

25X1A9a

The lead article in the January-March 1967 China Quarterly is by [redacted] identified in the list of Contributors as a research analyst for the CIA.

FOIAb3b

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

*Mao's "Cultural Revolution":
Origin and Development*

25X1A9a

CPYRGHT [redacted]

Recognising that men always make mistakes, what should be done with those comrades who go astray? Toward these, one should first carry out struggle and thoroughly wash away mistaken thoughts. Secondly, it is still necessary to help them. Proceeding from good intentions, help them correct their errors, enable them to have a way out.

—Mao Tse-tung, Speech at Moscow Communist Party Conference, November 1957.¹

CPYRGHT

MAO TSE-TUNG utilised the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution to lecture delegates attending the Moscow Communist Party Conference on the correct method for dealing with erring comrades. Mao appeared to be offering his formula "unity-criticism-unity" to other Bloc parties as a substitute for the violence and terror inherent in Stalin's periodic purging of the Soviet party. At the same time, Mao appeared to be giving assurances that Stalin's errors connected with the "cult of personality" could not possibly develop within the Chinese party.

Eight years later in the fall of 1965, Mao Tse-tung initiated the "great proletarian cultural revolution" featuring Stalinist techniques of violence and the public purge.² What has produced this sharp reversal of Maoist strategy in dealing with such long-time "comrades-in-arms" as Liu Shao-ch'i (Mao's heir-apparent for 20 years)? Why is it necessary to organise Red Guards to terrorise and maltreat all segments of Chinese society, including the once sacrosanct Chinese Communist Party?

These are large questions to which, lacking many of the relevant facts, one can only provide partial and tentative answers. Some must await the further unfolding of the "cultural revolution" which will undoubtedly shed more light on its purposes and objectives. Some are

¹ Kung-tso T'ung-hsun (*Bulletin of Activities*), No. 13 (March 20, 1961), p. 6.

² For a good discussion of this and other parallels between Mao and Stalin, see Arthur A. Cohen, "Mao: the Man and His Policies," *Problems of Communism*, September-October 1966.

Contributors

25X1A9a

- ██████████ is an American student of Asian communist affairs who has published several articles on Communist China and North Korea. He received his Ph.D. at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1951. Formerly Foreign Affairs Officer in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defence, he is now a research analyst for the C.I.A.
- Nai-Ruenn Chen*, formerly associated with the University of California at Berkeley and the Committee on the Economy of China of the Social Science Research Council, is Assistant Professor of Economics at Cornell. He is the author of *The Economy of Mainland China, 1949-1963: A Bibliography of Materials in English and Chinese Economic Statistics*.
- Eric Chou* was born in Manchuria and graduated from Peking Normal University and was a lecturer at Tsing Hua University. From 1946-61 he was diplomatic correspondent, foreign news editor, executive secretary and publisher of *Ta Kung Pao*. He came to England in 1961 after four and a half years of imprisonment and brainwashing in Shanghai and Peking. He is the author of several books, including one about his experience in China, *A Man Must Choose*.
- Hugh Collar* is Secretary of the China Association, London.
- William F. Dorrill* is staff member of the Social Science Department of the RAND Corporation specialising on China and the Far East and a doctoral candidate at Harvard University.
- Ernst Halperin* is a Swiss authority on international communism. He is currently in Brazil, engaged in a comprehensive study of communism in Latin America of which this article is a part. The first volume, *Nationalism and Communism in Chile*, appeared in 1965.
- James P. Harrison* is Preceptor of Oriental Studies and a doctoral candidate in history at Columbia University. He is currently engaged in research on the history of Chinese Communism and modern Chinese intellectual history.
- John Israel*, Assistant Professor of History at Claremont Men's College, is spending the current academic year at the East Asian Research Center, Harvard University. He is the author of the recently-published *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937*.
- Joyce K. Kallgren* is acting Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Davis campus, and Vice-Chairman, Center for Chinese Studies at Berkeley.
- Edward J. M. Rhoads*, a graduate student of Modern Chinese History at Harvard, is editor of *The Chinese Red Army, 1927-1963: An Annotated Bibliography*.
- Robert A. Rupen*, Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina, travelled in the Mongolian People's Republic in 1957-58 and is the author of *Mongols of the Twentieth Century*. He served as Chairman of the International Symposium on Vietnam and the Sino-Soviet Dispute at the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich in June 1966.
- Janet Salaff* is a Fellow of the Center for Chinese Studies at Berkeley and a doctoral candidate in sociology. She is currently engaged in research on demography with an article on public health organisation in China in press.
- Stuart R. Schram* is joint head of the Soviet/Chinese section of the Centre d'Etude des Relations Internationales of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris. He is the author of *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung, Le Marxisme et l'Asie* (with Hélène Carrère d'Encausse), and *Mao Tse-tung*, published last year.
- Mark Selden* is Assistant in Instruction in History at Yale University.
- Edgar Tomson* is Research Assistant at the Institut für Ostrecht in Cologne. He is the author of *China und das Recht nationaler Minderheiten* and of *Völkerrecht und Prisenrecht* (with Hellmuth Hecker).
- Kenneth R. Walker* is Reader in Economics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, and author of *Planning in Chinese Agriculture*.
- Peter Wiles* is Professor of Russian Social and Economic Studies, University of London. He has written numerous articles on communist economics and ideology and Kremlinology and is the author of *The Political Economy of Communism and Price, Cost and Output*.