

Issue of Representativeness

(Extract from *Mobilization, Factionalization and Destruction of Mass Movements in the Cultural Revolution: A Social Movement Perspective*, by Joshua Zhang, Philip Monte and James Wright.)

In Part I, we recounted the mass movements in 12 provinces and the PLA. In this section we analyze further the mobilization, factionalization and self-destruction of the mass movements. The first issue we discuss is mobilization, i.e., how and why were the masses mobilized? Before we tackle this issue, however, we need first to address our decision to outline the events that occurred within 12 provinces and the PLA, rather than the 29 provinces China had at the time. What we covered accounted for only a little more than one-third of the provinces. Do they reflect an accurate picture of the mass movements that occurred in the CR as it unfolded throughout China?

Current scholarship tends to focus primarily upon specific areas and issues regarding the CR. Scholars (e.g., Goodwin, 2012) have observed that contemporary studies charting the entire historical trajectory of a social movement in a theoretically rounded way seem comparatively rare, perhaps because the great revolutions and movements have been quite thoroughly addressed via previous scholarship. Much of the recent scholarship treats movements as if they developed within a hermetically sealed environment, separate from broader historical processes and social forces. Indeed, studies sometimes neglect the broader sweep of politics (Hetland and Goodwin, 2013).

More specialized and in-depth studies tend to ignore the general nationwide trends associated with the CR, and fail to capture the fundamental contradictions. Therefore, research regarding the CR should focus on more than one region and should review the mass movements that occurred across the entire country.

Chan et al (1980) found in their study on the Guangzhou Red Guards that faction alignment was closely related to family background. Research by Walder (2006) on the Red Guards in Peking University, however, found otherwise. Faction selection had nothing to do with the power and privilege of the Red Guards. Why are these findings so different? The research by Chan focused on the middle school Red Guards in Guangzhou, while the work by Walder focused on university Red Guards in Beijing. The Red Guards were different in terms of region and grades – raising the issue of representativeness. Walder (2016) posited that the question “How representative are these cases?” might only be answered after detailed research has been conducted in other settings. So far such research has yet to be completed.

13.1. Sampling

The in-depth studies on the CR are, in general, mostly case studies regarding one issue or centered upon one area of the country. Examples include the study on the middle school Red Guards in Guangzhou by Chan et al (1980), the

research on the Red Guards of Peking University by Walder (2006), the analysis on the factionalism of the rebels in Zhejiang Province by Forster (1990), the investigation of the workers' movement in Shanghai by Perry and Li (1997), and the inquiry on the rebels in Jiangsu Province by Dong and Walder (2001). The findings from these studies may seem contradictory and their generalization to the entire CR in China needs to be tested with respect to other areas and regions.

If we want to conduct an in-depth and comprehensive study regarding the CR, the research should ideally include all 29 provinces. Otherwise, the research could prove biased and over-generalized. There have been a few studies on the CR that involved reviewing social movements as they occurred on a nationwide scale (e.g., Gao Gao and Yan Jiaqi, 1986; Wang Nianyi, 1988; Jin Chunming, 1995; Yang Jusheng, 2016).

Unfortunately, those studies focused mostly on historical facts rather than theoretical analyses. It would indeed be very difficult to address in detail historical facts regarding the CR's development across the entire country and conduct an in-depth theoretical analysis at the same time. This inherent contradiction between width and depth cannot easily be balanced.

One way to address the problem is to sample geographically. That is, we could select a few provinces which are representatives of the entire country and do in-depth studies on those provinces. Sampling is a commonly used method in scientific research. This is because in many cases, it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to research on all the objects of interest.

The key methodological issue in sampling is "representativeness", i.e., whether the samples we draw and examine represent the population. To best ensure representativeness, it is imperative to first consider the purpose of the research and determine the variable(s) upon which one will rely in pursuing the research questions of interest. In the research on the CR, the scope is so wide that sampling design becomes very challenging.

Based on conservative estimates, to ensure adequate representativeness a minimum sample size for the 29 provinces would have to include at least 26 provinces (for detailed calculation see Appendix A). Such sampling is impractical. To solve this problem, a stratified sampling is indicated.

Stratification is the process of dividing members of a population into homogeneous sub-populations before sampling. The goal of stratification is to minimize the differences of the elements within each stratum. Then simple random sampling, systematic sampling or judgmental sampling is applied within each stratum. The objective is to improve the precision of the sample by reducing sampling error. Its advantages include that the sample size can become manageable and representativeness can be increased. In other words, we can employ a smaller sample without compromising representativeness.

13.2. Classification of Provinces

To draw stratified samples from the 29 provinces, we first classify the provinces into several homogeneous groups. Based on the classifications, we draw a few samples from each group and conduct research on the sampled provinces. Classification is a basic human conceptual activity. It is also a fundamental process of the practice of science, since

classificatory systems contain the concepts necessary for the development of theories within a science (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984). Classification is critical to the understanding of objective reality. It involves the ordering of objects into groups or classes on the basis of their similarity and ordering of objects into classes provides meaning to reality (Bailey, 1994, 2005; Simpson, 1961). It is widely recognized that classification is a necessary step in understanding a research area (Lambert, 2015).

There have been discussions concerning the classification of the provinces for research regarding the CR. Liu Guokai (2006a) suggested a four-group classification schema for the provinces: (1) typical group, (2) underdeveloped group, (3) radical group, and (4) ruthless repression group. The first group includes Hubei Province. The rebels and conservatives of the province had been locked in arduous and fierce struggles. Before the radical rebels were almost overwhelmed by the conservatives, they were saved by the CR Group. Unfortunately, the rebels split after the power seizure.

The second group includes Beijing and Shanghai. Beijing was dominated by the student movement while Shanghai was dominated by the workers' movement. But as the two cities (of the provincial level) were under close watch by Mao, the Central Committee, and the CR Group, the mass movements were not as developed as in other provinces.

The third group includes Hunan Province. It could be placed into the first classification with Hubei Province. But because of the extreme radical organization (i.e., Provincial Proletarian Alliance),¹ it was sorted into a different province group.

Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces belonged to the fourth group. The rebels in the entire country were all oppressed without exception, but the ruthlessness and length of repression in these two provinces were extraordinary. The rebels were persecuted because Kang Sheng proclaimed that the rebels in the two provinces were controlled by the Anti-Communist National Salvation Army.

Xu Youyu (1999) also conducted a classification of the provinces. In his schema, Beijing and Shanghai represented one type, and the remaining provinces another. Within this latter type, there were two sub-types: inland provinces and border provinces. The internal struggles within the rebels in the border provinces (e.g., Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Guangdong and Guangxi) did not escalate because the conservatives there were more powerful. Both radical rebels and conservatives had their representatives in the Revolutionary Committees in those provinces. However, the struggles in most inland provinces were first between the rebels and conservatives and then between the split rebels themselves.

The above discussion of the classification stopped short of categorizing all the provinces into different types. Therefore, most provinces still lacked definitive classification, save for a few. In addition, the above classifications were qualitative and without objective indicators. This could lead to controversial results and endless debate.

In this chapter, we will employ a quantitative method to classify the provinces with objective indicators. The ten indicators cover three dimensions: (1) economic, populational, political and geographic aspects, (2) degree of stability, and (3) the development of the mass movements. The following is the list of the ten indicators:

¹ See the recounts in Chapter 4.

TABLE 13.1. *The Indicators for the Classification of Provinces*

Variable	Dimension	Indicator
X1	Economy, Population,	Population
X2		GDP
X3	Political importance,	Distance from the provincial capital city to Beijing
X4	Geography	Position in the Central Committee by the director of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee
X5	Mass Movement	Time when the Provincial Revolutionary Committee was established
X6		Percentage of the mass representatives in the Provincial Revolutionary Committee
X7	Development	Mass representative(s) as the member(s) of the Central Committee
X8	Stability	Atypical removal of the director of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee
X9		Military commander as the director of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee
X10		Whether one of the ten notorious armed clashes occurred in the province

The following contains data for the 29 provinces, coded based upon the above classification method:

TABLE 13.2. *Data on the Provinces for Classification*

P ²	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9 ³	X10
1	3124	113.96	1037	Y	196804	60	Y	N	Y	Y
2	757	108.80	0	Y	196704	55	Y	N	N	N
3	1670	66.37	1981	N	196808	50	Y	N	H	N
4	4280	185.85	2179	Y	196802	42	Y	Y	Y	N
5	1263	64.73	1622	N	196801	52	Y	N	Y	N
6	2085	75.85	2373	Y	196808	54	Y	N	Y	Y
7	1714	46.62	2318	N	196702	50	Y	Y	Y	N
8	3986	183.06	292	Y	196802	52	Y	Y	N	N
9	5033	162.92	695	N	196801	55	Y	N	N	N
10	2012	174.8	1230	N	196701	38	N	Y	H	Y
11	3371	151.00	1171	N	196802	44	Y	N	H	N
12	3718	146.99	1516	N	196804	47	Y	N	H	Y
13	1567	81.98	979	N	196803	59	N	N	Y	N
14	4450	249.24	944	Y	196803	45	Y	N	H	N
15	2107	87.00	1458	N	196801	37	N	Y	H	N
16	2695	229.2	684	Y	196805	58	Y	N	Y	N
17	1235	58.04	480	N	196711	55	Y	Y	Y	Y
18	215	13.00	1192	N	196804	26	N	N	Y	N
19	215	15.54	1819	N	196708	38	Y	N	Y	Y
20	5552	225.45	421	N	196702	49	Y	Y	H	N

² Province: 1=Anhui, 2=Beijing, 3=Fujian, 4=Guangdong, 5=Gansu, 6=Guangxi, 7=Guizhou, 8=Hebei, 9=Henan, 10=Heilongjiang, 11=Hubei, 12=Hunan, 13=Jilin, 14=Jiangsu, 15=Jiangxi, 16=Liaoning, 17=Inner Mongolia, 18=Ningxia, 19=Qinghai, 20=Shandong, 21=Shanxi, 22=Shaanxi, 23=Shanghai, 24=Sichuan, 25=Tianjin, 26=Xinjiang, 27=Tibet, 28=Yunnan, 29=Zhejiang.

³ H means half, one civilian and one military.

P ²	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	X ₇	X ₈	X ₉ ³	X ₁₀
21	1802	87.99	506	N	196703	35	N	Y	H	N
22	2077	87.07	1092	N	196805	57	Y	N	N	Y
23	1082	272.81	1239	Y	196702	55	Y	N	N	N
24	6796	256.31	1881	N	196805	66	Y	N	Y	Y
25	583	82.65	125	N	196712	61	N	N	N	N
26	727	39.07	3300	Y	196809	48	N	Y	H	Y
27	125	6.65	3736	N	196809	63	N	N	Y	N
28	2051	69.05	2907	N	196808	56	N	N	H	Y
29	2832	123.72	1322	N	196803	47	Y	Y	H	N

A cluster analysis model was employed for the classification. A detailed data standardization and statistical discussion of the model can be found in Appendices B and C. The following is the result of the classification:

TABLE 13.3. *The Classification of the 29 Provinces*

Code	Type	Province	Count	Sample
1	Direct Control	Beijing, Shanghai	2	Beijing (1) Shanghai (2)
2	Semi-Direct Control	Tianjin	1	Tianjin (3)
3	Mass Movement Fully Developed	Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, Gansu, Guangxi, Hebei, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Liaoning, Sichuan, Shaanxi, Zhejiang	14	Hunan (4) Hubei (4) Jiangsu (5)
4	Early Rebellious	Guizhou, Heilongjiang, Jiangxi, Inner Mongolia, Shandong, Shanxi	6	Heilongjiang (6) Inner Mongolia (7)
5	Border Region	Ningxia, Tibet, Yunnan, Jilin	4	Tibet (8) Yunnan (9)
6	Special I	Qinghai	1	Qinghai (10)
7	Special II	Xinjiang	1	Xinjiang (11)

Note: The numbers in parentheses indicate the chapter references for our treatment of the provinces earlier in this monograph.

13.3. The Implications of the Classification

As shown in Table 13.3 in the last section, Beijing and Shanghai belonged to the type of provinces which were directly controlled by the Central Committee. This result is in accord with the assertions by Liu Guokai (2006a) and Xu Youyu (1999). The two cities had a few similarities. Firstly, the directors of the Revolutionary Committees were all civilian officials and they were members of the Politburo (Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen from Shanghai were even standing members of the Politburo). Secondly, some of the representatives of the mass organizations were members or alternate members of the Central Committee. The mass representatives accounted for more than 50% of the members in the Standing Committees. Thirdly, the Revolutionary Committees were established earlier (in the first half of 1967) than in other provinces. Fourthly, Beijing and Shanghai were more

stable than other provinces. The change of the director of Beijing (i.e., Xie Fuzhi) was due to his natural death. The mass movements of the two cities were on the track set by the CR Group.

Tianjin was also different from other provinces because of the uniqueness of its geography. It is very close to Beijing. Its Revolutionary Committee was established at the end of 1967, earlier than many provinces. The percentage of the mass representative as the standing members in the Revolutionary Committee exceeded 60%. The situations in Tianjin were also relatively stable. Its director was a former civilian official and held his position throughout the CR. He was put under investigation in 1978, after the end of the CR. The control by the CR Group was not so direct as in Beijing and Shanghai but was still greater than in other provinces. Because of the interference by Jiang Qing and Chen Boda, the mass representatives, former civilian officials and military officers in the Revolutionary Committee did not have much say. All of these factors differentiated Tianjin both from the direct control type (Beijing and Shanghai) and other provinces.

Into the third type of province fell 14 provinces whose mass movements were fully developed. In these provinces, some mass organization representatives were members or alternate members of the Central Committee. The establishment of Revolutionary Committees occurred relatively late in the CR, mostly in 1968. The percentages of the mass organization representatives in the Standing Committees of the Revolutionary Committees were fairly high, 66% for Sichuan the highest and over 42% for Guangdong the lowest. The mass organizations in those provinces were rather famous, such as Faction Storm of Hunan Province, Faction Steel of Hubei Province, Faction 2.7 of Henan Province, Factions 8.26 and Fight-to-the-End of Sichuan Province, Faction Flag of Guangdong Province and Faction 4.24 of Guangxi Province.

Chapters 4 and 5 depicted Hunan, Hubei and Jiangsu Provinces as belonging to this category. The rebels in Hunan Province realized that they did not have support from the officials. The only thing they had was their own strength of will. It was with its strong determination that Faction Storm forced the CR Group to recognize its legal status. It is also worth mentioning the Provincial Proletarian Alliance here. Its in-depth criticism of the Revolutionary Committee was very influential.

It held that the Revolutionary Committee was a fake commune whose power had been usurped by the bourgeoisie. The three-in-one combination⁴ of the Revolutionary Committees re-installed the former officials who had been toppled down during the January Revolution. Its political platform advocated overthrowing the red capitalist class formed before the CR and the Revolutionary Committees founded by Mao and the CR Group in the CR as well. It advocated the smashing of the old state apparatus, establishing of an ultra-leftist party, building of an armed force of the people, and founding of a regime similar to Paris Commune. Though its goal was the achievement of an impractical Utopia, the thoughts of the Provincial Proletarian Alliance played an important role in the CR.

In this type of province, the conflict between the two factions (three factions in some cases) was fierce. Data from the three sampled provinces, Hubei, Hunan and Jiangsu Provinces, demonstrate that during the later stage of

⁴ The Revolutionary Committee was required to have former officials, military officials, and mass representatives, which was referred to as “three-in-one”.

the CR, the previously contentious factions had to become united in order to fight against their common enemies: the conservatives.

The fourth type consists of six provinces which rebelled early – where Revolutionary Committees were established much sooner than in other provinces. But the early establishment of Revolutionary Committees did not lead to more stable situations. The directors of the Revolutionary Committees of these provinces were all quickly removed from office. Due to internal instability, the directors had been drawn mostly from the military. For example, military personnel in Guizhou and Inner Mongolia held the directorship positions throughout the CR. The other four provinces had directors with military backgrounds for at least some periods of time. Two infamous armed clashes occurred in provinces of this type. Another attribute of this type was that no persons from these provinces were able to enter the Politburo, which indicated the provinces' relative lack of importance and influence.

The fifth type was composed of four border provinces, i.e., Ningxia, Yunnan, Tibet and Jilin. The provinces were all underdeveloped in political and economic aspects; they were all scarcely populated. Their GDPs were all below average. They were geographically distant from Beijing. For example, Lhasa, Tibet is 3,736 kilometers away from Beijing. The directors were all from the military and had not been removed. The Revolutionary Committees were founded very late, in 1968, with Tibet being the last to establish a Revolutionary Committee in the country (September 5, 1968). No mass organization representatives were members of the Central Committee. No director had achieved membership in the Politburo. The situations in the provinces were all unstable. The director of Yunnan Province was assassinated, and the assassination of officials was (and still is) quite rare in China.

The sixth type is a special type with only one province, Qinghai. The province was and still is scarcely populated. Its economy was underdeveloped. It is far from Beijing. Its Revolutionary Committee was founded early (in 1967). The director was from the military. More importantly, the province had earned notoriety due to the 2.23 Massacre. Zhao Yongfu, the deputy commander of the Provincial Military Region Command, put the commander, his boss, under house arrest. He ordered that soldiers open fire upon unarmed innocent civilians, killing 169 and wounding 178. The military also waged a large-scale persecution. Tens of thousands of the people suffered. Several thousand people were arrested. Thereafter, the rebels had an upper hand until the end of the CR. Some of the mass representatives were alternate members of the Central Committee.

The seventh type is another special type comprised of only one province, Xinjiang. The province is also a border area and very remote from Beijing. Its GDP was the fourth least-developed at the time. The province was and still is sparsely populated. Its Revolutionary Committee was established on September 5, 1968 with Tibet, last among the provinces. Notoriously, its director⁵ was removed from his post. The new director⁶ became an alternate member of the Politburo, which indicated the province's importance in the eyes of the Central Committee. The capital cities of the other provinces (except for Sichuan) were the centers of the mass movements. Xinjiang, however, was

⁵ He was General Long Shujin (龙书金).

⁶ He was Seypidin Ezizi (赛富鼎).

different by having two centers, one in its capital city Urumqi and the other in the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps.

The foregoing classification analysis clarifies our rationale for choosing the 12 provinces for more rigorous analysis – because taken together their internal dynamics were indeed representative of what was taking place in the country as a whole during the CR.