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1. The basic means of Chinese Communist control is to have every party member and official a secret agent and to penetrate all strata of society with Communist personnel. The control system is a closely-knit network of official organs and civic bodies working with the Public Security Bureaus of the local administration. Although ostensibly only police organs, the Public Security Bureaus and other units also direct various civic bodies at all levels and local garrison headquarters in controlling the populace and suppressing unrest or dissidence.
2. Official control organs of public security include the following, at various levels:
 - a. Public Security Boards for various military and administrative commissions and for the Northeast People's Government (the only regional autonomous government).
 - b. Public Security Departments for the provinces.
 - c. Public Security officers for administrative bureaus under the military districts and for administrative inspectors' offices.
 - d. Public Security Bureaus for hsien.
 - e. Public Security Sections for ch'u (區) (districts), operatives for ts'un (村) (villages), and cells for places smaller than ts'un.
 - f. Public Security Bureaus for municipalities, with stations as sub-sections, and sub-stations for local subdivisions.
 - g. Public Security boards and detachments, under the Ministry of Railways, attached to local railway administrations and operating in railway terminals and on railway lines (a counterpart of the Nationalist railway police).

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- h. Public Security Column, with subordinate regiments, battalions, and companies, attached to local public security organs at various levels.
 - i. Military security organs in military areas and districts, with sections for military sub-districts.
3. These public security organs are directed by the Social Affairs Department of the Chinese Communist Party and are the core of Communist secret police activities. Most persons in charge of government security organs occupy similar positions in the Communist Party administration. In general, public security organs keep the Communist administration constantly cleaned out politically and infiltrate personnel into Nationalist government groups for the purpose of collecting intelligence, promoting sabotage, and disseminating propaganda and rumors. Specific functions of security organizations include the following:
- a. To investigate and arrest undesirable elements or suspects among Communist officials and the general population.
 - b. To track down and destroy Nationalist underground cells and secret armed groups and to keep track of and control all former members and officials of the Kuomintang, the Democratic Socialist Party, the Youth Party or any organs of the Nationalist government or service, who have remained in Communist territory.
 - c. To suppress anti-Communist organizations and uprisings promptly.
 - d. To keep strict check on the people through a census, registration, and other formalities and regulations.
 - e. To enforce traffic controls, street sanitation, air precautionary measures, and other government ordinances, and to prevent or stop petty crime.
 - f. To confine or remove undesirable elements.
4. In addition to the regular public security bodies, security measures receive support from cooperating organizations such as garrison headquarters and civic groups. Garrison units of the Communist armies or local forces, including the Peiping-Tientsin Garrison Headquarters, are instructed to aid security by protecting urban communities from the attacks of Nationalist guerrillas and by quelling popular uprisings. Security cells have been planted in civic organizations such as the associations of peasants, workers, women, youths, students, and intellectuals.
5. Communist controls through civic groups function in the following ways:
- a. Peasants' associations are formed with a core of poor peasants and tenant farmers and a few well-to-do peasants. These groups are encouraged to oppress landlords and rich peasants through "accusation meetings" and "liquidation" or "anti-overlord" movements. The poorer farm groups are induced to cultivate grudges against the richer elements and to keep a constant watch on landlords, richer farmers, and "reactionary influences." Poses of peasants, known as "identification squads", are organized to search for these persons and liquidate them. The poorer peasants form

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the nucleus of the Communist Party and officialdom in the rural areas and of public security cells. All peasants are urged into peasants' associations, through which they are directed and controlled.

- b. Trade union groups, since the workers are considered the most radical revolutionary elements in the class struggle and the true proletariat, and because they are better organized as collective bodies, are stressed by the Communists. The unions are usually formed around a large core of productive workers with a periphery of communications, handicraft workers, shopmen and apprentices. They are encouraged to produce more for Communism.
 - c. Women's groups are formed by linking women of various professions and social levels for Communist ends. The main organization, the Federation of Democratic Women, is led by Communist women officials who are experienced in women's movement work and consists of large numbers of poor peasant and working women, with a smaller number of well-to-do peasant women and intellectuals. Women also are encouraged to form comfort detachments for the army and production cells for the Communists, to participate in accusation and liquidation activities, and to assist public security units through espionage, surveillance of suspects, and eavesdropping.
 - d. Youth groups are formed of teen-age boys and girls for indoctrination and for induction into the New Democratic Youth Federation. Some boys are specially selected for minor services such as courier work, carrying messages, standing watches, interrogating travelers, or eavesdropping.
 - e. In urban communities, federations of all sorts have been formed in the various professions, and Communist agents have been worked into each group. The federations sponsored by Communists include those of literary and artistic workers, of journalists, of workers in natural and social sciences, of youth, of students, and of teachers, and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.
6. Specific control measures utilized by the Communists include both positive and propaganda pressures, disarming the people and transfer of elements of the population. When the Communists occupy an area, one of the first steps is to make an intensive and comprehensive census survey, registering all arms. The registered weapons are then collected from unfriendly elements such as landlords, heads of secret societies, and other influential persons, and from other sections of the population and are turned over to local Battalions for Protecting Homesteads Against Bandits or to armed militia patrol units. In areas known to have many anti-Communist elements, the authorities usually dispatch a large number of officials and agents to search for and confiscate hidden or unregistered arms.
 7. Another pressure method is the repatriation from the larger cities, such as Shanghai, Nanking, and Tsingtao, of the Nationalist former officials and other elements, the landlords and rich peasants, who fled from their homes to escape the advance of Communism. Under the pretext of providing additional farm labor, Communist authorities arrange repatriation for these persons to their native places. The local Conference of All Circles sets up a repatriation commission and the local military control commission and civil authorities

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set up a repatriation office and establish registration forms and procedures.

8. Battalions to Protect Homesteads from Bandits are formed in rural communities as a means of getting the entire populace into counter-intelligence work. The inducement to all citizens to participate is emphasis on the necessity of rooting out all bandits, guerrillas, and Nationalist underground agents in order to raise the standard of living and improve the political status of the nation. In cities, similar propaganda induces citizens to join patrol detachments, either armed or unarmed. Intensive propaganda is constantly directed against Nationalist secret agents and guerrillas and any reactionary elements, and their removal and destruction is encouraged as "uprooting bandits."
9. A strict control is also exercised in factories. When the Communists took over industrial establishments, they determined to prevent the strikes which had formerly occurred under Nationalist domination. For this purpose, they station police in all factories, ostensibly to prevent the commission of sabotage by Nationalist agents, but actually to suppress labor unrest. Additional control is maintained through trade unions, and through studies, such as that made by the political department work units of Shanghai Garrison Headquarters, for a better "understanding" of labor difficulties.
10. An outstanding lever for control in the hands of the Communist authorities is the census. When the Communists first took over in most localities, they permitted the continuation of previously valid forms of identification and only restricted movements of the urban population to a distance within thirty li of the city. Within a few months after they had control, however, new census regulations were introduced and movement and residence restrictions of all kinds were put into effect. Local public security units (stations and sub-stations) were required to train persons familiar with the locality as census officers to make daily, ten-day, and seasonal reports, and census records were transferred, for closer control, to security sub-stations.
11. In addition to the regular registrations for residents, transients, removals, and vital statistics, new responsibilities were enjoined upon local authorities. Chiefs of pao-chia or the newly instituted lu-ts'un (保甲制) system are required to guarantee that their areas have no undesirable elements in hiding and are liable to punishment if any laxity towards undesirables is uncovered. The public security officials are also required to make daily checks on the district house by house and to keep careful records, comparing information from neighbors with that submitted by house residents. Any suspicious action such as incorrect information or contradiction is cause for immediate arrest and interrogation.
12. Besides the daily house checks, armed patrols and public security cell members make spot investigations of street traffic. Persons who cannot produce residence permits or passage permits are subject to arrest, and any suspect is arrested as soon as any information is reported concerning him. Census records are intended to determine the difference in size and composition of the population before and after the Communist occupation, to show the number of employed persons and the number of individuals of school age; to keep track of statistics of birth and death and of movements into and out of the city; and particularly to look for and keep track of straggling servicemen, members of secret societies and Nationalist underground groups, armed gangs,

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or agent networks, and reactionary Kuomintang and Youth Coups elements and secret service agents.

13. Census checks, involving house checks of the number of registered residents, the number present in the house at the time of the check, the professions of the residents, and the appropriate certificates and removal permits, are made by the Public Security Bureau as an over-all plan for an entire city, carried out through the local stations and sub-stations with special adaptation for each section. Public Security Stations call meetings of ward chiefs, ordinary citizens, storekeepers, merchants, labor representatives, and hotel managers, and give each meeting extensive propaganda concerning the necessity of the census. Schools and literacy classes are also propagandized, and a system of rewards and penalties for census assistance or evasion is announced. Each Public Security Station sets up a census check committee to look after details, as well as a supervisory corps for work among government organs, schools, factories, and army units; this group usually contains a number of Communist agents. Comparison is made of census data from all sources, and any discrepancy is investigated. Each citizen is charged with the necessity of denouncing any suspicious element.
14. In rural areas, the census system is somewhat differently organized because of the rural administrative districts: hsien (縣) (counties), ch'u (區), (districts), ts'un (boroughs), and hsiao-tsu (小 組) (wards). Each hsiao-tsu includes ten to twenty residences, and several hsiao-tsu form a ts'un. Slight local divergences exist, as for example in Manchuria, where the lowest unit is the tsu (組), with ten to fifteen residents, but in the Antung section, the units are the lin (鄰), five residences, or lü (里), twenty-five residences; the ta'un (村), ten lü; the ch'u (區), several ts'un; and the hsien, several ch'u. There is no standard uniform system for all China, since the pao-chia system has been abolished.
15. As in the cities, the census check includes registration of visitors with the chiefs of ts'un or tsu, and the issuing of passage or removal permits for departing visitors. In the rural areas, however, the Communist authorities do not rely on the people for control but concentrate on Communist-dominated groups such as the peasants' associations, the women's federations, and the youth federations. Each village, moreover, has a Public Security Cell, with a core of poor peasants and tenant farmers who, through eavesdropping units, watch and investigate the activities of all residents.
16. Foreign residents are even more rigidly checked than natives, with the double excuse that there may be spies among them and that their lives and property must be protected. Regulations concerning foreign residents may be briefly summarized as follows:
 - a. Movements can be made only with the permission of the foreign residents section of the civil affairs department of the Public Security Bureau, issued either by the local security station or by the main city office.
 - b. Within seven days after a birth, the child's parents or the person in charge of the residence must submit birth forms and residence records to the foreign residents' section through the local security station, and obtain a birth certificate.

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- c. Within twenty-four hours after a death, the deceased person's dependents or, lacking these, the person in charge of the residence, must submit a death form and residence records and a coroner's certificate through the local security station to the foreign residents' section. After this section has canceled the foreign resident certificate of the deceased, a burial permit can be secured.
 - d. To move, foreign residents must apply for a permit through the local security station, submitting their residence record and foreign resident certificate three days before moving. The removal permit must be submitted to the Public Security Station at the new residence.
 - e. To move out of the city, an exit permit must be secured from the foreign residents' section of the Public Security Bureau and resident status must be canceled. Movement from the city is allowed only after the exit permit has been received and examined by the local Public Security Station.
 - f. Foreigners entering a city must present their identification papers to the nearest Public Security Station within eight hours of their arrival. If approved by the station, they can register as temporary residents, but if not approved, they are not allowed to stay in any foreign or Chinese residence or public building.
 - g. Three days before a marriage or divorce, the participating parties must register the intent with the foreign residents' section of the Public Security Bureau and present their resident record to the local Public Security Station for adjustment.
 - h. Foreigners who have more than one residence must establish one place as a permanent residence and register the others with the Public Security Bureau with full explanations.
17. Because of the size of their recently conquered territory, the Communist authorities have not succeeded as yet in establishing complete control in all districts nor in penetrating to the ultimate depths of all levels of the population. The shortage of experienced and competent personnel in many instances renders Communist control less effective than its intent. Civic bodies still have many loopholes for anti-Communist activity, and in large cities, such as Shanghai and Nanking, even the strictest enforcement of the census suffers from the complexity of the area and the large number of persons involved. The repatriation program has been only partly successful, for the same reason.
18. Enforcement of Communist control measures suffers from several difficulties: from inconsistency and lack of thoroughness, from great shortage of trained personnel, from lack of organization in many areas, and from independent action by some officials without coordination with the main effort. Not only are many of the new officials untrained, but in the security cell and census group particularly, many are poor peasants or small tradesmen who are trying to make a living at their own businesses in addition to performing their official duties. Their low economic level also lays them open to bribery and squeeze. Travel permits and other papers, even for foreign residents, can be obtained through small payments or even through personal acquaintance with officials.

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19. Another control factor not to be neglected is the fact that an actual opposition to Communism does exist, particularly in the more recently conquered areas. In the cities, many policemen are former Nationalist police who still retain some loyalty to the Nationalists but accept jobs in order to make a living. With such officials, many evasions of regulations are possible. In Nanking, where the census was checked by three-man units composed of a Communist soldier, a worker, and a policeman, usually a former Nationalist, the police made considerable effort to protect political refugees and Nationalists who were being sought by the other two members of the unit. With such discrepancies of enforcement as these, Communist controls continue to be less effective than the authorities wish.

Attachments: A. Organization of a Municipal Public Security Bureau in a Large City (2 pages).

B. Hsien Public Security Bureau (1 page).

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ATTACHMENT A

ORGANIZATION OF A MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU IN A LARGE CITY

Public Security Bureau

Commissioner and deputy commissioner
Political commissar

Secretariat with chief and deputy chief
Secretaries, four or five
Documentary Section
Document Transmission Section
Tele-communications Section

Personnel Department with chief and deputy chief
Organization Section
Rear Service Section
Cadre Section
Education Section

Criminal Affairs Department with chief and deputy chief
Legal Affairs Section
Detective Section
Research and Translation Section
Political Section
Investigation Section

Civil Affairs Department with chief and deputy chief
Census Section
Business and Economics Section
Stallholders Sub-Section
Economics Sub-Section
Business Sub-Section
Traffic Section
Peace Preservation Section
Foreign Residents' Section

Social Affairs Department with chief and deputy chief

Supply Department with chief and deputy chief
Auditing Section
Supply Section
Administrative Section
Accounting Section

Fire Control Department with director and deputy director
Fire Brigades

Factories for Public Security Bureau Only with director and deputy director

Public Security Cells

Public Security Regiment

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ATTACHMENT A

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Air Precaution Committee

Guards
Rescue Corps
Fire Brigades
Salvage Corps
Propaganda Corps

Public Security Station with director and deputy director

Civil Affairs Division, with sections
Criminal Affairs Division, with sections
Personnel Division, with sections
Social Affairs Division, with sections
Supply Division, with sections
Fire Control Division, with sections
Public Security Battalion, with subordinate units

Public Security Sub-Station

Public Security Cells

Cell members

This diagram shows the form of Public Security Bureaus in the larger cities which are directly under the regional People's government. A similar but somewhat simpler form is used by municipalities under provincial jurisdiction.

Sub-stations have fourteen or fifteen employees, with a chief and deputy chief who are either members of the Communist Party or trained in one of the Communist military or political schools. Security activities are supervised by Soviet advisers.

The Air Precaution Committee is made up of elements from the Civil Affairs Bureau of the municipal government and from garrison headquarters and is a temporary unit, present only in cities under Nationalist air attack.

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ATTACHMENT B

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HSIEN PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU

Public Security Bureau

Director and deputy director
Secretary

Civil Affairs Division
Law-and-Order Division
Social Affairs Division
Legal Affairs Division
General Affairs Division
Guard Platoon
Platoon leader and deputy leader
Political officer
Public Security Battalion

Public Security Cells

Secret service men for individual activities
Plain-clothes agents

Ch'u Public Security Section

Ts'un Public Security Operatives

Public Security Cells

Town Public Security Station

Chief and deputy chief

Station members
Guards

Public Security Cells

Secret Service men

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