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From Truce to Dictatorship: Creating a Revolutionary Committee in Jiangsu

DONG Guoqiang and Andrew G. Walder

ABSTRACT

Jiangsu was one of the many Chinese provinces that suffered from bitter and prolonged factional violence in 1967 and 1968. It took more than three years to recreate relatively stable government authority, and the process was protracted and highly contentious. A provisional cease-fire orchestrated by Beijing in September 1967 initiated six months of chaotic negotiations in Beijing, in which opposed civilian and military delegations proved immune to the Center's efforts to forge factional unity. The divisions continued to fester after the controversial General Xu Shiyou was put in charge of a new Provincial Revolutionary Committee in March 1968 that gave leading civilian rebels from neither faction significant posts. It took General Xu almost three years to eliminate his civilian and military opponents but, by the end of 1970, after a series of fierce suppression campaigns, he and his military allies ruled Jiangsu with an iron hand.

The provincial “revolutionary committees” of 1967 and 1968 were the most important change in the Chinese state to emerge during the Cultural Revolution. In 1970, Jürgen Domes wrote: “When at a moment of high tide in the Cultural Revolution, the first Revolutionary Committee was established . . . a new type of leadership organ appeared on the Chinese scene, indicating drastic changes in the regional power structure”.¹ Early observers described the membership of these committees—a blend of army officers, surviving Party cadres and representatives of mass organizations—and their role in curbing factional violence and demobilizing mass organizations. These early writings emphasized the obvious rise of the army in civilian administration.² None of these early studies could characterize the process through which revolutionary committees were formed,

1. Jürgen Domes, “The Role of the Military in the Formation of the Revolutionary Committees, 1967–1968”, *The China Quarterly*, No. 44 (October 1970), pp. 112–45, at p. 112.

2. Jürgen Domes, “The Role of the Military in the Formation of the Revolutionary Committees”; Richard Baum, “China: Year of the Mangoes”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 9 (January 1969), pp. 1–17; Philip Bridgham, “Mao’s Cultural Revolution: The Struggle to Consolidate Power”, *The China Quarterly*, No. 41 (January 1970), pp. 1–25; and Hong Yung Lee, *The Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 264–75. Harry Harding, “The Chinese State in Crisis”, in Roderick MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 15, Part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 107–217, particularly pp. 189–93, synthesizes the early literature based on Mao-era sources.

though it appeared that they were the product of a military crackdown, an inherently conservative turn away from a period of radical challenges to authority. The idea that military control represented a “conservative” turn in Cultural Revolution politics was so widely accepted that the factions who opposed the imposition of military control earned the label “radical”, and the factions that supported the armed forces were called “conservative”.

The most detailed account of the formation of a revolutionary committee depicts Shanghai, which as a famous model and the first of its kind was described in some detail, with Mao-era sources as well as with much richer post-Mao materials.³ Understanding the Shanghai case unfortunately provides little insight into the process in many regions where, in the summer of 1967, factional fighting led to a state approaching civil war.⁴ Shanghai’s Revolutionary Committee was approved by the center soon after its January power seizure. It did not later suffer from severe factionalism and citywide collective violence, and the armed forces played a minor role there.

In the most ambitious province-by-province account of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1968, Bu Weihua describes the role of revolutionary committees in restoring order, curtailing factional warfare and getting the economy back on track.⁵ He emphasizes that the end result was a thinly disguised and highly coercive form of military dictatorship, concentrating power almost completely into the hands of military officers.⁶ Bu was able to say little about how regional “great alliances” of military officers, surviving civilian officials and leaders of rebel factions were put together as a transitional step toward the formal establishment of revolutionary committees. He describes a nationwide sequence of factional splits, repeated negotiations, resistance and opposition, and eventually the forging of agreements on a province-by-province basis, but he finds that variations in the

3. Andrew G. Walder, *Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Shanghai's January Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1978); and Elizabeth J. Perry and Li Xun, *Proletarian Power: The Cultural Revolution in Shanghai* (Boulder: Westview, 1997). The former work draws on a narrow base of regional radio broadcasts, Red Guard tabloids and local newspapers, typical of Mao-era sources; the latter makes use of unprecedented access to the Shanghai municipal archives, including confessions written by major political figures.

4. Barbara Barnouin and Yu Changgen, *Ten Years of Turbulence: The Chinese Cultural Revolution* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), pp. 154–63, provides a general overview that draws heavily on the example of Shanghai, with one paragraph on Anhui Province. Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 239–46, briefly contrasts the peaceful process in Tianjin and the remarkably violent crackdown in Guangxi, indicating wide provincial variations. Two in-depth provincial studies of factional conflict throughout the ten-year period after 1966 devote little attention to the formation of revolutionary committees: Keith Forster, *Rebellion and Factionalism in a Chinese Province, Zhejiang, 1966–1976* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. 56–65 and 84–91, and Shaoguang Wang, *Failure of Charisma: The Cultural Revolution in Wuhan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 203–09.

5. Bu Weihua, *Zalan jiu shijie: wenhua da geming de dongluan yu haojie* (Smashing the Old World: The Catastrophic Turmoil of the Cultural Revolution) (Hong Kong: Zhongwen Daxue Chubanshe, 2008), pp. 725–37.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 736–37.

course of provincial politics were so wide, and the complexity of political conflicts within any locality so daunting, that “the process through which the revolutionary committees of provinces, cities and autonomous regions were formed was very complex, and many circumstances are bewildering and unknowable”.⁷

Many questions remain unanswered. What role did Beijing authorities play in negotiations between local factions and in the designation of new leaders—were there genuine negotiations, or were terms dictated from above? What role did leaders of mass factions play in the formation of these committees—did they wield real influence, or were they forced to accept merely token roles? Were factional conflicts actually resolved, or were they simply forced underground? Did the apparent dominance of the armed forces in these new structures signify the rise of “conservative” military officers at the expense of “radical” mass organizations,⁸ or were there divisions within the local military forces themselves, and a more complex interplay with radical mass factions? If regional military forces did become the dominant force, did they achieve this through intimidation and overwhelming force, or was coercion constrained by the necessity to maintain the support of central authorities and local factions?

Answering such questions requires considerable detail about the process in a single locality, drawing on very different and far more extensive sources than does prior work. Here we illuminate these issues through a detailed analysis of Jiangsu Province, one of the many regions where factional conflict continued under military control throughout 1967 and well into 1968. The Jiangsu Revolutionary Committee was established in March 1968—roughly midway through a nationwide process that was completed in September 1968 in Xinjiang and Tibet. Jiangsu’s Revolutionary Committee was established through a tumultuous and protracted set of negotiations between central authorities and local political actors, which began as a free-wheeling competition between unalterably opposed coalitions of military and civilian factions, and which only gradually arrived at a provisional settlement through extensive and repeated arguments in Beijing. The negotiations became increasingly coercive after Mao Zedong ruled on what the final settlement would be. Even after the Revolutionary Committee was formed, with the locally controversial General Xu Shiyu (许世友) in the top spot, it took more than two more years to quell simmering factional rivalries and eliminate entrenched opposition.

Our account draws on a range of new local sources. The first consists of nearly complete runs of 12 tabloids published by mass organizations in Jiangsu during 1967 and 1968 by both major factions, along with a small number of individual handbills. These materials were published throughout the process of negotiations that led through a “great alliance” to a “revolutionary committee”, and they give

7. Bu Weihua, *Zalan jiu shijie*, p. 726.

8. As argued, for example, by Richard Baum, “China: Year of the Mangoes”, p. 9.

full play to the related factional debates. A second source is a series of transcripts of meetings between central officials and delegations of political figures from Jiangsu and Nanjing. These transcripts were published in Red Guard tabloids and collections of leaders' speeches at the time. A third source is an unpublished chronology of the Cultural Revolution in Nanjing compiled by the city's archives bureau in the 1980s. Fourth are recently written memoirs, both published and unpublished, by individuals who participated in the factional politics and Beijing negotiations through which the Revolutionary Committee was formed—one by a Nanjing municipal cadre who in recent years edited the official contemporary history of Nanjing, and four by officers from the Nanjing Military Region who were on opposite sides of the controversy over Xu Shiyou. We also draw on recent interviews with six top leaders of mass factions in Nanjing, from both sides of the factional divide, and in some cases on their brief written memoirs.

Reconstructing this process provides insight into subsequent developments in the final years of the Mao era, in particular the survival of factional conflicts into the 1970s and the fragility of the "peace" established in China in 1968. In this case, the peace negotiated in countless meetings between provincial authorities and local actors between September 1967, when the first shaky truce between Jiangsu's mass factions was signed, and the celebrated establishment of the provincial Revolutionary Committee in March 1968, was fragile and temporary. The new provincial government had to work hard to establish its authority and quell simmering factional strife in work units and schools. The Jiangsu military authorities under Xu Shiyou steadily tightened the vice on civilian society through a series of campaigns that targeted their former opponents and potential adversaries.⁹

More importantly, the formation of this provincial Revolutionary Committee brings into stark relief the issues that divided factions and reveals the fundamental nature of local political conflict during this phase of the Cultural Revolution. When Jiangsu's two factions were invited to Beijing to hammer out their differences, they laid out their positions and stated criticisms of their opponents to the Beijing authorities. What is most striking is the complete absence of disagreement about principles or policies. Instead, the fundamental divide between factions is over the interpretation of local political events during 1967. The core issue was whether the Nanjing Military Region under Xu Shiyou committed serious errors as it implemented military control in March 1967, errors that represented an attempt to "suppress the revolutionary left" and obstruct Mao's Cultural Revolution. The flip side of this issue was whether the summer 1967 movement by renegade military officers in league with one mass faction to "overthrow Xu Shiyou" was an unprincipled attempt to sabotage one of Mao's loyal

9. In response, after Xu Shiyou was transferred to Guangzhou in the reshuffling of regional military commanders at the end of 1973, his crackdown on opponents during this period became an object of factional contention in the "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" campaign that year. See DONG Guoqiang and Andrew G. Walder, "Nanjing's 'Second Cultural Revolution' of 1974," *The China Quarterly*, forthcoming.

military commanders and throw the Cultural Revolution into chaos. Who was right and who was wrong—Xu Shiyou’s military forces and the mass factions that supported him, or the renegade military officers and their student and worker allies? The stakes for both sides were evidently very high, and the issue had to be resolved before any alliance could be achieved. Though the Beijing authorities tried initially to sidestep the question, the two factions pushed insistently and forced Beijing to take a stand.

JIANGSU FACTIONALISM IN 1967

Of China’s 29 provincial-level jurisdictions, only 5 had established revolutionary committees recognized by the Party center by April 1967. The remaining regions suffered violent factional conflicts and tenuous governmental authority well into 1968. Jiangsu was one such region and, because all the transportation links that connected the industrial powerhouse of Shanghai with the rest of the country passed through its territory, the unrest in Jiangsu was a source of major concern in Beijing.

Factional alignments in Jiangsu were firmly entrenched in the first two months of 1967, when two wings of the rebel movement that overthrew the Nanjing authorities split into two new factions. The split in the rebel forces could not be explained by different stances toward the incumbent Nanjing authorities. In fact, each wing of this new factional rivalry was headed by student rebels from Nanjing University who came from identical backgrounds, and who had been close allies in the rebel movement to overthrow the Nanjing and Jiangsu Party Committees.¹⁰ Divisions in the rebel camp appeared during negotiations in January 1967 about formally seizing power from the Nanjing authorities. When negotiations became deadlocked, one set of leaders withdrew from the discussions, and the other rebel leaders proceeded with a power seizure on 26 January without them. With the open support of local military forces, they proclaimed themselves representatives of the “revolutionary left” in Jiangsu. The rebels who withdrew from the negotiations were left on the sidelines, and denounced this unilateral power seizure, which, they argued, did not represent the broad range of local rebel organizations. The open rebel split was the main reason that Zhou Enlai, who had originally urged local rebels to seize power, withheld Beijing’s official certification of the act. Instead, both sides were invited to the capital for negotiations which proved to be contentious and prolonged, failing in the end to achieve unity. As a result, Jiangsu was placed under martial law forces on 5 March, leaving the factional divisions unresolved.¹¹

10. See DONG Guoqiang and Andrew G. Walder, “Factions in a Bureaucratic Setting: The Origins of Cultural Revolution Conflict in Nanjing”, *The China Journal*, No. 65 (January 2011), pp. 1–25.

11. These developments are detailed in DONG Guoqiang and Andrew G. Walder, “Nanjing’s Failed ‘January Revolution’ of 1967: The Inner Politics of a Provincial Power Seizure”, *The China Quarterly*, No. 203 (September 2010), pp. 675–92.

The Jiangsu Military Control Committee, headed by Du Ping (杜平), political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region, was in charge of martial law in Jiangsu. Xu Shiyou, Commander of the Nanjing Military Region, was Du Ping's superior officer and was ultimately in charge of the armed forces in Jiangsu, Shanghai, Anhui and Zhejiang. General Xu, from a poor peasant household, was a Long March and Yan'an era military officer who had studied martial arts at a Shaolin temple in Henan before joining the Communist forces in the 1920s. Xu had a reputation as a brave and effective military commander, but he committed a severe error when he briefly backed a rival Party faction under Zhang Guotao during the Long March. Mao Zedong refused to censure him for betrayal, and intervened to accept his self-criticism, thereby cementing a lifelong bond of gratitude on the part of Xu Shiyou, who demonstrated his unwavering loyalty to Mao in the subsequent struggles for power.¹² Xu Shiyou became a central point of contention between the two Jiangsu factions in the summer of 1967.

Martial law forces quickly became entangled in the rivalries between the two rebel factions, which by March 1967 pitted the faction that carried out the 26 January power seizure and approved it (the "Pro" faction) against a dissident rebel faction that sought to have it annulled (the "Anti" faction).¹³ The Anti faction welcomed martial law forces, which according to Beijing's decision did not recognize the power seizure. They hoped that the local armed forces, which had initially supported the power seizure, would now preside over a new arrangement in which all rebel forces would be equally represented. Members of the Pro faction viewed martial law as a repudiation of their legitimate power seizure, and some of their affiliates resisted soldiers when they moved in to take control of transportation hubs and other strategic sites. The army responded to armed resistance by detaining hundreds and keeping them in prison. In response, the Pro faction charged the army with "suppressing the left" and became opponents of military control. Their complaints found a sympathetic ear among key figures on the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCRG) in Beijing, which had initially supported the Anti faction, but which was now worried that the armed forces were prematurely squelching popular rebellion. Encouraged by overtures of support, the Pro faction continued to resist the army; the more their opposition to the military grew, the more the Anti faction was drawn into firm support for the army.

The Nanjing martial law forces were therefore drawn inevitably into local factional conflicts. This reached a high point immediately after the Wuhan Incident of 20 July, which touched off an open campaign to "overthrow Xu Shiyou", spearheaded by Pro faction rebels. Officers in the Nanjing Military Region who had

12. Sun Xiao and Song Mei, *Yidai mingjiang Xu Shiyou* (Xu Shiyou, A Generation's Famous General), 2 vols. (Jinan: Huanghe Renmin Chubanshe, 2004).

13. The actual Chinese names for these factions were *hao* (good) and *pi* (crap), which expressed the attitudes of Pro and Anti factions respectively toward the power seizure.

helped to organize the original power seizure supported this campaign openly. The opposition to Xu included local commanders in the Nanjing Air Force, as well as leaders of local military academies and armaments factories. Jiangsu became ungovernable during August, as street battles spun out of control, with the army unable or unwilling to act decisively. The issue of Xu Shiyou was finally resolved only in mid-August, when Mao Zedong intervened decisively to assure Xu of his personal support and to guarantee that further attacks on his martial law forces would not be tolerated.¹⁴ One week later, key CCRG members Wang Li (王力) and Guan Feng (关锋) (followed soon afterwards by Qi Benyu [戚本禹]) became scapegoats for encouraging attacks on the army, effectively halting the campaign against Xu Shiyou and the Nanjing martial law forces.¹⁵

With the issue of Nanjing's armed forces and Xu Shiyou's authority settled by direct orders from Mao Zedong, the process of forging a "Great Alliance" of rebel forces could begin. Leaders from the Pro and Anti factions were quickly brought to Beijing to participate in cease-fire negotiations orchestrated by the "Central Investigation Group for Jiangsu" led by Liu Jinping (刘锦平), political commissar of the China Civil Aviation Bureau, and Song Gao (宋皋), a staff member of Premier Zhou Enlai's office. On 4 September, the two sides signed a formal cease-fire agreement, immediately approved by the Party center; the agreement encouraged the two sides to "hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, firmly grasp the correct direction of the revolutionary struggles, and reunite in a process of revolutionary criticism".¹⁶ Thus began seven hard months of negotiation and backstage factional maneuvering that led to the creation of Jiangsu's Revolutionary Committee in March 1968. The Revolutionary Committee, in turn, began an even longer process of asserting the military's control.

THE JIANGSU DELEGATION TO BEIJING

With the cease-fire signed, Zhou Enlai ordered Du Ping, head of Jiangsu's Military Control Committee, to send a delegation to Beijing to hammer out an alliance of

14. These events are detailed in DONG Guoqiang and Andrew G. Walder, "Local Politics in the Chinese Cultural Revolution: Nanjing Under Military Control", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (May 2011), pp. 425–47; and DONG Guoqiang, "1967nian xiatian Nanjing 'dao Xu' fengchao de taiqian muhou" (The Story Behind Nanjing's Summer 1967 Campaign to "Overthrow Xu"), *Ershiyi shiji* (Twenty-first Century), Internet Edition, November 2006 (<http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/21c>, accessed 18 February 2012).

15. See Michael Schoenhals, "'Why Don't We Arm the Left?': Mao's Culpability for the Cultural Revolution's 'Great Chaos' of 1967", *The China Quarterly*, No. 182 (June 2005), pp. 277–300.

16. "Zhonggong zhongyang dui Jiangsu san pai geming qunzhong zuzhi 'Guanyu jianjue zhizhi wudou de xieyi shu' de fudian" (CCP Center Telegram in Response to the "Agreement to Resolutely Curtail Armed Struggle" of the Three Mass Factions of Jiangsu), 10 September 1967, in Song Yongyi (ed.), *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database* (CD-ROM) (Hong Kong: Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002).

local forces.¹⁷ Du had two weeks: he allocated slots to each of the major factions in key cities, and they selected their representatives themselves.¹⁸ The delegation was huge—184 individuals drawn from the local military forces and civilians in six cities.¹⁹ The factions designated to represent Jiangsu were from cities in key transport hubs in southern Jiangsu that connected Shanghai with the rest of the country. Of the 30 army representatives, most were supporters of Xu Shiyou, but two of his leading opponents, Du Fangping (杜方平), a vice-head of the Jiangsu Military Control Committee who supported the Pro faction, and Wang Shaoyuan (王绍渊), vice political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region Air Force, were appointed vice-heads of the delegation.²⁰

The delegations' behavior revealed that the primary objective of each faction was to win support from Beijing officials for their interpretation of events in Jiangsu. Competition to win seats in the new organs of power was relatively unimportant for the civilian rebels. Central authorities made clear from the outset that rebel leaders would not occupy top positions in the new structures of power. Therefore, the overwhelming concern was to ensure that one's faction did not shoulder the blame for violence of the summer of 1967, and that whoever assumed power would be sympathetic to the faction's point of view, or at least neutral with regard to past conflicts. In Nanjing alone, there were more than 91 armed battles and three dozen deaths in the summer of 1967,²¹ and these clashes occurred in direct defiance of martial law forces. Moreover, the Beijing officials

17. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian* (Eight Stormy Years) (Nanjing: privately published, 2008), p. 82. Yuan Gang was a junior military officer working in a provincial military control committee and took part in four month-long Beijing negotiations.

18. Interviews with Geng Changxian on 1 February 2007, Ge Zhonglong on 14 April 2007 and Zeng Bangyuan on 29 December 2007. Geng Changxian was a student rebel from Nanjing University who helped lead the Pro faction and the campaign against Xu Shiyou and was appointed to the Nanjing Municipal Revolutionary Committee in 1968. Ge Zhonglong was also a student rebel from Nanjing University in the Pro faction, and joined the university's Revolutionary Committee in 1968. Zeng Bangyuan was a Youth League General Branch Secretary at Nanjing University who became a leader of the Anti faction, and became a member of the Jiangsu Revolutionary Committee in 1968. All three individuals participated in the Beijing negotiations.

19. Thirty delegates represented the army. The Nanjing Pro and Anti factions each sent 30 representatives, with representatives in equal numbers from each of the two factions in Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou, Yangzhou and Nantong filling out the delegation. There were also six representatives from a third and relatively small independent Nanjing faction founded only in July 1967 and whose point of view was more congenial to the Anti faction (Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 85).

20. Wang Yan, *Bandang shi chengchen: yi You Taizhong shangjiang "wen'ge" chuqi zai Jiangnan tong "sirenbang" fandang luanjun yinmou douzheng* (Discerning Loyalty From Behavior: Recalling You Taizhong, a Loyal General's Struggle Against the Anti-Party Conspiracy of the Gang of Four to Disrupt the Army During the First Stages of the Cultural Revolution in Jiangnan) (Nanjing: privately published, 2002), p. 89. Wang Yan was the head of the Propaganda Department of the 27th Army during this period, and was a member of the delegation to Beijing.

21. Li Zhirong, *Shinian dongluan qijian de Nanjing* (Nanjing During Ten Turbulent Years), unpublished manuscript. Li Zhirong was a cadre in the Nanjing Municipal Party Committee offices. He participated in the events described in this article, and after the Cultural Revolution became vice-director of Nanjing's Party School.

allegedly responsible for nationwide violence during the summer of 1967 had recently been purged as a consequence. Members of each delegation were concerned above all about how blame for these actions would be apportioned, decisions that would directly affect their fates and those of their followers.²² Was it martial law forces who were to blame for errors, or were their opponents violating central directives and deviating from the instructions of Chairman Mao? Each side busied themselves with compiling reports to mitigate their responsibility and implicate their opponents, and they devised strategies for presenting their case in the upcoming meetings.²³

This agenda was especially urgent for the Pro faction, because they had spearheaded the attacks on Xu Shiyou, actions which had thrown Jiangsu into chaos. Mao Zedong himself had intervened to certify that Xu was trusted and that the attacks on him must stop. The leading figure from the Pro faction was Du Fangping, a colonel in the Nanjing Military Region headquarters. Du had supported the original power seizure and, with encouragement from members of the CCRG in Beijing, sided with the Pro faction as it slid into open opposition to Xu Shiyou. Du's influence had been undermined by his close ties to Lin Jie (林杰), an important CCRG staff member recently purged along with Wang Li and Guan Feng, who had worked with Du Fangping to overthrow Xu Shiyou. With the eclipse of Du's influence, three leaders of the anti-Xu camp from the Nanjing Air Force played a more active role: Jiang Tengjiao (江腾蛟), Wang Shaoyuan and Gao Haoping (高浩平). Jiang was the political commissar of the Nanjing Air Force Headquarters, where Wang was vice political commissar and Gao was director of the Political Department. These three officers had worked together in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution to undermine the commander of the Nanjing Air Force, who was a favored subordinate of Xu Shiyou. In August 1967, the three openly declared their support for the movement to overthrow Xu. For obvious reasons, they were strongly opposed to any arrangement that left Xu Shiyou in charge of Jiangsu.²⁴

Before their delegation left for Beijing, Wang and Gao worked with Du Fangping and other Pro faction leaders to iron out their strategy. Their position would be that Xu Shiyou and the leaders of the Jiangsu Military Control Committee committed errors typical of the bourgeois reactionary line, and should be removed from all posts and replaced by officers from the Air Force and their allies.²⁵ Before

22. Chen Kexing and Luo Shiguo, "Zai yangguang de zhaoyao xia—ji fu Jing siyue dousi pixiu" (Basking in the Rays of the Sun—Recalling Four Months of Fighting Self and Repudiating Revisionism in the Capital), *Xinghuo liaoyuan* (A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire), 15 February 1968, p. 1. Chen Kexing was a leader of the main workers' organization in the Nanjing Anti faction, and Luo Shiguo was a leader of an Anti faction group from the East China Institute of Water Conservancy.

23. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, pp. 82–83.

24. "Wang XX Gao XX fan Xu luanjun zuixing taotian" (Monstrous Crimes of Wang XX and Gao XX in Overthrowing Xu and Disrupting the Army), *Xin Nanda* (New Nanjing University), 6 April 1968, p. 3.

25. Wen Fenglai, Zhang Jianshan and Ge Zhonglong, "Wang Shaoyuan, Gao Haoping fan Xu luan jun zuizheng ershiliu tiao" (Twenty-six Examples of the Crimes of Wang Shaoyuan and Gao Haoping in Opposing

the negotiations began, they would send emissaries to Beijing to canvass leaders for support. During the negotiations they were to coordinate with sympathetic leaders in Beijing and their allies back home. To gain the upper hand in negotiations, Du Fangping would hand over a thorough self-criticism for his past errors immediately upon arrival, thereby seizing the initiative and pressuring their opponents to follow suit.²⁶

The Air Force officers argued that the Pro faction should target the leaders of the Nanjing Military Region, not their civilian opponents in the Anti faction. Their talking points were that the Nanjing military used armed force to suppress leftists; they adopted the wrong attitude toward former civilian cadres; they suppressed rebels within the military; they discriminated against mass organizations in the Pro faction; and they were to blame for the violence.²⁷ The anti-Xu officers sent emissaries to lobby for support from General Qiu Huizuo (邱会作), a member of the Central Military Commission. They urged military officers who had been demoted and transferred in March 1967 as punishment for their involvement in a criticism campaign against the leaders of the Nanjing Military Region to send delegations to Beijing to make charges against Xu Shiyu that paralleled their own.²⁸ Essentially, this was the “overthrow Xu” program of August 1967—they sought to use the Beijing negotiations to achieve the ends that the anti-Xu forces were unable to achieve on the streets of Nanjing in August.

THE BEIJING NEGOTIATIONS: A ROCKY START

Between 18 and 24 September, members of the delegation arrived in Beijing on separate trains.²⁹ The military delegation was sent to the Jingxi Hotel, while the civilian group was sent to the Xiyuan Hotel.³⁰ The delegations were informed of several ground rules: delegates must halt factional activities; they must not communicate with counterparts in other provinces; the military and civilian delegates should remain in their separate “study classes” and must not communicate; and delegates must concentrate on self-criticism rather than on accusations against their rivals.³¹ These regulations quickly proved to be nothing but wishful thinking on the part of the Beijing authorities.

Xu and Disrupting the Army), *Jiangsu hongweibing* (Jiangsu Red Guard), 24 May 1968, p. 4; and “Lishi xuanpanle Wang Gao fangeming jituan sixing” (History Pronounces Death Sentence on the Wang–Gao Counter-revolutionary Clique), *Geming gongren bao* (Revolutionary Worker News), 5 June 1968, p. 3.

26. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 83.

27. “Lishi xuanpanle Wang Gao fangeming jituan sixing”, p. 3.

28. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 84.

29. “Nanjing fengyun” (Nanjing Storms), *Ba erqi zhanbao* (August 27 Battle News), 29 September 1967, p. 4; Chen Kexing and Luo Shiguo, “Zai yangguang de zhaoyao xia”, p. 1; Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 85; and Wang Yan, *Bandang shi chengchen*, p. 90.

30. Interview with Ge Zhonglong; and Chen Kexing and Luo Shiguo, “Zai yangguang de zhaoyao xia”, p. 1.

31. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 85.

The first “study class” for the civilian factions at the Xiyuan Hotel was scheduled for 23 September. When it was announced that Liang Jiqing (梁辑卿), vice head of the Jiangsu Military Control Committee and Xu Shiyou’s loyal subordinate, would chair the session, the Air Force Officers at the Jingxi Hotel informed the Pro faction leaders that Liang was the “behind-the-scenes boss” of the Anti faction, indicating that the central authorities did not understand the true situation in Jiangsu. They told the Pro faction leaders to resist, and as a result the first meeting broke up amidst heated arguments.³² After this, the civilian factions were each divided into separate “study classes”.

On 26 September the Jiangsu delegation attended a mass meeting of delegates from 12 provinces convened by Zhou Enlai, members of the CCRG and Yang Chengwu (杨成武), Acting Chief of Staff of the PLA. Mao appeared briefly on stage to rapturous applause, but said nothing. After Mao’s departure, Zhang Chunqiao (张春桥) and Yang Chengwu conveyed Mao’s comments on his recent tour of the provinces, but these were little more than vague platitudes, and the speakers failed to acknowledge the divisions at the center that had caused widespread chaos in China during July and August.³³ This seemed to imply that the violence was caused entirely by local forces, an interpretation that would place the blame on local actors, not the recently purged members of the CCRG.

When the Jiangsu delegation met with central leaders for the first time on 28 September, Zhang Chunqiao and Kang Sheng (康生)—who had covertly encouraged attacks on Xu Shiyou in August—reaffirmed the center’s policy of protecting Xu Shiyou, a trusted revolutionary veteran. Zhang conceded that Xu had made certain mistakes in “supporting the left”, but offered no way to resolve the resulting controversies except criticism and self-criticism.³⁴ This formulation failed to satisfy the anti-Xu army officers and the Pro faction, and they redoubled their efforts to undermine Xu Shiyou.³⁵

At the huge National Day celebration on Tiananmen Square on 1 October, representatives from the twelve provincial delegations were invited onto the reviewing stands, but the delegates received contradictory signals from the festivities. Xu Shiyou, who had dropped from view during the attacks on him in August, appeared on the rostrum along with Mao and other leading military and Party officials. It was his first public appearance at an important Beijing event, signaling clearly that he had Mao’s trust. However, Du Fangping and Wang Shaoyuan, two leaders of the “overthrow Xu” movement in August, also appeared on the

32. “Lishi xuanpanle Wang Gao fangeming jituan sixing”, p. 3.

33. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian gesheng jundui ganbu difang ganbu he hongweibing shi de jianghua” (Central Leaders’ Speeches in a Meeting with Military Officers, Local Cadres and Red Guards from Various Provinces), 26 September 1967, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

34. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fujing daibiaotuan de jianghua” (Central Leaders’ Talks in Meeting with Jiangsu Delegates to the Capital), 28 September 1967, *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

35. Wang Yan, *Bandang shi chengchen*, p. 91.

rostrum with “revolutionary officials” from the provinces.³⁶ An even more ambiguous signal was Xinhua’s coverage of the celebrations in provincial capitals. Where revolutionary committees had yet to be established, the heads of Military Control Committees led the celebrations, but in Nanjing only “mass representatives” were mentioned prominently.³⁷ This made the delegates wonder how strong the backing for Xu Shiyou actually was.

The attitude of the “Central Investigation Group for Jiangsu” also caused confusion. Liu Jinping, the group’s head, told Anti faction rebels that Du Fangping was an “old rebel”. Liu stated that Du’s invitation as delegation vice-head showed that the center still trusted him. Liu further warned the officers loyal to Xu Shiyou that they should pay more attention to achieving unity with their opponents and put less effort into conspiring behind the scenes.³⁸ These actions appear to have been calibrated to signal to both sides that the center was trying to be even-handed. To delegates in the midst of tense negotiations, however, the signals instead created anxiety and confusion.

CONFLICTS WITHIN THE MILITARY DELEGATION

After the rocky start at the Xiyuan Hotel, the Beijing authorities turned their attention to the military negotiations. Realizing that the splits in the military prevented a resolution of the civilian conflicts, they turned to the military side of the problem. Prospects for unity on the military side, however, were equally problematic.

After the National Day celebration, the military “study class” began at the Jingxi Hotel. In order to avoid direct confrontations, which would only exacerbate animosities, Xu Shiyou was excluded from the sessions. At the first session, Du Ping, head of the delegation and head of the Jiangsu Military Control Committee, tried to set a positive example by engaging in self-criticism for errors in “supporting the left”. He admitted to mistakes, but emphasized achievements. Afterwards, he invited delegates to air their views. Du Fangping, who had led the opposition to Xu Shiyou, was the first to stand and challenged his superior by asking: “Who should be blamed for the problems in Jiangsu, the leaders of the Military Region and Military Control Committee, or me? What’s the agenda for this study session? Is the target to be those leaders, or is it me?” Pro-Xu delegates

36. Xinhua she, “Mao Zhuxi tong shoudu wushiwan junmin huandu guoqing” (Chairman Mao and Five Hundred Thousand Soldiers and Citizens of the Capital Celebrate National Day), *Renmin ribao*, 2 October 1967, p. 1.

37. Xinhua she, “Quanguo ge sheng shi zizhiq geming qunzhong he jiefang jun zhizhanyuan longzhong juxing guoqing jihui youxing” (Revolutionary Masses and Military Commanders Solemnly Carry Out Mass Meetings and Parades for National Day), *Renmin ribao*, 3 October 1967, p. 2.

38. “Liu Jinping shiyue jian jiejian Jiangsu gepai ji sheng junguanhui daibiao geci jianghua zhaiyao” (Extracts from Various Meetings of Liu Jinping during October with Representatives from Various Jiangsu Factions and Military Control Committee Personnel), in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

criticized Du's stance, but speakers from his own faction argued in his defense. The meeting ended in disarray, and subsequent sessions prolonged the heated exchanges.³⁹

In mid-October, Jiang Tengjiao, a leading anti-Xu Air Force officer, flew to Beijing to meet with Wang Shaoyuan and other Nanjing Air Force delegates, urging them to support Du Fangping without reservation. The debates became even more heated, and further sessions were suspended. Most of the junior officers in the military delegation were sent to take part in the separate civilian study groups at the Xiyuan Hotel, while only Du Fangping and nine of his opponents remained at the Jingxi Hotel. This was an effort to isolate Du and force him to submit.⁴⁰ Because Du's fate was directly connected to their own, the Air Force officers did not relent; they urged Du to persevere in his demand that the Nanjing military make a more thorough self-criticism. Next, Wang Shaoyuan met secretly with Pro faction rebel leaders at Beijing's Air Force guest house and had them draft a summary indictment of the military's actions in Jiangsu, which was handed over to central officials.⁴¹ Allies in the Nanjing military were asked to compile evidence about the arrest of rebels by martial law forces in February and March, including documentation of torture and personal arrest orders signed by Xu Shiyou. Armed with this material, a 21-member delegation of military officers who had earlier been demoted and transferred for supporting the Pro faction arrived in Beijing in mid-November. They contacted Zhou Enlai and got his permission to stay in Beijing.⁴² These developments sparked rumors that Xu Shiyou might be transferred to a post in Beijing, something that would remove him from further direct involvement in Nanjing politics, and in itself might signal that he bore responsibility for the recent conflicts.⁴³

REVERBERATIONS IN NANJING

The rival coalitions in Nanjing paid close attention to the Beijing negotiations, and pushed to expand their local influence in the hope of shaping outcomes in

39. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, pp. 87–88.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 90–91.

41. “Lishi xuanpanle Wang Gao fangeming jituan sixing”, p. 3.

42. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fujing daibiaotuan de jianghua” (Central Leaders’ Talks with Jiangsu Delegates), 18 November 1967, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*; Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, pp. 92–93; Zhao Yuxiang, “Liuying meng” (Dream of the Liuying Barracks), http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_59e060570100af58.html, accessed 18 February 2012; and Ai Hanmei, “Shitou cheng de fenglei” (Stone City Storms), http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_59e060570100as2l.html?type=v5_one&label=rela_nextarticle, accessed 18 February 2012.

43. Li Wenqing, *Jin kan Xu Shiyou, 1967–1985* (Xu Shiyou Up Close, 1967–1986) (Beijing: Jiefang Jun Wenyi Chubanshe, 2002), p. 97; and “Fangeming fenzi Du Fangping de heixian guanxi” (Black Connections of Counter-revolutionary Element Du Fangping), *Dongfanghong zhanbao* (East Is Red Battle News), 14 April 1968, p. 4.

the capital. Through telephone calls, notes and messengers, both sides leaked news about conflicts within the military study class to their civilian colleagues at the Xiyuan Hotel, provoking similar arguments there.⁴⁴ Using the same methods, they also leaked news about the Beijing negotiations to their counterparts back in Nanjing.⁴⁵ From late October to December, each faction in Nanjing waged propaganda campaigns designed to support the negotiating positions of their delegates in Beijing. The Anti faction published a special issue of its newspaper to detail the alleged “crimes” of the Pro faction in their campaign against the army during August.⁴⁶ They hurled abuse at Du Fangping as the “black backstage boss” of the Pro faction, charging that he was the “blood-stained executioner” of “counter-revolutionary massacres” committed during the violence of August.⁴⁷ These bizarrely inflated accusations were repeated regularly until the very end of the Beijing negotiations.⁴⁸

In response, the Pro faction argued that Du Fangping was “a resolute revolutionary leftist” and that the Anti faction’s attacks on him were merely an effort to cover up the “crimes” of Xu Shiyou.⁴⁹ The Anti faction’s reference to attacks on Xu Shiyou as the “August Black Wind” contradicted Mao’s statement at the time that “the overall situation is excellent”. They published materials that purported to show secret collusion between Xu and Anti faction leaders, and that demonstrated their responsibility for the violence in August.⁵⁰ The Beijing negotiations,

44. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, pp. 97–98; and Chen Kexing and Luo Shiguo, “Zai yangguang de zhaoyao xia”, p. 1.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–100; interview with Geng Changxian on 1 February 2007; and Geng Changxian, *Yige hongweibing de qinli* (Personal Experiences of a Red Guard), handwritten manuscript.

46. “Zhansheng bayue heifeng shi Mao Zedong sixiang de weida shengli” (Defeating the August Black Wind was a Great Victory for Mao Zedong Thought), *Nanjing ba erqi, bayue heifeng zhuankan* (Nanjing August 27, Special Issue on the August Black Wind), 21 October 1967, p. 1; “Kan, zhe jiu shi Du Fangping de huangjin shidai” (See, This Was Du Fangping’s Golden Age), *ibid.*, p. 1; and “Nanjing zhuanwa chang ‘ba si’ liuxue can’an jishi” (An Account of the “August 4” Massacre at the Nanjing Brick Factory), *ibid.*, p. 3.

47. “Du Fangping shi Jiangsu sheng Nanjing diqu bayue fangeming xuexing da tusha de guizishou” (Du Fangping is the Bloodstained Executioner of the Counter-revolutionary August Massacres in the Nanjing Region of Jiangsu Province), *Nanjing ba erqi, bayue heifeng zhuankan*, 21 October 1967, p. 5.

48. “Sanyue wuri yihou Du Fangping shi ruhe duikang Mao Zhuxi geming luxian de” (How Du Fangping Opposed Chairman Mao’s Revolutionary Line After March 5), *Xinghuo liaoyuan*, 1 November 1967, p. 3; “Lun Nanjing bayue fan Xu niliu de youlai he shizhi” (On the Origins and Nature of the August “Oppose Xu” Countercurrent in Nanjing), *Culian zhanbao* (Promoting Alliance Battle News), 7 November 1967, p. 1; “Bayue heifeng de yaohai shi cuanjun” (The Crux of the August Black Wind was to Usurp the Army), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 25 November 1967, p. 1; “Lun Nanjing de bayue xingshi” (On Nanjing’s Situation in August), *Jiangsu dongfanghong* (Jiangsu East Is Red), 8 December 1967, p. 1; and “Jiujing zenyang kandai Nanjing de bayue xingshi” (Exactly How We Should View Nanjing’s August Situation), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 16 December 1967, p. 2.

49. “‘Dadao Du Fangping’ de yaohai shi wei junguanhui de fangxiang luxian cuowu kaituo zeren” (The Essence of ‘Overthrow Du Fangping’ Is to Shirk Responsibility for the Military Control Committee’s Errors of Orientation and Line), *Jinggangshan* (Jinggang Mountain), 4 November 1967, p. 2.

50. “Jianjue fensui fandong de ‘bayue heifeng’ lun” (Resolutely Smash the Reactionary Theory of the “August Black Wind”), *Nongnu ji* (Halberd of the Serfs), 7 November 1967, p. 2; “Chedi pipan fandong de Nanjing ‘Bayue heifeng’ lun” (Thoroughly Criticize the Reactionary Theory of the Nanjing “August Black Wind”), *Jinggangshan*, 25 November 1967, p. 3; “Fandong de ‘bayue heifeng’ lun keyi xiuyi” (What

designed to reconcile the factions, instead intensified their competition to a fever pitch.

In retrospect it was clear that the negotiations could make no progress so long as the center made no decision about the relative responsibility of Xu Shiyou and Du Fangping for the Nanjing violence, and so long as the fate of these two key figures was not settled. Ultimately, Mao himself would have to make the call, but for the time being he did not do so. Zhang Chunqiao could offer little but vague blandishments about self-criticism, and Zhou Enlai could do no better.⁵¹ On 18 November Zhou Enlai, accompanied by Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and Yu Lijin (余立金),⁵² met with the Jiangsu delegation at the Great Hall of the People. Zhou simply repeated incantations about “criticism and self-criticism”, saying nothing about Xu Shiyou or Du Fangping.⁵³

At a meeting with the military delegates on 5 December co-chaired with Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng urged, “If you can’t reach agreement about an alliance, at least agree to halt armed conflicts!” Zhou and Kang reiterated the center’s policy of protecting Xu Shiyou: “The Chairman and Vice-Chairman Lin (Biao) have both said that he is a member of Chairman Mao’s headquarters”, and “He’s short-tempered and has made a few erroneous statements, but has learned his lesson . . . we dare to stand up and protect him because we see his political integrity”. They did not address the most controversial issue, the question of Du Fangping.⁵⁴ On 8 December, Zhou met with the civilian delegation, along with representatives from the CCRG and Central Military Commission, and urged them once again in vague terms to “fight selfishness, repudiate revisionism”, “carry out a great alliance” and “liberate cadres, develop a positive trend”.⁵⁵

On 14 December, Zhou and Kang tried another tactic. They proposed that the delegations negotiate separately by city and by occupation, with workers and students in each city forging their own alliance.⁵⁶ Zhou urged them, “Splitting into two factions for no good reason! You’re all rebels—some are more advanced,

Reactionary Nonsense This Theory “August Black Wind” Is), *Jinggangshan*, 25 November 1967, p. 3; and “Cong Nanda ba erqi de shengming kan suowei de ‘bayue heifeng’” (From the Statements of Nanda’s August 27 We Can See the So-Called “August Black Wind”), *Jinggangshan*, 25 November 1967, p. 3.

51. “Zhang Chunqiao zai Jiangsu jundui ganbu huiyishang de jianghua” (Zhang Chunqiao’s Speech at a Meeting with Jiangsu Military Officials), 4 November 1967, *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

52. Yu Lijin was political commissar of the PLA Air Force, and had previously been political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region Air Force.

53. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fujing daibiaotuan de jianghua”, 18 November 1967, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

54. “Zhongyang shouzhang dui Nanjing junqu he zhu Jiangsu budui fu jing ren yuan de zhishi” (Central Leaders’ Instructions to Delegates to the Capital from the Nanjing Military Region and Troops Stationed in Jiangsu), 5 December 1967, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

55. *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, p. 103.

56. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fu jing daibiaotuan de jianghua” (Central Leaders’ Talks in Meeting with the Jiangsu Delegation to the Capital), 14 December 1967, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

some less so, but that can always change! Some of you were a bit more correct on one issue, others were a bit more correct on another . . . Carry out the Chairman's latest instructions . . . Accomplishing a revolutionary great alliance is not so hard!" These exhortations failed to resolve the greater issue of Xu Shiyou and Du Fangping, and had little effect.

LATE DECEMBER BREAKTHROUGH

The Beijing negotiations finally achieved a breakthrough in late December. After the military sessions were resumed on 13 December, the delegates argued without end. Those labeled "counter-revolutionaries" by the Military Region leaders circulated files purporting to document Xu Shiyou's "crimes". Xu's supporters renewed their attacks on Du Fangping and the renegade Air Force commanders. After weeks of vociferous arguments, Mao finally came to a decision, relayed to the group near the end of December as his "latest instruction": "Xu Shiyou will not be blown down. Du Ping will not be blown down. The Nanjing Military Region will not be blown down. If Xu committed mistakes, we can ask him to do a self-criticism."⁵⁷

It is likely that Mao's decision was prompted by the deteriorating situation in Changzhou. Changzhou had experienced a series of violent clashes in July, and in August, when the campaign to overthrow Xu Shiyou was in full swing, different army units supported opposite sides in the civilians' factional battles. The 27th Army, which supported Xu, backed the Anti faction, while the Nanjing Air Force Command and the headquarters of the Jiangsu Military District supported the Pro faction. Zhou Enlai had to rush a delegation to Changzhou to negotiate after the 4 September cease-fire agreement, but not until 78 had died in the conflicts and the rail line to Shanghai was blocked for 11 days.⁵⁸

The stalemate in the Beijing negotiations sparked renewed fighting in Changzhou. There were scores of armed battles in the last half of December, disrupting rail traffic once again. The center rushed the 27th Army to Changzhou, but each side still had the support of local army units and their intervention was ineffective. During the first week of January 1968, one faction exchanged fire with the 27th Army, leaving 14 dead, including soldiers in the regular army. The rail line was blocked for two days.⁵⁹

Changzhou was a chokepoint on the railway that connected Shanghai with the rest of China, and central officials obviously feared that the renewal of large scale battles there threatened to spread to other cities. On 28 December,

57. Ai Hanmei, "Shitou cheng de fenglei".

58. *Changzhou shi zhi* (Changzhou City Annals), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1995), p. 1106.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 1107.

Zhou Enlai met with rebels from the national railway system and from Nanjing University. He severely criticized the two Changzhou factions, and made clear that more troops would be sent and that further resistance to them would not be tolerated.⁶⁰ He also relayed instructions from Mao: “The 27th Army has always been a meritorious and outstanding unit, and will make new contributions in the Cultural Revolution”. Zhou immediately ordered the withdrawal of army units from the Jiangsu Military District and the 15th Air Force, which had supported resistance by the civilian factions, by 30 December.⁶¹ He further ordered the 60th Army to restore order along the railway, especially the railroad at the ferry across the Yangzi River, which linked Shanghai with northern China. Zhou then announced that the 60th Army would take over the university’s campus.⁶²

The 28 December session made clear that Mao had finally decided to use Xu Shiyou’s forces to restore order. The next step was to relay Mao’s instructions about Xu Shiyou and to get the Nanjing Military Region to write a self-criticism. Du Ping and his aides drafted one, admitting that they had committed errors of orientation and line: they had wrongly suppressed certain mass organizations in March, taking revenge on rebels within the army who opposed Xu Shiyou.⁶³ When Xu Shiyou saw the draft, he refused to read it all the way through and said that the criticism went too far. Zhang Chunqiao, political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region, refused to approve the draft, because he thought it minimized the army’s errors. This was good enough for Zhou Enlai, who quickly approved a slightly revised version that was submitted to the center on 6 January.⁶⁴ On 26 January it was released to the entire Jiangsu delegation, along with a comment drafted by Zhou on behalf of the Party center, saying that the leaders of the Nanjing Military Region always had the trust of the center, and were always loyal to Chairman Mao; although they had made mistakes, these had been corrected or were being corrected.⁶⁵ It was now clear that the verdict on Xu Shiyou was settled: although he had made certain errors, they were not severe enough to merit his removal.

60. “Zhou Enlai jiejian tielu yunshu xitong zaofan pai he junguanhui daibiao yiji Nanjing daxue liangpai daibiao de jianghua” (Zhou Enlai’s Talks with Rebels from the Railway Freight Network, Military Control Committee Representatives, and Representatives from the Two Factions at Nanjing University), 28 December 1967, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

61. Wang Yan, *Bandang shi chengchen*, p. 108.

62. “Zhou Enlai’s Talks”, 28 December 1967.

63. Zhao Yuxiang, “Liuying meng”, and Ai Hanmei, “Shitou cheng de fenglei”.

64. Zhao Yuxiang, “Liuying meng”, and Li Wenqing, *Xu Shiyou*, pp. 102–03.

65. “Zhonggong zhongyang, guowuyuan, zhongyang junwei, zhongyang wen’ge dui Nanjing junqu dangwei ‘jiantao baogao’ de pishi” (Comments of the CCP Center, State Council, Central Military Commission and Central Cultural Revolution Group on the ‘Self-Criticism Report’ of the Nanjing Military Region Party Committee), 26 January 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

BREAKING UP OPPOSITION TO XU SHIYOU

It was now time to curtail opposition to Xu Shiyou, starting with the armed forces. Zhou Enlai phoned the leaders of the Anti faction on 4 January and told them to halt their attacks on Du Fangping because it was an internal army issue.⁶⁶ The same day he phoned Du Ping and told him to resolve the question of Du Fangping's responsibility for the violence of August as soon as possible, hinting that he might be sacrificed to resolve local conflicts.⁶⁷ Zhou then met with the army officers who had come to Beijing to protest against the verdicts handed to them earlier by Xu Shiyou, and he agreed to overturn the verdicts if they dropped their attacks on Xu.⁶⁸ Rumors circulated that Zhou was considering promotions to posts in Beijing for the dissident Air Force commanders, thereby moving them out from under Xu Shiyou's sphere of authority.⁶⁹ The rumors helped to weaken support in the armed forces for the civilian Pro faction.⁷⁰

The Pro faction now had to be weakened. In mid-December, Zhou Enlai instructed Pro faction rebel leaders who were still in Nanjing to come to Beijing. This served to undermine continuing resistance to the Military Control Committee.⁷¹ After their departure, the faction's lower-ranking leaders in factories and universities signaled a willingness to drop hostilities.⁷² On 7 January, in response to the battles in Changzhou, Zhou sent an order that called for the two factions to lay down all their arms, repudiate the "bad leaders" on each side who had instigated the fighting, and not to resist the armed forces sent to secure the railways.⁷³ On 10 January, the three major Shanghai newspapers reinforced this message by calling the Changzhou battles a "counter-revolutionary incident", and blamed them on officials who had sided with one rebel faction and challenged the 27th Army.⁷⁴ This was a clear signal to stubborn Pro faction rebels that any resistance to central directives would henceforth be considered "counter-revolution". On 17 January, Zhou Enlai and Kang Sheng met with a delegation from Zhenjiang, where anti-Xu

66. "Nanjing fengyun" (Nanjing Storms), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 14 January 1968, p. 2; and Chen Kexing and Luo Shiguo, "Zai yangguang de zhaoyao xia", p. 1.

67. "Nanjing fengyun", *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 14 January 1968, p. 2.

68. Zhao Yuxiang, "Liuying meng", and Ai Hanmei, "Shitou cheng de fenglei".

69. "Jianjue dadao Yang Yu Fu fandang jituan hei ganjiang Jiang Tengjiao" (Resolutely Overthrow Jiang Tengjiao, Black Servant of the Yang-Yu-Fu Antiparty Clique), *Xinghuo liaoyuan*, 14 June 1968, p. 4; and "Jianjue dadao Jiang Tengjiao" (Resolutely Overthrow Jiang Tengjiao), *Jiangsu hongweibing*, 27 June 1968, p. 2.

70. "Dadao fangeming fenlie zhuyi" (Overthrow Counter-revolutionary Splittism), *Jiangsu hongweibing*, 12 April 1968, p. 3.

71. Interview with Ge Zhonglong, 14 April 2007, and Geng Changxian, *Yige hongweibing de qinli*.

72. "Lishi xuanpanle Wang Gao fangeming jituan sixing", p. 1, and *Nanjing "wenhua da geming" dashiji*, p. 104.

73. *Changzhou shi zhi*, Vol. 3, p. 1107.

74. "Wuchan jieji geming pai, lianheqilai" (Proletarian Revolutionaries, Unite!), *Wenhui bao* (Wenhui Daily), 10 January 1968, p. 1; "Relie huanying Shanghai san bao bianjibu zhongyao wenzhang fabiao" (Warmly Welcome the Important Essay Issued by the Editorial Department of Three Shanghai Newspapers), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 16 January 1968, p. 2; and *Changzhou shi zhi*, Vol. 3, p. 1111.

armed forces from the Jiangsu Military District held sway, and criticized their leaders severely, demanding that they obey the Party center and correct their errors.⁷⁵

These events signaled that the center had come down firmly behind Xu Shiyou. The Anti faction took the initiative, praising the Shanghai newspapers and expanding their criticisms of the anti-Xu military officers.⁷⁶ They published lists naming several dozen senior civil and military officials as “black hands” behind the attacks on Xu.⁷⁷ The leaders of the Pro faction now realized that there was no alternative but to retreat.⁷⁸ They published their own denunciations of the officials blamed for the Changzhou events, calling them “traitors”, “foreign agents” and “historical counter-revolutionaries”.⁷⁹

In a final effort to end debate about who was to blame for the violence in Jiangsu, Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng and other central leaders met with all the participants in the military and civilian delegations (without Xu Shiyou) on 28 January 1968. Zhou Enlai said: “Our Supreme Commander Chairman Mao has appointed Comrade Xu Shiyou as the region’s military commander; we must affirm that he is a good comrade who has been tested through long years of warfare . . . only for a short period this past year, due to lack of experience, lack of familiarity with work among the masses, not like past years of fighting wars . . . he could not avoid a mistaken stand, and for a period took a stand with one side against another, and committed errors”. However, Zhou continued, somewhat disingenuously, “The Nanjing Military Region’s self-criticism has been read by Comrade Xu Shiyou and Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, and they both agree with it. The Party center considers the attitude expressed in the report to be good and sincere . . . we agree with this self-criticism, and you should welcome it.”⁸⁰

75. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian zhu Jiangsu budui he Zhenjiang shi daibiao de jianghua” (Speeches by Central Leaders in Meeting with Troops Stationed in Jiangsu and Representatives from Zhenjiang), 17 January 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

76. “Lianheqilai, jiuchu heishou!” (Unite, Drag Out the Black Hands!), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 16 January 1968, p. 1; “Ba fangeming zuzhi ‘laoren chuanlianhui’ jiuchulai shizhong!” (Drag out the Counter-revolutionary Organization “Old Timers’ Association” for the Masses to See!), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 16 January 1968, p. 3; and “Wuchan jieji geming pai lianheqilai, zalan Chen, Bao, Zhang xianxing fangeming jituan” (Proletarian Revolutionaries Unite, Smash the Chen-Bao-Zhang Clique of Active Counter-revolutionaries), *Liu yisan zhanbao* (June 13 Battle News), 28 January 1968, p. 4.

77. “Jiangsu diyi pi heishou mingdan” (Name List of First Group of Jiangsu Black Hands), and “Jiangsu di'er pi heishou mingdan” (Name List of Second Group of Jiangsu Black Hands), *Nanjing ba erqi, bayue heifeng zhuanke*, 30 January 1968, p. 4.

78. Geng Changxian, *Yige hongweibing de qinli*, and interview with Geng Changxian on 1 February 2007.

79. “Guanyu xianxing fangeming fenzi Bao Houchang zhengzhi lishi wenti de diaocha baogao” (Investigation Report on the Problematic Political History of Active Counter-revolutionary Element Bao Houchang), *Nongnu ji*, 25 January 1968, p. 3; “Guanyu Chen Yang yinman panbian geming qingkuang hunru dangnei de diaocha baogao” (Investigation Report on Chen Yang’s Secret Betrayal of the Revolution and Infiltration of the Party), *Nongnu ji*, 25 January 1968; and “Guanyu da pantu Li Shiyong de diaocha baogao” (Investigation Report on the Big Traitor Li Shiyong), *Nongnu ji*, 25 January 1968, p. 4.

80. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fujing daibiaotuan de jianghua” (Central Leaders’ Speeches in Meeting with Jiangsu Representatives in the Capital), 28 January 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

This settled Xu Shiyou's status, but the climax of the meeting was the surprise announcement that two officials, one from each side, were "black hands" who instigated factional violence behind the scenes and made the "great alliance" impossible. On the Pro faction side, Du Fangping, Xu Shiyou's leading military opponent, was blamed, while Gao Xiaoping (高啸平), the highest ranking civilian cadre who had been aligned with the Anti faction throughout 1967, would take the fall for the Anti faction. When Du Fangping's name was called out as a "black hand", he stood up several times in an effort to speak, but he was shouted down. Jiang Qing yelled, "Don't try to explain!"; Zhou shouted, "Go back and write your self-criticism!"; Kang Sheng declared, "Now the Pro faction can clearly see Du Fangping's duplicity; he conspired with Lin Jie to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution Group, the Military Region and Xu Shiyou . . . the reason that you two factions can't form an alliance is Du Fangping". Zhou and Kang instructed the delegation to unite in denouncing these two "black hands" when they returned home. This seemed to suggest that no one else in Jiangsu would be blamed for events except these two high-profile scapegoats. The audience responded with unanimous support, and an obvious sense of relief.⁸¹ On 30 January, the Chinese New Year, the delegation flew back to Nanjing.

TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

After four months of contentious negotiations and intensifying factional strife, central officials were finally able to forge a compromise that permitted them to move to the next stage: the formation of a revolutionary committee and the re-establishment of a regional government. On the surface, the two sides appeared to have fought to a draw, but in fact Xu Shiyou's opponents won only a temporary reprieve for their many months of violent resistance to martial law forces under his command. After Xu consolidated his power, they would pay dearly for their earlier stance. He asserted his authority gradually, through several measured steps.

First, the armed forces curtailed the ability of mass organizations to coordinate across occupations and work units. According to the Beijing agreement, during February a series of separate occupational "alliances" (*lianwei hui* 联委会) were formed—for workers, college students, high school students, cadres and peasants.⁸² This effectively cut off cross-occupational alliances which had typified factions. Next, the army dispatched soldiers to factories, neighborhoods, offices and rural communes to organize "study classes", which forced all activists back into their work units, blocking political activities across units. There were reportedly

81. "Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fujing daibiaotuan de jianghua", 28 January 1968.

82. Nanjing "wenhua da geming" dashiji, p. 107.

more than 13,000 study classes in operation by March in Nanjing alone, with more than 780,000 participants.⁸³ At Nanjing University, the seedbed for the two major antagonistic factions, there were 501 study classes.⁸⁴

Second, Du Fangping and his allies were expelled from the Jiangsu Military Control Committee in February. New members were added, all of whom were Xu Shiyou loyalists from the Nanjing Military Region headquarters and the 27th and 60th Armies. The leading groups of lower-level military control committees were similarly purged.⁸⁵ A Garrison Command was formed in Nanjing, charged with disarming mass factions and suppressing armed battles. It, too, was staffed with Xu loyalists.⁸⁶

Third, a series of huge public struggle sessions was organized against Du Fangping in February, during which he was criticized and physically abused on stage.⁸⁷ Du had supported the Pro faction in its confrontation with Xu Shiyou in August, confident in the backstage expressions of support from figures in the CCRG. His backers in Beijing, however, were purged for inciting attacks on the army, leaving Du vulnerable. Now he was to pay for his involvement in the shifting tides of Beijing's factional politics. The struggle sessions against him were coordinated with a propaganda campaign waged by the Anti faction to demonize civilian leaders in the Pro faction.⁸⁸ This demonstrated further that continued resistance to Xu was futile.

As he started to enforce his authority, Xu Shiyou adopted a conciliatory public pose toward his erstwhile tormentors. Shortly after the 28 January decision, he flew to Shanghai to repair his relationship with Zhang Chunqiao and the Shanghai leadership, who had supported his opponents in 1967 whenever the political winds from Beijing made this possible. His diplomatic efforts helped put these potential enemies at ease.⁸⁹ In Nanjing, Xu adopted a similarly conciliatory public attitude with regard to former rebel opponents. At one meeting, when Pro faction leaders began to engage in self-criticisms for their "errors" during the summer of 1967, Xu cut them off and said that everyone should unite to criticize

83. "Shicheng neiwai yipian hong" (Nanjing is a Sea of Red), *Xin Nanda*, 23 March 1968, p. 2.

84. "Quanmian luoshi Mao Zhuxi yi xilie zuixin zhishi, Wo xiao chuxian yipai shengji bobo de geming jingxiang" (Thoroughly Implementing Chairman Mao's Latest Series of Instructions, Our School Becomes a Gleaming Fountain of Revolutionary Energy), *Xin Nanda*, 13 March 1968, p. 3.

85. "Nanjing xiaoxi" (Nanjing News), *Ba erqi zhanbao*, 29 February 1968, p. 4.

86. *Nanjing "wenhua da geming" dashiji*, p. 108.

87. "Nanjing xiaoxi", p. 4, and Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, pp. 105–07.

88. *Nanjing "wenhua da geming" dashiji*, p. 108.

89. Li Wenqing, *Xu Shiyou*, p. 105; and Xing Wenju, "Wei 'zhongyang wenge' zuo jizhe de rizi (xia)" (My Days as a Reporter for the "Central Cultural Revolution Group", pt. 2), *Lao zhaopian* (Old Photographs), No. 60 (August 2008), p. 6. Xing Wenju was a reporter stationed by the CCRG in Nanjing to report on events in the city in 1966. Although he helped to organize the January power seizure, he eventually supported the Anti faction in 1967.

the “black hands” condemned in the 28 January decision.⁹⁰ To prevent the recurrence of conflict with the Air Force command, Xu ordered that struggle sessions against Du Fangping must never mention any of Du’s allies in the Air Force.⁹¹

Negotiations for membership in the provincial Revolutionary Committee were carried out in this context. In February, a new delegation of military officers, rebel leaders and “revolutionary cadres” was sent to Beijing. Du Ping, head of the Jiangsu Military Control Committee, once again served as delegation leader. To smooth the process, this time the “mass representatives” were the more pliable top leaders and a new group of second-rank leaders who were likely to be less stubborn. The top leaders of the Pro and Anti factions, such as Wen Fenglai (文凤来) and Zeng Bangyuan (曾邦元), were isolated in a “study class” held at a guest house run by the Nanjing Military Region, thereby cutting off these influential leaders from the negotiations in Beijing.⁹²

The Nanjing Military Region, with input from the Anti faction, nominated a list of “revolutionary cadres” from among the pre-Cultural Revolution leaders of the province. The three most important were Zhang Zhongliang (张仲良), Xu Jiatusun (许家屯) and Peng Chong (彭冲), all former members of the provincial Party secretariat. All three were appointed by the Provincial Party Committee to lead the Cultural Revolution in 1966, and they were among the first to fall from power as the rebel movement gained force. Because they fell so early, they were uninvolved in the political struggles of 1967, considered “dead tigers” and ineligible for inclusion in either mass faction. Ironically, this made them more palatable as compromise candidates as the Jiangsu conflicts neared a resolution, and they gladly wrote extensive self-criticisms of their errors committed in dealing with the rebel movement in 1966 and long denunciations of Jiang Weiqing (江渭清), formerly the top Party official in Jiangsu.⁹³

There was not much for the delegates to negotiate. The center had already made clear that Xu Shiyou would be Jiangsu’s top official, so the only real question was which former Jiangsu leaders would be designated as “revolutionary cadres” and assume important posts. Several senior Party officials who had aligned themselves with the Pro faction throughout 1967 were excluded from the list submitted to Beijing;⁹⁴ the only role that the Pro faction delegates could play in the negotiations was to try to block the appointment of officials whom

90. “Xu Shiyou Wu Dasheng jiejian Nanjing dazhuan yuanxiao qunzhong zuzhi fuze ren shi de tanhua” (Talks by Xu Shiyou and Wu Dasheng with the Leaders of Mass Organizations from Nanjing Universities), 15 February 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*; and Li Wenqing, *Xu Shiyou*, p. 105.

91. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 107.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 108, 111–12, and interview with Ge Zhonglong, who was a member of the delegation.

93. “Guanyu zhichi Zhang Zhongliang tongzhi zhanchulai geming de shengming” (On Supporting the Declaration of Zhang Zhongliang to Stand Up for Revolution), *Xinghuo liaoyuan*, 28 February 1968, p. 1; “Jiefang Xu Jiatusun” (Liberate Xu Jiatusun), *ibid.*; and “Jiefang Peng Chong” (Liberate Peng Chong), *Xinghuo liaoyuan*, 9 March 1968, p. 3.

94. Li Wenqing, *Xu Shiyou*, p. 112.

they sensed to be ill-disposed towards them. When Xu Jiatur became known as a military nominee, the Pro faction released a number of “investigation reports” that accused him of misdeeds while conducting underground Party work before 1949 and of inciting factional conflicts among mass organizations in 1966. This apparently scuttled the nomination, because his candidacy was soon withdrawn. The Pro faction played a similar role in heading off the candidacy of Liang Jiqing, an official in the Nanjing Military Region whom Xu Shiyu had nominated as a vice-head. Similar accusations were aired in an “investigation file”, and Liang’s candidacy was also halted.⁹⁵ Peng Chong, considered relatively neutral in factional matters, survived the vetting process to become vice-head of the new Revolutionary Committee as the sole representative of the senior cadres.⁹⁶

These maneuvers did not delay the delegation’s work. On 18 March they submitted their report to the center. The new body would total 165 members, with 10 yet to be named. There were a total of 95 “mass representatives” on the list, and 30 each from among the armed forces and “revolutionary leading cadres”.⁹⁷ The membership appeared to have a preponderance of “mass” representatives, but membership in this body was largely ceremonial. The committee as a whole would not meet regularly, but the Standing Committee would meet more frequently and the leading core group (head and vice-heads) exercised real power (similar to the Politburo and its Standing Committee). Army officers comprised only 18 per cent of the membership of the Revolutionary Committee, but they monopolized key leadership positions. Xu Shiyu was the head, and all 4 vice-heads except Peng Chong were also army officers. The heads of the Staff Office, Political Section, Production Section and Security Section were all military officers and Xu loyalists. Not a single rebel leader was appointed vice-head. Wen Fenglai and Zeng Bangyuan, the most prominent leaders of the Pro and Anti factions, respectively, were both appointed to the 39-member Standing Committee, but neither held positions of real authority. Wen was deputy director of the Education Group, and Zeng deputy director of the Propaganda Group.⁹⁸

On 20 March, Beijing approved the final list; the next day Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan, Xie Fuzhi, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun,

95. Li Wenqing, *Xu Shiyu*, pp. 112–13.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13, and interview with Lu Xuezhi on 28 February 2008. Lu was a leader of a rebel faction of workers in the Pro faction who participated in these meetings.

97. “Zhonggong zhongyang, guowuyuan, zhongyang junwei, zhongyang wen’ge guanyu chengli Jiangsu sheng geming weiyuanhui de pishi” (Instructions of the CCP Center, State Council, Central Military Commission and Central Cultural Revolution Group on the Establishment of the Jiangsu Province Revolutionary Committee), 20 March 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

98. “Zhonggong zhongyang, guowuyuan, zhongyang junwei, zhongyang wen’ge guanyu chengli Jiangsu sheng geming weiyuanhui de pishi”, and “Jiangsu sheng geming weiyuanhui weiyuan mingdan” (Membership List of the Jiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee), *Geming gongren bao*, 28 March 1968, p. 2, and interviews with Geng Changxian on 1 February 2007, Ge Zhonglong on 14 April 2007, and Zeng Bangyuan on 29 December 2007.

Wang Dongxing and other central leaders met with Xu Shiyou, and the entire Jiangsu delegation announced their approval.⁹⁹ The delegation flew back to Nanjing for a huge rally on 23 March at the Drum Tower Square in the city center, and Zhang Chunqiao gave the keynote speech on behalf of the center.¹⁰⁰ This was the 17th Revolutionary Committee to be certified nationwide—the central authorities still had a dozen difficult negotiations to complete. The *People's Daily* hailed the event as “another great victory for Mao Zedong Thought”.¹⁰¹

FACTIONAL RESISTANCE

The establishment of the Revolutionary Committee did not end factional conflicts in Jiangsu. It simply pushed them down to individual offices, factories and schools. Xu Shiyou and his military subordinates continued to work to quell opposition, of which there was plenty after more than a year of violent factional struggle. Those who played an active role in the Anti-Xu movement of August 1967 bore the brunt of these efforts.

Rebel leaders still had to be mollified. Those who had been offered Revolutionary Committee membership realized that their positions were purely honorary. Their dissatisfaction was heightened after the Revolutionary Committee sent a delegation to visit Shanghai in May 1968 to learn from their model experience. Former rebels from both factions openly praised Shanghai when they returned to Jiangsu. Unlike their own province, former rebels in Shanghai (most notably Wang Hongwen) clearly played important roles.¹⁰² Members from the former Pro faction were even more dissatisfied because they realized that the criticism campaign in their work units known as “struggle, criticize, transform” was biased against them. When they returned to their work units, they frequently had to fight for survival.

One flashpoint was a criticism campaign that targeted the three Air Force officers who had led the opposition to Xu Shiyou. In late March, Beijing denounced an allegedly traitorous clique of military officials—Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin and Fu Chongbi (傅崇碧).¹⁰³ In April, the Nanjing authorities seized this opportunity to go after the Air Force officers as alleged co-conspirators (Yu Lijin had previously headed the Nanjing Air Force Command), and the center suspended them

99. “Zhongyang shouzhang jiejian Jiangsu fu jing huibao daibiao tuan ji Jiangsu zai jing xuexi ban de jianghua” (Central Leaders’ Talks with Members of the Jiangsu Report Delegation to the Capital and the Jiangsu Study Class in the Capital), 21 March 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

100. *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, p. 111.

101. “Tianfan difu kai'er kang—relie huanhu Jiangsu sheng geming weiyuanhui chengli” (Deep Outrage that Moved Heaven and Earth: Enthusiastic Welcome for the Establishment of the Jiangsu Revolutionary Committee), 25 March 1968, *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

102. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 115. These impressions of the Shanghai model are consistent with Elizabeth J. Perry and Li Xun, *Proletarian Power*, pp. 145–71.

103. Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 236–37.

pending investigation.¹⁰⁴ Members of the former Pro faction realized that, if this trend continued, they were likely to be dragged down in the “Cleansing of the Class Ranks” campaign, which was getting underway in work units.

These struggles occasionally bred violent clashes. From April to July 1968, there were five major skirmishes in Nanjing.¹⁰⁵ Because cross-occupation organization had been eliminated, the factional clashes were bottled up within work units, unlike the street battles in the past. The first such confrontation was in the Nanjing Radio Academy on 23 April, a Pro faction stronghold. When the campaign against the Air Force officers was announced, Pro faction activists put up wall posters questioning the charges. When Anti faction rebels tried to stop them, a brawl ensued and one of the Anti faction activists was wounded. Troops sent to arrest the culprits met resistance, Pro faction activists from nearby units rushed to the school to reinforce their allies, and a furious battle broke out. The Revolutionary Committee had to mediate the conflict through Geng Changxian (耿昌贤), a Pro faction rebel on the Revolutionary Committee.¹⁰⁶ A similar clash between former Pro and Anti faction activists occurred on 4 May at a military-run manufacturing plant (Nanjing Factory 3503), leading to the dispatch of troops to the scene. This, in turn, led the factory’s Pro faction activists to stage a demonstration at the Revolutionary Committee headquarters.¹⁰⁷ Similar incidents broke out into early July, with one resulting in the death of a student.¹⁰⁸

A less violent expression of factional strife was a brief criticism campaign mounted by leaders from the Pro camp. A group circulated strident criticisms of several of the civilian cadres who had joined the Revolutionary Committee, claiming that they were “capitalist roaders” and “backstage bosses” of various conspiracies. In turn, the dissidents were denounced by former Anti activists, who charged that this was a reactionary attack on newborn revolutionary authority.¹⁰⁹ In June, a Pro faction group at Nanjing University, encouraged by their former leaders Wen Fenglai and Zhang Jianshan (张建山), put up a wall poster charging that the campaign against the Air Force officers was a deviation from the main orientation of the class struggle, and an effort to knock down one mass faction under the guise of

104. *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, p. 114.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–24.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 114, and Geng Changxian, *Yige hongweibing de qinli*.

107. *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, p. 115.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–22, and Jiangsu sheng shuili ting ba erqi zhihui “zhuo pachong zhanlian”, “‘110 zhanlian’ haishi fang laoshi yidian!” (“110 Battalion” Would Be Wise Not to Become Our Enemy!), handbill, 22 May 1968.

109. Nanjing ba erqi geming chuanlianhui gongren jiedai zhan 328 budui, “Zhe yang pinming de jieguo biding songming—yiping xin gongzong 110 zhanlian ‘pinming’ dazibao” (This Kind of Desperate Result is Surely Doomed—A Critique of the Workers’ New Headquarters 110 Battalion’s “Desperate” Wallposter), handbill, May 1968; Nanjing ba erqi gongren geming chuanlianhui 924 budui, “Zhen jia jiu ‘Wang, Gao’” (Drag Out “Wang-Gao”, True or False), handbill, 23 May 1968; and Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 112.

criticizing the Air Force commanders.¹¹⁰ The wall poster was denounced by Anti faction activists as an attempt to overturn cases against reactionaries, and as an attack on Xu Shiyou and Mao's "proletarian headquarters."¹¹¹ The debate penetrated a joint conference of the provincial and municipal Revolutionary Committees in mid-June when Wen Fenglai repeated the criticisms of "restorationist" tendencies and the suppression of rebels. Loyal military officers responded vigorously, and a debate raged throughout the conference's three days.¹¹² The complaints continued into the summer as Pro faction activists continued to protest that the new organs of power were simply a means for their suppression.¹¹³

This chronic low-grade conflict persisted, frustrating military authorities, who could only organize additional "study classes". In a talk in August, Xu Shiyou complained that more than 1.5 million "study classes" had been organized to little effect, and that the "great alliance" seemed on the verge of falling apart.¹¹⁴ One of his subordinates complained that, in this atmosphere of grass-roots factionalism, every instruction from the provincial or municipal authorities was misinterpreted and resisted by factional leaders in work units.¹¹⁵ Although street battles had ended, the Revolutionary Committee's authority at the grass roots was still tenuous.

TIGHTENING THE VICE

On 3 and 24 July, the central authorities issued two strongly worded directives authorizing stern measures against continuing factional warfare in Guangxi and Shaanxi, and Mao made similarly threatening statements in the transcript of his meeting with five leading Red Guards in the nation's capital at the end of July. Xu Shiyou seized on this opportunity to adopt harsher measures against dissent. At the end of July the provincial and municipal Revolutionary Committees organized a "study class" for Nanjing's rebel leaders. Xu Shiyou came to the 9 August session, and gave a speech severely criticizing Pro faction leaders Wen Fenglai, Zhang Jianshan, Zhu Kaidi (朱开地) and Lu Xuezhi (鲁学智). He charged that their dissent was a "struggle between two lines", and proposed that they be sent

110. "Cong Jiang, Chen kaidao, zhi dao Liu Deng hei silingbu" (Make Jiang and Chen the First Target to Disrupt the Black Liu-Deng Headquarters), *Xin Nanda*, 22 June 1968, p. 3.

111. Wei Dongping, "'Reng conrong' wei shei zhaohun" ("Remain Calm" and Resurrect Whom?), *Jiangsu hongweibing*, 13 June 1968, p. 2; "Bixu cong Wang, Gao kai dao" (We Must Strike First at Wang and Gao), *Xin Nanda*, 22 June 1968, p. 3.

112. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, pp. 112-13.

113. "Yi wo wei zongxin' lun de yaohai shi paoda wuchan jieji silingbu" (The Crux of "I Am the Center" Is to Bombard the Proletarian Headquarters), *Xin Nanda*, 8 August 1968, p. 3.

114. "Xu Shiyou zai Jiangsu sheng shouci huoxue huoyong Mao Zedong sixiang jingyan jiaoliuhui shang de jianghua" (Xu Shiyou's Speech to the First Jiangsu Province Conference on the Living Application of Mao Zedong Thought), *Xin Nanda*, 8 August 1968, p. 1.

115. Yuan Gang, *Fengyu ba nian*, p. 113.

back to their work units for criticism by the masses.¹¹⁶ The next day, in an effort to demonstrate a clean break with their erstwhile commanders, a group affiliated with the Pro faction at Nanjing University denounced Wen Fenglai and Zhang Jianshan as “rotten bosses”.¹¹⁷

On 13 August the army convened a conference of all provincial and municipal Revolutionary Committee members and top leaders of the large mass organizations. The agenda: to “unite the broad masses to open merciless fire on the enemy, and smash the counter-revolutionary adverse current of opposition to the provincial and municipal Revolutionary Committee”. One officer charged that there were “two headquarters” within the Revolutionary Committees, and Wen Fenglai and Zhu Kaidi were leaders of the bourgeois headquarters, engaged in secret conspiratorial activities to resist legitimate authority. Two days later the Nanjing authorities convened a “Mao Zedong Thought Study Class” designed to criticize the Pro faction’s opposition to the Revolutionary Committees, with Zhu Kaidi and Lu Xuezhi as the main targets.¹¹⁸ There followed a series of publications denouncing each of the Pro faction leaders and calling for investigations of their crimes and another large conference to denounce them.¹¹⁹

After Beijing ordered “Worker–Soldier Propaganda Teams” into schools and factories, the Nanjing authorities did so as well, and they carried out campaigns that targeted the opposition. In September, separate “congresses” of Red Guards, workers and peasants formally merged all factional organizations and shut down their separate publications.¹²⁰ The authorities’ cause was aided further by the emptying out of the schools. In the second half of 1968, university students were assigned jobs and left Nanjing altogether, and most of the high school and even some junior high students were sent down to the countryside.¹²¹ Among those assigned jobs outside Nanjing were the leaders Zhang Jianshan (to a remote forestry team in Northeast China), Ge Zhonglong (葛忠龙) (to a state farm in Northern Jiangsu) and Geng Changxian (to a state farm in Anhui).¹²² The students and faculty members left behind were soon sent to factories, mines or the countryside for manual labor, and would not return until 1970.

116. “Xu Shiyou zai Jiangsu sheng geming weiyuanhui changweihui shang de jianghua” (Xu Shiyou’s Speech to the Standing Committee of the Jiangsu Province Revolutionary Committee), 9 August 1968, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

117. “Nanjing daxue hong silian ‘chengsheng qianjin’ zhanlian guanyu pidou huai toutou Wen Fenglai, Zhang Jianshan yanzheng shengming” (Solemn Declaration of Nanjing University Red Four Brigade “Follow Up Victory with Hot Pursuit” Battalion on the Struggle Sessions Against Rotten Bosses Wen Fenglai and Zhang Jianshan), *Jiangsu hongweibing*, 15 August 1968, p. 2.

118. *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, pp. 126–27.

119. See *Jiangsu hongweibing*, 15 August 1968, pp. 1–4; and *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, p. 127.

120. *Nanjing “wenhua da geming” dashiji*, p. 127–31.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

122. Interview with Ge Zhonglong, 22 August 2008, and Geng Changxian, *Yige hongweibing de qinli*.

Xu Shiyou also tightened his hold over the armed forces. The campaign against the Air Force officers in April was the first step. Jiang Tengjiao fled to Beijing, where he was protected by Lin Biao, and was appointed to a new post as Party Secretary of the PLA Air Force Political Department.¹²³ Xu then proceeded to remove Jiang's subordinates and other dissidents in the Nanjing Military Region headquarters. From April to December 1968, the Military Region organized four large study classes. The largest one held more than 500 suspect army officers in the Nanjing suburbs, including some of the leading figures in the campaign against Xu in August 1967. The classes were harsh, with severe criticism and physical abuse. News of this treatment of serving army officers apparently caused concern in Beijing, and in January 1969 the Central Military Commission ordered the entire study class transferred to Beijing. After a much less abusive process of self-criticism, most of those targeted were permitted to return to their posts.¹²⁴ In August 1969, in the wake of border clashes with the Soviet Union, the center issued a directive calling for a strengthening of discipline within the army and took a very hard line against factionalism and threats to army unity.¹²⁵ Xu took this opportunity to force the retirement of many of those whom he had earlier tried to eliminate through the study classes.¹²⁶

The final blow against Pro faction dissidents was the "Anti May 16 Elements" campaign, which was launched nationwide in the spring of 1970. The campaign was unusually severe in Jiangsu. Official accounts numbered more than 130,000 victims in Jiangsu, one of the largest such provincial campaigns in China.¹²⁷ It peaked near the end of 1970, but continued sporadically until 1973. At the outset, all the important Pro faction leaders, including Zhang Jianshan, Ge Zhonglong and Geng Changxian, who had been assigned to jobs in other provinces, were hauled back to Nanjing and placed into the custody of special case groups. Wen Fenglai and Dai Guoqiang (戴国强), Pro faction leader from the Jiangsu branch of the Xinhua News Agency, were incarcerated in Nanjing's Tiger

123. "Jiang Tengjiao jianli" (Brief Biography of Jiang Tengjiao), <http://baike.baidu.com/view/23828.htm>, accessed 18 February 2012; and Gao Deming, "Bu gai bei lishi yiwang de Gao Haoping zhi si" (The Death of Gao Haoping Must Not be Lost to History), *Dangshi bolan* (Readings in Party History), Vol. 12 (December 2010), pp. 27–28.

124. Gao Deming, "The Death of Gao Haoping"; Zhao Yuxiang, "Liuying meng", and Ai Hanmei, "Shitou cheng de fenglei".

125. "Zhongyang junwei guanyu jiaqiang quanjun zuzhixing jiluxing de zhishi" (Central Military Commission Directive on Strengthening Organizational Discipline in the Army), 22 August 1969; and "Zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuan hui mingling" (Order of the CCP Central Committee), 28 August 1969, in *Chinese Cultural Revolution Database*.

126. Zhao Yuxiang, "Liuying meng", and Ai Hanmei, "Shitou cheng de fenglei".

127. Liu Dinghan (ed.), *Dangdai Jiangsu jianshi* (Brief History of Contemporary Jiangsu) (Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo Chubanshe, 1999), p. 235, and Pan Zhuping, "Jiangsu qingcha 'wuyiliu' yuan'an" (Jiangsu's Investigations of "May 16" False Cases), *Yanhuang chunqiu* (Annals of the Yellow Emperor), Vol. 11 (November 2007), pp. 63–66. See also Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, p. 237.

Bridge Prison.¹²⁸ Civilian cadres aligned with the Pro faction and who had supported attacks on Xu Shiyou in August 1967 were isolated and put under coercive interrogation. Senior military officers in the anti-Xu camp, including Shi Jingban (史景班), vice-head of the Nanjing Military Region Political Department, Du Fangping and Gao Haoping were put in military prisons. Gao Haoping died in custody.¹²⁹ Soldiers who had been involved with them politically, and who were forced to retire from the army in the earlier purge of 1969, became key targets of the campaign in their new work units elsewhere in Jiangsu, and some of them were brought back to Nanjing for interrogation.¹³⁰

CONCLUSIONS

This account of how a provincial Revolutionary Committee was formed reveals much about the nature of 1967 factionalism in China. The struggles surrounding the Beijing negotiations displayed the core motives behind these conflicts. What is striking is the almost complete absence of factional positions based on broad issues of principle or substantive policy questions. There were no disagreements about the nature of China's pre-Cultural Revolution status quo, the extent to which the prior Party-state system was riddled with revisionism and traitors to Mao Thought, or what policies with regard to labor, cadres or education should be after order was restored. These issues were simply never mentioned in the factional debates. The two factions, after all, had cooperated to overthrow the old provincial and municipal Party authorities in 1966, and split only over the January 1967 power seizure and their different relationships with the Nanjing military.

What is absolutely clear is the overwhelming importance of *local* political issues—specifically, the sequence of events surrounding the power seizure of 26 January 1967 and the subsequent actions of the Nanjing Military Region forces as they implemented Beijing's orders to impose military control. The paramount issue over which they fought during the Beijing negotiations was how the upsurge of violence in the summer of 1967, and the movement to “overthrow Xu Shiyou” that had defined Jiangsu politics during that period, would be judged by central authorities. These were deep disagreements about the *conduct* of members of each faction *during the course of the Cultural Revolution itself*. In other words, the political identities that motivated these deep divisions were formed after the onset of the Cultural Revolution, as individuals from similar backgrounds made different choices as the movement unfolded. Student rebels fought against other student rebels; worker rebels fought against other worker

128. Interviews with Ge Zhonglong on 14 April 2007 and Geng Changxian on 1 February 2007, and telephone interview with Dai Guoqiang on 12 July 2008.

129. Gao Deming, “The Death of Gao Haoping”.

130. Zhao Yuxiang, “Liuying meng”.

rebels; former provincial and municipal officials joined different factions for self-protection; and military officers were divided against one another, often from the same headquarters.

The preoccupation of both sides in this final phase of mass conflict was how the political choices and actions of each side would be evaluated as the movement came to a close. These were verdicts that would have an enormous impact on the subsequent lives of the participants, as they realized clearly during the negotiations. “Ambition for power”—a motive officially attributed to rebel leaders in the early post-Mao period,¹³¹ and a common attribution of motive in many scholarly analyses of these factional conflicts¹³²—is almost absent in these accounts. Factions fought urgently to ensure that their enemies would not gain power and victimize them afterwards. Only the designation of individual scapegoats from each faction permitted even a preliminary resolution of the first round of negotiations. By this point, the fundamental dynamic was not pursuit of power, but self-protection.

Another striking feature of this process is how long it took for the central authorities to orchestrate even a provisional agreement. One dimension of the story is the way in which awareness of an imminent end to hostilities served to harden the negotiating positions of each side and to stimulate renewed attacks on one another. This short-run outcome seems counter-intuitive, because the authorities tried hard to display an even-handed and non-committal stance at the beginning. On closer examination, however, awareness of a coming deadline for ending factional strife made it more urgent for each side to strengthen its hand at the bargaining table. A non-committal stance by Beijing made it appear that the center had still not made up its mind and could be influenced. A similar dynamic has been observed in student factionalism in Beijing.¹³³

Another dimension is the obvious reluctance of the Beijing authorities to use brute force to impose martial law. This was undoubtedly due to divisions among Beijing officials, some of whom valued rebellion as a matter of principle and were suspicious of overwhelming military force and of the motives of officials who were too eager to restore order. The balance of these forces in the Beijing leadership meant that negotiations would be protracted and contentious.

131. When former rebel leaders were sentenced to prison in Nanjing, their motives were typically attributed to *zhengzhi yexin* (“wild political ambition” or “careerism”); see, for example, the charges brought against Zeng Banguan in “Nanjing shi gulou qu renmin jiancha yuan qisushu” (Indictment by the Prosecutor’s Office of the Gulou District, Nanjing), 24 December 1979; and “Nanjing shi gulou qu renmin fayuan xingshi panjue shu” (Criminal Verdict of the People’s Court of the Gulou District, Nanjing), 29 December 1979.

132. For example, Shaoguang Wang, *Failure of Charisma*, pp. 170–71: “The rebel faction leaders wanted to be in power, not so much because they needed power to realize noble goals such as reforming the existing system, as because they wanted power as such . . . They began to perceive the movement as a lucrative opportunity to replace the old power holders . . . They simply wanted to be the new power holders.”

133. Andrew Walder, *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 223–45.

Even after Mao made up his mind, however, Xu Shiyou had to move gradually and cautiously, aware that aggressive persecution of his local opponents might backfire and undermine the provisional support which he had from still-powerful individuals like Zhang Chunqiao, who had supported attacks on him. Instead, Xu slowly tightened his grip, making use of the strongly worded calls for order issued in July 1968, the border clashes with the Soviet Union in 1969 and the “Anti May 16 Elements” campaign of 1970 to eliminate all opposition. Although provincial revolutionary committees were a thinly disguised form of military dictatorship, we see in the case of Jiangsu that this dictatorship took hold in a series of stages.

Untangling the complex issues that divided Jiangsu’s factions requires familiarity with the narrative of events through which rebel forces split over the failed January 1967 power seizure and subsequently took sides for and against the actions of “support the left” military forces. In this case, it requires familiarity with the “overthrow Xu” campaign of August 1967 and the disposition of key factional leaders and military officers in that conflict. These are intensely local issues, and it is unlikely that events unfolded in the same manner in the many other Chinese provinces where factional conflicts persisted and probably took their own distinctive course. This suggests a reason for the existing literature being largely silent about how revolutionary committees were formed. From the perspective of Beijing—and similar negotiations with well over twenty provincial delegations about issues that were local and often confusing to outsiders—the task of characterizing the process as a whole would appear almost impossible. From the bottom-up perspective of a single province, however, the process snaps into focus.