他们坐着车回来，拿了点铺盖，就这样回来了。回来就交给生产队，生产队给他们分工，干劳动。

Su Jiajun: He returned from the labor camp. They let him took a vehicle to come back, and he arrived at the stop in the sport field. He was assigned to the production brigade as soon as he came back. The production brigade assigned them works.

文慧：你记不记得当时他多大年纪？

Wen Hui: Do you remember how old was him?

苏家俊：回来的时候怕已经六十多了，反正老了。

Su Jiajun: I guess he was in his 60s, pretty old for sure.

文慧：在旧社会，他到底当过什么？

Wen Hui: What did he exactly do before liberation?

苏家俊：这个我就不清楚了。解放后，反正是阶级（成分）高的都拉去改造了，罪恶的就镇压了，像我二大伯，后面改革开放，还说他是有丰功伟绩，但是那个时候被拉去枪毙了。我二大伯，他们说，现在双柏那所中学是他创建的。解放以后，他已经不管事了，也不当县长了，因为他在昆明买了点房子他就在昆明了，解放后把他弄回来了，回来后说他是什么大地主什么的，就被镇压了。不然在旧社会，我大伯和二大伯哥两个都是当过兵的，在蒋介石那个时候当兵，有官职。后来，省上说哥两个都是武官，不行，又让我二大伯做文官，让他当县长。

Su Jiajun: I am not sure. After liberation, those from higher class was sent to labor camps, and guilty ones like my second uncle was killed. Later he was acclaimed for his contribution after the Reform and Opening up, but at that time he was executed by shooting. They said that the middle school in Shuangbai was established by my second uncle. After liberation he resigned as county magistrate and was in charge of nothing. He was in Kunming because he bought a house there. After liberation he was forced to be back and executed him because he was a big landlord. Before liberation, my two uncles were in the army during Chang Kai-shek’s reign, and they had ranks. Afterwards, the province government said that two brothers couldn’t both hold military posts, so my second uncle was appointed to a civil office, as a county magistrate.

文慧：在哪里当县长？

Wen Hui: Where did he work?

苏家俊：禄丰也当过，还有一个叫景东都当过。后来不当县长了，就去昆明吃闲粮去了。昆明有点房子，还有在双柏也有房子，有田有地，都买了。解放后，人家就说他如何如何剥削，所以就被他们镇压了。

Su Jiajun: He had been the country magistrate of Lufeng and Jingdong. Later he resigned and moved to Kunming and lived on pension. He had a house in Kunming. He also had houses and land in Shuangbai. After liberation, they accused him of exploitation and executed him.

文慧：那你那时候在易门经常跟我爷爷聊天吗？

Wen Hui: Did you talk to my grandfather a lot in Yimen?

苏家俊：是的

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：你去找我爷爷吗？

Wen Hui: You went to his place?

苏家俊：白天生产队要叫他劳动，我们也是白天劳动，晚上我还有点时间，他呢生产队不开会就在家里。我去如果碰上了就跟他聊聊。他晚上点个煤油灯，戴个眼镜看书，我不识字，就跟他坐着。

Su Jiajun: He had assigned works by the production brigade during the day. I too had works to do during the day. At night I had time, and he would stay at home if there was no meeting in the production brigade. If I went to find him and if he was there, we would talk. He lighted a kerosene lamp and read books with his glasses on. I couldn’t read so I just sat with him.

文慧 ：还记得他长什么样子吗？我们一张照片都没有

Wen Hui: Do you remember how he looked? We don’t even have a picture of him.

苏家俊：长得很像他的妈妈，脸是圆的，他妈妈我也认识的，就是你老祖，你老祖那个时候身体是好的，就是耳朵聋了。

Su Jiajun: He looked like his mother as he had a round face. I also knew his mother, your great grandmother. She was healthy other than being deaf.

文慧：脸是圆的吗？

Wen Hui: A round face?

苏家俊：是的，你的爷爷像他妈妈。有没有他妈妈的照片？

Su Jiajun: Yes. He looked like his mother. Do you have pictures of her?

文慧：没有。我只有我奶奶的照片。

Wen Hui: No. I only have pictures of my grandmother.

苏家俊：你奶奶瘦一些，脸长一点，都认识的，嫁万保产（村子的名字）这个，你应该叫姑妈还是阿姨，她就是一只腿瘸了。

Su Jiajun: Your grandmother was slimmer and had a longer face. I knew them all. The one who married to Wanbaochan Village—your aunt from your father’s or mother’s side—was lime with one leg.

文慧：那你和我爷爷是比较熟悉的人了？

Wen Hui: You seem to know each other well?

苏家俊：他劳改回来就很熟了。

Su Jiajun: Yes, after he returned from the labor camp.

文慧：那你跟我爷爷聊天经常聊些什么？

Wen Hui: What did you usually talk about?

苏家俊：那个时候还不是就讲讲日子（怎么过），肚子吃不饱，苦是苦，肚子又吃不饱，就讲这些。

Su Jiajun: Just about our lives back then, about hunger and hardship, etc.

文慧：他有没有跟你讲过他在农场的事情？

Wen Hui: Have he ever told you about his experience in the labor camp farm?

苏家俊：不讲。

Su Jiajun: Never.

文慧：一点都不讲吗？

Wen Hui: Not at all?

苏家俊：不讲。那个时候，随便一点风声人家都不饶你，张嘴闭嘴就是阶级……

Su Jiajun: Not a word. At that time, if you leaked out anything, they would go after you. They were obsessed with class struggles.

文慧：那他会不会讲解放前的事情？

Wen Hui: Then did he talk about things before liberation?

苏家俊：不讲。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：会不会讲他在农场都做些什么活？

Wen Hui: What about works he did in the farm?

苏家俊：不，整个农场里反正时间到叫你出去（干活），时间到才给你回来，我们在易门县城的时候也是这样，就算是那些还没判刑的，都是时间到了出去干活，时间到了把你弄回去。

Su Jiajun: No. On the farm they told you to go to work when it was time, and they told you to come back when the hours were over. The same as what we experienced in the county town of Yimen. Even those who were not serving a sentence was ordered to work and come back when it was time.

文慧：你是否记得我爷爷给你讲的故事或是聊天的时候讲的事情？有没有具体的事情？或者他自己的事。

Wen Hui: Can you recall stories or other things my grandfather told you? Any details? Or things about himself?

苏家俊：不讲。

Su Jiajun: He didn’t talk about these.

文慧：他爱不爱讲话？

Wen Hui: Did he like to talk?

苏家俊：不爱讲，就是爱看书，很多时候都是看书。

Su Jiajun: No. He liked reading books. He just read most of the time.

文慧：你去找他玩他也看书吗？

Wen Hui: Even when you came to talk to him?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：他爱不爱抽烟。

Wen Hui: Did he like smoking?

苏家俊：抽烟的，那时候没有吃的，八分钱一包的烟，后来也没有那两文钱吃了。

Su Jiajun: He smoked. There was much food, and a pack of cigarettes costed eight fens (translator: one fen=0.01 yuan).

文慧：他喝酒吗？

Wen Hui: Did he drink?

苏家俊：酒不喝。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：不喝酒，只抽烟？

Wen Hui: He didn’t drink, only smoked?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：那你去就跟你聊天，就不看书了吗？

Wen Hui: If you went to find him, would he stop reading and talk to you?

苏家俊：是，他会说，老表来坐坐。

Su Jiajun: Yes. He would say, “Come and sit, old cousin.”

文慧：他的房子有多大？

Wen Hui: How big was his house.

苏家俊：房子有一点点。现在也被人家拆了。也同样小礼那个孩子也叫文慧，她在里面住吧，我这些年都没有去过了。那些年倒是去的。那个时候小礼倒是还在。我们当时出去的时候，你奶奶就住那，后来是转给李家堂进去住。后来叫人家还，还不是没还回来，就骗骗赖赖住着。你三爷爷从县城回来都没有（机会）在里面住。你奶奶住小房子，我姐姐和你奶奶她们俩有两小间房子，一个人住一间，我姐跟你的老祖在一间。你奶奶嘛，那几个娃娃就是那三个女儿常常在家，，楼下做饭吃吃，楼上住人。

Su Jiajun: Not too small. It has been dismantled now. The child of Little Li—her name is also Wen Hui—used to live there. I haven’t been there for years. Back then I frequented the house though, when Little Li still lived there. When we left home, your grandmother lived there. Then Li Jiatang moved in. (Your family) Asked him to return the house but he never did, the Li family just stayed there shamelessly. The third brother of your grandfather didn’t even get a chance to live in the house after returning from the county town. Your grandmother lived in a small house. My sister and your grandmother each lived a small room. My sister shared the room with your great grandmother. Regarding your grandmother, her three little daughters were often at home. Downstairs were used for cooking and dining, and people lived upstairs.

文慧：那时候已经分家了吗？

Wen Hui: Had she separated from the household?

苏家俊：是的，已经分家了，她和我姐姐已经没在一起住了。我姐和你老祖在一家，她么和那三个娃娃。你爸爸我就不认识了，儿子我一个都没见过。

Su Jiajun: Yes. She no longer lived with my sister. My sister lived with your great grandmother, while your mother lived with her three daughters. I didn’t know your father; I didn’t meet any of her sons.

文慧：您应该见过我三姑吧？

Wen Hui: But you should have met my third aunt before?

苏家俊：那个见过了，三个女儿都见过了。也是瘦，老二比较胖，圆一点。

Su Jiajun: I knew that one. I have met all three daughters. She was slim too, but the second daughter was a bit chubbier.

文慧：前两个星期她来这里了。

Wen Hui: She came here two weeks ago.

苏家俊：那一个瘦一点，大体的模样像她妈妈。第二个脸圆一些，老大也是，三个女儿都见过。儿子老三是他转业回来以后才见过。

Su Jiajun: She was slim and looked like her mother. The second daughter has a round face, and so was the oldest one. The son who was the third among children, and I met him only after he came back and resettled.

文慧：我爷爷的脾气好吗？

Wen Hui: Did my grandfather have a good temper?

苏家俊：好的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：会不会发火？

Wen Hui: Was he ever angry?

苏家俊：不会发。他回来的时候，你奶奶也不在了，只有他一个人，儿女也不回来。

Su Jiajun: No. When he came back, your grandmother had passed away and he was alone. His children didn’t come back.

文慧：他会不会跟你讲他的子女？

Wen Hui: Did he talk about his children with you?

苏家俊：那个时候讲什么，也不讲。讲也没办法讲，人家都在外地工作，个人做个人的事情，越是成分高的人，越是管得严。

Su Jiajun: How could he? They worked elsewhere as individuals. The higher your class status, the tighter the control on you.

文慧：那你经常跟他聊天，他也不会说子女经常在外面。

Wen Hui: He didn’t talk about his children even you often talked to him?

苏家俊：不讲。

Su Jiajun； No.

文慧：会不会讲想他的子女？

Wen Hui: Has he ever said that he missed them?

苏家俊: 哎呀想也是没有办法

Su Jiajun: He must have missed them. He couldn’t help.

文慧：会不会跟你说说？

Wen Hui: Did he talked about it with you?

苏家俊：不说。那些没办法说，直到现在也是，小一辈的，当时那个时候讲阶级成分，小一辈的被教育脱离家庭关系，他怎么敢讲，如果一讲，有说阶级如何如何。唉…我六几年结婚，我孩子才去读书时，人家都还要说的，经常被问是什么成分。小孩子知道都不敢答应啊。

Su Jiajun: No. He couldn’t say anything even until now. At that time class status was stressed, and the younger generation was taught to cut off family ties, so he dared not speak. Had he spoken, others would have criticized them for their class status, ah…I married in 1960s. When my children started school, others still talked about class status. My children were frequently asked about their family background and they dared not respond.

文慧：不要说你们，我们到了七几年的时候，我要去当兵，人家说要查三代（我没有当成兵，因为上辈家庭成分不好）。

Wen Hui: Even in the 1970s, they still required to check my family background up to three generations when I volunteered for the army, not to mention your time (I failed to join the army because my older generation was of bad class status).

苏家俊：那个时候啊，所以我们这些小孩子一个都不成器。读书，就算你能考取，人家都说你是阶级（成分高），就不给你进。所以当时我们就和老师、校长啊（沟通一下），两个孩子还读到高中毕业。不然......

Su Jiajun: That was why our children never did well. Even if they went to school and qualified, people would attack your (high) class status and denied entrance. Therefore, we negotiated with teachers and the principal so that the two children was able to finish high school. What if…

文慧：那我爷爷是怎么吃饭呢？

Wen Hui: How did my grandfather eat, then?

苏家俊：那个时候办了伙食团就去伙食团吃。没办伙食团就自己煮了吃。

Su Jiajun: He went to People’s Commune Canteen when it was operating, and cooked himself and ate alone when the Canteen stopped working.

文慧：就他一个人？

Wen Hui: Just himself?

苏家俊：就他一个人。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：他一个人过了几年？

Wen Hui: How many years did he spend living alone?

苏家俊：他一个人过了两年左右。

Su Jiajun: About two years.

文慧：我爷爷死的时候您知道吗？

Wen Hui: Did you know about my grandfather’s death?

苏家俊：不知道。当时我们做建筑方面的工程，来到这边，易门地区的建筑都是我们去做，今天在一个地方，明天在一个地方，乡下的工程只有一个宿舍，都去做，比如普北那个瓷厂。

Su Jiajun: No. We were here doing construction works. We were doing all construction works in Yimen. One day we were here, the next day we could go elsewhere. When we did construction works in the countryside, we all lived in one dorm. We did all the construction works, like building the porcelain factory in Pubei.

文慧：我爷爷死的时候你听说了吗？

Wen Hui: Did you hear about it when my grandfather died?

苏家俊：没有，才是小礼在家，他妈也是来这里了。

Su Jiajun: No. Only Little Li was at home then. His mother came here too.

文慧：嗯嗯，您也都不能走动？

Wen Hui: Uh-huh. You couldn’t take a visit?

苏家俊：解放时候管得很严的，小孩子为什么不能走动呢，说怕孩子把家里的金银财宝拿去某个地方藏起来，（所以）不让走动。地方有民兵、贫下中农管着。像我们这个阶层的人都不敢想还能够活到现在。晚上人家贫下中农可以走了，地主富农还不能走，还要干活。逢年过节，就是地主富农要去打扫卫生，最糟糕了。像你爷爷他们，过年过节或者县上要开个什么会议，就让他们扫街，小街小巷的都是地主富农打扫。

Su Jiajun: Restrictions were strict after liberation. Why children were not allowed to move around? Because of the suspicion that those children would hide their family wealth somewhere. Local militia and poorer peasants took charge, and people of higher class like us didn’t even dream of survival. At night, poorer peasants were done for the day but landlords and rich peasants had to stay and continued working. During festivals, landlords and rich peasants were assigned to cleaning up the mess, which was the worst. Landlords and rich peasants like your grandfather were ordered to clean the streets, especially small and narrow ones, whenever there was a festival or a meeting in the county town.

文慧：是吧，这些我们都不知道。

Wen Hui: So it was. We didn’t know.

苏家俊：你们怎么会知道，你们在外边，农村就是专门找这些人来打扫。还克扣工分，拿工分吃饭。

Su Jiajun: How would you know? You were out elsewhere. Villages deliberately ordered those people to do the cleaning. Their work points were even taken away to feed others.

文慧：那我爷爷从劳改农场回来后，拿什么钱吃饭？

Wen Hui: Then how could my grandfather feed himself after returning from the labor camp farm?

苏家俊：那就是在生产队上做一天，人家给一点工分，收粮食的时候称点粮食给。那个时候人人都是拿工分吃饭，就是这样分。你有多少工分，基本口粮，比如说四六分，有四成做基本粮，六成做工分粮。有时候又是六成做基本粮，四成做工分粮。整个月你苦了多少工分，一个生产队今年给吃多少粮，是队长说了算。每人给吃五百斤粮，五百斤粮就按四六成分，（如果）那年一年六成是基本口粮，就是把六成粮食给你后，四成是看工分，工分多的那四成也能拿回来，工分少的那四成就拿不回来了。有的工分多的，基本口粮也是有六成，按工分分的还有六成的就那种粮食就吃得多一些。没有工分的就只能吃吃基本口粮。基本口粮不管大人孩子都是那点儿了。工分粮的话，工分多的就能多分到些，没有工分就不分给。那会儿，粮食分给你，又是劳动力经济，那会儿10分工分为一个劳动力，你的劳动力，整个队的收入，到年底有多少收入，把卖猪、卖鸡、卖各种的钱统一起来。那会儿，生产队要交给国家粮钱，其余的算算一共多少，一个劳动力是几毛钱，用那几毛钱来算，算了以后，你吃了多少粮，又把粮食钱扣除，还剩几块钱就分给你，买点盐吃，粮食就基本都是基本粮。同样你吃一斤粮，还不是得卖给国家，卖给国家一角一斤，你吃的也算一角一斤。如果你没有工分，你的粮食只有（基本）那里，你要去其他地方找钱来（买）。有的人连基本口粮都没有，还不是得去其他地方想办法（找钱来买）。

Su Jiajun: He got some work points for each day he worked in the production brigade. They gave him a little food accordingly. At that time food was allocated to everyone depending on their work points. Sometimes basic ration consisted 40% of food, and the other 60% was given according to your work points. Sometimes it was the opposite. The brigade leader got to decide how many work points you earned through a month of hard work, and how many food his brigade got annually. For instance, everyone got 500 jins of food annually. The food would be separate into 40% and 60%. If basic ration was stipulated to be 60%, you would receive the 60% unconditionally. The rest 40% depended on work points. If you had enough work points you got the 40%. If not, you didn’t. Those with more work points got 60% for work points in addition to the 60% basic ration, so they had more to eat. Those without work points could only rely on basic ration, which was the same amount for adult and child. You got more food if you had more work points, and you got nothing if you didn’t have work points. Back then, food allocation and the entire economy were based on labor units. 10 work points make a labor unit for you. The income of the production brigade, including sales of chicken, pigs and what not, was managed inclusively at the end of each year. At that time the production brigade had to submit food and money to the state. The rest of income was calculated. One labor unit earned you a few maos (translator: one mao=0.1 yuan), and your income was calculated accordingly. The outcome minus food you ate was your net income. The income was barely enough to buy some salt, and you had to rely on basic ration for food for the most part. Grains you ate and those sold to the state were at the same price of one mao per jin. If you had no work points, you only got that (basic ration) and had to get money to buy food. Some even didn’t have basic ration and had to come up with other ways (to get money for food).

文慧：那我爷爷回来还劳动吗？

Wen Hui: Did my grandfather work after coming back?

苏家俊：直到死都要劳动。直到死都要劳动，不劳动不行。有小辈的在面前都是这样，小的是小的，老的是老的，（老的）苦不了工分，小的苦了工分以后要扣除的，叫义务分。后来改革开放后，要搞义务劳动，那个时候，越是成分高的，就要做义务工。做什么都要做义务工。

Su Jiajun: He worked until death. Until death. He had to, so as others with children at home. The young and the old both had to work. If the elders got no work points, the young were deducted some points called “compulsory work points.” After Reform and Opening up, compulsory works were not required. The higher your class status, the more compulsory works you had to do at that time. You had to do all sorts of compulsory works.

文慧：就是说成分高的白干活？

Wen Hui: You mean that people from high class worked for nothing?

苏家俊：是的，干完以后不给钱。干了不够的，你的工分不够的，如果你有儿子有孙子，那些人干的，要把他们的拿来抵给你，扣了你的以后才分给小的。那个时候是这样做的。

Su Jiajun: Yes, they were not paid. If you didn’t get enough work points from compulsory works, work points of your sons and grandsons were deducted to fill the gap and they only got the rest. That was how it worked back then.

文慧：您记不记得我爷爷喜欢读些什么书？

Wen Hui: Do you remember what books my grandfather liked to read?

苏家俊：我翻翻是《老黄记》多数是读毛主席著作。

Su Jiajun: I remembered“The Story of Old Huang,”, most were Chairman Mao’s books.

文慧：那会儿还在看毛主席著作吗？

Wen Hui: He read Chairman Mao’s books at that time?

苏家俊：人家会逼迫着你看呢，毛主席著作是……我家的现在都还放着呢。如果没有钱都要去其他地方找钱买来，生产队一套一套的分给你，钱拿去。

Su Jiajun: He was forced to read. Chairman Mao’s books…I still have them at home. If you didn’t have money you had to get some money whatsoever. The production brigade would take your money and give you the whole volume of books.

文慧：他从劳改农场出来还在读毛主席著作吗？

Wen Hui: He still read Chairman Mao’s books even after coming back from the labor camp farm?

苏家俊：哪个不读，个个都要读。毛主席著作是叫个个都要读的。任何人都要读。特别是办伙食团那会儿，要全部拿着碗筷站在毛主席像前，吃饭前向毛主席请示汇报，早请示，晚汇报，管得很严。

Su Jiajun: Who didn’t? Everyone read. We were asked to read Chairman Mao’s books. During the People’s Commune Canteen period in particular, all had to stand in front of Mao’s portrait with bowls and chopsticks in hand. Before dining you must report and ask for permission. You asked for instructions in the morning and reported the day at night. That was how strict restrictions were.

文慧：吃饭前还要汇报吗？

Wen Hui: Report before eating?

苏家俊：嗯，吃饭前要汇报

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：怎么汇报呢？您汇报过没有？

Wen Hui: How? Have you ever reported?

苏家俊：就是向毛主席（汇报）如何如何，今天工作又完成了。

Su Jiajun: Just reported your day to Chairman Mao, how you accomplished your works for the day.

文慧：你汇报过了吗？

Wen Hui: Have you done it?

苏家俊：汇报过了。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：怎么汇报你还记得吗？

Wen Hui: Do you remember how you reported?

苏家俊：就是向伟大领袖毛主席，今天如何如何，工作……这样讲。

Su Jiajun: I said“To our Great Leader Chairman Mao, today was blablabla, I did what works…” Things like that.

文慧: 每个人都要讲吗？

Wen Hui: Everyone must say?

苏家俊：每个人都要讲，一排的排着队。

Su Jiajun: Everyone must say, lining up and waiting for his or her turn.

文慧：是成分高的才讲，还是所有人都要讲？

Wen Hui: Did everyone have to report, or only those from high class?

苏家俊：所有人都要讲。

Su Jiajun: Everyone.

文慧：我爷爷是戴着眼镜吗？

Wen Hui: Did my grandfather wear glasses?

苏家俊：是的，戴着的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：那个时候早请示晚汇报是文化大革命了吗？我爷爷回到易门的时候已经是文化大革命开始了，是吗？

Wen Hui: The asking for instruction and reporting thing was during the Cultural Revolution, right? When my grandfather returned to Yimen, the Cultural Revolution had begun?

苏家俊：是的。文化大革命开始了。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：我听我表叔说，就是文光礼表叔说，我爷爷就是在文化大革命的时候，头一天晚上听说第二天要批斗他了，就吓到了，第二天就自杀了。

Wen Hui: I learned from my father’s cousin—Wen Guangli—that one day during the Cultural Revolution my grandfather heard that he would be criticized the next day. He was so frightened that he committed suicide the next day.

文慧：我爷爷他高不高？

Wen Hui: Was my grandfather tall?

苏家俊：不是特别高。

Su Jiajun : Not really.

文慧：我奶奶高不高？

Wen Hui: How about my grandmother?

苏家俊：你奶奶倒是挺高的。

Su Jiajun: She was pretty tall.

文慧：我奶奶比我爷爷高是吗？

Wen Hui: Even taller than my grandfather?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：就是一张相片都没有。我只有我奶奶的，只见过我奶奶的照片。

Wen Hui: There is not a single photo. I have only seen one of my grandmother.

苏家俊：那个时候有什么都......像我们的话老祖宗的灵牌都被消灭了，没有，什么都没有。所以我父母的也没有。

Su Jiajia: At that time, even if there was any…tablets of our ancestors were all destroyed. Nothing, nothing left. Neither is there anything of my parents.

文慧：照片也没有吗？

Wen Hui: Not even photos?

苏家俊：没有，没有。那个时候各奔前程，老的都被人家整死了，小的你还要什么呢？你什么都不知道还要什么呢？只知道把这条命保住。死了不少人呢，在大庄小孩子都饿死很多，像我们这样成分高的。

Su Jiajun: No, nothing. Back then one could only take care of one self. Older ones were persecuted to death, and what could you expect from younger ones? You didn’t need anything because you knew nothing and you only wanted to survive. A lot died. Many children were starved to death in Dazhuang, those from higher class families like us.

文慧：怎么饿死的呢？

Wen Hui: How were they starved?

苏家俊：你去找山毛野菜吃都不让你去，就饿死了。

Su Jiajun: They were even not allowed to gather wild plants, so they were starved to death.

文慧：那是什么时候呢？

Wen Hui: When did it happen?

苏家俊：刚解放那会儿。

Su Jiajun: Right after liberation.

文慧：不是大跃进的时候吗？

Wen Hui: Not during the Great Leap Forward?

苏家俊：不是。大跃进的时候也死了一些。大跃进时候死的。有的是苦死了、累死了。干7天7夜，人太疲劳了就死了。

Su Jiajun: No. There were deaths during the Great Leap Forward. Some of them died from exhaustion. Some died from fatigue of working for seven days in a roll.

文慧：那会儿吃大食堂的时候也饿对吗？

Wen Hui: You also starved when eating at People’s Commune Canteen, right?

苏家俊：吃大食堂是后边，又饿了。做大跃进是五八年。做起来以后有的人就说肚子饿。饿了以后一条街上。没有什么菜。煮的全是米饭，用一些罐盆装着，不管过路的，什么人路过都可以舀了吃。那个时候机器没有现在先进又处理不干净，连续一个月都没做酒窖，没有粮食了，又说要节省节约，如何如何，又是不让浪费粮食了。反正，名堂太多了。阴一套阳一套的。

Su Jiajun: That was later, and we were starved again. The Great Leap Forward started in 1958. Soon after some people complained about hunger. If you were hungry, on a street there were pots of boiled rice with few side dishes. Anyone passed by could take something and eat. At that time machines were not advanced enough to process food properly. The wine cellar stopped for a month as there were no grains. Then there was propaganda about how to save food, how not to waste grains, and what not. Anyway, too many contradictions.

文慧：您是什么时候认识我爷爷的？

Wen Hui: When did you know my grandfather?

苏家俊：吃大食堂是后边，大跃进是五八年。大概是六四、六五年。他是那个时候才回来的。

Su Jiajun: The Great Leap Forward was in 1958, and People’s Commune Canteen was later. About 1964 or 1965. He came back at that time.

文慧：就是他从农场回来的时候吗？你就认识啦！

Wen Hui: You got to know him right after he came back from the farm?

苏家俊：是的，以前没有见过。那会儿他从农场回来，就交给生产队管制。

Su Jiajun: Yes. I didn’t know him before. Back then he returned from the farm and was put under control of the production brigade.

文慧：是他从农场回来的时候吗？

Wen Hui: When he returned from the farm?

苏家俊：是的。农场回来在生产队上，还不是靠工分吃饭。生产队管制就是那天说的，逢年过节叫他们去打扫卫生。

Su Jiajun: Yes. He returned from the farm and went to the production brigade. Still he had to live on work points. It was on that day that control of the production brigade on him was announced, including forced cleaning at occasions of festivals.

文慧：他回来的那天您记得吗？

Wen Hui: Do you remember the day he returned?

苏家俊：不记得。那个怎么会记得呢？人家送回来下车就让他自己回去了。家里没有人去接。

Su Jiajun: No. How could I? They drove him here and let him go home. No one from his family went to pick him up.

文慧：那你怎么会认识他呢？

Wen Hui: Then how did you know him?

苏家俊：那个时候小礼（文光礼）同样也在易门靠工分吃饭就说那个是他大伯。

Su Jiajun: Little Li (Wen Guangli), who was in Yimen and lived on work points at that time, said “This is my uncle.”

文慧:您是否记得第一次见我爷爷呢？

Wen Hui: Can you recall meeting my grandfather for the first time?

苏家俊：不记得了。他回来以后生产队就安排他做生产。靠工分吃饭。同样他是每天去劳动，然后给他一点工分。记着工分，他也会记的，给他多少，他也记着多少。

Su Jiajun: No. After he came back, he was assigned to production works by the production brigade and lived on work points. He went to work everyday and gained work points like others. He counted his work points too.

文慧：他的家是什么样子的？

Wen Hui: How was his house?

苏家俊：他的家倒是不像样，你现在去恐怕没在了，可能已经被他们毁了。他住的那种家从现在来看他住的那里根本不像样。那个时候大家都困难都是这样的。

Su Jiajun: Very shabby. I am afraid you cannot find it now; it has probably been dismantled. To a current eye it would seem very shabby, though it was common for all of us back then.

苏家俊：你阿姨在家那会儿是五四年。

Su Jiajun: Your aunts were here in 1954.

文慧：您那会儿已经去到易门了吗？

Wen Hui: had you left for Yimen already?

苏家俊：是的，我五四年去，那个时候我还小。家里说的是那个时候土地改革以后，原来嘛清匪反霸、土地改革，家里老的也没了，所以我就过去了。

Su Jiajun: Yes, I went there in 1954 when I was little. My family told me that bandits and bullies was purged after the Land Reform and the elders in the family had passed away, so I went there.

文慧：小时候的事情您记得吗？在大庄的事，就是解放前的事情。从解放前讲起。

Wen Hui: Do you remember your childhood? Things happened in Dazhuang before liberation, tell me about things before liberation.

苏家俊：解放前呀！解放前我家有一些田地，有一点财产，人家就叫地主。

Su Jiajun: Before liberation! Back then my family have some land and wealth, so they called us landlords.

文慧：在哪里？

Wen Hui: Where?

苏家俊：在大庄。

Su Jiajun: In Dazhuang.

文慧：大庄这个地方名字怎么叫？就叫双柏县吗？

Wen Hui: How did you call the region where Dazhuang is? Shuangbai County?

苏家俊：双柏县庆合乡，旧社会的乡叫庆合乡。

Su Jiajun: Qinghe Town, Shuangbai County. Before liberation it was called so.

文慧：现在叫大庄？

Wen Hui: What is now called Dazhuang?

苏家俊：是的，现在叫大庄镇。

Yes. Now it’s called Dazhuang Town.

苏家俊：乡里有大庄村，我们就是大庄村。在大庄我家是最大的大地主。我爷爷我不知道了，我的爸爸我也不记得了。我父亲在我一岁的时候就不在了，后来我就和我妈妈和我哥（一起生活）。其实财产也没有什么，就是有那点儿房子，那点儿庄子，人家就划成了大地主。

Su Jiajun: Our Dazhuang Village was in the town. My family were the biggest landlord in Dazhuang. I don’t know about my grandfather. Neither do I remember my father who died when I was only one year old. Afterwards I lived with my mother and brother. We didn’t really have many possessions, just a house and a farm, but they labelled us “big landlords.”

文慧：那土改那会儿您在哪儿？

Wen Hui: Where were you during the Land Reform, then?

苏家俊：就在家了。

Su Jiajun: At home.

文慧：大庄吗？

Wen Hui: Dazhuang?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：您是否记得土地改革那会儿是怎么改的？

Wen Hui: Do you remember how the Land Reform was conducted?

苏家俊：怎么改呀？就是把地主富农的天地、财产拿去分给那些贫下中农。把这些财产分给贫下中农，他们才有信心斗地主。

Su Jiajun: How? Land and wealth of landlords and rich peasants were redistributed to poorer peasants so that the latter had the confidence to fight the former.

文慧：土地改革在你家是怎么做的，您慢慢（说）。

Wen Hui: Please tell me about how the Land Reform took place in your family. Tell me the details.

苏家俊：土地改革就是把成分高的拉去批斗，有什么财产、有什么黄金白银，每天都是左也交不完，右也交不完，就这么搞了嘛。

Su Jiajun: The Land Reform meant that people from higher class was criticized and struggled against. They were demanded to hand in wealth like gold and silver. They were kept told to hand in more things. That was how it took place.

文慧：怎么交？

Wen Hui: How was it carried out?

苏家俊：就是叫你交出去啊，交出去以后就从宽处理。实际上没有，哪里会有。没有就把老人天天拉去批斗。

Su Jiajun: They just told you to hand in your possessions and told you that they would treat you with leniency after that. In fact, however, we didn’t have much wealth. How could we have? So they criticized these elders on a daily basis.

文慧：您那会在哪里？

Wen Hui: Where were you back then?

苏家俊：在大庄。

Su Jiajun: In Dazhuang.

文慧：几岁了？

Wen Hui: How old were you?

苏家俊：那会儿有十几岁了。好像是三七年出生的。三八年到四八年，有十岁。你可以算算，四八年、四九年正在乱，那两年就是云南解放。那几年正在乱。到了五零年就搞清匪反霸。到了五二年就土地改革结束了。五一年的时候是全部田地都要量，每家的房子土地是多少，把地主的房子土地都拿去分给贫下中农。

Su Jiajun: More than ten. I was born in about 1937. It was ten years from 1938 t0 1948, you can count. 1948 till 1949 it was in chaos, when Yunnan was liberated. In 1950 they purged the thieves and fought against hegemony. The Land Reform ended in 1952. In 1951 all land was measured. Every household was allocated a certain size of land and house. Land of landlords were redistributed among poorer peasants.

文慧：您是否记得量您家的房子土地的时候？

Wen Hui: Can you recall when your family’s house and land were measured?

苏家俊：那个时候都不量的，凡是我们的土地、房子都要收回去，全部统统都要收去。政策上是说征收，征收是要给钱的，根本不给钱。

Su Jiajun: They didn’t measure. All of our land and house were confiscated. The policy claimed that these were “levied,” which meant we should be paid, but they never paid us.

文慧：是谁来收？

Wen Hui: Who came to claim your house and land?

苏家俊：哪里说的清是谁来收？有很多人，是上边派来的干部。地方上的选去当农学会的会员、农学会的会长那些。那会叫农学会，就是做这些。有的当时做了以后受到了提拔，有的到后来三反五反的时候又被别人斗下去了。

Su Jiajun: Who knew? A lot of people came. Cadres sent from above, elected members and chairs of the local agricultural society. It was called the agricultural society at that time whose mission was confiscation. Some of these people got promoted for doing such works, and some was criticized and removed by others during Movement against the Three Evils and the Five Evils.

文慧：他们来收房子的时候您在哪儿？

Wen Hui: Where were you when they came to confiscate your house?

苏家俊：还不是在家里。在家里人家把门封了，说不让进去了。

Su Jiajun: At home. They sealed the door and told us not to enter.

文慧：那住哪里呢？

Wen Hui: Then where did you live?

苏家俊：就是像那些牛栏马圈，差的房子就给住了。那个时候也没有行李，那些行李、家具都在房子里，被人家一封，就什么都拿不到。反正被封就说是收去了。牲畜的圈让你住。

Su Jiajun: Places such as cattle pens, stables, or shabby houses. We didn’t have belongings—they were locked inside our home along with furniture, and we couldn’t get them. They sealed the house and told us that they confiscated everything. We were settled in livestock pens.

文慧：封的那一天你在吗？

Wen Hui: Were you there the day they sealed the house?

苏家俊：在呀，怎么会不在？大庄村里，老的被他们关着，小的十几岁、七八岁穿着点衣服都会被他们拿去，被他们脱了。那个时候社会也落后一些，穿一点粗布的衣服人家也是看得上的，像现在根本看不上的。拿去就是给那些贫下中农的孩子穿，把我们的脱了给他们穿。衣服裤子都这样被拿去穿了。那时候刚解放，家家户户都很落后。那会儿好一点的，比如说像地主富农的，他们就把他的（这些东西）拿走了。

Su Jiajun: Of course. In Dazhuang Village, the elders were jailed, and children’s clothes were taken off and away. The village was so poor they took even coarse clothes—nobody will bother to take them now. These clothes were taken off from us and were given to children of poorer peasants. Both tops and pants. It was right after liberation, and everyone was poor. Landlords and rich peasants were slightly better off, so their possessions were taken away.

文慧：您是否记得具体地他们是怎么进来的？

Wen Hui: Do you remember the details how these people got into the village?

苏家俊：那个时候叫解放嘛，就是叫解放军、工作队来，来了以后组织一下，也把地方的组织起来，还有地方的老百姓组织起来做。像我妈妈，他们要专门组织有点文化的人、家里富裕点的人来组织，后来这些人又被打倒，又换其他人去做。工作队是这里和外省哪里都有，就叫工作队。那些人就是参加解放战争，拿枪杆子、有点文化，后来就变成了干部，宣传政治啊，做点这些事情。

Su Jiajun: It was called “liberation.” People’s Liberation Army and work teams were sent here to organize the locals. Some local people organized themselves. These organizations incorporated educated and rich ones like my mother to help organize, but later such people were overthrown and replaced by others. The so-called “work teams” came from within and outside the province. These people fought the War of Liberation and were educated. Then they turned into cadres in charge of political propaganda and else.

苏家俊：土地改革结束后就自己种自己的田地。

Su Jiajun: After the Land Reform, each farm his or her own land.

文慧：那还有自己的土地吗？

Wen Hui: Did you have your own land?

苏家俊：那就是他们分给的比较差的，好的他们已经拿去分给别人了，差的就分一点给地主富农。

Su Jiajun: They allocated meagre land to us. Fertile land had already been allocated to others, and some meagre land went to landlords and rich peasants.

文慧：分了几亩？

Wen Hui: How many mus (translator: one mu≈667 m2=1/15 hectare) did you get?

苏家俊：那会儿田地不好，广种薄收，种不下去，亩多，人口没有现在多，田地同样是分给了，分给，但是不好，种不了什么吃，水利条件也不好。

Su Jiajun: Land was barren then. You sowed a lot, farmed a big lot, and yet the yield was poor. There were large tracts of land and the population was smaller than it is now, so everyone got land. But land was meagre and not many crops could grow. Irrigation was bad too.

文慧：你家分到了几亩？

Wen Hui: How many mus did you get?

苏家俊：我家当时是有……5.6亩，人口就有六七个。

Su Jiajun: My family received…five to six mus at that time, and there were six or seven in the household.

文慧：解放前你家有几亩土地？

Wen Hui: How much land did you have before liberation?

苏家俊：解放前我家的土地是有很多的。像有的村庄那个时候是我们的庄子。当时是叫庄子，像这里，一个村的土地都是我们的，庄子里的人就叫我们的庄户。田地给他们劳作，他们又交一些租，国家的皇粮又是找我们要。就是这样做的，现在还不是也这样做。

Su Jiajun: My family had a lot of land before liberation. The village was our farm—it was called farm then. All the land was ours, and people on the farm were called our tenants. They farmed the land and paid the rent, and we in turn handed in taxes to the government. That was how we did, exactly the same nowadays.

文慧：那你小时候上学吗？

Su Jiajun: Have you been to school in your childhood?

苏家俊：上过，但是没有长时间的上。那个时候你可以算算要到七八岁才读书，读了两三年，社会很乱，根本就读不了。他叫解放战争，虽然不怎么打，但是我们地方上也非常的乱，还不是打砸抢。那时候不叫土匪，半路截抢叫做贼。像我大姐回到大庄，要专门抬着枪接送，大龙口那边出去人家会来抢。那种社会呀！

Su Jiajun: Yes, but not for long. Back then you went to school at seven or eight, you can count. I went to school for two to three years, but the society was in chaos and there was no way for me to continue. The so-called “War of Liberation” was not too fierce, but There were a lot of chaos locally with frequent smashing and looting. Back then those who committed robbery on the roads was called thieves rather than bandits. For example, when my oldest sister came back to Dazhuang, we had to pick her up with guns. As soon as you went out of Dalongkou there were robbers. Such a society!

文慧：那个时候你家里有枪是吗？

Wen Hui: You had guns at home?

苏家俊：有的那个时候，我大伯和二大伯是当到团长级别的。

Su Jiajun: Yes. My two older uncles were regiment commanders.

文慧：当时家里有多少枪？

Wen Hui: How many guns did your family have?

苏家俊：那会儿的枪主要是我大伯当团长，作为正规部队发给他的，发给他们，他们又拿回来。当时叫土匪土匪，就是他们可以去剿匪。当时这个省打那个省，那个省打这个省。我大伯当时是去广西打，打死了，同样是在战场上打死了。

Su Jiajun: At that time guns were given to my oldest uncle to equip his regiment, and his troop took them back. They were allowed to suppress bandits. Back then provinces fought against each other. My oldest uncle went to fight in Guangxi and was killed on the battlefield.

（二）

Part Two

苏家俊：搞土地改革吗？解放后就是一心搞清匪反霸、土改工作。就是把财产分给人家。财产分给人家，我们什么都没有。大人被拉去关着，有罪没罪都关着。

Su Jiajun: The Land Reform? After liberation the focuses were purging the thieves and fighting against hegemony, and the Land Reform. It meant to redistribute wealth among all except for us. We got nothing. Adults, guilty or not, were jailed.

文慧：关在哪里呢？

Wen Hui: Where were they kept?

苏家俊：地方上找些房子来关着。就像现在这样的房子，进来以后不能出去，门口外边有人站岗。罪恶大的戴手铐戴脚镣，一般的就在房子里边儿关着。

Su Jiajun: In houses locally, like this house. Once you were put in you were not allowed to come out, and there were guards outside the door. Heinous criminals were fettered, while others were simply kept inside.

文慧：哪种属于罪恶大的？

Wen Hui: Who were heinous?

苏家俊：就是做过点什么事情，当过乡长啊，当过保长啊，那些就有点罪恶了。一般的老百姓，家里也不管事。只是吃吃闲粮，家里还有孩子读着书，就是一般的人。

Su Jiajun: Those who did something. Those who were Town heads or militia leaders were considered heinous. Average criminals were those who never held any position but only received pension and had children at school.

文慧：你家那会儿在哪里？

Wen Hui: Where was your family.

苏家俊：我家在大庄。

Su Jiajun: In Dazhuang.

文慧：您那会儿多大了？

Wen Hui: How old were you?

苏家俊：才有十几岁。四八、四九年开始搞，直到五四年才结束。五四年以后就基本结束。

Su Jiajun: I was a teenager. It started from 1948 to 1949 and ended in 1954 for the most part.

文慧：我们接着讲土地改革。

Wen Hui: Now let’s talk about the Land Reform.

苏家俊：土地改革那种背景下谁都讲不清。就是老毛说的一个阶级推翻另外一个阶级。当时被他们推翻以后就说我们是敌人，他一败他还不是敌人。就是把这些财产全部分给人家。当时我们家里呀，碗筷行李都要，不管是家具还是书，什么都被人家拿光了。

Su Jiajun: The Land Reform created a lot of confusions and chaos, difficult to explain. It was, as Mao put it, a class overthrowing another. They called us enemies after having overthrown us. Of course, because we lost. They distributed our property to others. They took away everything, from kitchenware to furniture to books, all of them.

文慧：他们是怎么来拿的？

Wen Hui: How did they take away those things?

苏家俊：他们就是找贫下中农来拿，毛泽东说的穷人翻身，穷人翻身嘛，他们什么都可以拿啦。

Su Jiajun: They sent poor peasants to grab things. Like Mao Zedong said, “the poor have stood up.” They could take whatever they wanted.

文慧：能不能讲讲他们拿的过程是怎么样的？是怎么进来的？

Wen Hui: Can you talk about the process? How did they get in?

苏家俊：当时就是政府支持来拿。

Su Jiaju: The government supported them back then.

文慧：怎么拿法？

Wen Hui: How did they take away things?

苏家俊：就是没收，什么都可以没收。按理说他们是敌人，是我们的敌人，我们也是他们的敌人，就这样拿去了。

Su Jiajun: Through confiscation. They could confiscate anything. In theory, they were our enemies and *vice versa*, but they just took things away.

文慧：怎么拿法？进家来吗？

Wen Hui: How? Did they get into the house?

苏家俊：是呀，进家来拿。他们说已经翻身了。

Su Jiajun: Yes. They said that they had stood up.

文慧：哪几个人来？

Wen Hui: Who came?

苏家俊：来的人很多，不是几个人的问题。越是穷的那些就可以来拿了。现在随便一个劳动力都要讲是报酬才去。那个时候不讲报酬，他可以把吃的米烧的柴拿着去通知他开会，他可以什么都拿着去，现在就不是了。那个时候相当乱。

Su Jiajun: A lot, not just a coupe of them. All the poor could come and take things. Now people inquire about payment before doing any work, in those days, people did what they were told. They could bring rice and firewood to inform about meetings. They could take away anything. Not now. It was a chaos back then.

文慧：他们第一次来家里的时候是怎么进来的？

Wen Hui: How did they first get into the house?

苏家俊：第一次进来还不是就叫贫下中农进来。

Su Jiajun: They just let those poor and lower-middle peasants come.

文慧：怎么进来？有多少人？

Wen Hui: How? How many of them?

苏家俊：人多的！还不是就是老百姓。现在就叫老百姓。

Su Jiajun: They were many! All those people, called common people now.

文慧：能不能讲讲他们进来的过程？

Wen Hui: Can you talk about the whole process?

苏家俊：他们进来就骂大地主，这样那样的骂着进来。像我们小孩子，小一点也是怕他们的。进来人家说叫征收、没收，没收地主富农的财产。没收就是进来以后他看上的东西就直接拿着走了。有的是农学会的，如果没有办法立即拿走，就拿到农学会，然后又看哪家需要就分给哪一家，比如家具和书。小的行李、东西，他拿着就直接拿走了。

Su Jiajun: They cursed big landlords loudly after coming in. Children like us were scared. Then they said that they came to confiscate the property of landlords and rich peasants. “Confiscation” meant taking away whatever they wanted. Some were from the Agricultural Science Society. As for things that couldn’t be taken away at once, such as furniture and books, they brought them to the Agricultural Science Society and distributed them to those in need. Smaller objects and belongs were taken away directly.

文慧：他们冲进来就拿着走吗？

Wen Hui: They just rushed in and took away things?

苏家俊：是呀，进来就拿着走。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：是进来就拿着走，还是先贴封条？

Wen Hui: Did they just walk in and take things away, or seal them first?

苏家俊：进来就拿着走的也有，贴封条的也有，拿不走的就把它封着。拿不走的就让当时所叫的农学会封着，然后有保管员统一保管。那个时候文化水平也低，有些什么，哪有人记录？搬来就放在一起，然后最后就分给人家。

Su Jiajun: Both. Things they couldn’t take away were sealed by the Agricultural Science Society and was kept together by the village keeper. At that time people were less educated, and no one took note of things they took. All things were piled up and redistributed at last.

文慧：他们第一次冲进家里来，你在不在场？

Wen Hui: Were you there when they first broke into the house?

苏家俊：不在，不能在。大人被拉去关着，小孩子被赶走。

Su Jiajun: No, I couldn’t be there. Adults were jailed and kids were driven off.

文慧：就是你不知道他们是怎么做的？

Wen Hui: So you don’t know how exactly they did?

苏家俊：嗯，不知道。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：那你在哪里呢？

Wen Hui: Where were you then?

苏家俊：就是在村子里，在外头。跑去外边儿玩啦！那个社会呀很乱的。

Su Jiajun: In the village but out of home. I went out to play! Things were in chaos then.

文慧：那你当时知不知道他们是去家里抄家？

Wen Hui: Did you know that they were going for confiscation?

苏家俊：是的，当时就是去抄家了。不过当时说的是农学会去如何如何。哪里会讲抄家？那时解放，有工作队，有解放大军，由这些人支持去做的。我们看都不敢都看一下。当时是叫解放大军，当点干部的叫做工作队。土地改革结束以后，就说穷人翻身了。

Su Jiajun: Yes, they were going to confiscate. But what they said was that the Agricultural Science Society had something to do. How could they tell you that they were going for confiscation? After liberation, confiscation was supported by work teams and the liberation army. We dared not even watch. At that time, they were called the liberation army. Those led by cadres were called work teams. After the Land Reform, the poor was said to have stood up.

文慧：您那个时候会不会害怕呢？

Wen Hui: Were you scared back then?

苏家俊：害怕也没有办法呀！当时那会儿是死了就算，活着么……所以在我们大庄小孩子都饿死了很多。大人不能做了吃，小孩子也不会做的吃，就这样就饿死了。有一家的有一个跟我年纪差不多，人家是在昆明上着大学的，他的爸爸是国民党的国大代表，要解放那会儿，他（爸爸）也是地下党，也就参加了共产党。名义上是挂着国民党的国大代表，实际上是干着共产党的工作。干了共产党，他的儿子就能去昆明上大学。他自己在外边为共产党做事情，他的儿子上大学，他（儿子）的妈妈在这边就被抓去关着，他回来看他妈妈。看到家里非常残破，就被气疯了。疯了以后就没法去上学。晚上。打地铺睡觉烧了个火，晚上就被火烧死了。

Su Jiajun: I was, but there was nothing I could do. Back then, if you die you were done, but if you survived…Therefore, lots of children were starved to death in Dazhuang. Adults were not allowed to cook whereas children didn’t know how to cook, so they died of starvation. There was a guy about my age who was attending university in Kunming. His father was a representative in the National Assembly of Kuomintang. Right before the liberation, his father joined the Communist Party and worked underground. In name he was a representative of Kuomintang’s National Assembly but in fact he worked for the Communist Party, so his son could attend university in Kunming. When the father was working for communists and the son was attending university in Kunming, the mother was jailed here. The son came back to see his mother and saw his sabotaged home. He lost his mind due to anger and could no longer attend university. One night he slept on the ground and had a fire to warm himself, but he was burned to death.

文慧：那些小孩子被饿死，大概是在哪一年？

Wen Hui: When did those children starve to death.

苏家俊：那个时候就是五零年吧？

Su Jiajun: About 1950?

文慧：土改的时候吗？

Wen Hui: During the Land Reform?

苏家俊：是的，土改的时候。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：那些孩子是地主富农的孩子，还是贫下中农的孩子？

Wen Hui: Were they children of landlords and rich peasants or children of poorer peasants?

苏家俊：是地主富农的孩子，贫下中农的孩子怎么会饿死？多数是地主富农的孩子。像刚才讲的这家，他爸爸是国民党的国大代表，想一想还是有一些名分的。但是当时他干着地下党的工作，回家都是草鞋穿着回去。回去一个也不认识，在我们那些地方他干着地下党。最后解放他又不敢回来看看家家。儿子都牺牲了，他也不知道。解放后，他的工作是在上海，是上海市的什么官。文化大革命开始后他还不是害怕，怕了以后他就跑去台湾了，去到台湾他还有党，人家还不是把他接收了。改革开放以后，才与他们家的亲戚联系，那个时候他已经在新加坡有家了，最后是死在了新加坡还是台湾。他家也是差不多的，他的文化也高。

Su Jiajun: Children of landlords and rich peasants. How could children of poor peasants starve? Most were children of higher-class families. Like the family I just talked about, his father was a national representative of Kuomintang, quite a distinguished title. However, he worked underground for the communist. When he came back home, he wore straw sandals, and he knew nobody there. He worked underground in our region. After liberation he dared not visit home. He didn’t even know his son’s death. After liberation he worked as an official in Shanghai. As the Cultural Revolution began, he was scared and then escaped to Taiwan. There he was accepted by the (translator: Kuomintang) party. He contacted his relatives only after Reform and Opening up, and when he already had a new family in Singapore. In the end he died in Singapore or Taiwan. His family was like mine, also educated.

文慧：那那个时候你……

Wen Hui: What about you back then…

苏家俊：在大庄是县长。

Su Jiajun: I was the county magistrate of Dazhuang.

文慧：讲讲你解放前的时候。

Wen Hui: Tell me about your life before liberation.

苏家俊：解放前，我二大伯当过县长，也同样当过兵。当时云南也相当的乱。我大伯是带着部队派去打广西。

Su Jiajun: Before liberation my second uncle served as county magistrate as well as in the military. Yunnan was a mess at that time. My oldest uncle led his troop to attack Guangxi.

文慧：你的爸爸他……

Wen Hui: Your father…

苏家俊：我爸爸的大哥，我爸爸是最小的。大一点的两个哥哥都是当着官的。所以我二大伯，在旧社会，双柏那所中学是他创建的。在解放前他已经没有工作可做了，在昆明吃闲粮。在昆明吃闲粮，解放以后，还不是被人家拉回来镇压了。

Su Jiajun: He was the youngest. His two older brothers both hold office. As such, my second uncle established the middle school in Shuangbai before liberation. He had no position before liberation and only lived on pension in Kunming. Nevertheless, he was brought back and killed after liberation.

文慧：那你的爸爸呢？

Wen Hui: What about your father?

苏家俊：我爸爸是在我一岁的时候就生病不在了。他是生病。我大伯是在国民党的时候去当兵被打死了。我二大伯是在土地改革的时候被他们镇压了。我哥哥也被拉去关起来，后来生了病，在劳改队什么都不能做，人家就让他回来，回来一个月就死了。现在大庄的人口又多了起来。解放的时候，才有差不多三百户人家。

Su Jiajun: He died from illness when I was one. My oldest uncle died in the Kuomintang army. My second uncle was killed during the Land Reform. My brother was jailed. He was ill later and couldn’t work in the labor camp, so they let him go home. He died a month later. Now population of Dazhuang has expanded. There were only about 300 households.

文慧：解放前你家的田有多少？

Wen Hui: How much land did your family had before liberation?

苏家俊：解放前我家的田地可多了，这些村里，到现在我都还能够记得从哪儿到哪儿是我家的田地，那个时候我们经常去田里。有很多庄子，所谓庄子，就是比如说像高山顶上那些村里的田地都是我们的庄子，那会儿就是去收租。你种那点儿田地，你要收多少租，国家要皇粮也是跟我们要。（租户）他们不用交给国家，交给我们，我们又交给国家。

Su Jiajun: A large tract. Now I can still remember from where to where in these villages used to be our land. We often went to the field. There were many farms, for example land in these villages on top of the mountain belonged to us as well. We collected rent depending on how big your land was, and the government collected taxes from us. Tenants paid us instead of the state, and we then submitted to the state

文慧：你那会儿小的时候（怎么样）？

Wen Hui: How was your childhood?

苏家俊：小的时候还不是和现在的孩子一样，吃吃玩玩。要到读书的年纪送进学校.要到七八岁，就不像现在三四岁就送去读。七八岁才送去读书，读了两年乱起来以后就什么都做不了了。反正世道一乱就很难做。

Su Jiajun: I ate and played like kids nowadays. I went to school when I was seven or eight, unlike children now who go to school at three or four. I attended school at age seven or eight. After two years it became chaotic, and I had nothing to do. It was difficult and chaotic.

苏家俊：土地改革……土改结束以后，我就去帮人家放一两年的牛。做不了就去易门了。当时想着去易门就想着赌着这条命，把这条命保住以后混日子去。混到1955年，国家又搞集体合作化，就去了合作社里。

Su Jiajun: The Land Reform…after it ended, I helped herd cows for a year or two. When I couldn’t do it anymore, I went to Yimen. At that time, I betted my life on Yimen. I wanted to survive and live a normal life afterwards. I got along until 1955 when the state started to push forward collectivization and cooperation, then I joined the cooperative.

文慧：你土改完以后？

Wen Hui: After the Land Reform, you…

苏家俊：土改完以后就去帮人家放牛，没在家里。

Su Jiajun: I went to help herd cows. I was not at home.

文慧：是在家里没有吃的了吗？

Wen Hui: Was it because there was no food at home?

苏家俊：嗯，家里什么都没有。那个时候帮人家放牛，就是肚子不饿而已，但是衣服裤子还是穿不了，没有衣服裤子穿。我的姐姐在易门，后来她说家里也做不了什么，就把我送出去，就让我去学点什么手艺，才出去学手艺的。学了以后，干着干着，国家又号召统统要纳入集体合作化。

Su Jiajun: No. There was nothing at home. I could feed myself helping herd cows but I had nothing to wear. My sister was in Yimen. Later she said that there was nothing I could do at home and thus she sent me out to learn skills. So, I left home. After I learned skills and began to work, the state called for collectivization and cooperation.

文慧：去哪里学手艺？

Wei Hui: Where did you go to learn skills?

苏家俊：在易门私人家里学，后来国家要搞集体合作化。一化三改造是私人的都要被集体化。工商，像现在搞商业的要统统收归管理，把他们的财产全部集中做成公司，叫做公私合营。像我们这样做手工业的叫做手工业社，就叫合作社。农业的就做成农业合作社。那个时候叫一化三改造，什么人都要进行改造。后来就一直在那个单位干到1971年。从1955年干起，干到1971年，1971年又干不了了。

Su Jiajun: I went to someone in Yimen. Then the state conducted collectivization and cooperation. The public ownership and socialist reform campaign made private enterprises public ones. Industrial and commercial enterprises, like businesses now, must be put under administration. Their wealth was concentrated and formed into companies, called public-private partnership. Those who did artisan industries like us were called artisan cooperatives. Framing activities were organized into agricultural cooperatives. It was called the public ownership and socialist reform campaign. Everyone must be “reformed.” I worked in the cooperative from 1955 until 1971 and then I couldn’t do it anymore.

文慧：就在易门吗？

Wen Hui: In Yimen?

苏家俊：是的，到1971年我就回家来了。

Su Jiajun: Yes. I came home in 1971.

文慧：那你是在易门碰见我爷爷吗？

Wen Hui: So, you met my grandfather in Yimen?

苏家俊：是的，就是那个时候，他们是六几年才回来的。那个时候叫释放，那时是一批一批的释放，解放后就送去劳教的，然后一批批释放。

Su Jiajun: Yes. They came back in 1960s—called “released” back then. They were released in batches. They were put in labor camp to be reformed through labor after liberation, and released in different batches.

文慧：他有没有跟你讲过在农场的事情？

Wen Hui: Did he talk with you about his experience on the farm?

苏家俊：那些他不会讲的。

Su Jiajun: He wouldn’t.

文慧：有没有讲过解放前的事情？

Wen Hui: What about things before liberation?

苏家俊：没有。那个时候谁会讲这些，还不是就讲讲肚子怎么样吃饱、吃什么。那个时候农业方面毛泽东天天说着要如何节约，科技也上不去，粮食不够吃。

Su Jiajun: No. Who would talk about those? We only talked about how and with what to fill our bellies. Back then Mao Zedong stressed on how to save as much as possible regarding agriculture, and technology was backward, so food was not enough.

文慧：吃伙食团的时候吗？

Wen Hui: During the People’s Commune Canteen period?

苏家俊：还没有到吃伙食团，粮食就已经不够吃了。吃伙食团那个时候，生产队要先把粮食交给国家，剩下的才分给私人。私人吃那点粮食是相当（少的）。无论你怎么病，都要想办法去拿工分，没有工分，到年底分粮食你就分不到。粮所收进去以后，要看谁最贫困。要通过这里评那里评，评了以后，给一点点，你去买了吃。到了伙食团下放以后，又好过了两年。那个时候搞包产到户、包产到组。农民又好过一些了，市场也有好转了。后来毛泽东又要搞文化大革命，文化大革命搞起来以后，他又说打倒刘少奇，刘少奇搞的三自一包、四大自由，又不能做了，刘少奇被打倒后，粮食产量又减少了。

Su Jiajun: Food was not enough even before that. When I ate at People’s Commune Canteen, the production brigade first submitted food to the state, and the rest went to individuals. Each person only got very little food. No matter how sick you were, you had to get work points whatsoever. Without work points, you got no extra food at the end of the year. The Food Department collected all food and reviewed who were the poorest. The small amount of food came to you only after repeated reviews. Two years after People’s Commune Canteen was devolved, output quotas were imposed on each household and group. Peasants’ life got a bit easier, and the market was more active. Later, Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution and called for overthrowing Liu Shaoqi. The three freedoms and one fixed quota (translator: more farming plots for private use, more free markets, more enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and fixing output quotas on a household basis) and the four freedoms (translator: freedom of peasants to loan and borrow, to rent and lease land, to hire employees, and to trade) endorsed by Liu Shaoqi was banned. After Liu Shaoqi’s downfall, food production dropped again.

文慧：那个时候你在哪里？

Wen Hui: Where were you then?

苏家俊：那个时候在易门。

Su Jiajun: In Yimen.

文慧：那个时候我爷爷还在吗？

Wen Hui: Was my grandfather alive at that time?

苏家俊：那会儿可能在的。刘少奇倒了以后，如果刘少奇不被打倒那个时候日子倒是会好过起来了。所以刘少奇倒了，又把土地收回去，粮食又困难了。刘少奇放开那几年，私人可以养一点牲畜，耕作一下土地，像现在一样，比较能苦的、劳动力强的，可以多苦一些，就多有一些吃的。后来说刘少奇搞三自一包、四大自由，又把刘少奇打倒了。

Su Jiajun: Maybe. Had Liu Shaoqi not been overthrown, life would have gotten better. After Liu’s downfall, land was retracted, and food supply was strained again. During the years of loosening up under Liu, individuals could raise cattle and farm their own plots just like now. Those stronger laborers who could work harder would endure more hardship in exchange for more food. Then Liu Shaoqi promoted the three freedoms and one fixed quota and the four freedoms, so he was overthrown.

文慧：你对我爷爷的印象是什么？

Wen Hui: What was your impression of my grandfather?

苏家俊：印象嘛，就是都是阶级高的人。如果随便讲点什么，被某人听见去汇报，就说我们就是阶级敌人，被汇报过就被拉去斗。当时毛泽东就是怕人家反他，事实上，改革开放以后，谁会反他，根本没有人反。现在当主席的，谁敢去反。当时随便一点风声就有帽子戴，这个又是反动，那个又是如何。就像你三叔一样，从房子前边走过说“我家这点房子好”，就被人家拉去斗，说他什么反攻倒算，就戴了“帽子”。所以改革开放以后，邓小平才说“戴帽子”、“打棍子”那些政策。

Su Jiajun: Impression…we were both of high class. If someone heard us saying anything wrong, he or she would report and accuse us of being class enemies. Then we would be called out and criticized. Back then Mao Zedong was afraid of people revolting against him. Actually, who dared challenging him after the Land Reform? Who dared challenging the incumbent chairman? At that time, once any rumors arose, “big hats” of reactionary would be put on people. For example, your third uncle walked pass what used to be his house and said “My house is really good.” Then he was criticized for counter revolutionary speech and was stigmatized as reactionary. It was because of those things that Deng Xiaoping commented against policies such as “putting hats” and “stick beating.”

文慧：那你那个时候什么时间去找我爷爷聊天？敢不敢去找他？

Wen Hui: Then when did you go to my grandfather to talk? Did you dare go to him?

苏家俊：去的，他就和小礼在一起住。

Su Jiajun: Yes. He lived with Little Li.

文慧：哦，我爷爷和小叔叔在一起。

Wen Hui: Oh, my grandfather and youngest uncle lived together.

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：他们两个住一起吗？

Wen Hui: Literally “living together?”

苏家俊：是的，他们就住一间房子，还没有这一间大。

Su Jiajun: Yes, in the same house that was even smaller than this room.

文慧：我爷爷长什么样子？

Wen Hui: How did my grandfather look like?

苏家俊：你爷爷长得像你老祖，他的模样有点像你二姑。

Su Jiajun: He looked like your great grandmother and second aunt.

文慧：是圆脸还是长脸？

Wen Hui: Round face? Long face?

苏家俊：不长，像你二姑一样圆一些，我还是有一点印象的。小的那一个脸就长一些，长得像你奶奶。

Su Jiajun: Not long, a bit round like your second aunt. I remember a little bit. Your youngest aunt had a longer face that resembled your grandmother.

文慧：我爷爷喝酒吗？

Wen Hui: Did my grandfather drink?

苏家俊：哪里会拿酒喝？喝是会喝一点，但是那个时候哪里喝得起。在那种管制下，温饱都还是问题，所以叫管制分子。让他从农场回到生产队了，但是在生产队里还是叫管制分子。我姐姐也是叫管制分子。如果要去逛街，都要向队长请假，哪里会像现在一样自由。

Su Jiajun: How could he? He did drink a little, but he couldn’t afford it back then. He barely survived under strict control. That was why he was called an “individual under control.” He was allowed to go back from the farm to the production brigade but still considered an individual under control, and so was my sister. He must ask the brigade leader for leave even when he just wanted to stroll around the streets. Not as free as now.

文慧：那他一个人住在那个小房子里？

Wen Hui: So, he lived in that small house alone?

苏家俊：是的。生产队叫他去做什么就去做一做，回来就自己煮一点吃。人家叫出工还不是要去。就像现在老板管制的那些打工的一样，那个时候是生产队长管。

Su Jiajun: Yes. He did what the production brigade told him to do. He cooked for himself after coming back from work. He had to go to work once they told him to. Just as bosses control workers now, the production brigade leader controlled him at that time.

文慧：他有没有跟你讲解放前的事情？

Wen Hui: Did he tell you anything before liberation?

苏家俊：不讲。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：他不敢跟你讲解放前的事情吗？

Wen Hui: He dared not?

苏家俊：不讲。

Su Jiajun: He never talked about them.

文慧：你知不知道在解放前他当着什么？

Wen Hui: Did you know what he was before liberation?

苏家俊：他当什么或者不当什么都没有说，我想怕是不会当了。

Su Jiajun: He never told me. I guess he would never say.

文慧：我听我三姑说他是当过副镇长。

Wen Hui: I heard from my third aunt that he used to be the town’s deputy head.

苏家俊：副镇长？

Su Jiajun: The town’s deputy head?

文慧：所以才去劳改。

Wen Hui: That was why he was sent to the labor camp.

苏家俊：不知道了。

Su Jiajun: I don’t know.

文慧：他没有说过吗？

Wen Hui: He never told you?

苏家俊：没有。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：他喜欢做什么？

Wen Hui: What was his hobby?

苏家俊：那会儿老了会做什么？一是老了，二是生产队安排他的事情做完已经很劳累了，就像现在的农民常常在地里干活。那个时候有的人就说，脸朝黄土背朝天地干。

Su Jiajun: What hobby for his age? First, he was old. Secondly, he was exhausted doing works assigned by the production team, as tired as peasants who farm now. Back then people called it “working with your face towards the earth and back towards the sky.”

文慧：那回到家里边儿他做什么呢？

Wen Hui: Then what did he do back at home?

苏家俊：就是脸朝黄土背朝天，生产队让他做什么就做什么。

Su Jiajun: Just worked with his face towards the earth and back towards the sky, doing whatever the production brigade asked him to do.

文慧：那除了在外边干活，回到家做什么呢？

Wen Hui: Well, what did he do at home after working outside?

苏家俊：回来做点饭吃，看看书。

Su Jiajun: He cooked and read.

文慧：他喜欢看书是吗？

Wen Hui: He liked reading, right?

苏家俊：是的。书倒是喜欢看。

Su Jiajun: Yes, he did.

文慧：他看的书是什么书？

Wen Hui: What books?

苏家俊：他看的书就是那些小书，我们没有文化，所以也不知道他看什么书。

Su Jiajun: Small books. I was not educated enough to tell what books he read.

文慧：他会不会跟你讲他看的书的内容？

Wen Hui: Did he tell you the contents?

苏家俊：不会。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：他回来的时候，你去找他聊天，他的心情（如何）？

Wen Hui: What mood was he in when you went to talk to him after he came back?

苏家俊：那个时候，人人都差不多。各人做给各人吃，吃伙食团就是拿着大碗去，人家给什么就吃什么。现在是改革开放以后，才自由，生活才好起来。以前那会儿，就算你当县委书记也要去伙食团吃，要交几毛的伙食团钱。改革开放以后，自己想吃什么就吃什么。毛泽东那会儿，说的是一年一次小整风，三年一次大整风，搞倒了很多人。那一年搞反右斗争，搞倒了很多知识分子。

Su Jiajun: Everyone felt the same at that time. All cooked for all. When you ate at People’s Commune Canteen, you brought a big bowl and ate whatever they gave you. It was after Reform and Opening up that life started to become freer and better. Back then, even the county secretariat dined at People’s Commune Canteen and had to pay a few maos as price. After Reform and Opening up you could eat whatever you wanted. Under Mao Zedong’s reign, there were rectification campaigns almost every year, and many were repressed. One year there was the anti-rightist struggle in which a lot of intellectuals were persecuted.

文慧：反右是哪一年？

Wen Hui: Which year was that?

苏家俊：反右斗争是……1958年以后吧。

Su Jiajun: The anti-rightist movement…after 1958?

文慧：反右斗争的时候你在哪里？

Wen Hui: Where were you then?

苏家俊：在易门，反右斗争那会儿搞倒的人太多了。说错一句话就是右派分子了。我们也没有知识，也不愿意和他们讲。反右斗争大概是在五九年还是六零年左右。人家只说了一句大战钢铁，得不偿失，小松树都砍光了，要是说错一句话，就被人家说是右派分子了。当时那个时候就是召集开会，开会时说好的坏的都可以讲，有的人有点知识，还是反的，但是坏的不太敢讲，尽讲好的，讲了以后转过去，又说其他。（剪切）

Su Jiajun: In Yimen. Too many people were repressed in the anti-rightist struggle. A wrong word said and you became a rightist. We were not educated, and we didn’t want to speak to them. The anti-rightist movement was in 1959 or 1960. Someone just said that we lost more than we gained in the backyard furnace campaign, as small pines were all cut down. If you said anything wrong you were accused as a rightist. Back then meetings were held in which attendees were allowed to praise as well as criticize. Some people were more educated and were against some policies, but they dared not speak too negatively, so they praised for the most part. Afterwards, they turned their back and said different things. (cut)

苏家俊：文化大革命那会儿，搞这样小将那样小将，最后还不是全搞倒了。

Su Jiajun: During the Cultural Revolution, many young revolutionaries criticized and struggled against older ones and each other, but they ended up failing and being criticized.

文慧：文化大革命时你在哪？

Wen Hui: Where were you during the Cultural Revolution?

苏家俊：那个时候还不是在易门。那个时候在易门，我们阶级成分比较高，就什么都不参加了。他们叫参加各种各样的战斗队，我说我们参加什么，我们不参加。（他们）去斗那些当权派。当时把人家的手表也扒了，打骂人家，后来落实政策，还不是那些小鬼又挨了。

Su Jiajun: Of course, in Yimen. Back then in Yimen we were of high class, so we didn’t join any fight organizations. They called us to join all kinds of fight teams. I said, “Why should we join? We won’t join any.” (They) fought those who had been in power until then. They robbed watches from those people, beat and cursed them. Later new policy was implemented and those young rogues were persecuted.

文慧：当权派是地主户农吗？

Wen Hui: By people in power you mean landlords or rich peasants?

苏家俊：不是，是当时那些当官的，像县一级的县委书记啊，县长啊，他下边的那些委员、科局长就叫当权派。有的人想把他们打倒，然后去夺权。就像老毛说的篡党夺权。要夺权就是去批斗，当时一些被批斗的，后来落实政策，又说他们有一定的成绩又把他们扶起来。如果被批斗了，是一点工资都拿不到的，只有每天几毛钱的生活费。

Su Jiajun； No. They were officials, such as party secretariats and magistrates at the county level, and their subordinates like committee members and heads of sections and departments. These young revoluntionaries wanted to fight them and took their posts, just as Mao said, “usurp party and state power.” To take over the power, they must criticize and struggle. Some people who were criticized and removed was reinstalled after new policy was implemented since their contribution was recognized. If you were criticized and defeated, you received no salary at all, only a few maos per day for living expenses.

文慧：那你呢？

Wen Hui: What about you?

苏家俊：我们这种是劳动，反正只要你去劳动一天就给你一天的报酬。我讲的那种是干部，就像现在的公务员一样，那些就是工资都不给人家。落实政策后，又把工资补给他们。

Su Jiajun: We just worked. You worked for one day and got payment for one day. What I just talked about are cadres, like officials now. They got no salary. After policy implementation their salaries were reissued as compensation.

文慧：你讲讲解放前土匪抢劫的事情。

Wen Hui: Tell me about bandits and robberies before liberation.

苏家俊：那个时候早了。那个时候大概在四几年，快要解放的时候。我姐姐回来大庄又返回去，路上就被人家抢。那会叫贼。反正有人过路。他看到是有钱或者拿着什么物资，他就出来抢。

Su Jiajun: It was way back, about in the 1940s and near liberation. My sister came back to Dazhuang and returned. On her way she was robbed by what we called thieves back then. If they saw anyone with wealth or goods, they robbed him or her.

文慧：你是怎么听说你姐姐被抢的？

Wen Hui: How did you heard of the robbery?

苏家俊：我们小孩子就是听妈妈说的，听她说：“你的姐姐返回去又被抢了。”现在还不是有，比如说像抢人家汽车的，半路截抢的人还是有的。过去嘛，交通没有那么方便，走路回去。

Su Jiajun: I heard from my mother. She said, “Your sister was robbed again on her way back.” Now there are robberies as well, like those who assault vehicles and rob people along the roads. In the past, traffic was backward, so she had to walk back.

文慧：从大庄走回易门吗？

Wen Hui: Walking back from Dazhuang to Yimen?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：要走几天？

Wen Hui : How many days did it take ?

苏家俊：两天。

Su Jiajun: Two days.

文慧：那你的姐姐是怎么走回去的，一个人吗？

Wen Hui: Did your sister walk back alone?

苏家俊：不是一个人。有我的妈妈，有其他人，有轿子，有抬轿的。像有的就骑马。我现在都还能走到，从这里到易门走一天还是能走到的。

Su Jiajun: No. She was with my mother and others. There were sedan chairs and people carrying them. Some rode horses. I can still walk down that trail. I can walk to Yimen from here in one day.

文慧：你从这里一天就走到易门啦？

Wen Hui: In one day?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：你刚才说从大庄回到易门还要护送？

Wen Hui: You said escorts were needed on the way from Dazhuang to Yimen?

苏家俊：要护送的。当时那种社会，如果你不护送，一路上都是山路，人家就会出来抢了。

Su Jiajun: Yes. In that society back then, if you had no escorts when treading mountain paths, they would rob you.

文慧：怎么护送呢？

Wen Hui: How to escort?

苏家俊：就是多找几个（人），用现在的话来讲就是保姆、养的佣人之类的。那个时候叫佣人，现在叫保姆，那些一起去。男的女的都要去，才叫护送。

Su Jiajun: You brought more (people), those that we call house maids and domestic servants. We called them servants back then. Now they are called housekeepers. They traveled with these people men and women. They were called escorts.

文慧：你不是说要带枪吗？

Wen Hui: But you said that you must bring guns?

苏家俊：是呀，就是带着，碰到什么的就用枪吓一吓，带着枪始终就可以威吓一下。如果不拿枪，一帮人都敢出来抢你。你拿着枪，如果碰到真正的土匪，他也带着枪也敢来抢你。

Su Jiajun: Right. You brought guns to intimidate others. If you brought guns you had deterrence anyway. If you didn’t have guns, many would dare rob you. Even if you had guns, real bandits with guns would rob you when you met them.

文慧：那解放前你出去过吗？

Wen Hui: Had you go outside of the village before liberation?

苏家俊：没有。我没有出去过解放前。

Su Jiajun: No.

文慧：就是你姐姐嫁出来那会儿。

Wen Hui: When your sister married out.

苏家俊：那时候没有出去过，嫁也嫁得小，我还小。

Su Jiajun: I didn’t go out. She was young, and I was even younger.

文慧：那你姐姐回来你知道吗？

Wen Hui: Did you know when your sister returned?

苏家俊：知道呀，她回来知道的。

Su Jiajun: Yes I did.

文慧：你姐姐从易门回大庄也要护送吗？

Wen Hui: Did your sister need escorts from Yimen to Dazhuang?

苏家俊：当然要护送。

Su Jiajun: Of course.

文慧：那边护送吗？

Wen Hui: Did they escort her?

苏家俊：是的。那会儿要回来，就让这边的人去接，然后护送回来。

Su Jiajun: Yes. Back then, if she wanted to go back, we send people there to pick her up and escort her back.

文慧：派谁去接呢？

Wen Hui: Who did you send?

苏家俊：那个时候都养着佣人的，那些佣人去接。电视上放的那些叫佣人的，有的。当时两边家里都有佣人的。我们这边也有，那边也有。

Su Jiajun: We had domestic servants at that time, so we sent them. We had servants, like servants shown on TV. Both my family and the husband’s family had servants.

文慧：就是说文家要派人送，那个时候又没有电话，（通信）又不发达，怎么知道她要回来呢？

Wen Hui: So, the Wen family would send people to escort her. Communication was hard as there was no telephone back then. How could you know that she wanted to go back?

苏家俊：写信呀。那个时候写信。

Su Jiajun: By writing letters back then.

文慧：这边就派人去接了？

Wen Hui: And your family would send escorts?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：是不是路上土匪特别多？

Wen Hui: There were many bandits along the roads, right?

苏家俊：那个时候当然多。就像现在有的不三不四的人，这里偷一点，那里抢一点也还是多的，现在又出现了。现在是交通方便速度快了，如果你走路还是不安全的，像在这些山上走路还是不安全的。那个时候，养着佣人，派他做什么就做什么。现在也有佣人，不过现在叫保姆，不叫丫头，那时候叫丫鬟。

Su Jiajun: Of course, there were many at that time. Likewise, now there are also rogues who steal and rob. They have reemerged now. Transport is faster and more convenient nowadays. If you walk, you are still not safe, especially on mountain paths. Back then, we kept servants to do whatever we told them to do. Now there are also servants, but they are called housekeepers, not maids, which was how we used to called them.

文慧：叫丫头吗？

Wen Hui: You called them maids?

苏家俊：是的。解放前我家都还买了一个丫鬟给我姐姐。到我们大庄，是母亲和孩子几个一起来的。那会儿叫叫花，来讨饭的。她的妈妈领着来讨生活，就问她卖不卖，她说卖，我家就买来给我姐姐做丫鬟了。

Su Jiajun: Yes. Before liberation my family bought my sister a maid. She came to Dazhuang with her mother and siblings. They were beggars led by the mother. We asked her if she wanted to sell the daughter. She said yes, so we bought her as a maid, a servant girl for my sister.

文慧：就是在大庄买了个丫鬟给您姐吗？

Wen Hui: You mean your family bought your sister a maid in Dazhuang?

苏家俊：是的。解放以后，人才（走的）。怕现在都还在，要问问我姐姐。

Su Jiajun: Yes. She left only after liberaton. I guess she is still alive. I have to ask my sister to make sure.

文慧：叫什么名字？

Wen Hui: What was her name?

苏家俊：好像是叫春香还是秋香，我记得。

Su Jiajun: Chunxiang or Qiuxiang, I remember.

文慧：怎么送过去呢？

Wen Hui: How did you send her.

苏家俊：就是姐姐回来的时候，领着丫鬟一起送回去了，那个时候就是这样做的。

Su Jiajun: When my sister came back, we escorted my sisiter back along with the maid. That was how we did it.

文慧：你对我奶奶有印象吗？

Wen Hui: Do you remember my grandmother?

苏家俊：有点印象，就说的，你奶奶像你三姑，脸长。

Su Jiajun: A little bit. Like I said, your grandmother looked like your third aunt, with a long face.

文慧：我奶奶个子高吗？

Wen Hui: Was she tall?

苏家俊：高的。你老祖就胖一点，高是不高。

Su Jiajun: Yes. Your great grandmother was chubbier, not so tall.

文慧：你去易门的时候，他们还住在那间房子里吗？

Wen Hui: Did they still live in that house when you went to Yimen?

苏家俊：哪里能住，早就不能住了。就住在后面的花园，花园那种。好的房子都不能住，都被撵出去了。

Su Jiajun: No, they couldn’t live in it any longer. They lived in the garden in the back. They couldn’t live in decent houses after being driven out.

文慧：那我奶奶当时是怎么生活的？

Wen Hui: How did my grandmother survive, then?

苏家俊：那个时候就是土地改革以后分了一点田，种那点田来生活。我姐姐和你老祖也是就分了一点田，种那点田地收了吃。有一点钱，就是自己的（农务）做完了又去帮人家做，人家给一点工时费。

Su Jiajun: It was after the Land Reform, so they received small plots and farmed them to live. My sister and your great grandmother got small plots, farmed them and fed on the yield. They earned a little money by working for others after finishing their own farm works. They earned some hourly payment.

文慧：我奶奶那会儿有几个女儿？

Wen Hui: How many daughters did my grandmother had at that time?

苏家俊：三个女儿，三个女儿都在家的。我去那会儿都在家的，才在读书，那会儿老二在易门中学读书，小的那一个还没有读中学还是怎么的。后来那两个去读书了，就有一个腿瘸的跟她一起在家，这个叫小兰，我认识的。

Su Jiajun: Three, all at home. They were at home when I came. They were attending schools. The middle one went to the Yimen Middle School back then. The youngest one was not yet in middle school or else. Later the two went to schools, and the lame one stayed with her at home. I knew her, Xiaolan.

文慧：就是我大姑是吗？

Wen Hui: My oldest aunt?

苏家俊：是的。

Su Jiajun: Yes.

文慧：你对我是不是大姑印象深刻些？

Wen Hui: You knew my oldest aunt better, didn’t you?

苏家俊：这一个在家的时间比较长。

Su Jiajun: She stayed at home longer.

文慧：我奶奶会不会跟你说我爸爸或者外边的事情？

Wen Hui: Did my grandmother tell you about my father or things outside?

苏家俊：不会讲，那个时候我们也是小孩子，他们也忙。

Su Jiajun: No. We were little kids too, and they were busy.

文慧：我爷爷也不讲？

Wen Hui: No word about my grandfather.

苏家俊：你爷爷都不在家，被人家拉去改造了，劳改。

Su Jiajun: Your grandfather was not even at home. He was forced to the labor camp, to be reformed through labor.

文慧：我爷爷回来的时候聊天他也不跟你讲他的儿子？

Wen Hui: When my grandfather came back and chatted with you, he didn’t mention his son?

苏家俊：不讲。那个时候怎么能讲？一是当时在外边工作的，外边教育要和家庭脱离关系，根本不敢回来。如果你回来人家就可以取缔你，不要你干。那个时候戴帽子打棍子。

Su Jiajun: No. He couldn’t. First and foremost, those who worked outside was taught to cut off family ties and dared not come back. If you came back, they would try to control you. You would be put on a political label and be punished back then.

文慧：那你和我爷爷聊天，两个人就在家里关上门悄悄讲，也没有谁会听到，他也不讲他的儿子吗？

Wen Hui: When you two whisper in the house with door shut, nobody could hear. Even in these occasions he didn’t talked about his son?

苏家俊：不，隔壁有人，那个时候随便讲就会有人听见的。

Su Jiajun: No. There were eavesdroppers outside. They could hear whenever you spoke wrong.

文慧：不敢讲吗？

Wen Hui: You dared not speak?

苏家俊：不敢。改革开放以后，你讲什么都可以讲。改革开放以前你说点什么，人家就以为你要做什么，暴动啊，给你戴帽子，你没有讲过人家都说是你讲的，搞陷害。那个时候说话要相当留神，一不留神就被人家拉去斗了。

Su Jiajun: No. You could say whatever you wanted after Reform and Opening up. Before that people would take your word for it. They would accuse you of revolting and put a political label on you. They would even put words in your mouth to frame you. You had to watch your tongue back then. One mistake and you would end up being criticized at struggle sessions.

文慧：那个时候你下班就去找我爷爷聊天吗？

Wen Hui: You went to my grandfather to chat whenever after work?

苏家俊：没有，那会儿下班没有时间。只不过是不开会的那一晚。早上下班吃饭，吃了饭休息一下，又要上班。上班到晚上，吃了晚饭后，可以休息到几点又要开会了，会开完就睡觉了。那个时候虽说工作八个小时，八个小时都很累的。剩下时间要吃饭、睡觉、开会，晚上要睡觉那个时间是……（完）

Su Jiajun: No. I had no time after work. Only at nights when there were no meetings. I ate after work in the morning and took a break. After the break I went back to work until evening. After dinner I could rest before meetings. After the meeting I went to bed. You only worked for eight hours, but those eight hours were exhausting. For the rest of time you needed to eat, sleep, attend meetings, the time you could sleep was… (The end)