

Directive from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Trade Union Work and the Implementation of the “Five-Anti” Campaign in Private Enterprises

(March 29, 1952)

To: Huadong Bureau, Shandong Sub-bureau, and forwarded to the Northern Jiangsu District Committee; also to all Central Bureaus and Sub-bureaus for forwarding to all provincial, municipal, and regional party committees:

1. The following documents are hereby circulated for reference in various regions:
 - The Shandong Sub-bureau’s March 9 opinion on trade union work during the “Five-Anti” campaign;
 - The Northern Jiangsu District Party Committee’s March 19 report stating that the “Three-Anti” campaign should not be carried out in private enterprises;
 - The Huadong Bureau’s instructions on the above two reports.
2. The “Three-Anti” campaign should be conducted in **public enterprises**, while in **private enterprises**, only the “**Five-Anti**” campaign should be carried out — this has long been directed by the Central Committee. However, the Yangzhou Municipal Party Committee and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions are still implementing the “Three-Anti” in private enterprises. This mistake could occur elsewhere and should be monitored and corrected.
3. Within trade union organizations operating in **private enterprises**, the “Three-Anti” campaign should indeed be implemented among union personnel. However, this should **not interfere** with the “Five-Anti” campaign being carried out in the private enterprise itself. The “Three-Anti” within trade unions should **primarily take place either before or after the “Five-Anti”**, with timing determined based on the specific progress of the “Five-Anti” in each enterprise. There is no fixed requirement for “cadres before merchants” or “large units before small ones.” During the “Five-Anti,” the trade union must focus all efforts under the leadership of the Party committee, and immediately remove union staff who have been identified as capitalist lackeys or who obstruct the campaign. The worker ranks should be reorganized accordingly.
4. In many workshop-level trade unions, corruption involving dues and donations has occurred. If such situations exist, the “Three-Anti” within trade union organs should be extended to these workshop-level organizations in order to root out corruption. It is necessary to mobilize union members to oppose corruption, waste, and bureaucratic tendencies among union staff. However, the “Three-Anti” should **not be directed at union members themselves**, because Party leadership in trade unions remains generally weak. For this reason, local Party committees must **closely oversee** the “Three-Anti” in trade union organizations, particularly at the grassroots level, to prevent deviations.

Central Committee

March 29, 1952

Instructions from the Huadong Bureau on the Shandong Sub-bureau's Opinion Regarding Trade Union Work During the “Five-Anti” Campaign

To: Shandong Sub-bureau, and for distribution to all provincial, municipal, and regional Party committees; also reported to the Central Committee:

We have received your March 9 telegram and basically agree with your opinions on trade union work during the “Five-Anti” campaign. However, regarding **Point Four** — the implementation of the “Three-Anti” campaign in grassroots trade union organizations **after** the “Five-Anti” campaign — this must be handled with attention to specific circumstances.

Based on existing experience, whether in state-owned or private enterprises, grassroots trade unions should **without exception** carry out a **democratic inspection** and a struggle against **corruption, waste, and bureaucracy** to purify union organizations and leadership, improve relations with the masses, and eliminate bourgeois ideological influence.

For how “Three-Anti” should be implemented in **public enterprises**, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee issued clear instructions on February 4 for state, public, and mixed-ownership factories, which all areas can follow. But in **private enterprise grassroots unions**, the timing and methods of launching the “Three-Anti” campaign are far more complex and should be approached with caution.

Reasons include:

1. The primary task in private enterprises is to **mobilize the masses for the “Five-Anti”**. Conducting both campaigns simultaneously disperses energy and confuses the focus.
2. Once the “Three-Anti” starts, it will inevitably raise sensitive issues around union dues, labor insurance, welfare, and cooperatives — if mishandled, this could create chaos and weaken leadership.
3. Many problems in private enterprise unions are intricately tied to capitalists, and mishandling could open the door to manipulation.
4. Party leadership is generally weak in private enterprises, and the large number and wide distribution of such enterprises makes it difficult for city- and district-level leadership to maintain control if both campaigns run concurrently.

Therefore, we propose the following points:

1. **Before the “Five-Anti” ends**, grassroots trade unions should focus on **class education**, distinguishing between workers and capitalists ideologically, reorganizing union ranks, uniting workers, and leading the struggle against capitalists. Cadres with past issues should redeem themselves through service in the “Five-Anti.”
2. In areas where the “Five-Anti” has not started, use **short training sessions** or guidance from campaign teams to conduct **preliminary inspections** and **reorganize** unions, especially focusing on their ties with capitalists. Avoid unfocused investigations that delay the “Five-Anti.”
3. In places where the “Five-Anti” is ongoing, unions must lead the campaign while simultaneously observing and training cadres for future implementation of the “Three-Anti.”
4. **After the “Five-Anti,”** a **systematic “Three-Anti” campaign** must be carried out in private enterprise grassroots unions as part of broader **democratic reform**, in an **organized,**

prioritized, top-down manner (first industry-level unions, then factory-level; first large, then small), and only after gaining experience in pilot areas to avoid confusion.

Please study and implement the above. If there are shortcomings, we await guidance from the Central Committee and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Huadong Bureau

March 16

Let me know if you would like an annotated version with footnotes, or a more concise summary for academic use.