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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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CITE

DIST 7 JULY 1967

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COUNTRY CHINA
DOI
SUBJECT THE CITY OF RAMS-III

Return

ACQ

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SOURCE THIS [REDACTED] APPRAISAL OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. [REDACTED] IS NOT AN OFFICIAL JUDGEMENT BY THIS AGENCY OR ANY COMPONENT. IT REPRESENTS THE OBSERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE STAFF OFFICER AND IS BASED ON INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO HIM AT THE TIME OF ITS PREPARATION. PREPARED FOR INTERNAL USE AS A GUIDE TO THE OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT, THIS COMMENTARY IS DISSEMINATED IN THE BELIEF THAT IT MAY BE USEFUL TO OTHER AGENCIES IN ASSESSING THE SITUATION FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES.

1. SUMMARY. THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY IN CANTON AND KWANGTUNG IS TRYING IN AN UNEVEN WAY TO FORM MAO'S GRAND ALLIANCE AND REPLACE THE SENIOR CADRES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

2. BY MID-YEAR 1967 CANTON CITY REMAINED IN THE TIROES OF MAO'S GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION (GPCR). AS PARIS DOMINATES FRANCE, CANTON DOMINATES KWANGTUNG PROVINCE, AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHERE CANTON AUTHORITY CEASES AND PROVINCIAL AUTHORITY BEGINS BUT THEN PERHAPS WATCHING CANTON EVENTS FROM PEKING IS NO LESS DIFFICULT THAN FROM HONG KONG.

3. THE READER WILL RECALL THAT CHOU EN-LAI, SPEAKING

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APPROVED FOR RELEASE

23 DEC 1996

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IN FRONT OF VARIOUS STATE COUNCIL DEPARTMENTS ON 30 APRIL, SUMMED UP THE PROGRESS MADE IN OVERTURNING THE PROVINCIAL PARTY OFFICES THROUGHOUT CHINA AND REPLACING THEM WITH REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE GPCR MOLD. CHOU CHARACTERIZED KWANGTUNG PROVINCE AS ONE UNDER MILITARY SUPERVISION. IN OUR LAST LOOK AT CANTON, THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (PLA) HAD TAKEN CONTROL OF THE CITY ON 15 MARCH AND BEGUN TO RESOLVE THE POWER STRUGGLE WHICH HAD SEESAWED THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES SINCE JANUARY. THE FIRST ACTION TAKEN BY THE PLA WAS TO ESTABLISH A MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEE, ALTHOUGH THIS HAS NOT AS YET BEEN PUBLICALLY ANNOUNCED. SINCE MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEES HAVE APPEARED IN OTHER AREAS THIS SPRING, THESE APPEAR TO BE AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE NEW CONTROL STRUCTURE FOR CHINA.

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4. IN SEIZING POWER, KWEICHOW PROVINCE HAS BEEN THE MODEL. PEOPLE'S DAILY ON 23 FEBRUARY CAREFULLY DESCRIBED THIS MODEL WHICH INSTRUCTED MAO'S REVOLUTIONARIES TO ESTABLISH A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE UNDER WHICH WOULD BE FOUR

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ENTITIES: A CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP, A PRODUCTION GROUP, A SECURITY GROUP, AND A SECRETARIAT. SUBORDINATE TO THE COMMITTEE AND THE GROUPS CAME A NUMBER OF FUNCTIONAL OFFICES TO ADMINISTER AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND SIMILAR FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. AT THE TIME, THE PEOPLE'S DAILY DID NOT DEFINE A SIMILAR RE-ORGANIZATION IN THE ARMY, BUT IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT ONE WOULD BE NEEDED AND THAT THE MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEES WOULD FIT THIS NEED.

5. SINCE MID-MARCH THE ARMY HAS APPARENTLY BEEN STRUGGLING TO ESTABLISH IN CANTON THE PROPER KIND OF MAOIST POWER SEIZURE AND A GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD CONSIST OF THE THREE-WAY ALLIANCE OF REVOLUTIONAIRES, MILITARY CADRES, AND FORMER PARTY CADRES WHO HAD BEEN ADJUDGED GOOD CADRES. THE MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEE IN CANTON WAS APPARENTLY SUPPORTED BY PLA TROOPS FROM NORTHERN CHINA SINCE THEY BEGAN TO ARRIVE IN CANTON IN MID-MARCH. BY THE END OF MARCH, THE ARMY HAD TAKEN OVER THE PUBLIC MEDIA, CLOSED DOWN THE SQUABBLING NEWSPAPERS, RE-OPENED AND BEGUN MILITARY TRAINING IN THE SCHOOLS. A NEW RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT BEGAN IN KWANGTUNG PROVINCE AND WAS ANNOUNCED OVER CANTON RADIO ON 14 MARCH.

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ALL THESE ACTIVITIES WERE PROBABLY TO ESTABLISH ARMY CONTROL IN THE MINDS OF THE POPULACE; THE REALLY MAJOR PROBLEMS WERE YET TO BE FACED.

6. ON 8 APRIL CANTON CARRIED AN OPEN LETTER TO THE REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE CANTON AREA WHICH DISCUSSED THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE CANTON AREA REVOLUTIONARY STAFF AND WORKERS' CONGRESS. THE ANNOUNCEMENT SAID THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD BEGIN BY THE END OF APRIL AND THAT IT WOULD BRING ABOUT THE GREAT ALLIANCE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES CALLED FOR IN THE KWEICHOW MODEL. PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE HELD THROUGHOUT CANTON AS A PART OF A SYMPOSIUM WHICH EXHORTED THE REVOLUTIONARIES TO GRASP REVOLUTION AND BOOST PRODUCTION, A PUBLIC SLOGAN OF THE GPCR SUB-GROUP IN PEKING.

7. AT THE SAME TIME, THROUGHOUT MID-APRIL, THE TEMPO OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRESIDENT LIU SHAO-CHI AND TENG HSIAO-PING WAS GREATLY STEPPED UP AS IT WAS THROUGHOUT THE REST OF CHINA. SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE PLA BEGAN TO CLEAN UP THE CITY; POSTERS WERE REMOVED, PUBLIC BUILDINGS SCRUBBED AND REPAINTED. THE CLEANUP HERALDED TWO EVENTS: A VISIT BY CHOU EN-LAI BETWEEN 13 AND 17 APRIL AND THE COMMENCEMENT

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OF THE MOHAI-LONG CANTON TRADE FAIR, ON 15 APRIL.

3. ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT YET BE SURE, IT APPEARS THAT CHOU EN-LAI PAID HIS VISIT BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY STAFF AND WORKERS' CONGRESS WAS CONVENED. THE VISIT WAS OBVIOUSLY AN IMPORTANT MATTER. THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE HAD NOT OVERLOOKED SETTING THE RIGHT IDEOLOGICAL TONE. ON 2 APRIL A "MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT PROPAGANDA GATHERING" WAS HELD TO ALLOW FIVE THOUSAND REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS TO PLEDGE THEIR SUPPORT TO MAO. SUCH MEETINGS PARALLELED OTHERS HELD TO DENOUNCE LI SHAO-CHI. CHOU'S VISIT ALSO GAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE PREPARATIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A THREE-WAY ALLIANCE IN CANTON CITY. THE HEAD OF THE CANTON MILITARY AREA AT THAT TIME, HUANG YUNG-SHENG, CALLED A MEETING ON 14 APRIL OF CITY-WIDE RED GUARD GROUPS TO GIVE CHOU A PLATFORM FROM WHICH TO SPEAK. CHOU DROVE HOME THE IMPORTANT POINTS. HE EXPLAINED THE GPCR, OUTLINED THE REASONS FOR MILITARY CONTROL OF KWANGTUNG PROVINCE, DESCRIBED THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS AND POINTED OUT THAT THE CANTON FAIR HAD TO BE A SUCCESS FOR NATIONAL PURPOSES. AS FAR AS THE THREE-WAY ALLIANCE WENT, CHOU EXONERATED GENERAL

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HUANG OF EARLIER CRITICISMS AND SAID THAT HUANG REMAINED ACCEPTABLE TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. CHOU WAS LESS EASY ON THE FORMER PROVINCIAL PARTY AUTHORITIES. THE UNITED COMMITTEE OF KWANGTUNG REVOLUTIONARY REBELS (UCKRR-OR IN SHORT-HAND CHINESE, THE SHENG KO LIEN) WHICH WE DESCRIBED IN OUR EARLIER CITY OF RAMS PAPERS TO HAVE BEEN A TOOL OF THE PROVINCIAL PARTY AUTHORITIES TO OPPOSE MAO'S PURGE, WAS SUMMARILY DISMISSED BY CHOU IN HIS SPEECH TO THE COLLECTED RED GUARDS. CHOU POINTED OUT THAT TAO CHU HAD MISLED CANTON RESIDENTS INTO BELIEVING THAT THE SHENG KO LIEN WAS REALLY A PRO-MAO ORGANIZATION BUT THAT HE, CHOU EN-LAI, COULD ASSURE THEM IT WAS NOT. CHOU'S SPEECH MUST HAVE BEEN THE DEATH BLOW TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS BY THE PARTY OPPOSITION IN KWANGTUNG TO CAPTURE THE GPCR THROUGH THE UCKRR FRONT MECHANISM. NEVERTHELESS, CHOU CONTINUED TO NOTE THAT NEWLY-SPRUNG-UP RED GUARD ORGANIZATIONS IN CANTON CONTAINED MANY "CONSERVATIVE" ELEMENTS NOT YET RECONCILED WITH THE GPCR. CHOU CLASSIFIED OTHER RED GUARD GROUPS AS CONSERVATIVE, MORE CONSERVATIVE, AND MOST CONSERVATIVE; THE LAST OF WHICH WAS REPRESENTED BY THE SOLDIERS OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S PRINCIPLES.

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CHOU AT NO POINT HINTED THAT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CANTON WAS COMPLETE BUT ONLY THAT THE POWER STRUGGLE WAS IN AN IMMEDIATE AND CRUCIAL STAGE. FOLLOWING THE PREMIER'S DEPARTURE, THE CITY WENT INTO THE CANTON FAIR AND THROUGH THE SECOND WEEK OF MAY, GAVE THE APPEARANCE OF A CITY UNDER GOOD DISCIPLINE AND IN NO PARTICULAR TROUBLE.

9. ACTUALLY, THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. CONSTANT CLASHES WENT ON THROUGHOUT THE CITY AMONG THE RIVAL RED GUARD GROUPS. SEVERAL REPORTS CITE THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE SOLDIERS OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S PRINCIPLES, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS COME TO CONTAIN MANY OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE FORMERLY IN THE UNITED ACTION COMMITTEE. THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE "SOLDIERS" CONTINUE TO BE A VITAL SHOCK FORCE BEING USED BY FORMER PARTY FUNCTIONARIES STILL IN CONTROL IN MANY CANTON CITY OFFICES.

10. WE HAVE AS YET RECEIVED NO REPORTS ON HOW THE REVOLUTIONARY STAFF AND WORKERS' CONGRESS WORKED OUT. SOME SORT OF CONGRESS, HOWEVER, PROBABLY DID OCCUR SINCE WE RECEIVED A REPORT IN MID-MAY OF THE FORMATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE IN LATE APRIL. THE REPORTER STATED THAT

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THIS COMMITTEE WAS FORMED TO SUPERVISE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY. HE NOTED THAT THE COMMITTEE COULD CRITICIZE BUT NOT DISMISS OFFICIALS AND THAT THE COMMITTEE, WHEN FACED WITH A DISPUTE, TURNED TO THE PLA FOR ADJUDICATION. THERE HAS BEEN NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF THIS COMMITTEE BUT IT SEEMS LOGICAL THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OR ITS PREPARATORY COMMITTEE DOES EXIST.

11. THERE IS ALSO NO DOUBT THAT THE MILITARY AUTHORITY WAS UNDER CONSTANT CHALLENGE THROUGHOUT MAY AND JUNE. . A STAFF MEMBER OF THE CHU HAI FILM STUDIO, HSIANG MING, A YOUNG RED GUARD, PROVIDES AN EXAMPLE. HSIANG WAS A FILM STUDIO EMPLOYEE WHO JOINED THE UCKRR AND AT ONE POINT PARTICIPATED IN A RAID ON AN ARMY INSTALLATION. HE WAS ARRESTED BY THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU AND IMPRISONED. BY EARLY APRIL PRESSURE WAS BEING BROUGHT AGAINST THE ARMY AUTHORITIES TO RELEASE HSIANG WHICH THE FORMER THEN REFUSED TO DO (HSIANG WAS EVENTUALLY RELEASED). DURING HIS VISIT CHOU EN-LAI WAS ASKED TO MEDIATE HSIANG'S CASE BUT HE WAS UNSUCCESSFUL AND LEFT BEFORE THE MATTER WAS FULLY RESOLVED. IN EARLY MAY SEVERAL HUNDRED MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS BEGAN A SIX-DAY

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HUNGER STRIKE TO PROTEST HSIANG'S IMPRISONMENT. THE STRIKE STOPPED WHEN SEVERAL STUDENTS FAINTED AND WERE TAKEN TO A HOSPITAL; BUT SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE HUNGER STRIKE SEVERAL THOUSAND DEMONSTRATORS FORMED IN FRONT OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU ALSO WHERE HSIANG WAS IMPRISONED.

12. THE CLOSURE OF THE FAIR ON 15 MAY SIGNALLED MORE CLASHES THROUGHOUT THE CITY. HUNGER STRIKES CONTINUED WITH THE FAST OF SIXTY WORKERS IN THE PEOPLE'S PARK BETWEEN 19 MAY AND 22 MAY FOR REASONS YET UNKNOWN. TO CONTROL THE STREETS, THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES RAN LOUDSPEAKER TRUCKS THROUGHOUT CANTON, WARNING OF AN IMMINENT AMERICAN BOMBING OF THE CITY. ANOTHER DISTRACTION WAS THE BEGINNING OF A CAMPAIGN WHICH LASTED THROUGH THE END OF THE MONTH AND INTO EARLY JUNE, DRAWING TOGETHER NUMBERS OF DEMONSTRATORS IN SUPPORT OF THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE IN HONG KONG. THE PLA EVEN WENT SO FAR AS TO CLAIM THAT MILITARY TRAINING OF SOME RED GUARDS WAS FOR POSSIBLE USE IN HONG KONG.

13. THESE DISTRACTIONS HOWEVER COULD NOT HIDE OR DISSSIPATE THE UNREST IN THE CITY. BY MID-JUNE THE ARMY BEGAN PREPARING FOR A PUBLIC STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FORMER PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARY, CHAO TZE-YANG, AND THE FORMER CANTON CITY

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MAYOR, TSENG SHENG. THERE IS, MOREOVER, INDICATION THAT NORTHERN RED GUARDS ARE BEING DRAWN INTO CANTON TO ASSIST THE MILITARY IN HANDLING THE DISSIDENT RED GUARD GROUPS SUCH AS THE SOLDIERS OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S PRINCIPLES. UP TO MID-JUNE THE LATTER CONTINUED THEIR DEPREDATIONS THROUGHOUT THE CITY, VICTIMIZING OVERSEAS CHINESE AS WELL AS RESIDENTS.

14. THE UNEVEN COURSE OF THE PURGE IN CANTON PARALLELS SIMILAR PURGES THROUGHOUT THE NATION. MAO'S ACTIONS TO PURGE HIS CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE IN MIDSTREAM. AS IN A FLOOD PERIOD WHEN THE HARASSED OBSERVER CANNOT DETERMINE THE EXACT MOMENT OF CRESTING, SO WE CANNOT TELL WHETHER THE PURGE WILL WIDEN OR BEGIN TO EBB. WE REASON HOWEVER THAT IT HAS FURTHER TO RUN. AT SOME POINT THE PARTY SECRETARIES IN THE INDUSTRIES AND THE COMMUNES MUST BE PURGED BEFORE THE NEXT GREAT LEAP FORWARD CAN BE UNDERTAKEN. SUCH A PURGE WILL DWARF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR.

15. FIELD DISSEM: STATE, CINCPAC, PACFLT, ARPAC, PACAF.

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