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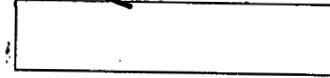
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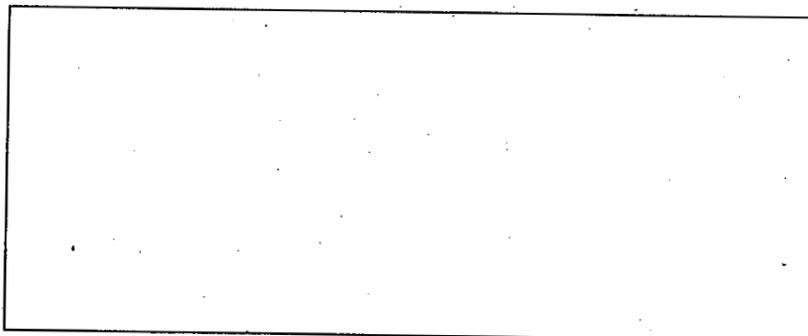


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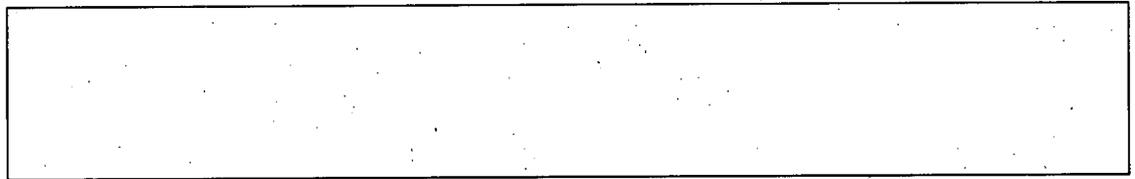
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RESEARCH AID

MISSING CHINESE MILITARY LEADERS
(Reference Title: POLO XLVIX)



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August 1972
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
16 August 1972

RESEARCH AID

MISSING CHINESE MILITARY LEADERS

Summary

About 200 Chinese military leaders have dropped out of sight in 1971-72, and are still missing after Army Day (1 August). While several leaders carried as "missing" prior to 1 August turned up in the Army Day reporting, about the same number -- who had made appearances after the fall of Lin Piao's group in September 1971 and were not regarded as missing -- failed to appear on Army Day in such circumstances as to add themselves to the "missing" list. This memorandum is a checklist of 107 of the 200, regarded in general as the most important of the lot.*

Thirty of the missing are those thus far named in Party documents and briefings as members of Lin's "counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique." The others are missing

**This memorandum was prepared by the Special Research Staff, Directorate of Intelligence, and was coordinated with the Central Reference Service, which contributed substantially to it. In some instances, SRS has made a judgment as to the military leader's post -- e.g. 'apparently a DepCdr,' or 'apparently 1st PolOff'-- which cannot be proven by CRS files. SRS is responsible for all of the commentary. This memorandum contains information available as of 14 August 1972.*

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for presently-unknown reasons, but there are grounds for belief that a substantial number of them have been or will be purged for alleged complicity or sympathy with Lin's group.

The most important and well-known of the 30 were the six full members of the Politburo who held among themselves -- through concurrent posts -- the chief positions in command-and-control of the PLA. Eleven other central military leaders have been identified as fellow-conspirators: a few of them previously little-known or even unknown, but most of them known or believed to be close to the six principals, and most of them Air Force officers. Thirteen regional figures -- most of them in the Nanking and Canton MRs, which Mao toured immediately prior to the purge -- have also been named as conspirators, and most of them too were Air Force officers. Some of these identified conspirators are dead, the rest in prison. None of them is expected to reappear, unless he can "rehabilitate" himself by implicating others.

Of the central military leaders missing for still-unknown reasons, some 25 are regarded as important figures. About half of them are known or believed to have been close to the purged central leaders. Some of these 25 can be expected never to reappear, and others to reappear only after years.

Of the regional military leaders -- representing almost all of the MRs -- missing for still-unknown reasons, some 26 are regarded as important figures. At the provincial and major municipal level, there are another 26 such figures. Most of those in both groups have no apparent strong bonds with the purged leaders, but several of them in both groups do look to be proteges of those leaders. Some in both groups will probably never reappear, and some only after years.

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The coverage of Army Day rallies throughout China was uneven, ranging from thorough to none. A thoroughly-reported turnout tends to highlight a missing leader as a suspect for the purge list. A total absence of reporting tends to do the same: that is, in some cases (e.g. the Chengtu and Kunming MRs), the lack of reporting seems to be explained by the number and importance of the military leaders in those areas who are in trouble.

Finally, a number of military leaders who are not on this list of the "missing" -- even some of the military leaders active and in apparent favor as late as 1 August 1972 -- seem likely to be "exposed" and purged in connection with the Lin Piao case, as investigation, examination, and evaluation continue.

There are several hundred Chinese military figures who seem to qualify as "leaders" -- that is, officers of key central organs such as the Military Affairs Committee, the Ministry of National Defense, the General Staff Department (or simply General Staff), the General Political Department, and the General Logistics Department; the commanders, deputy commanders, first political officers, chiefs-of-staffs and deputy C/S's of the service arms (e.g. Air Force, Navy) and specialties (e.g. Armored, Artillery, Engineers); those appearing in Peking in groups of military leaders at those levels but in unspecified posts; at the regional, provincial, and major municipal levels, the commanders, deputy commanders, first political officers, deputy political officers, C/S's, deputy C/S's, and "leaders" and "responsible persons" of Military Regions, Military Districts, and major Garrisons; and within the MRs and MDs, the leaders of the thirty-odd numbered armies. One can be

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fairly confident of identifying the majority of the central leaders, and, probably, the majority of the MR and MD and Garrison figures, although at all times some of the lesser figures (e.g. deputy commanders and deputy political officers) will escape identification. The greatest gap is in the identification of leaders of armies, as in recent years Peking has been very reticent about naming them; while many men known, believed or reported to have led these armies in past years were known to be active in other posts as of early 1971 and some may have had those army commands concurrently, there were so few firm identifications of army leaders as of early 1971 that there is now no way to provide a meaningful figure for the "missing" among them.

At any given time there are many "missing" Chinese military leaders. In addition to the poorly-reported leaders of armies who may not have concurrent posts in which they appear, provincial military leaders below the level of commander or first political officer sometimes go for years without being reported (some provinces are worse than others about this); one such leader recently reappeared after an absence of ten years. But prolonged absences -- of several months, say, on the part of central and regional leaders who had previously made frequent appearances, or of a year or more on the part of provincial leaders -- are in general grounds for suspicion that these men have been put under examination, or demoted, or purged, or have died offically unmourned. Of those who do not reappear, in most cases the reasons for their disappearance are never discovered. There have, however, been notable exceptions, as in the Peng Te-huai affair, and during the Cultural Revolution, and in the most recent case of Lin Piao's "counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique."

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About 175 Chinese military leaders -- as defined above -- who dropped out of sight between mid-1968 and the end of 1970 are still missing. There were only a few illustrious figures in that group: notably Wen Yu-cheng, commander of the Peking Garrison, and Cheng Wei-shan and Li Hsueh-feng, commander and first political officer of the Peking MR, all three of whom are now believed to have been early victims of Mao's moves to curtail the power of Lin Piao; at least two of the three can be brought into the 1971-1972 list, as the MR was not officially "reorganized" until January 1971, but all three were out of the way before the serious plotting against Mao -- including a plan for his assassination if necessary -- began in or about January 1971. There were a few other military leaders of sufficient stature to be members of the Central Committee who disappeared in that mid-1968 to late 1970 period, but only one of these, Li Yuan, commander of the 47th Army (another Lin protégé) was of special interest. The 34 central military leaders -- of the MND, General Staff, CCAF, Navy, and so on -- who dropped out in that period were all secondary figures. Apart from the Peking MR leaders, no commanders or first political officers of MR headquarters disappeared, and only three MD commanders or first political officers disappeared. Several persons known or believed to be commanders and first political officers of armies (in addition to Li Yuan) were unreported, as was Wang Li-tang, the possible commander of the Guards Unit (protecting Party leaders) of the Peking Garrison; but these in general were men whose movements were poorly reported in any case, and whose absence even now, as much as four years later, cannot be regarded as good evidence that they have fallen.* The great bulk of those "missing

**Among the missing (who still are) were Chao Fu-hsing, Cdr Honan MD, Chen Yang-shan, possible 1stPD Ninghsia MD, Ho Chih-yuan, 1stPD Shantung MD, Cheng Kuo and Hsu Hung-yun of the 31st Army, Sun Feng-chang of the 55th, Wei Yu-chu of the 43rd, Yu Hao-yang of the 23rd, Chang Ying-tsai of the 13th, Chao Hsing-yuan of the 40th, and I Yao-tsai of the North China Fleet. Four of these men were members of the Central Committee. Peng Hui of the 27th Army recently turned up in Honan.*

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-- more than 125 -- consisted of deputy commanders and political officers and unspecified leaders at that apparent level of MRs, MDs, garrisons, and armies.

As is well known, the picture in the 1971-1972 period, while incomplete, is strikingly different. The difference in the country-wide number of the "missing" in 1971-72, as compared with mid-1968 to late 1970, is not particularly striking: about 200 military leaders, in addition to the 175 who dropped out in 1968-70 and are still missing, have failed to make appropriate and expected appearances for sufficiently long periods (of various lengths), since January 1971, to raise a question as to their status. Neither are the differences at the regional, provincial, garrison and army levels especially remarkable: the figures are a bit higher for MR commanders and first political officers, for MD commanders and first political officers, and for leaders of garrisons, but are lower for leaders of armies (reflecting the increasingly sparse reporting on armies) and are substantially lower for deputies and unspecified leaders at each of these levels, making the total figure for "missing" military leaders outside Peking substantially lower for the 1971-1972 period -- about 100 -- than for the 1968-1970 period.

The striking difference is in the picture of the central military leadership -- the number of those missing and their importance. Almost 100 of the roughly 200 who have dropped out in 1971-72 are (or were) central leaders, and of these 100 very many -- in contrast to the 1968-70 period -- are (or were) important figures: including six full members of the Politburo and other members or alternate members of the Central Committee, virtually the entire top command of the MAC, the Chief-of-Staff and most of his deputies, several leaders of the General Staff and General Logistics Departments (as against none in 1968-70), many leaders of the CCAF (an astonishing number, if regional CCAF leaders are included) and of the Navy, and many leaders of the lesser arms.

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There follows a list of some 107 missing military leaders, regarded as the most important of the roughly 200 who have dropped out in 1971-72. First come the 17 central military figures -- apart from the above-named Cheng and Li of the Peking MR -- named in authenticated or alleged Party documents and briefings as members of Lin Piao's "counter-revolutionary clique," charged inter alia with plotting a "coup" entailing the assassination of Mao. Next come some 25 other missing central military leaders who have not -- or not yet -- been named in such documents and briefings as involved with Lin's group, although some have been alleged by non-Party sources to have been involved, and some will probably turn up in Party documents. Next come the 13 regional figures named in such Party documents and briefings as conspirators, and next come 26 missing regional figures not so named. Finally, come 26 missing provincial military leaders (commanders and first political officers) and their equivalents. A little illumination is offered where possible.

The central military leaders named as conspirators in Party documents and briefings are:

(a) The six well-known principals:

(i) *Lin Piao*, Mao's "close comrade-in-arms" and designated successor, Vice-Chairman of the Party, second-ranking member of the Politburo standing committee, de facto chief of the MAC (of which Mao was and remains the Chairman), and Minister of National Defense. (It is virtually certain that Lin was killed on 13 September 1971 while fleeing to the USSR, after the failure of his attempted "coup"; Chinese officials have just recently been willing to tell foreigners that this was Lin's fate.)

(ii) *Huang Yung-sheng*, full member of Politburo, member of MAC standing committee and secretary-general of the MAC, and Chief-of-Staff of the PLA. (A longtime

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protege of Lin, charged with conspiring with him against Mao since 1970, believed to be under arrest since 12 or 13 September 1971.)

(iii) *Wu Fa-hsien*, full member of Politburo, member of MAC standing committee, Commander of the Air Force, and Deputy C/S. (Same comment.)

(iv) *Li Tso-peng*, full member of Politburo, member of MAC standing committee, 1st Political Officer of the Navy, and a Deputy C/S. (Same comment.)

(v) *Chiu Hui-tso*, full member of Politburo, member of MAC standing committee, Director of the General Logistics Department, and a Deputy C/S. (Same comment, except date of arrest is believed to have been c. 25 September '71.)

(vi) *Yeh Chun* (Lin's wife), full member of Politburo, member of MAC standing committee, and director of Lin's staff office. (Believed killed with Lin while fleeing China.)

(b) the 11 less well-known, or previously-unknown, lower-ranking central military leaders named in Party documents and briefings are:

(i) *Yen Chung-chuan*, alternate member of Central Committee, and a Deputy C/S; LPA September '71. (A longtime protege of Lin -- of whom he had written in glowing terms -- and of Huang, he apparently survived their fall only briefly.)

(ii) *Wang Ping-chang*, alternate member of Central Committee, sometime DepCdr CCAF, last identified with the NDS&TC and the 7th Ministry of Machine Building

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(advanced weapons); LPA July '71. (An early protege of Lin Piao, with strong CCAF connections; his Ministry was abolished sometime before the purge.)

(iii) *Liu Chin-ping*, a political officer, possibly 1st Political Officer, of the Civil Air Administration, since c. '66; LPA May '71. (Like Wang, he has had strong CCAF connections.)

(iv) *Wang Fei*, said to be a Deputy C/S of the CCAF; LPA believed to be in '70. (A PLA leader of this name has been known since 1966, and was in Peking in 1970, in an unidentified post.)

(v) *Hu Ping*, also said to be a Deputy C/S of the CCAF; LPA February '71. (A Hu Ping was among PLA leaders appearing at CCAF functions in 1969-70; the post reported is thus credible but unconfirmed.)

(vi) *Li Wei-hsin*, said to be the DepDir of the Secretariat of the Party Committee of CCAF Hqs who helped to prepare the "571" document but who betrayed the conspiracy voluntarily or confessed under investigation. (No independent record of his existence; others of this name in the files are not CCAF officers.)

(vii) *Yu Hsin-yeh*, said to be a DepDir of the Staff Office of CCAF Hqs and/or an officer of the Party Ctte of that Hqs, said also to have helped to prepare the "571" document and to be dead in the plane crash with Lin Piao or by suicide. (No independent record of his existence.)

(viii) *Liu Pei-feng*, said to be another officer of the Party Ctte of the CCAF Hqs, perhaps another DepDir of the Secretariat of that Ctte. (A person with a name so transliterated, but with characters unknown, was an officer of the YCL in Szechuan in 1959.)

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(ix) *Chou Yu-chih*, identified in the same imprecise fashion as Liu Pei-feng. (No independent record of his existence.)

(x) *Lu Min*, said to be Director of Operations, CCAF Hqs; LPA June '71. (A Lu Min, same characters, has been known since '52 as a CCAF combat hero; the post given -- which would make him Lin Piao's son's chief -- is credible but unconfirmed. Lu took part in talks with a DRV military group in June '71, his LPA.)

(xi) *Lin Li-kuo*, said to be the son of Lin Piao and DepDir of Operations of CCAF Hqs, to have helped to prepare the "571" document, to have been deeply involved in all aspects of the conspiracy, and to have died with Lin in the crash. (That Lin had a son in the PLA was known; the post reported is credible but unconfirmed.)

Other important central military leaders who are missing include the following 25:

(a) General Staff:

(i) *Hu Ping-yun*, said to be the Director of a Department of the General Staff, believed to be Operations; LPA October '70. (Presumed active in early 1971. Not a career protege of any member of Lin's group, but would have been close to Huang Yung-sheng in recent years.)

(ii) *Hsiao Chien-fei*, said to be the Director of an unidentified Department of the General Staff; LPA May '71. (Unknown before 1970; another person who would have been close to Huang Yung-sheng in recent years.)

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(b) General Logistics Department:

(i) *Wang Hsi-ko*, a DepDir, Logistics; LPA September '71. (An Ordnance specialist; presumed close to Chiu Hui-tso; TASS asserts that he was purged with Chiu.)

(ii) *Chen Pang*, a DepDir Logistics; LPA September '71. (Unknown before 1970, but another presumed close to Chiu; [redacted]
[redacted])

(iii) *Tai Chin-chuan*, a DepPolOff Logistics; LPA June '71. (Said to be a Ho Lung protege who survived Ho's purge, only to find another unlucky principal. His absence leaves Logistics with only one known PolOff.)

(iv) *Chang Ming-yuan*, a possible DepDir Logistics; LPA August '71. (Known only as a sometime senior officer of Logistics, who appeared in the State Council list in '70-'71; [redacted]
[redacted])

(v) *Yen Chun*, a DepDir, Logistics; LPA July '71. (Unknown before 1970. The Yen Chun who appeared during President Nixon's visit was probably the Ministry of Public Health leader, not the DepDir Logistics.
[redacted])

(c) Air Force:

(i) *Tseng Kuo-hua*, a full member of the Central Committee and a DepCdr of the CCAF; LPA May '71. (A longtime Lin Piao protege, and presumed close to Wu Fa-hsien; TASS asserts that he was purged with Wu.)

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[REDACTED]

(ii) *Tan Chia-shu*, a DepCdr of CCAF; LPA July '71. (Studied in USSR, long associated with CCAF and its leaders; [REDACTED] TASS assert that he was purged.)

(iii) *Ho Chen-ya*, said to be C/S, CCAF; LPA July '71. (Background with Lin Piao's forces as a CCAF leader, long out of sight, returned as a CCAF leader in Peking by '69. Presumed close to both Lin and Wu. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED])

(iv) *Yu Wen*, a CCAF leader, possibly a DPO; LPA May '71. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

(v) *Liao Kuan-hsien*, a CCAF leader, possibly a DepCdr; LPA May '71. (Longtime CCAF leader, with Wuhan CCAF before transfer to Peking by '70.)

(d) Navy:

(i) *Lo Shun-chu*, a longtime DepCdr of the Navy, last identified with the NDS&TC; LPA May '71. (Hit hard in the Cultural Revolution, lightly defended by Chou En-lai; not known to be close to Li Tso-peng.)

(ii) *Chang Ching-i*, a Navy leader, possibly a DepCdr or DPO; LPA May '71. (Little known; was the co-author of an article highly praising Lin Piao; TASS [REDACTED] assert that he was purged.)

(iii) *Chao Chi-min*, alternate member of the Central Committee, for years and perhaps still a DepCdr of the Navy; LPA January '72. (Little-known figure.)

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(iv) *Chang Hsiu-chuan*, alternate member of Central Committee and Director, Political Department, Navy; LPA May '71. (Presumed close to Li Tso-peng, and praised by Lin Piao; [REDACTED])

(v) *Wang Cheng-chu*, sometime Cdr of South China Fleet, more recently said to command the Naval Air Force; LPA May '71. (Otherwise little-known.)

(e) Other Service Arms:

(i) *Chen Hung*, apparently a DepCdr or DPO of Armored Forces; LPA November '71. (Little-known; came from Tsinan MR c. '69.)

(ii) *Kuang Yu-min*, a DepCdr of Artillery Forces; LPA February '72. (Many years with Artillery, no known close association with Lin's group; [REDACTED])

(iii) *Yen Chia-an*, a confirmed leader of Second Artillery, possibly a DepCdr; LPA May '71. (With 2nd Artillery since '67, otherwise unknown.)

(iv) *Yu Ching-shan*, apparently a leader of Second Artillery, possibly a DPO; LPA May '71.

[REDACTED]

(v) *Liu Chin-hsuan*, a longtime DepCdr, Railway Engineers; LPA May or December '71. (No apparent connection with purged group.)

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(f) Peking Garrison:

(i) *Huang Tso-chen*, alternate member of Central Committee, 2nd PolOff of Peking Garrison, and secretary of Peking Ctte CCP; LPA June '72. (In apparent favor after 1970 purge of Peking Garrison and after fall of Lin's group, but should have appeared in recent turnouts.)

(ii) *Ku Yuan-hsing*, Peking Garrison leader, possibly Cdr or DepCdr of 8341 Unit (guarding Party leaders); LPA May '71. (Known to be a PLA man, last noted in Party apparatus list; the 8341 post is unconfirmed.)

(g) Miscellaneous:

(i) *Wei Tung-tai*, a PLA leader in an uncertain post, last linked to NDS&TC; LPA May '71. [redacted]

Regional figures -- mainly CCAF -- named as conspirators in Party documents and briefings are:

(a) Nanking MR:

(i) *Wang Wei-kuo*, alternate member of Central Committee, a CCAF leader in Shanghai; LPA August '71. (Early career unknown, but briefings describe as a Lin Piao protege.)

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(ii) *Chen Li-yun*, alternate member of Central Committee, a CCAF leader in Chekiang, and a secretary of Chekiang Cttee CCP; LPA January '72. (Early career unknown. It is not clear why Chen remained free until January '72 if the "571" document came into loyalist hands some months earlier, as usually alleged or implied. He had apparently been demoted, however, before his disappearance.)

(iii) *Chiang Teng-chiao*, said to be 1st PolOff of CCAF of Nanking MR, possibly based in Shanghai. (Known to be a CCAF leader in Shanghai and in the Nanking MR since 1960.)

(iv) *Chou Chien-ping*, said to be DepCdr of CCAF of Nanking MR. (Known previously as a CCAF leader in Shanghai.)

(v) - *Hsi Chu-hsien*, said to be a CCAF figure in Shanghai. (No independent record of his existence.)

(vi) *Chiang Kuo-chang*, said to be a PLA -- probably CCAF -- figure in Shanghai. (Same comment.)

(vii) *Li Sung-ting*, apparently a political security man of some kind, possibly head of the Public Security Bureau in Shanghai. (Same comment.)

(b) Canton MR:

(i) *Wang Pu*, Commander of CCAF of Canton MR; LPA May '71. (Wang is known from ChiCom open sources to have been in that post as of May '71.)

(ii) *Ku Tung-chou*, said to be C/S of CCAF, Canton MR; LPA February 1971. (Ku is known to have been a CCAF leader in Canton.)

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(iii) *Mi Chia-nung*, said to be a CCAF political officer in Canton, attached to either the CCAF Hqs of the MR or to the Civil Aviation Bureau there. (No independent record; although [redacted] a CCAF officer named Mi was involved.)

(c) Wuhan MR:

(i) *Liu Feng*, full member of Central Committee, 1st PolOff, Wuhan MR, and 2nd Secretary, Hupei Ctte CCP; LPA August '71. (A CCAF regional commander before elevation to 1st PO Wuhan in '67. This MR had a new 1st PO, Wang Liu-sheng, by December '71.)

(d) Foochow MR:

(i) *Chou Chih-ping*, full member of Central Committee, PolOff (apparently 1st PolOff) Foochow MR; and 2nd Secretary Fukien Ctte CCP; LPA April '71. (Originally out of Lin Piao's forces, and apparently close to Lin; wrote a long eulogy of Lin in '58.)

(e) Unlocated:

(i) *Chieh Yao-hsien*, said to be a CCAF division commander, unlocated. (No independent record.)

Important regional figures who are missing include the following 26:

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(a) Peking MR (which had a large Army Day turnout):

(i) *Wang Tzu-feng*, a DPO of this MR; LPA May '71. (Has had several years in this post, but is otherwise little-known. No apparent connection with Lin's group.)

(b) Tsinan MR (lightly reported on Army Day):

(i) *Yang Kuo-fu*, a DepCdr of this MR; LPA November '70. (Presumed to be all right in early '71. No apparent connection with Lin's group.)

(ii) *Chen Mei-tsao*, a DPO of this MR; LPA October '70. (Presumed all right in early '71. No apparent connection with Lin's group.)

(c) Foochow MR (where Army Day was well reported):

(i) *Lu Sheng*, a senior DPO of this MR; LPA January '72. (Long with Foochow MR, first in Fukien MD and then as an MR leader, but otherwise little known. No apparent connection with Lin's group.)

(ii) *Cheng Shih-ching*, a senior DPO of this MR: see under KIANGSI MD, in which he has or had his most important posts. (Cheng is not counted in the regional list.)

(d) Canton MR (which had a large Army Day turnout):

(i) *Liu Hsing-yuan*, full member of Central Committee, de facto 1st PolOff Canton MR, 1st Secretary of Kwangtung Ctte CCP; LPA March '72. (Longtime Lin/Huang protege, reportedly assured Mao of loyalty to him, and was

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reportedly tapped to be the new 1st Secretary in Szechuan; however, he is carried as "missing" because he has not turned up there.)

(e) Wuhan MR (which had a large Army Day turnout):

(i) *Hsu Kuo-fu*, a DepCdr, Wuhan MR; LPA July '71. (No apparent connection with Lin's group.)

(ii) *Lin Wei-hsien*, a DepCdr, Wuhan MR; LPA July '71. (Same comment.)

(iii) *Yao Che*, a DepCdr, Wuhan MR; LPA May '71. (Had got out of trouble before, after purge of Peng Te-huai in '59 and again after Wuhan Incident in '67.)

(iv) *Han Tung-shan*, apparently a DepCdr, Wuhan MR; LPA July '71. (Got out of trouble, through self-criticism in Peking, after Wuhan Incident.)

(v) *Min Hsueh-sheng*, C/S, Wuhan MR; LPA July '71. (Got out of trouble, through self-criticism, after Wuhan Incident.)

(f) Chengtu MR (which did not report on Army Day):

(i) *Liang Hsing-chu*, full member of Central Committee, Commander of Chengtu MR, second secretary (de facto first) of Szechuan Ctte CCP; LPA October '71. (Long-time protege of Lin Piao. There is some evidence in Party briefings that Mao regards Szechuan as a nest of vipers, and that Liang and others there have been or will soon be purged.)

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(ii) *Teng Shao-tung*, a DepCdr, Chengtu MR; LPA October 1970. (Presumed all right in early '71. No apparent connection with Lin's group; perhaps close association with Liang Hsing-chu has hurt him.)

(iii) *Chen Jen-chi*, alternate member of Central Committee, long PolOff of Artillery Forces, apparently a DepCdr of Chengtu MR more recently; LPA March '72. (Despite relatively recent appearance, should have appeared again; once close to Huang Yung-sheng.)

(iv) *Hsieh Chia-hsiang*, full member of Central Committee, a DPO Chengtu MR, and a secretary of Szechuan Ctte CCP; LPA March '72. (Same comment as for Chen Jen-chi above.)

(g) Kunming MR (which did not report on Army Day):

(i) *Chou Hsing*, full member of Central Committee, apparently 1st Political Officer of this MR, and 1st Secretary Yunnan Ctte CCP; LPA February '72. (A police background, became a Party secretary and PLA political officer in Yunnan c. '63. By '71, with death -- reportedly by assassination -- of Tan Fu-jen, he was the ranking Party figure and political officer in this MR. No apparent connection with Lin's group, although could be linked through the assassination. Made several appearances after fall of Lin's group, but should have made more since February.)

(ii) *Wang Pi-cheng*, Commander of this MR, and 2nd Secretary Yunnan Ctte CCP; LPA January '72. (Sometimes confused with a Wang Pi-cheng or Wang Li-cheng of the Inner Mongolian MD. The Kunming/Yunnan Wang, for several years a DepCdr of Nanking MR, became senior DepCdr in Kunming c. '70 and Cdr sometime in '71. Like Chou Hsing above, no apparent close connection with Lin's group, and made appearances after their fall, but should have made more since January.)

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(iii) *Chen Kang*, full member of Central Committee, apparently a DepCdr of this MR, and a secretary of Yunnan Ctte CCP; LPA March '72. (No apparent close connection with Lin's group, but was hailed by Lin himself in '69 as an "old friend.")

(iv) *Cha Yu-sheng*, apparently a DepCdr of this MR; LPA September '71. (Long in this MR; no apparent connection with Lin's group.)

(v) *Liu Chun-shan*, apparently a DepCdr or DPO of this MR; LPA February '72. (Long on Fukien Front, probably as an Army commander. No apparent connection with Lin's group, unless through Han Hsien-chu, Cdr of the Foochow MR, who himself seems to be prospering.)

(vi) *Li Ko-chung*, a DPO, Kunming MR; LPA February 1972. (Had been head of Political Work Group of Yunnan PRC, but was inexplicably passed over when new Yunnan Ctte CCP was named in June '71.)

(vii) *Lei Chi-yung*, apparently a DPO, Kunming MR; LPA March '71. (Long in this MR, had good record in Cultural Revolution.)

(h) Lanchow MR (which did not report on Army Day):

(i) *Li Shu-mao*, alternate member of Central Committee, and apparently senior DepCdr, Lanchow MR; LPA July '71. (Long in NW; no apparent connection with Lin's group.)

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(i) Sinkiang MR (which had a large Army Day turnout):

(i) *Lung Shu-chin*, full member of Central Committee, Commander of this MR, and 1st Secretary Sinkiang Ctte CCP; LPA February '72. (A longtime protege of Lin Piao, and praised strongly by Huang Yung-sheng during Cultural Revolution, by late '68 became the new Cdr of this MR. In January '71, praised Lin as "most brilliant example," identifying himself with Lin as a true Maoist. After Lin's fall, was absent for some months, then reappeared with his titles in February '72. May be under prolonged examination.)

(ii) *Tsao Ssu-ming*, a PolOff (second or third) of this MR, and third-ranking secretary of Sinkiang Ctte CCP; LPA June '72. (An unknown figure before '71, may be a protege of Lung Shu-chin above. LPA is recent, but should have appeared in the large Army Day turnout.)

(j) Regional Fleets:

(i) *Liu Hao-tien*, alternate member of Central Committee, and said to be 1st PolOff of the Eastern Fleet; LPA May '71. (Connection with Li Tso-peng may have hurt him, and is on record with high praise of Lin Piao.)

(ii) *Kuei Shao-pin*, believed to be Commander of the South China Fleet; LPA May Day '71. (Perhaps close to Li Tso-peng.)

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Important missing military leaders at the provincial or major municipal level -- MD Commanders or 1st Political Officers, or Garrison Commanders or 1st Political Officers, or others at that level -- include the following 26:

(a) Anhwei MD (where Army Day was lightly reported):

(i) *Sung Pei-chang*, acting 1st PolOff of this MD and a secretary of Anhwei Ctte CCP; LPA May '72. (Seemed in good favor in early '72: no apparent connection with Lin's group, and good connections with some leaders clearly in favor, e.g. Li Te-sheng, should have appeared even in light reporting on Army Day; absence inexplicable.)

(ii) *Liang Chi-ching*, apparently senior DPO of this MD, and a deputy secretary of Anhwei Ctte CCP; LPA September '71. (Good record in Cultural Revolution, no apparent connection with Lin's group, absence likewise inexplicable.)

(b) Chekiang MD (where Army Day was lightly reported):

(i) *Shu Chi-cheng*, alternate member of Central Committee, and CCAF leader in Chekiang; LPA July '71. (Precise post uncertain, may have been Chen Li-yun's deputy, fallen with him.)

(c) Fukien MD (where Army Day was well reported):

(i) *Chu Yao-hua*, Cdr of this MD; LPA January '72. (Many years in Fukien, no apparent connection with Lin's group, and seemed all right in early '72; but should have shown up since.)

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(ii) *Ni Nan-shan*, the apparent 1st PolOff of this MD, and a secretary of Fukien Ctte CCP; LPA June '72. (Transferred in '71 from Kiangsi, where he had spent many years as a DepCdr of that MD. No apparent connection with Lin's group, but should have shown up in the good Army Day coverage.)

(d) Heilungkiang MD (where Army Day was lightly reported):

(i) *Wang Chia-tao*, alternate member of Central Committee, Cdr of this MD, and 1st Secretary Heilungkiang Ctte CCP; LPA August '71. (Absence curious, as some evidence he is still in favor.)

(e) Hopei MD (where Army Day was well reported):

(i) *Liu Hai-ching*, possibly Cdr of the 38th Army and a secretary of Hopei Ctte CCP; LPA May '71. (This Army is sometimes referred to as Lin Piao's "own." Liu should have appeared in the big Army Day turnout.)

(ii) *Ma Chieh*, believed to be an army Cdr or 1st PolOff, and a secretary of Hopei Ctte CCP; LPA June '72. (No apparent connection with Lin's group, but should also have been in the big Army Day turnout.)

(iii) *Wang Yi*, Commander of Tientsin Garrison and a secretary of Tientsin Ctte CCP; LPA October '71. (Missing from two pretty full turnouts in Tientsin in '72.)

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(f) Kiangsi MD (where Army Day was well reported):

(i) *Cheng Shih-ching*, full member of Central Committee, DPO of the Foochow MR, PolOff (apparently 1st) of Kiangsi MD, and 1st Secretary Kiangsi Ctte CCP; LPA February '72. (Longtime protege of Lin Piao and apparently a close personal friend, who had been Lin's houseguest. Missing for several months after Lin's fall, he returned with his titles in February '72, and then disappeared again. All other secretaries of Kiangsi Ctte have made later appearances.)

(ii) *Yang Tung-liang*, Cdr of this MD and second-ranking secretary of Kiangsi Ctte CCP; LPA March '72. (Long with Yang Te-chih in Tsinan, since '67 closely associated with Cheng Shih-ching above. Like Cheng, missing in months after Lin Piao's fall, then returned with Cheng in February, disappeared again soon thereafter.)

(g) Kirin MD (where Army Day was poorly reported):

(i) *Chang Chao-jen*, a PLA leader of uncertain position, but apparently important as he is second-ranking secretary of Kirin Ctte CCP; LPA July '71. (Only secretary missing from a big turnout in May '72.)

(ii) *Ma Hsi-sheng*, possibly 1st PolOff of 16th Army; LPA November '70. (Early career with Lin Piao's forces, then long with 16th Army; other ties unknown. LPA was as a PLA leader in Shensi, but was reported to be 1st PolOff of the 16th Army in Kirin as of August '71.)

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(h) Kwangsi MD (where Army Day was well reported):

(i) *Chao Hsin-jan*, Cdr of this MD; LPA May '72. (A little-known figure who rose on the Cultural Revolution. Although LPA was as late as May '72, he has since missed three big turnouts in Kwangsi.)

(i) Kwangtung MD (where Army Day was well reported):

(i) *Chen Te*, believed to be 1st PolOff of this MD; LPA December '70. (Presumed all right in early '71, but was missing from large turnouts beginning in May '71. Once close to Huang Yung-sheng.)

(ii) *Su Ko-chih*, apparently acting 1st PolOff of this MD after disappearance of Chen Te; LPA May '72. (An apparent protege of both Lin Piao and Huang Yung-sheng, Su seemed to take their fall in stride; however, he has now missed two very large turnouts since his LPA.)

(j) Kweichow MD (where Army Day was not reported):

(i) *Lan I-nung*, alternate member of Central Committee, apparently 1st PolOff of this MD, and 1st Secretary of Kweichow Ctte CCP; LPA May '71. (Said to be a protege of Huang Yung-sheng. However, almost all Kweichow leaders have been inexplicably missing for more than a year.)

(ii) *Ho Kuang-yu*, Cdr of this MD and a deputy secretary of Kweichow Ctte CCP; LPA May '71. (Long in Kweichow, survived fall of his principal, Yang Yung, who has since been rehabilitated.)

(iii) *Chang Jung-sen*, a PLA leader, possibly senior DepCdr of this MD, and second-ranking secretary of Kweichow Ctte CCP; LPA May '71. [REDACTED]

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(k) Ningsia MD (where Army Day was not reported):

(i) *Kang Chien-min*, alternate member of Central Committee, a PLA leader, possibly sometime Cdr of this MD, and 1st Secretary Ningsia Ctte CCP; LPA January '72. (No apparent close ties with Lin's group, and seemed all right as of January '72, but all other Ningsia leaders have made later appearances.)

(l) Shansi MD (where Army Day was not reported);

(i) *Tsao Chung-nan*, apparent Cdr of this MD, and a secretary of Shansi Ctte CCP; LPA April '72. (Record shows a past clash with Lin Piao, and may have been promoted soon after Lin's fall; but should have appeared since April.)

(m) Shensi MD (where Army Day was not reported):

(i) *Liu Ling*, believed to be 1st PolOff of 47th Army in Shensi; LPA November '70. (Presumed all right in early '71. Cdr of 47th, Li Yuan, disappeared some months earlier. This army is closely identified with Lin Piao.)

(n) Tibet MD (where Army Day was not reported):

(i) *Tien Pao*, full member of Central Committee, PolOff (possibly 1st PO) of MD, and second-ranking secretary of Tibet Ctte CCP; LPA August '71. (No apparent connection with Lin's group, but is not now 1st PolOff, and may have suffered fall-out from Chengtu MR.)

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(ii) *Tseng Yung-ya*, alternate member of Central Committee and onetime Cdr of this MD; LPA October '70. (Presumed all right in early '71, but apparently replaced at that time by Chen Ming-i. Long association with Lin Piao.)

(iii) *Chen Ming-i*, last-known Cdr of this MD, and second-ranking secretary of Tibet Cttee CCP; LPA August '71. (No apparent connection with Lin's group, but he too may have been hurt by ties to Chengtu MR leaders.)

(o) Yunnan MD (where Army Day was not reported):

(i) *Chu Ying*, reported (unconfirmed) as Cdr of 14th Army in Yunnan. LPA -- if any -- uncertain, although reported to be in post in May '71. (Nothing is known about Chu.)

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