

LIU SHAOQI AND TRADE UNION INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH WORK

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Abstract: Liu Shaoqi attached great importance to the investigation and research work of trade unions and made significant contributions to it. First, he regarded investigation and research as a prerequisite for carrying out trade union work; second, he treated investigation and research as a necessary condition for promoting the workers' movement; third, he thoroughly investigated various aspects of workers' conditions and considered their interests; fourth, he adhered to starting from reality and maintaining a sound practice of seeking truth from facts; fifth, he insisted on the working method of coming from the masses and going to the masses. Liu Shaoqi's approach to trade union investigation and research provides important guidance for trade union work in the new era.

Keywords: Liu Shaoqi; Trade union work; Investigation and research

1 INTRODUCTION

Investigation and research are important treasures of our Party and crucial guarantees for achieving victories in revolution and construction. During the long course of revolution and construction, Liu Shaoqi repeatedly emphasized that investigation and research are the most fundamental methods for solving problems. For a long period, he directly or indirectly oversaw the workers' movement and trade union work, and he regarded investigation and research as an important part of carrying out workers' movements and trade union work.

2 REGARD INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR CARRYING OUT THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Trade unions are important organizations for leading workers in their struggles. Liu Shaoqi, as a representative of the early labor movement and the correct line of the Party's work in areas under enemy control, always emphasized the organization of trade union research tasks, treating investigation and research as a prerequisite for carrying out trade union work. During the Anyuan labor movement period, Liu Shaoqi attached great importance to the research work of the Anyuan Coal Mine Workers' Club. He personally led by example [1], conducting detailed investigations into the number of unemployed workers and illiterate youths in the Anyuan area, and this practical action was undoubtedly the most compelling evidence. Liu Shaoqi assigned clear and specific research tasks to the various departments of the Anyuan Coal Mine Workers' Club. For example, the education section was required to investigate students' ages, conditions before enrollment, the number of boys and girls in each class of each school, as well as information about workers' children attending school. Meanwhile, the Workers' Relief Committee specially appointed four research members responsible for comprehensively investigating various facts about deceased workers, and the Factory Committee focused on investigating the production operations of capitalists and the different means and secret methods by which they oppressed workers. By leading the Anyuan Coal Mine Workers' Club to deeply engage with the worker community and actively conduct research, Liu Shaoqi gained a thorough understanding of practical conditions in all areas. This initiative not only contributed to the brilliant success of the Anyuan general strike but also injected strong momentum into the development of the Anyuan labor movement and the nationwide labor movement.

During the May Thirtieth Movement in Shanghai, Liu Shaoqi, responding to the urgent need for anti-imperialist struggles, instructed the Shanghai General Labor Union to carry out a series of targeted investigative research work [2]. First, the Shanghai General Labor Union issued strike investigation forms and victim investigation forms to comprehensively understand the dynamics of workers' strikes, while widely collecting strong evidence concerning the victims of the 'May Thirtieth Massacre,' including blood-stained clothing, weapons, witnesses, and the locations of the incidents. Second, the Shanghai General Labor Union required each labor organization to conduct in-depth investigations into workers' economic conditions, carefully compile rosters of striking workers, and record detailed information about their livelihoods and the orderliness of the strikes. Third, Liu Shaoqi instructed the Shanghai General Labor Union and other anti-imperialist united front organizations to conduct a comprehensive investigation of British and Japanese businesses, covering factory names and addresses, product names, dock names and characteristics, current stock quantities, the contract terms of various agents and factories, and whether there were conditions for cancellation. By significantly strengthening the investigative and research work of the Shanghai General Labor Union, Liu Shaoqi played a crucial role in mobilizing workers, carrying out worker relief efforts, and promoting economic boycotts.

During the period of the Central Soviet Area, Liu Shaoqi focused on correcting the erroneous tendencies in trade union work and emphasized conducting investigative research [3]. First, it was necessary to gain an in-depth understanding of the class composition of the union members. In November 1933, at the Twelve-County Field Investigation Conference

of the Agricultural Union, Liu Shaoqi stressed the existing problems in current union work, noting that the investigative work of each union was insufficient. They had not made efforts to mobilize workers and tenant farmers to investigate class composition, unite poor peasants, follow up on class differentiation, and handle confiscation and distribution, resulting in deviations in union work. Based on this, Liu Shaoqi required that the field investigation teams and unions of each county Soviet must send two to three representatives to regularly participate in concrete work, with union branch directors and poor peasant league directors responsible for the "Class Composition Survey Forms." Second, he urged unions and labor departments to correct erroneous tendencies, emphasizing that labor laws should not be mechanically copied and that labor contract clauses should closely align with the actual conditions of each industry. Third, he emphasized organizing production to support the frontlines. In March 1934, in his article "On the Management of State Factories," Liu Shaoqi pointed out, "The arms factory doesn't know how many guns are in the factory, the straw shoe factory doesn't know how many workers or labor teams the factory has, or who they are." He demanded that each union establish a comprehensive factory system and scientifically organize and plan production [4]. During the Anti-Japanese War, Liu Shaoqi required unions to actively mobilize urban workers to participate in guerrilla warfare and the construction of base areas. In February 1938, in his "Outline of Trade Union Work," Liu Shaoqi instructed unions to systematically mobilize the broad masses of workers for the war, organize workers, and establish unions, emphasizing the need to organize workers' guerrilla units according to the various local environments and conditions.

During the War of Liberation and after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Liu Shaoqi believed that trade unions held an important position in economic construction. Therefore, he paid more attention to the survey and research work of the unions. Liu Shaoqi required unions to shift their focus in economic construction work to mainly investigate various aspects such as the state of economic construction, factories, labor force, and markets. Additionally, Liu Shaoqi emphasized that unions should pay particular attention to investigating workers' conditions. In April 1949, during a conversation with working cadres in Beiping, Liu Shaoqi listed addressing workers' demands as one of the three important tasks of union work, requiring unions to organize discussions among workers to clearly understand their demands. After entering a peaceful environment, trade unions were both builders of the economy and protectors of workers' interests; therefore, Liu Shaoqi continued to stress the importance of strengthening the survey and research work of the unions. In May 1949, at the North China Workers' Representatives Conference, Liu Shaoqi delivered a "Report on Trade Union Work Issues," pointing out that higher-level leading organs and production departments should carefully plan how to implement reforms, identify potential difficulties, and determine solutions, taking all factors fully into consideration. He also required unions to focus on the three processes of industrial production: raw materials, manufacturing, and marketing [5].

3 REGARD CONDUCTING SURVEYS AND RESEARCH AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR CARRYING OUT WORKERS' STRIKES

Liu Shaoqi holds an important position in the history of the Chinese workers' movement and was a prominent leader who promoted the vigorous development of the workers' movement. His remarkable achievements are closely related to his strict requirements for the work of investigation and research by trade unions within the workers' movement. Xiao Jingguang once pointed out: 'Comrade Shaoqi is highly combative, but he is strategic, likes investigation and research, explores and raises new issues, and elevates them to a theoretical level for elaboration.' This statement vividly reflects Liu Shaoqi's practical experience in leading the workers' movement in Anyuan, laying a solid foundation for his subsequent leadership of the nationwide workers' movement.

3.1 It is Necessary to Carefully Study the Subjective and Objective Conditions and the Situation, and to "Seek Every Path Forward"

In strike practice, Liu Shaoqi consistently adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts and conducted strict examinations of strikes. Liu Shaoqi deeply understood that in a complex and ever-changing situation, every stage—from meticulous preparation before the strike, to intense struggle during the strike, to estimating the strike's outcomes and orderly withdrawal afterwards—needs to be fully and thoroughly prepared. In May 1926, during the opening ceremony of the Labor College, Liu Shaoqi's speech clearly highlighted the importance of carefully studying subjective and objective conditions and the overall situation. Using the many difficulties encountered during strikes as examples, he emphasized strengthening research and investigation, stating: "First, we need to examine the strike to see if victory is possible. How should we deal with the enemy's sabotage? If we do not inspect these matters carefully beforehand and have no way to deal with them afterward, what will be the outcome? If the capitalists form a union, how should we respond?" As workers are the main force in a strike, Liu Shaoqi required unions to strengthen their connection with the workers, not to be detached from them, and to clearly observe their needs, without arbitrarily setting demands that do not genuinely reflect the workers' true mindset. It is evident that Liu Shaoqi believed that only through prudent examination of the strike and comprehensive investigation of the current environment could the union adopt flexible rather than rigid measures to address and resolve all difficulties. In July 1929, while working at the Manchuria Provincial Committee, Meng Jian recalled reporting to Liu Shaoqi about the Fengtian textile factory, saying: "Whenever a strike was mentioned, Comrade Shaoqi would ask me multiple questions: What is the situation in the factory? How are the workers' sentiments? What are the conditions for a strike? What are the methods and steps to launch a strike? [6]" Liu Shaoqi's adherence to the principle of seeking truth from facts served as a strong deterrent

against strikes based on empty theories or detached from reality. He severely criticized the strike at the Xiaoyi Arsenal in Gong County, Henan, asserting that the fourteen demands formulated from subjective speculation were completely out of touch with the actual situation of the workers. He pointed out: these “‘Buddha Scriptures’ written sitting in a room,” no matter how many times read to the workers, will not manifest any results; on the contrary, it would only “ruin the strike.” Therefore, Liu Shaoqi required that when leading workers in a strike, union leaders must conduct in-depth investigations among the workers, comprehensively understand all aspects of their situation, and only then can they draw correct conclusions and carry out practical and feasible strike actions.

3.2 Achieving an Orderly Retreat through Investigative Research

After July 1925, under the oppression of imperialism and the warlord government, and with the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce opening earlier than scheduled, the unified front of the Shanghai working class during the May Thirtieth Movement gradually fell into an increasingly isolated situation. At the same time, some striking workers developed mistaken tendencies toward 'armed uprising.' In this context, Liu Shaoqi led the Shanghai General Trade Union to investigate the situation of the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce and related imperialist conditions, organizing various meetings to collectively discuss response strategies and going deep among the workers to understand and address their difficulties. Based on solid investigative research, Liu Shaoqi accurately assessed the current situation and decisively adopted a strategy of orderly retreat, preserving the revolutionary gains of the May Thirtieth Movement. In 1932, influenced by erroneous tendencies, the party's trade union work experienced a certain degree of deviation. In response to this situation, Liu Shaoqi repeatedly emphasized that trade unions at all levels should carry out their work based on actual conditions, and must not blindly copy the directives of the Communist International. Instead, they should adopt different strategies flexibly according to reality, avoiding a purely offensive stance. In January 1932, when Liu Shaoqi was serving as Minister of the Central Staff Department, he explicitly stated in his article "Strike Strategy": 'One must understand the objective situation, solemnly assess the mood of the masses, meticulously calculate the strength of both our side and the enemy, understand our own weaknesses, choose the appropriate timing, identify the enemy's key points, and use the enemy's weaknesses to allocate the strength of the masses, seizing every critical moment to lead and command the masses in action.' He also pointed out that in unfavorable circumstances, one should be adept at ending a strike at the right time and making an organized, planned withdrawal. Through investigative and research work, trade union organizations can not only fully demonstrate the necessity and feasibility of a strike action, but also clearly identify the difficulties faced during the strike, understand their situational position, make correct judgments, conduct an orderly retreat, and ensure the victorious results of the strike.

4 CONDUCT A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF WORKERS' SITUATION AND TAKE THEIR INTEREST INTO CONSIDERATION

Liu Shaoqi pointed out: 'All Communist Party members, regardless of their position, at any time or place, must always care about the hardships of the masses and strive for every actual interest of the people... Treating the vital interests and difficulties of the masses with indifference or bureaucratic attitudes means one is not a Communist Party member.' Liu Shaoqi emphasized the responsibility and commitment of Communist Party members to actively help the masses solve problems and genuinely safeguard their real interests. He steadfastly implemented this concept in every aspect of trade union work. The essential mission of trade union organizations is to wholeheartedly serve the working masses. With his far-sighted strategic vision and sincere dedication to the people, Liu Shaoqi attached great importance to the interests of the working masses. He required that both the starting point and the ultimate goal of trade union work focus solely on the interests of the workers, reflecting his pragmatic working style and scientifically rigorous attitude.

4.1 Thoroughly Investigate All Aspects of Workers' Situations

From the perspective of Marxist historical materialism, the people are the creators of history and the fundamental force driving social development. As a mass organization of the working class, trade unions should unite the strength of the workers and safeguard and realize their interests. Liu Shaoqi deeply understood this essential requirement and made investigating and resolving workers' interest issues one of the central tasks of trade union work. In September 1922, after returning to China from studying in the Soviet Union, Liu Shaoqi went to Anyuan, Jiangxi, to lead the workers' movement. He required the Anyuan Railway and Mining Workers' Club to regularly conduct in-depth investigations into workers' actual conditions in various aspects of work and life. In November 1922, worker representative Zhu Jintang reported at a club meeting that more than twenty workers in the manufacturing department had lost their jobs due to layoffs by the mining bureau. Liu Shaoqi immediately began addressing these workers' unemployment issues and intensified negotiations with the mining bureau. The core responsibility of trade unions is to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of workers, strive for fair and just treatment for them, enhance workers' trust and sense of belonging to the union, and improve the union's cohesion and combat effectiveness.

In December 1933, Liu Shaoqi, in his article "Struggling Against the Tendency to Neglect Workers' Daily Economic Interests," conducted an in-depth analysis of the common problems in trade union work in the Soviet areas at that time. He pointed out that local trade unions neglected the protection of workers' daily economic interests, that many trade union committees did not seriously understand the living conditions of the workers within their organizations, did not investigate the difficulties and problems faced by workers, and did not take measures to improve workers' living

standards. For a long time, they did not discuss workers' vital issues, and no one was responsible for the work of the trade union's social and economic department, among other shortcomings. These trade union cadres did not truly consider issues from the perspective of the broad masses of workers and did not take safeguarding workers' interests as the starting point and focus of their work. These erroneous tendencies led to severe unemployment problems for workers in the Soviet areas, causing their lives to fall into hardship and seriously affecting the productivity and creativity of the working class. In response to these issues, Liu Shaoqi proposed a series of practical and effective measures. He required trade unions to place great importance on workers' daily economic interests: first, to raise funds from capitalists and landlords to help unemployed workers, and second, to mobilize unemployed workers to participate in workers' training schools. By providing unemployed workers with basic living security and employment opportunities, workers' unity and combat effectiveness were strengthened, highlighting the important role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle. In addition, Liu Shaoqi was also concerned about the living security of grassroots trade union cadres and staff. He specifically wrote to the Jiangxi Provincial Federation of Trade Unions, requesting that monthly meal allowances and equivalent subsidies be distributed to cadres of trade union organizations in counties and permanent staff of workers' unions in state enterprises.

In November 1935, Liu Shaoqi, in his article "The Role and Tasks of Trade Unions under Soviet Power," systematically outlined the main work of trade unions in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. He clearly stated the need to improve workers' living conditions in a planned and systematic way, specifically including helping tenant farmers solve difficulties with draft oxen and farming tools, increasing wages, improving workers' meals and dormitories, assisting unemployed workers, and providing social insurance for workers. These measures covered all aspects of workers' lives, from means of production to social security, from basic income to welfare benefits, reflecting Liu Shaoqi's comprehensive and long-term consideration of workers' interests. He believed that only by genuinely improving workers' living conditions could productivity be promoted and revolutionary base areas consolidated. During the Anti-Japanese War, Liu Shaoqi further recognized the strategic significance of trade unions in addressing workers' interests. He pointed out that it was necessary to provide the masses with tangible material benefits, address pressing livelihood issues, and alleviate certain urgent hardships among the people, which was a necessary prerequisite for mobilizing workers to widely participate in the anti-Japanese struggle.

3.2 Inspiring the Working Class's Consciousness by Improving Workers' Interests

During the Central Soviet Area period, Liu Shaoqi consistently maintained a working style of going deep into the masses and understanding the actual situation. Wherever he went, he tirelessly visited factories and workers' homes, engaged in cordial exchanges with union leaders and the workers, investigated their wages, working conditions, living conditions, and helped them solve the problems they faced, winning the trust of workers through sincere attitudes and practical actions, further inspiring their class consciousness. In June 1933, regarding the issue of stopping 'forced introductions,' Liu Shaoqi emphasized while listening to reports from unemployed workers in Tingzhou: 'If the union and the government use various methods to solve the problem of unemployment, the workers will not oppose stopping forced introductions. On the contrary, if the union and the government do not pay attention to solving workers' unemployment problems and unemployed workers still go hungry, then stopping forced introductions will be very difficult, and workers will not change their opposition and skeptical attitude.' It is evident that Liu Shaoqi firmly stood on the side of the workers, focusing on solving their difficulties. Through long-term practical involvement in the labor movement and extensive in-depth investigation and research, Liu Shaoqi summarized many significant characteristics of the Chinese working class, such as the extremely harsh living conditions of Chinese workers and their willingness to endure oppression without daring to resist. Accordingly, Liu Shaoqi required the unions to systematically improve workers' lives and enhance their overall capabilities. These characteristics reflected the living conditions of the Chinese working class under the social environment at the time and also provided an important practical basis for educating and inspiring the class consciousness of workers [7].

5 START EVERYTHING FROM REALITY AND MAINTAIN A GOOD PRACTICE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Investigation and research, as an important means of understanding and transforming the world, exemplify the spirit of senior revolutionaries like Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi [8]. They are a crucial part of adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts and starting from reality. In leading trade union work, Liu Shaoqi consistently adhered to the principle of starting from reality and applied the good practice of seeking truth from facts throughout the entire research process.

5.1 Carry out Trade Union Work in a Practical and Realistic Manner

In the summer of 1931, Liu Shaoqi made a profound critique of the work of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. He pointed out: 'The work of the Federation has indeed shifted toward grassroots mass work, abandoning the previous approach of empty talk and slogans. But is this shift sufficient? What mistakes and shortcomings have occurred in the work?' This critique reflects Liu Shaoqi's strict requirements for trade union work, as well as his commitment to a pragmatic spirit of seeking truth from facts and being courageous in self-reflection. Liu Shaoqi further gave examples: the Shanghai Trade Union prepared a struggle for electric car workers that had lasted for four weeks, during which

more than a hundred workers were dismissed, yet the struggle had not yet begun. In various commemorative and festival activities, efforts were limited to parades and demonstrations, mechanically linking them to economic demands. When the 'March 8' spinning factory closed, dozens were dismissed, and unemployed workers in Zhabei and Hudong did not dare to appear again. These cases, documented in 'On the Labor Movement, 48-49,' indicate a severe formalism within the trade unions, showing that they had not truly delved into the workers' grassroots to understand their actual needs and difficulties, resulting in poor or even failed strikes.

In early January 1933, Liu Shaoqi and Chen Yun led a team to go deep into Changting to conduct detailed investigations into trade union work. Liu Shaoqi emphasized that trade unions should not blindly imitate the Soviet model; they must base their work on China's national conditions and formulate new labor regulations that are realistic and practical. He criticized the Yudu Workers' Union for attempting to draft a new labor law within three days, pointing out: "Here, a lot of persuasion is required, careful examination of each worker's demands and the enterprise's ability to meet them is necessary, and it is inevitable that many negotiations, discussions, and even strikes and other forms of struggle will be involved." *On the Workers' Movement 156* Liu Shaoqi had a deep understanding of the rigor and complexity involved in formulating labor laws, noting that only through thorough investigation and communication could labor regulations be created that safeguard workers' interests while also considering enterprise development. Using the practical approach of the Huichang Workers' Union as an example, he required unions to "study every clause in collective agreements, study labor laws, study experiences gained in every contract negotiation," and to fully discuss both the contracts and methods of struggle. By summarizing and learning from the experiences of contract negotiations, and through full discussion and broad engagement of workers' wisdom, contracts could be improved. Appropriate methods of struggle would protect workers' rights while avoiding unnecessary conflicts and losses, thereby promoting smooth union work. This series of requirements reflected Liu Shaoqi's pragmatic approach to union work, adhering to the principle of basing everything on reality.

5.2 Carry out Trade Union Work Fully Taking into Account China's Specific Practical Conditions

Liu Shaoqi emphasized the need to fully consider the differences between China and foreign countries, as well as the differences among various regions. Liu Shaoqi repeatedly asked foreign friends about strategies for the development of the Chinese workers' movement, but never received effective answers. He also understood the unique characteristics of the Chinese workers' movement compared with the global workers' movement. Chinese workers faced special difficulties such as harsh living conditions, which was an important reason why Liu Shaoqi consistently advocated combining the universal principles of Marxism with the specific realities of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese workers' movement. In April 1948, Liu Shaoqi, in a discussion with major regional leaders attending the workers' representative conference in Harbin, pointed out: "Regarding the policy of the workers' movement, there are differences between the liberated areas and the areas under Kuomintang control; the policies applied in the liberated areas cannot be used in Kuomintang-controlled areas, nor can the policies for Kuomintang-controlled areas be applied in the liberated areas. Therefore, different policies should be formulated separately for each area." Liu Shaoqi emphasized formulating different policies for different regions, reflecting his accurate judgment of the revolutionary situation and his demand for flexibility in trade union work. This allowed trade union work to better adapt to changes in the revolutionary situation and played a positive role in achieving nationwide victory. In April 1949, Liu Shaoqi, in a speech to employees of state-owned enterprises in Tianjin, stated: "In the future, military representatives and trade union cadres in factories have an obligation to understand and trust you. Likewise, you have the right to understand us, to know what benefits and capacities we have, which tasks we are capable of, which tasks you are capable of, and what weaknesses there are on both sides. Factories must adopt an honest attitude: if something is correct, acknowledge it; if it is incorrect, admit it. Recognize the truth, obey the truth, support the truth – this is the principle of seeking truth from facts, an honest approach." This shows that Liu Shaoqi consistently required trade union work to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, to carry out work based on actual conditions, and to formulate practical policies according to the specific circumstances of different regions.

6 ADHERE TO THE WORK METHOD OF COMING FROM THE MASSES AND GOING TO THE MASSES

Closely connecting with the masses and steadfastly adhering to the work principle of 'coming from the masses and going to the masses' is one of the core essentials of Liu Shaoqi's trade union work. Liu Shaoqi clearly demanded that trade union organizations unswervingly uphold the mass line and profoundly pointed out that the foundation and essence of trade unions lie in the broad working masses. In October 1923, Liu Shaoqi stated in his article 'Overview of Club Organizations': 'A trade union is a large mass organization, while also requiring a very small basic organization to embed deeply within the masses.' This assertion clearly indicates that only by earnestly implementing the mass line at all levels can trade unions fully exert their core functions of uniting workers and promoting the development of trade unions.

6.1 Maintain Close Contact with the Masses

In his work in the white areas, Liu Shaoqi emphasized that trade union organizations must deeply integrate with the working masses and earnestly conduct investigative research. Trade unions should make full use of all feasible methods

and any available public channels to widely establish connections with the working masses and organize and mobilize them, resolutely avoiding any detachment from the workers. By going deep among the masses, trade unions can accurately grasp the clear changes in the dynamics of the masses, keenly sense the urgency of their needs, and at the same time, promptly convey relevant information and progress of the organization and movement to the workers. Decisions on all major issues should fully respect the will of the workers and should be approved by workers' meetings or representative assemblies. In March 1932, in his article 'Summary Report on the Worker Movement of 1931,' Liu Shaoqi seriously criticized the errors of detaching from the workers. He pointed out that the current worker movement was still confined within small secret organizations and could not reach the masses. It failed to understand the actual situation in enterprises, could not address the most urgent demands of the masses, and even was far removed from the workers in the yellow trade unions, carrying out struggles against them. Therefore, Liu Shaoqi required that trade union organizations, including the red trade unions, fully mobilize the masses, encourage organizers and members to talk to the workers, try to attend workers' meetings, and not confine their work to small secret organizations. Work must gradually expand into all enterprises and among the masses.

In addition, Liu Shaoqi also emphasized the need to actively and thoroughly engage with workers in the yellow unions. He required the red unions to conduct detailed investigations into the current situation and role of the yellow unions, to deeply analyze the facts of how workers in the yellow unions were oppressed and organized strikes, to distinguish between the types and factions of yellow unions, and to carry out targeted struggles. The essence of this series of measures was to ensure that union work could comprehensively cover all workers, without any form of discrimination against the worker population. The unions were to unite and rely on a broad base of ordinary workers, rather than the capitalist class. In October 1932, Liu Shaoqi, in his article 'Further Discussion on the Composition of Union Members in the Soviet Area and Response to Comrade Qiu,' pointed out: 'The staff we understand are precisely the opposite of what Comrade Qiu understands. The staff we understand are not the managers, factory heads, engineers, supervisors, or foremen who directly manage the workers in the factories, but rather the other vast mass of staff. These people include clerks in shops, employees of all banks, companies, enterprises, bureaus, exchanges, warehouses, postal and telecommunication services, customs, as well as other government and enterprise agencies.' In 'On the Workers' Movement 137,' Liu Shaoqi also seriously criticized Ma Wen for conducting one-sided investigations. The workers in the Soviet area munitions factories mainly came from Jiangxi, Guangdong, and Fujian, carrying strong local sentiments and often quarrelling with each other. Liu Shaoqi sent Ma Wen to investigate, but during the investigation, Ma Wen mostly listened to the opinions of Guangdong workers, neglecting the voices of workers from Jiangxi and Fujian. Therefore, Liu Shaoqi required Ma Wen to conduct a comprehensive investigation again, holding face-to-face talks with workers from the three provinces and widely soliciting opinions.

6.2 Trade Unions Should Work Together with Union Members to Solve Problems

The masses are where the truth lies, and trade union organizations must implement the mass line. In September 1933, Liu Shaoqi conducted an in-depth investigation into the grassroots fleet in Ruijin, living and eating together with the boatmen, understanding how many wooden boats, bamboo rafts, and boatmen there were along the riverbanks, identifying how many shipbuilders were on both sides of the river, and inspecting the waterways and water conditions of the Gan River leading to the Soviet area. In response to the increasingly serious delays in waterway transportation, Liu Shaoqi decided to organize the laborers in the Soviet area's water transport sector and establish a River Management and Repair Committee. Liu Shaoqi abandoned a lofty leadership stance and lived and ate alongside the boatmen. Through close contact and interaction with them, he gained a clear understanding of the state of waterway transportation. In the process of solving the problems of the masses, trade union organizations must adhere to the principle of democratic consultation, fully respect the opinions and rights of the masses, allow workers to participate in decision-making, and promote the smooth implementation of decisions. In May 1944, Liu Shaoqi said at the Workers' Representatives Meeting of factories in the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region: 'Trade unions should have a perspective focused on the masses. Everyone is responsible. When there are difficulties, everyone discusses and studies together to find solutions.' In December 1947, Liu Shaoqi emphasized that seriously investigating and solving factory production issues requires careful discussion and research with both workers and capitalists to understand the reasons for unprofitability. In May 1949, Liu Shaoqi, in the "Report on Trade Union Work Issues," pointed out that, at that time, our staff only focused on manufacturing, without considering raw materials or sales, which was incorrect. For all state-owned factories, our managers and directors should inform the workers and trade unions about the entire production process so that workers and unions fully understand the production situation. Communicating the real situation to them should neither exaggerate nor conceal anything intentionally. As seen in "On the Workers' Movement 365," Liu Shaoqi repeatedly emphasized the importance of workers' representative meetings and workers' opinions, enhancing workers' participation in decision-making and implementation, and promoting the healthy development of enterprises and trade unions.

7 CONCLUSION

Liu Shaoqi made significant contributions to research and investigation work within trade unions. He led by example, going deep into the grassroots, eating, living, and working alongside the workers, exploring the root causes of problems and ways to solve them, safeguarding workers' rights, promoting the development of revolutionary and construction

undertakings, and advancing productivity. Liu Shaoqi's work in trade union research demonstrated his deep care for the working class and a strong sense of responsibility toward the cause of trade unions. In the new era, we should inherit and carry forward Liu Shaoqi's spirit of investigation and research, engage closely with worker communities, listen to their voices, address their practical issues, make trade unions organizations that workers truly trust, and continuously advance the trade union cause, contributing to the building of harmonious labor relations and the promotion of social stability and prosperity.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

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