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P'ENG CHEN AND HIS ASSOCIATES

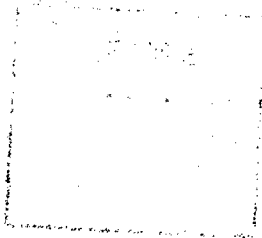
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P'ENG CHEN AND HIS ASSOCIATES

- COMMUNIST CHINA -

[Following is a translation of an article written by Ho Yu-wen in the Japanese-language Toho Hangekkan (Eastern Semimonthly), Tokyo, No. 17, 1 September 1960, pages 38-43.]

Is P'eng Chen, the Man Who Possesses Latent Power Around the City of Peking, Actually--As Rumor Would Have It--the Khrushchev of China? What Is the Relationship Between P'eng Chen and Mao Tse-tung? What is the Background of Those Who Are Seen to Rank Below P'eng Chen Such as Liu Jen and Wan Li? I Have Tried to Throw Some Light Here on the Relationship Between Regional Party Heroes and Personnel of the City of Peking.

P'eng Chen's Position

I should like you to look at the personnel relationships of the city of Peking as published in the table which accompanies this article. It is not complete, of course, but most of the principal figures are to be found. By analyzing this we should be able to acquaint ourselves with the vicissitudes of each and every clique that revolves around the principal offices of Peking City.

The first one who comes to mind is P'eng Chen. He has crossed the boundaries that limit the cadre of the provinces and has risen to the level of central leadership.

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Within the party's structure he is one of the twenty members of the Politburo. He is, further, one of the nine secretaries. If we assume that seven people on the Standing Committee of the Politburo (Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Te, Ch'en Yun, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing) are the top leaders, we can say that the other 13 people, plus six from the Candidate Committee (that is, 19 altogether) make up the second level.

In the Secretariat P'eng Chen is below Teng Hsiao-p'ing, but since Teng is General Secretary, P'eng Chen is, in fact, in the top spot. Even in the Politburo it was merely a case of two men of Genro status, Lin Po-ch'u and Tung Pi-wu, being sandwiched in between Teng Hsiao-p'ing and P'eng Chen. However, Lin Po-ch'u is dead now and Tung Pi-wu also has the important post of vice-chairman of the central government. From the standpoint of actual power, P'eng Chen's position is conspicuous. Thus, among the personalities of the second echelon, he is the most powerful.

Also, he is both assistant chairman and Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the [National] People's Congress and thus holds in his hands the real power to be found at the People's Congress. According to the provisions of the constitution, the People's Congress is the highest sovereign organ of the land. Liu Shao-chi, the Permanent Committee Chairman at the first session of the People's Congress, was P'eng Chen's guardian. Chu Te, filling the position of committee chairman at the second session, is advanced in years, so it would not be an exaggeration to say that the People's Congress is a one-man show for P'eng Chen. Should he make one more leap forward, he would be assured the position as Chairman of the State Council.

When we look at P'eng Chen in the light of his birthplace and his past record, he seems to be an exception among the key men of Communist China. First of all, he did not study in the Soviet Union and he does not understand Russian. Until 1956 he had not developed personal relationships with any of the important figures in the Soviet Union. Secondly, he is neither a member of the "diligent-worker-student" school who studied in France, nor is he close to Chou En-lai, Nieh Jung-chen or Li Fu-ch'un. Thirdly, since he is neither a Szechwan man nor a Hunan man, he does not have old bonds of common origin with the leaders. For these reasons, he leads an isolated existence in the midst of factional relationships. Yet the three conditions set forth here actually work in his favor. One does not run across men from the North in the top echelon of Communist

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Chinese leaders. P'eng Chen is from Ch'u-tse in Shansi Province. This is certainly a factor in his favor.

After the Central Committee of the Party entered Yen-an, a man from the North was put in the guidance division in order to tear down the wall between north and south. Kao Kang had established his influence in the North so he was quickly singled out. But he was high-handed and so he was charged with establishing an independent kingdom in the Northeast and liquidated. P'eng Chen is not as conspicuous as Kao Kang was, nor is his position as high as Kao Kang's formerly was. After the death of Kao Kang the leaders in the North, expecting much of P'eng Chen, gave him their support. It is difficult, indeed, to make light of his authority.

For the sake of reference, I should like here to direct your attention to the course his career has taken.

The First Stage: As he was born into the home of a landed farmer, he was very late in entering school. By the time he graduated under the old "master" system, he was close to 30 years. While he was working as a teacher in an elementary school he became involved in underground operations of the Communist Party. Initially he was secretary of the Cheng T'ai Railroad Trade Union Federation. Later he was dispatched to Shanghai, but soon afterward was transferred to northern China. He was arrested in Tientsin and, after spending six years of his life in jail, was released.

The Second Stage: In 1937 he became Political Commissar with the forces of Nieh Jung-chen. In 1938 he became secretary of a branch bureau in the North and then was promoted to the position of Northern Bureau Secretary. After this he returned to Yen-an and was appointed to the top post of the central party school. The majority of the middle and lower echelon leaders scattered throughout the northern provinces today are people who received guidance from P'eng Chen at this time.

The Third Stage: At the Seventh Party Congress in 1945 he was number 14 among the 41 people selected for the Central Committee. Thus, we can see that already considerable latent power was being cultivated. In October of that year he was transferred to the Northeastern Region and was secretary of the northeastern branch and made a member of the Military Administration Committee of the Northeastern Democratic League. And, as the forces of Lin Piao marched southward, he settled down into the position of assistant bureau chief of the party central organizing bureau.

What I have stated here are the more important posts

that P'eng Chen has held. Within the ranks of those of northern China, he has a close relationship with Liu Shao-chi and after he was transferred to the Northeast we know that he developed close contacts with Lin Piao. And so it is that P'eng Chen's political backers are Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

Peking municipal party headquarters is believed to be the most important regional party headquarters today, but its relative importance does not compare with that of the Party headquarters in Moscow. In the Soviet Union there are three important regional headquarters. Listed in order of their importance, they are Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. When there is factional strife within the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, the struggling of these three regional headquarters is always of gigantic proportions. The reason Khrushchev beat Malenkov and became First Secretary was that--in contrast to Malenkov who had no power in the three party headquarters--Khrushchev had established hidden power in Moscow and Kiev. This situation also applies in Communist China. This is the reason why Liu Shao-chi does not neglect party, civil or military power in the city of Peking.

Since assuming his duties as Peking Municipal Committee Secretary (later renamed First Secretary) toward the end of 1949 and up to the present day, P'eng Chen has for 12 consecutive years continued to occupy that position. He has also assumed the duties of Mayor of Peking for nine long years. The scope of the Peking-Tientsin Garrison Area is not known, but we know that it includes Peking and Tientsin and that the duties of its administrative committee are vital. The Peking Military District includes the two provinces of Hopei and Shansi. P'eng Chen is also assuming the duties of a member of its political committee. This means that P'eng Chen has in his tightly clenched fist the military, civil and party authority of this area.

Wan Li and Liu Jen

The collision between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi had its beginnings in 1955 at the time of the collectivization of agriculture. It was at this time that Mao Tse-tung laughed at Liu Shao-chi, saying he was a "girl with bound feet." In 1957 at the time of the "one hundred flowers" incident, the conflict between Mao and Liu became even more marked. At that time, certain leaders said that it was Liu Shao-chi and P'eng Chen who were hindering Mao Tse-tung's "One Hundred Flowers." Why was it that P'eng Chen was able to take such brave action?

Leading a delegation on 15 November 1956, P'eng Chen visited the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. Especially important personages were not to be found in this group. Ju Ch'eng-ch'ien, Li Chu-ch'en and Chang Po-tiao were but P'eng Chen's followers. It is for this reason that this was an excellent opportunity for P'eng Chen to establish relations with the various leaders in the Soviet Union. When Khrushchev played host to the delegation, P'eng Chen stated something to the effect that, inexcusable as it was, he could not comprehend Russian. But Khrushchev, his potbelly shaking, patted him on the shoulder and answered: "Don't worry about that. Even though we may not understand each other, if our hearts are in communication everything will be fine." This episode speaks well of the bond between Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi's faction and the importance of P'eng Chen's position.

When Liu Shao-chi and P'eng Chen were opposing Mao Tse-tung's "One Hundred Flowers" in Peking, Khrushchev in Moscow gave them strong backing with the statement that "there are no internal contradictions in the Soviet Union or the countries of Eastern Europe." This blow may have struck home, for the "One Hundred Flowers" movement soon fell apart. Mao Tse-tung left Peking and rested quietly in Ch'ingtáo. Since Mao Tse-tung enjoyed great influence with the military, Liu, Chou and Chu, wanting to avoid a split in the party, set out one after the other for Ch'ingtáo and begged Mao to return to Peking. P'eng Chen did not make the trek. After that, it is said, he has not got along well with Mao Tse-tung.

In May 1958 at the second session of the Eight Communist Party Conference, Mao Tse-tung regained his authority. As might be expected, Mao was able to take steps of revenge against those who participated in the planning of his fall. His first target was Teng Tzu-hui. His second target was P'eng Chen. Of course, Mao could not dismiss P'eng Chen from his post(s) in taking these steps. What he did was to adopt measures that would weaken P'eng Chen on his flank. Utilizing Peking municipal elections for delegates to the People's Congress, Mao eliminated from the election Peking's First Vice-Mayor, Chang Yu-wen, often called P'eng Chen's right hand man. Chang Yu-wen had been serving as Vice-mayor since the days of the first mayor, Yeh Chien-ying. Although Chang had committed no errors whatever, he was dropped. This incident is considered to be clearly connected with factional strife.

The man who replaced Chang Yu-wen was Wan Li. If we look at this man's past record and see that he served as

department head of City Construction in the State Council, we know that he is higher ranking than Chang Yu-wen. P'eng Chen is a busy man and is occupied with many tasks within the central government. Thus, after Wan Li became First Vice-mayor he began to look after the actual duties of mayor and was soon handling all the city's official documents.

The second method by which Mao Tse-tung weakened the influence of P'eng Chen was to slip in Liu Jen as second secretary of the Peking Municipal Council. At present, of all the provincial, municipal and district councils in the country, the only ones to have a second secretary placed on them are those of Peking and Liaoning Province. Further, Liu Jen is a candidate for the Central Committee and is one step higher than Wan Li. It is believed that party authority within the Peking city government has, in fact, passed on to Liu Jen. Moreover, the fact that First Vice-mayor Wan Li is also holding down the post of section head of the Organization section on the Peking Municipal Council increases even more the weight of Liu Jen.

There is a division of labor among the secretaries of the Municipal Council. Liu Jen takes care of all party affairs and Wan Li has control of municipal administration and organization. From the outset, Ch'en K'o-han had been president of the New China News Agency, but now he has been transferred to the post of Assistant Section Head of the cultural section of the State Council and, as a member of Peking's municipal council, is in charge of educational affairs.

Teng T'o was formerly general editor of People's Daily. Now, as a secretary on the Peking Municipal Committee, he is in charge of the propaganda field. He is also filling the important post of president of the Peking City Sino-Soviet Friendship Society. Four people serve as vice-presidents of this society. Chang Hsiao-mei is in charge

of 掃聯 [sic., perhaps 婦聯, Women's Federation] of the city of Peking. Ts'ao Ching-hua represents the cultural sphere. Yang Yung is the commander of the Peking Military Area and Liao Mo-ho is chairman of Peking Trade Unions.

It is believed that the reason Teng T'o is not serving also as Propaganda Section Chief of the Municipal Council is that the burden would be too heavy for him. Yang Shu, serving as head of the propaganda section, is a man who has, from the outset, served as the head of the propaganda section of the central group within the Youth Corps and is not wanting capability. Secretary Cheng T'ien-hsiang is in charge of industry and Ch'en P'eng manages agriculture.

Fan Ju-sheng supervises the youth movement.

At present eight people are serving as Vice-mayor. Wan Li has comprehensive control while the other seven work in their respective fields. Feng Chi-p'ing is of the Special Operations system. He is head of the Social [Affairs] Section of the Municipal Council and is also head of the Municipal Public Security Bureau. Initially the top spot in the Municipal Public Security Bureau had been additional post for Lo Jui-ch'ing, head of the Public Security Ministry of the State Council, but Feng Chi-p'ing replaced him in it. In the light of this, we are able to determine this man's importance.

Chia Ch'u-san supervises in the area of industry and, concurrently, serves as head of the Industrial Operations Section of the Municipal Council. Ch'eng Hung-i is in charge of Economic Operations. He is a Municipal Council Secretary, but he has the additional post of Municipal Standing Committeeman. Wu Han is on the China Democratic League Central Standing Committee and Yueh Yu-sheng is on the China Democratic Construction Association Central Standing Committee. Wang K'un-lun is a member of the Democratic Revolutionary Central Standing Committee. We might say that the serving of these three men as Vice-mayor is a manifestation of the United Front Operation. Wu Han supervises Educational Operations. Yueh Yu-sheng, having been from the outset chairman of the Peking Municipal Industry-Commerce League Committee and vice-chairman of the National Industry and Commerce League Committee, he is now supervising industrial and commercial aspects. Wang K'un-lun also has his hand in educational operations. These three have been in their posts of Vice-mayor for eleven years. The other two, Wang Ch'un and Chao P'eng-fei, were appointed only in July of this year. Wang Ch'un also has the post of chairman of the City Planning Committee. Chao's supervisory position is not known.

Yu I-fu, United Front Section Head on the Municipal Council, was recently dispatched to Kirin Province as Secretary of the Provincial Council. His subsequent duties are not known. In Communist China regional United Front operations are restricted to the large cities. Peking and Shanghai are especially important. Before the coming of Yu I-fu, the section chief job was that of Pi Tzu-cheng, but both Yu and Pi were assistant section heads in the Central United Front Section. The latest transfer of Yu I-fu is probably due either to some kind of error he made or to the outbreak of trouble in Kirin Province. Yu I-fu is from the Northeast and had been assigned there before, so the present shift is something of a homecoming.

Yang Ch'eng-wu and Yang Yung

After the second session of the Eighth Congress the influence of Mao Tse-tung widened, both within the party and the administration of the city of Peking. Inversely, P'eng Chen's influence has been weakened, but in the military field even Mao Tse-tung must walk carefully.

Yang Ch'eng-wu is carrying on as both commander of the Peking Military Area and as commander of the Peking-Tientsin Garrison Area. He is a confidant of Mao. He is an uncommonly brave officer. In the middle of the Long March, he was appointed Political Commissar of the Fourth Division in the First Army Second Corps. It was the Fourth Division that was responsible for the defense of Lu-ting-ch'iao. When it was reorganized into the Eighth Route Army, Yang became head of the 115th Division's Independence Regiment. Following Nieh Jung-chen, he advanced into northwestern Shansi and after this continued to be active in North China. After T'ientsin was occupied in 1949, he became commander of the T'ientsin garrison. When these troops were put in the field, he became commander of the 20th Corps under direct control of the Military Committee. In the spring of 1950 when the Tientsin command was reorganized under the Peking-Tientsin Garrison Command, he was appointed to the post of Assistant Commander. The Assistant Commander at this time had been Nieh Jung-chen. In 1954 when the greater military area system was abolished and single-stratum military areas were established, he was promoted to the post of commander of the Peking Military Area and also given the command of the Peking-Tientsin Garrison. His selection was made at the bidding of Mao Tse-tung, thus it is only natural that he harbors a deep feeling of loyalty toward Mao.

In 1959 when the "Fallen Mao" theory was at its zenith, Yang Ch'eng-wu became a hinderance to the anti-Mao Tse-tung faction. People wondered if Yang Ch'eng-wu's independent actions, too, were not at the bidding of Mao Tse-tung. Yang was promoted to the post of Assistant General Staff Chief. In April, leading a military delegation, he set off on a visit to Indonesia. This was precisely at the time the People's Congress was in session. Mao Tse-tung had stepped down from his post of Chairman of the government. Why had Yang Ch'eng-wu purposely chosen this important time to leave for Indonesia? It is not easy to answer this question. A key to this is found in the fact that while Yang was away the duties of the Peking Military Area Command and the Peking-Tientsin Garrison Command were undertaken by Yang Yung, a man who had held the post of commander of the Volunteer Army.

In 1954 Communist China began withdrawing the volunteer troops she had sent to North Korea. In September of 1958 the withdrawal was complete. Yang Yung, commander of the Volunteer Army, also withdrew at that time. Naturally, he received an enthusiastic welcome in China. I have not heard that the Volunteer Army was disbanded nor that Yang Yung had the title of Commandant taken from him. Very soon he had moved from the post of Deputy Commander of the Peking Military Area and the Peking-Tientsin Garrison to Commander. After Yang Ch'eng-wu returned from Indonesia he took up the duties of Assistant General Staff Chief. Rather than a promotion this was equivalent to an actual demotion. That is, the military power that he had held up to that time was taken from him.

As for Yang Yung, at the time of the Hunan riots in 1927 he joined the guerilla forces of P'eng Te-huai. Later he joined the Second Field Army system and successively held the posts of commander of the Fifth Corps of the Second Field Army and Vice-commander of the Second Field Army. In 1954 he became commander of the Korean Volunteer Army and in 1955 he succeeded Yang Te-chih and was promoted to the post of commander. In September of 1958 he returned to China. The relieving of Yang Ch'eng-wu, in addition to indicating a new trend in relations between factions inside Communist China, signifies that the withdrawal of the Volunteer Army made inevitable the reformation of these factional relations.

P'eng Chen occupies the additional posts of Political Commissar in the Peking Military Area and Political Commissar in the Peking-Tientsin Garrison Area. Some time ago the Peking Garrison Area was separated from the Peking-Tientsin Garrison Area and Wu Lieh was appointed its commander. Liu Jen was appointed to the post of Political Commissar. The power of Yang Yung has been weakened accordingly. If we look at the three aspects--party, civil and military, we cannot doubt that P'eng Chen alone still enjoys a position of absolute superiority in Peking.

PEKING CITY PERSONNEL OUTLINE

Party Municipal Committee

First Secretary: P'eng Chen

Second Secretary: Liu Jen

Secretary: Wan Li, Ch'en K'o-han, Teng T'ao,
Cheng T'ien-hsiang, Fan Ju-sheng,
Ch'en P'eng

Standing Committeeman: Chia Ch'u-san, Ch'eng
Hung-i, Lu Yu, Yang Hui-chien,
Su I-fu

Section:

Organization
United Front
Social Affairs
Propaganda
Industrial Operations
Finance and Trade
Rural Operations
Communication
Health-Physical Education
Educational
Cultural
Industrial Production
Committee

Chief:

Wan Li
Yu I-fu
Feng Chi-p'ing
Yang Shu
Chia Ch'u-san
Liu Lai-fu
Chao Fan
Ch'ai Tse-min
Ts'ui Yueh-hua
Sun Kuo-liang
Ch'en K'o-han

Chia Ch'u-san

Municipal Administration

Mayor: P'eng Chen
Vice-Mayor: Wan Li, Feng Chi-p'ing, Ch'eng Hung-i, Chia
Ch'u-san, Wu Han, Yueh Yu-sheng, Wang K'un-lun,
Wang Ch'un, Chao P'eng-fei

Military

Peking-Tientsin Garrison Area Commander: Yang Yung; Po-
litical Commissar: P'eng Chen
Peking Military Area Commander: Yang Yung; Political
Commissar: P'eng Chen
Peking Garrison Commander: Wu Lieh; Political Com-
missar: Liu Jen