

To Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Bo Yibo, Peng Zhen, the Central Committee, and Chairman Mao:

Report on How to Consolidate the Victory of the “Five-Anti” Campaign

March 22, 1952

Based on reports from trade unions in Beijing, Tianjin, Jinan, Chahar Province, Songjiang Province, Tangshan, Wuhan, Qingdao, Xi’an, Chongqing, Jiangxi Province, Wuxi, and other areas, since the launch of the “Five-Anti” campaign and the direct ideological struggle by broad masses of workers, the aggressive momentum of the bourgeoisie has been curbed. However, a portion of unscrupulous capitalists are still attempting to get through the campaign using various deceptive means.

In Beijing, these unscrupulous capitalists have employed the following tactics during audits and investigations:

1. **Deceptive Cooperation:** Capitalists pretend to repent early, claim submission to worker leadership, and try to coax workers into stamping audit approvals, believing that a little humility will let them pass quickly.
2. **Theft of Seals:** Some secretly carve or steal workers’ official seals.
3. **Forcing Through:** Capitalists act arrogantly toward workers, demanding approval, and suggest workers go to the Federation of Industry and Commerce if they disagree.
4. **Bribery:** Some use money to bribe workers for approval.
5. **Evading Checks:** Some claim they have no workers in their shop to avoid the worker audit process.
6. **Using Puppets:** Some have their stooges pose as workers to approve audits.

Similar tricks have been observed in other regions as well.

What’s particularly noteworthy is that some unscrupulous capitalists, after passing inspections, immediately launch counterattacks. These counterattacks typically take the following forms:

1. **Resumed Arrogance and Retaliation:** In Beijing’s Eighth District, four factories openly retaliated against union members. In the Sixth District, several restaurants formed “worker dismissal alliances.” In Xi’an’s Sixth District, within just three days after 1,170 smaller illegal businesses were penalized, seven shops were found lowering worker living standards, two cut wages, three closed or laid off staff, and two abused or beat workers.
2. **Political Offensive:** For example, a capitalist at the Baiji Thread Factory in Beijing’s Seventh District publicly slandered the leadership and spread rumors, such as claims of Japanese people sending poisonous bugs to kill. A capitalist in Tangshan said, “During the ‘Five-Anti,’ workers led us. Now that it’s over, we will go back to leading the workers.” Some even talk of revenge, saying, “Gentlemen take their revenge slowly. When the Communists fall, we’ll kill all the workers and cadres with knives.”
3. **Passive Resistance:** Some sabotage machinery, secretly withdraw capital, or impose unreasonable hiring conditions for workers.
4. **Double-Dealing:** Some continue to evade taxes and break laws after supposedly complying.

Given these situations, it is clear that consolidating the gains of the “Five-Anti” campaign is a serious issue. It appears that the counterattack by capitalists after the campaign will become even more

intense, especially in small and medium factories and shops where workers are few and scattered. Without precaution, the bourgeois counterattack could undermine the results of the movement.

We hereby propose the following suggestions for your consideration and approval:

1. Establish Permanent Inspection Organizations

Beijing has already mobilized workers to re-audit enterprises. Xi'an has adopted a "three-audits, one-approval" system: capitalists submit confessions to be reviewed by the guild, then workers, then unions, and finally the inspection committee grants approval. These are good methods, but applicable only during the "Five-Anti" period. After the movement ends, capitalists may shift tactics.

Therefore, further measures are necessary. We propose retaining the current City and District Frugality Inspection Committees and renaming them "Industry and Commerce Inspection Committees." These committees would:

- Handle complaints from workers and shop assistants,
- Conduct regular surprise inspections,
- Guide workers in supervising capitalists' production and business operations.

They should be jointly formed by the Municipal Party Committee, the Municipal Government's Bureau of Industry and Commerce, the People's Procuratorate, the Municipal Federation of Trade Unions, and the Federation of Industry and Commerce. Inspection teams may include worker activists and personnel from the tax bureau. This setup would enable immediate countermeasures against bourgeois backlash, thereby consolidating the campaign's success.

2. Thoroughly Rectify Grassroots Trade Union Organizations

During the campaign, worker struggles against capitalists were supported by external forces. Once those forces withdraw, capitalists retaliate. New activists emerged during the movement, but lack experience. Without support and leadership, they are vulnerable to capitalist retaliation or manipulation.

At the conclusion of the campaign, grassroots unions must be thoroughly reorganized:

- **Leadership must be cleaned up:** The fierce pace of the "Five-Anti" campaign meant unions didn't have time to implement the "Three-Anti" campaign. Yet many problems among grassroots cadres were revealed—corruption, vacillation, infiltration or co-optation by capitalists.
- A policy combining firmness and leniency must be applied:
 - Expel those who clearly sided with capitalists ("stooges").
 - Educate those who strayed but wish to repent.

According to the Beijing Federation of Trade Unions:

- In District 1, out of 102 union cadres in four industry associations, 10 were capitalist stooges.
- In District 7, out of 594 officials from 10 industries, 24 were stooges.
- On average, stooges made up over 6%.

After purging, promote new activists from the movement to leadership roles through re-election or by-elections.

- **Restructure union cells:**
 - Small factories or shops with few workers can be grouped by industry or street.
 - Larger ones can form standalone groups.
 - In streets without industry clusters, dual structures (industry-based and street-based) can coexist to allow mutual support.
 - Union committees should actively support and oversee these groups.

Strengthening the working class's ranks is key to resisting capitalist counterattacks.

3. Convene Citywide Worker Representative Assemblies

After the campaign ends, city-level federations of trade unions should hold general worker representative meetings to:

- Summarize the “Three-Anti” and “Five-Anti” experiences,
- Discuss post-campaign plans,
- Elect respected activists to leadership roles.

4. Conduct Widespread Training for Union Cadres and Activists in Private Enterprises

The “Three-Anti” and “Five-Anti” campaigns represented an unprecedented mobilization of the working class. Workers’ consciousness has significantly improved. To consolidate gains, a broad education and training program should follow, especially for newly promoted grassroots cadres and activists. Training should cover:

1. **Summary education** – Help cadres and activists clarify their experiences, reinforce class distinctions, and strengthen class consciousness.
2. **Party and socialist education** – Propagate the Communist Party and socialism. Actively establish Party cells in private enterprises.
3. **Union work education** – Train in union tasks and responsibilities.

5. Sign Collective Labor Contracts and Pilot Democratic Management to Safeguard Workers’ Rights

In Tianjin’s 11th District, 27 large textile and dyeing factories, and 17 hardware factories held labor-capital negotiation meetings after lenient government handling. Union leaders and worker representatives explained government policy to capitalists, proposed production development and democratic management plans, and agreed on:

- Transparent accounts,
- Sound accounting systems,
- Worker oversight of production.

Contracts were co-signed and sealed by worker representatives, who would monitor compliance.

We believe this method is broadly applicable after union restructuring in private enterprises. The collective contract should include:

1. Full disclosure of materials and inventory,
2. Transparency of all financial accounts,
3. Public disclosure of processing and supply contracts,
4. Monthly business reports from the capitalist to all workers,
5. Clauses protecting workers' political and economic rights.

Please advise on the appropriateness of these proposals.

Party Group of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions

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