APPENDIXES

A. Trade Union Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Union Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>2,373,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5,170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>7,297,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>10,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>12,229,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>12,454,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>13,720,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>16,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>17,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>20,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>20,800,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### B. Work Force and Trade Union Membership

*(in Thousands)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Trade Union Membership (1)</th>
<th>Industrial Workers (2)</th>
<th>Non-Agricultural Employees (3)</th>
<th>Workers and Employees (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>2,373</td>
<td>3,004</td>
<td>26,267</td>
<td>8,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5,170</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>30,314</td>
<td>10,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>7,297</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>34,730</td>
<td>12,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>10,200</td>
<td>4,939</td>
<td>36,752</td>
<td>15,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>12,229</td>
<td>6,188</td>
<td>39,116</td>
<td>18,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>12,454</td>
<td>6,408</td>
<td>39,750</td>
<td>18,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>6,477</td>
<td>38,864</td>
<td>19,076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>13,720</td>
<td>8,626</td>
<td>39,366</td>
<td>24,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>16,300</td>
<td>9,008</td>
<td>39,667</td>
<td>24,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>17,400</td>
<td>25,623</td>
<td>56,867</td>
<td>45,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45,960</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**

1. Appendix A;
2. *Ten Great Years*, 128;
3. Emerson, "Employment in Mainland China," Table A-1;
C. Activists and Outstanding Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Emulation Participants (1)</th>
<th>Outstanding Workers (2)</th>
<th>Outstanding Groups (3)</th>
<th>Activists (4)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>683,000</td>
<td>208,000</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2,380,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>2,820,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>80% of staff and workers</td>
<td>155,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td></td>
<td>234,000*</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td>316,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>2,730,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,259,000</td>
<td>114,000</td>
<td>3,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,078,000</td>
<td>106,000</td>
<td>3,482,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,441,000</td>
<td>199,000</td>
<td>3,490,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In comparison with the figures of 3,482,000 or 3,890,000 trade union activists in 1957, the number of full-time trade union cadres that year was 60,874 in local, industrial and primary level unions. "China's workers and employees: Some figures," Shihshih Shout'se, No. 8 (April 21, 1957), in ECMM, No. 88.
D. Workers Promoted

A. Promotions to cadre status

1. 1950-1953, workers promoted to cadre positions in Party and government organs totaled 107,000; workers promoted to trade union organs above the basic level totaled 111,000. "Opening address by Liu Ning-i," Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.


3. 1954, workers promoted to cadre positions:
   a. 3,600 to Party organs
   b. 7,600 to government organs
   c. 1,850 to trade union organs above basic level
   d. 1,400 to Youth League committees
   e. 7,080 to other organizations


B. Promotions within industrial enterprises

1. Directors

2. Industrial enterprise staff (shop managers, engineers, technicians, etc.)
   b. 1954: 17,650, 7,200 of whom were shop chiefs. "Development made in China's labor movement in 1954," op. cit.
### E. Labor Insurance Coverage
(in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Insurance Coverage</th>
<th>Workers and Employees</th>
<th>Industrial Workers</th>
<th>Trade Union Membership</th>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>8,004</td>
<td>3,004</td>
<td>2,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>10,239</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>5,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>12,815</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>7,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>15,804</td>
<td>4,939</td>
<td>10,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>18,256</td>
<td>6,188</td>
<td>12,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>5,380</td>
<td>18,809</td>
<td>6,408</td>
<td>12,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>5,710</td>
<td>19,076</td>
<td>6,477</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>7,417</td>
<td>24,230</td>
<td>8,626</td>
<td>13,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>24,506</td>
<td>9,008</td>
<td>16,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>13,779</td>
<td>45,323</td>
<td>25,623</td>
<td>17,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Insurance Coverage: Ten Great Years, 149. For the sources of the other figures, see Appendix B.
NOTES

1. Introduction

1. Alexander Eckstein has estimated that Soviet national income in 1928, on the eve of the Soviet first five-year plan, was 17% above that of China in 1952 and that per capita income was four times that of China. "Moscow-Peking axis: The economic pattern," in Boorman et al., Moscow-Peking Axis: Strengths and Strains. For an even higher estimate of Soviet superiority, see Zauberman, "Soviet and Chinese strategy for economic growth," International Affairs, XXXVIII (July 1962), 339-352.

2. Industry was essentially socialized by the end of 1956; by 1958 the communes and the Great Leap Forward policies had been adopted by the Party. The period 1956-1958 is used here as a dividing point, with the explicit caveat that all such pinpointing is inexact and somewhat arbitrary.

3. The literature elicited by the Cultural Revolution is voluminous. See, e.g., Chalmers Johnson, "The two Chinese revolutions," China Quarterly, No. 39 (July-September, 1969) for a view emphasizing the influence of Sino-Soviet relations.

4. Policy positions often develop slowly, and changes in emphasis are difficult to pinpoint. They are, in addition, subject to geographical diversity because of deliberate experimentation, usually in Manchuria, level of industrial development, and the degree of central control in various regions of China.

5. Arguments for consolidating the periodization of the Communist regime into three periods, although along similar lines, are presented by Roderick MacFarquhar, "Communist China's twenty years: A periodization," China Quarterly, No. 39 (July-September, 1969). The usefulness of the additional subdivisions for my study is evident in the following discussion.

6. Lenin assigned the unions four tasks also: transmission belt, schools of communism (political education), schools of administration, and defense of workers' interests. Discussion of the union role of defending workers' interests was soon dropped in the Soviet Union, and promoting production has long been a recognized task of the unions in both countries. In China the task of defending the workers is subsumed under the transmission belt function.

7. Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism, an infantile disorder," Selected
Works, 871 (his emphasis). On the debates, see Margaret Dewar, *Labour Policy in the USSR 1917-1928*.

8. This theme runs throughout Party writings on Party-union relations. See especially Chapter IV.


10. Ibid., Article 9.


14. See Hsü Chih-chen's speech on the revised constitution, in *Eighth All-China Congress of Trade Unions*.


16. A different labor system with extreme implications in that direction is that of Japan. See, e.g., Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society*, 24-25.

17. "Do not bend with the wind," JMJP, October 11, 1956, in SCMP, No. 1400.


the small group in union work, see Kung-hui hsiao-tsu chang kungtso (Work of the Trade Union Small Group Leader); and KJJP, August 6, 1965, in SCMP, No. 3525.


25. The general distinction between model worker and worker activist is that of production excellence versus political activity. A union activist is a full-time worker who does union work in his spare time.


27. For one discussion of why "socialist competition" is a contradiction in terms, and of Marx's opposition to piece wages, see Isaac Deutscher, "Socialist competition," Foreign Affairs, XXX (April 1952).


29. On the allocation of labor in Communist China, see Christopher Howe, Employment and Economic Growth in Urban China 1949-1957, especially Part Two: "Employment Policy and Administration."

II. The Honeymoon Period, 1949-1952

1. The Marxist-Leninist doctrinal advantage of socialization is that it eliminates class divisions within society and thereby maximizes the production potential of each individual. The realization of that potential also depends on the reflection of that socialization in the political consciousness of all the members of society, i.e., it depends on all members of society becoming good socialists and ultimately good communists. The practical value of socialization of the means of production is that it allows centralized distribution of resources and
production in accordance with economic planning and priorities.

2. Industrial apparatus valued at more than two billion dollars was taken from Manchuria by the Russians. Arthus G. Ashbrook, "Main lines of Chinese Communist economic policy," in Economic Profile of Mainland China, 18.


5. KJJP editorial, January 1, 1951, in SCMP, No. 44; NCNA, March 6, 1951, in SCMP, No. 80.


7. During the period 1949-1952, 135,600 workers were promoted to cadre positions in the Party, the government and other organs and 124,500 were promoted to administrative and technical positions in enterprises. NCNA, April 24, 1953, in SCMP, No. 559. In 1949 there were almost no industrial workers in the Party; by 1956 there were over one-and-one-half million. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Transformation in the Chinese Communist Party," in Treadgold, ed., Soviet and Chinese Communism, 89; Lewis, Leadership in Communist China, 108. By the end of 1952 a total of 450,000 union members had become Party members and another 650,000 had joined the Communist Youth League. NCNA, April 24, 1953, in SCMP, No. 559.


9. Li Li-san, How to Manage a Factory; Chen Yung-wen, "Democratic management in public enterprises," People's China, 1, 9 (May 1, 1950). See also Schurmann, Ideology and Organization; Schurmann, "Organizational Contrasts Between Communist China and the Soviet Union."


15. "Labor insurance regulations" and "Explanation of some points in the labor insurance regulations," NCNA, March 24, 1951, in CB, No. 66.


17. JMJP, May 1, 1955, in CB, No. 363.


19. "Resist-U.S., Aid-Korea movement to be integrated with production improvement," report by Chen Shao-min at the third plenary session of the first National Committee of Textile Trade Unions, August 21, 1951. NCNA, September 14, 1951, in SCMP, No. 178.

20. NCNA, April 21, 1951, in SCMP, No. 97.


22. A series of articles is translated in SCMP, No. 87 (March 22-24, 1951) and No. 117 (June 15-16, 1951). See also Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao, March 22, 1951, in CB, No. 99. As a point of interest, the Ma Heng-chang brigade has been mentioned again recently. Ma himself is now a chief engineer and his team of lathe turners has reportedly overfulfilled its quota every year for the past twenty-four years. "Outstanding team of lathe turners maintains record in China," NCNA Harbin, October 13, 1973, in SCMP, No. 5482.


26. Ibid., 175.
27. Lai Jo-yu, "Report on trade union work in China," in Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions; KJJP editorial, January 1, 1951, in SCMP, No. 44; "Notice on the question of rectifying the work style of trade union organizations and trade union cadres," issued by the ACFL on August 11, 1950 and reprinted in Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao, August 15, 1950; KJJP editorial and accompanying article on the subject of the second plenum of the ACFL Sixth Executive Committee, February 11, 1953, in SCMP, No. 513.
29. "Explanation of some points in the labor insurance regulations," NCNA, February 27, 1951, in CB, No. 66. The main spokesman for the ACFL during the san-fan and wu-fan campaigns, for example, was Liu Ning-yi.
30. "Speech by Comrade Li Li-san," in Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 11, 255. See also G.L.V. Hooton, "The Future of Trades-Unionism in China," Far Eastern Economic Review, XVIII, 24 (June 16, 1955). At the same time it should be remembered that Li had suffered disfavor in the past and had been a personal rival of Mao's for the Party's leadership in its earlier years so that Li's role as a scapegoat is possible. Nor did Li disappear altogether. He retained his position as a member of the Party's Central Committee and its Standing Committee; in 1956-1958 he was deputy director of the industrial committee of the Central Committee; in 1962 he became secretary of the North China Regional Bureau. Directory of Chinese Communist Officials, 1963, 1966. Reportedly, however, Li came under attack again during the Cultural Revolution and committed suicide. See "Thirty-three leading counterrevolutionary revisionists," March 1968, in CB, No. 874.
31. KJJP, February 11, 1953. See also NCNA, February 10, 1953; both in SCMP, No. 513.
32. San-fan was a campaign against extravagance, waste, and bureaucratic work style. Wu-fan was directed more specifically against capitalists, and it derived its name from the five sins of bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and theft of state economic information.
33. Lai Jo-yu, Report both on trade union work in China," in Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, 50.
34. E.g., JMJP, May 11, 1952, in SCMP, No. 339. See also Hankow
III. China's First Five-Year Plan and the Soviet Model, 1953-1955

1. A coordinated five-year plan was not actually submitted to the National People's Congress until July of 1955. But the official policies that concern us assumed the changes in economic orientation symbolized by the beginning of the first five-year plan in 1953.

2. K.C. Yeh, "Soviet and Communist Chinese industrialization strategies," in Treadgold, Soviet and Chinese Communism; Wu Yuan-li, "Planning, management and economic development in Communist China," in Economic Profile of Mainland China, 104-105. On the distinction between heavy and light industry in China, Schurmann states: "It is important to note that the distinction is not economic (that is, between producer- and consumer-goods industries), but political. What the Chinese call heavy industry consists of industries strategically important for the development goals of the regime; whatever remains falls into the category of light industry." Ideology and Organization, 80.


5. JMJP editorial, August 19, 1953, in SCMP, No. 635.


7. On the coordination of Party, Communist Youth League, and union work, see the series of articles in JMJP, April 11, 1954, in SCMP, No. 794. A qualification should be made, however,
concerning the changes in enterprise leadership. According to
Schurmann, opposition to the one-man management system by Party
officials began almost as soon as it was widely introduced in
1953, thus inhibiting its consolidation. *Ideology and Organiza-
tion*, 272.

8. *Ten Great Years*, 128. For insight into problems of low skill
levels and conflicts between newly recruited and older workers,
see, e.g., Richard Yang, "Industrial workers in fiction," in
Cyril Birch, ed., *Chinese Communist Literature* (New York:

9. E.g., Chen Chun, "How to strengthen labor discipline," *JMJP*,
July 8, 1953, in *SCMP*, No. 631.


14. "Oppose the trend of punitivism," *KJJP* editorial, January 21,
1955, in *SCMP*, No. 986. This is one editorial referred to in
charges against the editor, Ch'en Yung-wen, during the union
purge of 1958; see Chapter IV.

15. "Text of ACFTU decision on launching of technical renovation
movement," *NCNA*, May 26, 1954, in *SCMP*, No. 821; "Provisional
regulations of awards for inventions, technical improvements
and rationalization proposals concerning production," 1954,
in *Labour Laws and Regulations of the People's Republic of
China*.

16. Yuan Feng, "The ratio of increase between labor productivity
and wages," *Hsin Chienshe*, No. 12 (December 3, 1956), in *ECMM*,
No. 71. According to Perkins, however, "marginal productivity
of unskilled and semiskilled laborers was well below their
average productivity and, while the average increased each
year, it is doubtful that there was any rise in marginal
productivity at all, owing to the constant excess availability
of unskilled workers. Thus the average wage in China was
higher than necessary from the point of view of allocative
efficiency. This was partially and somewhat indirectly recog-
nized by the reduction in lower-grade wages in 1958." *Market
Control and Planning in Communist China*, 149-150.

17. *Labor Insurance Regulations, Revised*, January 1953; *Comparative
Chart of Provisions of Original and Revised Labor Insurance
Regulations*, both in *CB*, No. 225. The Chinese claimed that the
new regulations would increase insurance expenditures by about twenty-five percent. JMJP, January 9, 1953, in CB, No. 225. Statistics in Ten Great Years indicate that the number of workers and staff members covered by insurance increased by more than forty-five percent from 1952 to 1953. See Appendix E.


19. Data must be collected from various sources some of which give data only on sanatoria, some on sanatoria and rest homes combined, some indicate the number of institutions, others only the number of beds, some give data on "spare-time" or overnight facilities provided by enterprises for the exclusive use of their own employees and some do not. The largest single collection of data is Ten Great Years, but the category used is the number of beds available in both sanatoria and rest homes combined and is thus incomparable with the data from any other sources.


25. Wages in private industry apparently were generally higher than wages in public industries. "Reform the new joint public-private enterprises' wage system" Hsinhua panyueh-k' an (November 21, 1956), 107, as cited by Perkins, Market Control and Planning in Communist China, 148. See also, "Trade unions' new role in China," Far Eastern Economic Review, XVIII, 26 (June 30, 1955).


IV. Socialization of Industry and the Role of the Unions, 1955-1957


5. E.g., JMJP, January 21, 1957, in SCMP, No. 1466.

6. JMJP editorial, November 30, 1956, in SCMP, No. 1433.


8. See especially the series of articles in URS, III (1956), 5.


10. The wage reform was formalized by the Minister of Labor, Ma Wen-jui, at the third session of the First National People's Congress, June 29, 1956. See his "Wages, labor conditions and employment," NCNA, June 29, 1956, in CB, No. 405. On the importance given to material incentives, see Tientsin Ta Kung Pao editorial, May 22, 1956, and JMJP, June 3, 1956, both in SCMP, No. 1314. "Summary description of articles on the question of combining the individual interest of laborers with the public interest of society," Hsüehhsi, No. 10 (October 2, 1955), in ECMM, No. 17; Wang Ching-cheng, "On egalitarianism," Hsüehhsi, No. 11 (November 2, 1956), in ECMM, No. 67; Huang Wei, "Is there any contradiction between the development of production and the betterment of living?" Chan Wang, No. 48 (December 15, 1956), in ECMM, No. 67.
11. For an explanation of calculation procedures for welfare funds, see Wei Li, "The system of wage allowances should be radically reformed," Chihua Chingchi, No. 5 (May 9, 1958), in ECMM, No. 135.

12. The statistics are once again tentative. For two general sets of figures, see Kang Chao, "Industrialization and urban housing in Communist China," Journal of Asian Studies, XXV, 3 (May 1966), and The Construction Industry in Communist China; and William Hollister, "Trends in capital formation in Communist China," in Economic Profile of Mainland China. For arguments supporting Chao's figures and detailed information on Shanghai, see Christopher Howe, "The supply and administration of urban housing in Mainland China," China Quarterly, No. 33 (January-March 1968).

13. According to Wen Yu, 5,400,000 out of 5,600,000 newly skilled workers, cumulative to 1960, were trained by apprenticeship and the rest in spare-time technical schools. "The new generation of skilled workers," China Reconstructs, IX, 8 (August 1960).


20. Ibid., 246.


22. "Trade union leader on democracy in factories," NCNA, November 29, 1956, in SCMP, No. 1423; "Trade union president on factory
democracy," NCNA, January 9, 1957, in SCMP, No. 1449.

23. Mao Tse-tung, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.

24. Mao's first invitation delivered on May 26, 1956, was not published but was officially interpreted by Lu Ting-yi, "Let Flowers of Many Kinds Blossom, Diverse Schools of Thought Contend!"

25. Mao Tse-tung, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.


27. KJJP editorial, September 24, 1957, in SCMP, No. 1631.


29. Reported by Li Feng, "On an 8,000-li tour of hurried observation," JMJP, May 9, 1957, in SCMP, No. 1551; KJJP, May 21 and 22, 1957, in SCMP, No. 1552. One li is about one-third of a mile.


33. NCNA, June 14, 1957, and JMJP editorial, June 10, 1957; both in SCMP, No. 1566.

34. KJJP editorial, November 12, 1957, in SCMP, No. 1660; KJJP editorials, October 22 and 24, 1957, and Hsiao Liang, "Workers must take into account the interests of six hundred million people," KJJP, October 9, 1957, both in SCMP, No. 1641.


38. NCNA, August 11, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1833.


40. "Trade union organizations must carry out the rectification campaign to the end," JMJP, August 12, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1837; "Rightist Ch'en Yung-wen exposed by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions at the rectification meeting," KJJP, August 13, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1849.

41. Tientsin Hopei Jihpao, June 4, 1958, and KJJP, June 27, 1958, both in URS, XIII (1958), No. 23; Lushun-Dairen Lü-Ta Jihpao (October 26, 1958), in SCMP, No. 1925.


43. T'an Hsin-wen, "Labor union movement."

44. Harper, "The Party and the unions in Communist China."

V. The Great Leap Forward, 1958-1960


2. E.g., Eckstein, Communist China's Economic Growth, 43.


4. KJJP editorial, July 1, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1814 (emphasis in original). See also KJJP, July 23, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1828;


8. Ch'eng Hsi-hai, "How was labor organization overhauled in Huinan municipality?" Hofei Anhwei Jihpao, March 15, 1959, in SCMP, No. 1993; Sung Ping, "Worker-cum-Peasant is a very good labor system," Hsuehhsi, No. 10/11 (May 31, 1958), in ECMM, No. 135.

9. E.g., Wang Li and Tsao Heng-kuei, "Pay constant attention to workers' political education," Hsuehhsi, No. 6 (March 18, 1957), in ECMM, No. 83.

10. On the wage reductions, see "Message of greetings delivered by Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," in Eighth All-China Congress of Trade Unions; Shih Kuang, "How to deal with the welfare problem during the rectification campaign," Chungkuo Ch'ingnien, No. 22 (November 16, 1957), and Yang Po, "The ratio of consumption accumulation in the use of the national income," Hsuehhsi, No. 20 (October 18, 1957), both in ECMM, No. 116; Sung Ping, "Why is it necessary to introduce a rational low wage system?" Hsuehhsi, No. 23 (December 3, 1957), in ECMM, No. 118; Hsu Yi et al., "Distribution based on labor and the wage policy," Hsin Chienshe, No. 5 (May 1958), in ECMM, No. 137; Perkins, Market Control, 152-153. On welfare reductions, see especially Wei Li, "The system of wage allowances should be radically reformed," Chihua Chingchi, No. 5 (May 9, 1958), in ECMM, No. 135. On the elimination of piece wages, see KJJP, August 29, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1862; Hsueh Chin and Yin Chen, "They don't want piece wages," Chungkuo Ch'ingnien, No. 19 (October 1, 1958), in ECM, No. 150; CB, No. 537 (December 5, 1958).

11. On the use of shock tactics, see, e.g., NCNA, September 29, 1958, in SCMP, No. 1866. According to this article, workers were staying at their posts around the clock, some of them putting in twenty or more consecutive hours at work. On the lack of organization, see, e.g., KJJP, August 12, 1959, in
SCMP, No. 2089. On lack of technical innovation, see, e.g., JMJP editorial, November 4, 1959, in SCMP, No. 2139.

12. On work regulations, see Liu Ning-yi, "Chinese workers forge ahead under party leadership," JMJP, October 1, 1959, in CB, No. 606. On lack of safety measures, see, e.g., Tientsin Hopei Jihpao, April 9, 1959, in SCMP, No. 2036; KJJP editorial, June 9, 1959, in SCMP, No. 2041.


14. Liu Ning-yi, "Raise high the Mao Tse-tung banner, take heart, aim high, and struggle for a better leap forward in 1960!" NCNA, March 4, 1960, in SCMP, No. 2214.


1. For eyewitness accounts, see Charles Taylor, Reporter in Red China; Lorenz Stucki, Behind the Great Wall; Hugo Portisch, Red China Today; and Frederick Nossal, Dateline Peking.


3. E.g., Schurmann, Ideology and Organization, Chapter 4; Perkins, Market Control, Chapter 6; E.L. Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane, The Chinese Road to Socialism. Also, e.g., Hsü Hsin-hsüeh, "Further strengthen the responsibility system in industrial enterprises," Hung Ch'i, No. 22 (October 16, 1961), in SCMM, No. 286; Wang Hsin-yuan (Vice-Minister, Papermaking Industry) at national conference for the papermaking industry on March 1, 1963, "Strengthen management of enterprises, centering on the production-increase and economy campaign," Chungkwo Ch'ing-kungyeh, No. 4 (April 13, 1963), in SCMM, No. 365. On the reemphasis on the role of technical personnel, see, e.g., "Further develop the role of technical personnel in industrial enterprises, JMJP editorial, November 7, 1961, in SCMP, No. 2635; "Strengthen the technical management of industrial enterprises," JMJP editorial, April 8, 1963, in SCMP, No. 2967.


5. On the arguments concerning absenteeism, see, e.g., Wang Yuch'ang et al., "Attend to the livelihood of workers: Report No. 1 on an investigation into the attendance rate of workers in Ch'eng-tzu colliery, Ching-hsi," JMJP, May 19, 1961, in


8. JMJP, August 31, 1961, in SCMP, No. 2575; also, KJJP, September 19, 1961, in SCMP, No. 2602.


12. The closest to a summary in translation is Ku Ta-ch'uhn, "Intensify socialist education for the working class," Hung Ch'i, No. 1 (January 4, 1964), in SCMM, No. 402.


VII. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

1. "Two diametrically opposed lines in building the economy," KJJP, August 25, 1967, as reprinted in Peking Review, No. 37 (September 8, 1967). These policies, especially emphasis on political education and downgrading material incentives, were publicized mainly in "learn from Tachai" (in agriculture) and "learn from Tach'ing" (in industry) campaigns; see, e.g., Hung Ch'i, No. 13 (December 6, 1965), in SCMP, No. 505, on the Tach'ing oil field model.

2. KJJP editorial, April 30, 1965, in SCMP, No. 3467.
3. KJJP editorial and article, March 22, 1966, in SCMP, No. 3674.

4. KJJP editorial and article, April 27, 1966, in SCMP, No. 3693.

5. KJJP, June 10, 1966, in SCMP, No. 3734.


7. This was no doubt due in part to Liu Shao-ch'i's traditional close association with the unions. However, as argued below, the criticisms of union behavior launched by the Cultural Revolution were accurate in fact if not always in spirit.


11. For one first-hand account emphasizing particularly the confusion that must have dominated the earliest periods of the Cultural Revolution, see Neale Hunter, Shanghai Journal. Hunter details, for example, Party complicity in the activities of the Scarlet Guards, an organization of moderate workers constituting the most important opposition group to Shanghai's Rebels (Red Guards) (pp. 169-170). This complicity, also involving factory managers, led to such activities as paying bonuses to workers and issuing them travel vouchers and funds, triggering the Cultural Revolution Center Group's major attack on economism. For a similar description of initial worker hesitancy to join the Red Guards in a Peking factory, see Joan Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China, 125-129.

12. "Chairman Mao sends treasured gift to Peking's worker-peasant Mao Tse-tung's Thought propaganda team," Peking Review, No. 32 (August 9, 1968); "Chairman Mao Tse-tung's latest directive," Peking Review, No. 34 (August 23, 1968); Yao Wen-yuan, "The working class must exercise leadership in everything," Hung Ch'i, No. 2 (August 1968), in SCMM, No. 625. For the strongest argument of this interpretation, see Klaus Mehnert, Peking and the
New Left: At Home and Abroad; see also, e.g., Richard Baum, "Year of the mangoes," *Asian Survey*, IX, 1 (January 1969).


16. In 1965 Liu Ning-yi was elected a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Secretary-General of the National People's Congress. CB, No. 752 (February 1, 1965). In 1966 he seems to have continued to advance in the Party hierarchy. See the post-eleventh plenum ranking of top Party leaders in "Quarterly chronicle and documentation," *China Quarterly*, No. 28 (October-December 1966), 186.

17. Uri Ra'anan, "Peking's foreign policy 'debate,' 1965-1966," in Tsou, ed., *China in Crisis*, II. One NCNA release on the ceremonies for the eighteenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China in 1967 listed Liu as ranking twentieth among the top leaders, but another more comprehensive NCNA release did not include his name. CB, No. 838 and SCMP, No. 4037. Although he was seen at public receptions in Peking on January 1, 1969, he has not been seen in public since, not even during May Day activities. He was not reelected to the ninth Central Committee of the Party in 1969.


19. NCNA, December 1, 1967, two articles, in SCMP, No. 4073.


23. CB, No. 905 (March 29, 1970).

24. At that time the political education of ex-capitalists was listed as a major union assignment. See, e.g., the various speeches by Lai Jo-yü during 1956 and 1957.


26. See Chapter V. The article "Sources of labor discontent in China," erroneously states that the system appeared for the first time in the sixties, apparently following the implications to that effect in Chinese articles on the subject, especially Peking Review, IX, 3 (January 14, 1966), "Across the Land" section.


28. See, e.g., "Participation in both industry and farming work is an important reform in the labor system," Chungkuo Fangchih, No. 1 (January 10, 1965), in SCMM, No. 465; Chang Ho-wei, "The worker-peasant labor system in finance and trade departments," Hsin Chieneshe, Nos. 1-2 (February 20, 1966), in SCMM, No. 534.


30. It might be overly cynical to suggest this as a purpose of the system; nevertheless, efficiency suggested rotating workers to the countryside after a number of years in certain types of factory work. "For example, the age bracket for spindle workers in the cotton textile and silk-reeling enterprises should range from 18 to 26, and periodic rotation can be enforced once about every eight years. This is because female workers in this age bracket are most efficient in this type of work and when sent back to the countryside at 26, they are still able-bodied labor power." "Participation in both industry and farming work is an important reform in the labor system" (cited in note 28 above). In addition to the question of pensions and the generally higher standard of living enjoyed by workers than by peasants, the threat of rotation to the countryside may itself have biased many urban workers against the system.

Revolution and was not reelected an alternate member of the Central Committee in 1969.

VIII. The Reappearance of the Trade Unions, 1973

1. According to Chin Fu-yao, cultural officer of the People's Republic of China's embassy in Australia, the unions had continued to exist but had been inactive. Personal communication.


3. "Strive to fulfill the historical mission of the working class," Hung Ch'i, No. 9 (September 3, 1973), in *SCMM*, No. 760.


5. E.g., "Living standards in China improve," *Peking Review*, No. 40 (September 30, 1971). A more recent article makes the explicit point that workers' output, quality and rejection rates are publicly posted "to draw attention to outstanding work for others to emulate, not as a 'material incentive.'" "Socialist industry--The workers are the masters," *Peking Review*, No. 28 (July 13, 1973).


9. Riskin, "Maoism and motivation."

10. Meisner, "Report from China." According to Meisner, workers averaged 64 yuan per month, state cadres and technicians 60 yuan per month. A number of articles in the Chinese press emphasize that the Party chairman may or may not earn slightly more than skilled workers and that Party committee members
earn less than veteran skilled workers. E.g., "Socialist industry--The workers are the masters" (cited in note 5 above).

11. This reemergence is discussed in the previous chapter. For a discussion of this change as reflected in Chinese literature, especially the role of veteran workers, see my "Heroes and villains in Chinese literature, 1968-1972," World Review, forthcoming.


13. In an extreme form, work groups may be remunerated on the basis of group output, with autonomy to decide each worker's share on the basis of such criteria as work effort, need, cooperativeness, etc. As Riskin indicates, however, application in this form has been limited in factories because a policy of time wages rather than collective bonuses has been in effect. Riskin, "Maoism and motivation."

14. On this general theme, see, e.g., Wang Hung-wen's remarks to the Tenth Party Congress. On this general theme applied to workers, see, e.g., Wu Kung-wen, "Training worker-cadres is a task assigned us by history," JMJP, July 10, 1973, in SCMP, No. 5422; KMJP, May 13, 1973, in SCMP, No. 5382. See also Take the Road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in Training Technicians from Among the Workers.


17. In 1971 revisionism was criticized by repudiating Liu Shao-ch'ī; in 1973 revisionism was attacked in general until after the Tenth Party Congress when Lin Piao was singled out. For 1971 see, e.g., "Motivation behind heroic deeds," Peking Review, No. 50 (December 10, 1971); "Fourth five-year plan: First year's success," Peking Review, No. 1 (January 7, 1972). On the intensified campaign to study Mao and Marxism in 1973, see Chang Fu-heng, "We workers must strive to study revolutionary theories," Hung Ch'i, No. 5 (May 1, 1973), in SCMM, No. 753; "Dockers in central China port study Marxism—Leninism," NCNA
Wuhan, October 20, 1973, in SCMP, No. 5486.

18. JMJP, April 16, 1973, in SCMP, No. 5363. See also, e.g., KMJP, May 30, 1973, in SCMP, No. 5393


21. Jen Wen, "Road of training technicians from among the workers," (cited in note 16 above); "Socialist Industry—the workers are the masters" (cited in note 5 above).


24. See also Lee, "The politics of technology in Communist China." This kind of cooperation is potentially facilitated by the organization of Chinese unions as plant unions.


27. Meisner reports that in the Shenyang transformer factory he visited in 1972, the Revolutionary Committee was established in 1968 and that sixteen of twenty-eight members were "from the masses." Meisner, "Report from China." According to a recent Peking Review article on the Shanghai Watch Company, the Party committee is entirely composed of workers with the exception of the Secretary (concurrently chairman of the Revolutionary Committee), and the Revolutionary Committee is entirely composed of workers except for one engineer and the chairman. "Socialist industry—the workers are the masters," (cited in note 5 above).

28. "Over 5,000 new party members of Anshan Iron and Steel Company," [among workers, cadres and technical personnel] KMJP, June 29, 1973; "Large number of new Party members among Shanghai workers," [33,000 since the Ninth Congress in 1969]
IX. Summary and Conclusions

1. The entrenchment of higher political officials in China before the Cultural Revolution is well documented and is explicit in Mao's speech on contradictions among the people as well as the Cultural Revolution itself. For an interesting view of efforts by "the people" to maximize their individual and personal interests by learning to use the developing rules of the game in Chinese society, see Michel Oksenberg, "The institutionalization of the Chinese Communist revolution," China Quarterly, No. 36 (October-December 1968).

2. On the Maoist strategy, e.g., "China's road to socialist industrialization," Peking Review, No. 43 (October 24, 1969);
for perhaps the most enthusiastic Western scholarly description, see E.L. Wheelwright and Bruce MacFarlane, *The Chinese Road to Socialism*.


The major source for this study has been the English translation series released by the U.S. Consulate-General in Hong Kong; items from that series and articles from such Chinese publications as Peking Review and China Reconstructs are not listed separately in the bibliography.

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