

## Part 1

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# The Background



**Poster 1** Image from a design copy-book showing a group of four people, each holding a 'Little Red Book' (*Quotations from Mao Zedong*). They are listening attentively to the latest news broadcast from Beijing. The standing woman is wearing a Mao badge. The seated man is preparing a poster, the title of which reads 'Enthusiastically hail...'. From Gongren 'Baotou ziliao' bianhui zu (ed.) 1970, 60.

## Chapter 1

# Chinese Badges before the Cultural Revolution

The red, bright and shiny Mao badges of the Cultural Revolution may seem to have appeared from out of nowhere in 1966, but there is, in fact, a much longer history of badges in China. Indeed, a wide range of badges of the early 20th century provided the prototypes for the Mao badges of the Cultural Revolution, and it is useful to understand the terminology used for different categories of badges and the contexts in which the earlier badges were used. Furthermore, a survey of badges issued in China in the first half of the 20th century demonstrates very clearly that a wide range of revolutionary iconography, including Mao's portrait, was already commonly found on badges long before the onset of the Cultural Revolution.

### Terminology of Chinese badges

The Chinese term 像章 *xiangzhang* is used consistently to refer to badges. The first character, *xiang*, means 'likeness' or 'portrait'. The original meaning of *zhang* is 'pattern', and in classical literature, *zhang* is also used as a verb meaning 'to mark' or 'to signify'. In modern Chinese, *xiangzhang* can be translated literally as a 'likeness badge', where the likeness is usually a portrait of a well-known person. In many cases, there are also inscriptions or other designs on these badges. The term 毛泽东像章 *Mao Zedong xiangzhang* (abbreviated to 毛章 *Mao zhang*) is used as a general term for 'Mao badges', and also includes those which do not have a portrait of Mao.

There are several other different Chinese terms for badges, and most include the character 章 *zhang* (see below). The badges in these categories were designed to be worn visibly on the chest, shoulders or arm.

徽章 *hui zhang* – badge or insignia. These badges identify the wearer as a member of a group or organization. The character *hui* refers to the emblem or insignia. In ancient China, it referred to a symbol on a flag, or the shape or colour of that flag. Associated terms include 'national emblem' (国徽 *guohui*); 'school badge' (校徽 *xiaohui*) and 'cap insignia' (帽徽 *maohui*).

证章 *zhengzhang* – badge, identification, certification. These badges are awarded on a personal basis, in the sense of a certificate of evidence. *Zhengzhang* is often used as a general term for badges. The character *zheng* refers to proof or certification. Associated terms include 'proof of identification' (证明 *zhengming*); 'employee's work pass' (工作证 *gongzuozheng*) and 'permit' (许可证 *xukezheng*).

奖章 *jiangzheng* – medal, award, decoration. These badges are awarded on a personal basis, in the sense of a reward, prize or in recognition of achievement. The character *jiang* refers to reward or praise. Associated terms include 'prize-cup' (奖杯 *jiangbei*); 'bonus payment' (奖金 *jiangjin*); 'scholarship award' (奖学金 *jiangxuejin*); 'certificate of merit' (奖状 *jiangzhuang*).

勋章 *xunzhang* – medal, decoration. These are awarded on a personal basis, in the sense of merit or service. The character *xun* refers to merit, meritorious service and achievement. Associated terms include 'meritorious service or contribution' (功勋 *gongxun*); 'outstanding contribution' (勋绩 *xunji*) and the English term 'Lord'

(translated as 勋爵 *xunjue*).

纪念章 *jinianzhang* – commemorative badges. The characters *jinian* refers to commemoration. Mao badges can be seen as a form of *jinianzhang*.

领章 *lingzhang* – collar badge, collar insignia. The character *ling* refers to the collar. This is the term used for the red badges attached to the collars of the green uniform of the People's Liberation Army. They identify the wearer as a member of the military personnel.

臂章 *bizhang* – armbands. These are symbols of identity in the sense that they are worn by people to indicate that they are performing a particular duty or role. The character *bi* refers to the arm. The term *bizhang* is used for the armbands worn by the Red Guards. It is also used for the emblems attached to the shoulders on military uniforms. Associated terms include the 'black armband' (臂纱 *bisha*), which is traditionally worn in mourning.

The character 章 *zhang* refers to the physical badge. It is also used for seals (印章 *yinzhang*; official seal 公章 *gongzhang*), traditionally the most potent symbols of identity and authority in China. In this way, the Chinese terminology for badges confirms that the basic function of a badge is to serve as a form of identification, distinction and status. This is true for badges the world over.<sup>1</sup> In the case of Mao badges, those who wore them identified themselves as followers of Mao, with the size or number of Mao badges as a visible indicator of the wearer's loyalty to Mao. Conversely, there were people who were forbidden to wear Mao badges for political reasons, and in these cases, the absence of a Mao badge would indicate their status in a negative way.

### Chinese badges in the first half of the 20th century

Early badges were made of various materials: copper, silver, metal-plate, paper and cellulose, and included the use of photographs and photographic transfers. Although very little has been written about this important material, there are two beautifully illustrated publications which offer a very valuable resource. The first is Yuan Wei's *Illustrated Collection of Badges in the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum* (1997). This is a sizeable collection, totalling 1179 examples of early Chinese pin-badges, dating from the 1920s onwards, arranged chronologically: the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937–45), the War of Liberation (1945–49), the Period of Socialist Revolution and Construction (1949 onwards). The second is the catalogue *War Medals, Orders and Decorations from the Collection of the American Numismatic Society: Part 3* (the Chinese Republican and warlord medals and badges are in Lots 37–203), prepared for the sale by Morton and Eden, in London, 26 April 2007.<sup>2</sup>

The badges of the first half of the 20th century provided the prototypes for the Mao badges of the Cultural Revolution, in terms of both form and design, and included a range of symbolic images and inscriptions. The pre-Cultural Revolution

badges can be classified as badges of identification, commemoration, awards and decorations. Key developments during the period of the War of Liberation include the appearance of names of leaders and battles on badges. Named leaders include Mao Zedong 毛泽东, Zhu De 朱德, Chen Yi 陈毅, He Long 贺龙 and Lin Biao 林彪. Badges associated with battles include the Jinan Campaign Meritorious Service badge (济南战役立功奖章 *Jinan zhanyi ligong jiangzhang*), the Taiyuan Campaign badge (太原战役奖章 *Taiyuan zhanyi jiangzhang*), the Dujiang Battle Water Hero badge (渡江水上英雄 *Dujiang shuishang yingxiong*), the Dujiang Battle Combat Hero badge (渡江战斗英雄 *Dujiang zhandou yingxiong*), and the Huai-Hai Campaign Commemorative medal (淮海战役纪念章 *Huai-Hai zhanyi jinianzhang*). There was also a growing homogeneity in terms of the form, shape, size and design of badges. This is particularly true for those badges that honoured people who had experienced bitter struggle (艰苦奋斗 *jianku fendou*), as well as heroes (英雄 *yingxiong*), the brave (勇敢 *yonggan*), and models (模范 *mofan*), such as model workers and model nurses.

After 1949, badge production increased significantly. Badges were issued to encourage and celebrate achievements in industry, agriculture, science and technology, culture, education, hygiene, sport, communications, transport, banking, security, and international relations. There were also badges to encourage and support the troops fighting in the Korean War. The 1950s saw a further standardisation of badges and awards in the military, including the resolution of 12 February 1955, which concerned the eight medals that were conferred on military personnel as recognition of meritorious service during wartime.<sup>3</sup>

The symbolic imagery on pre-Cultural Revolution badges includes the dominant use of red and gold, as well as the red flag, national flag, red China, sunray striations, five-pointed star, red star, red star with sunray striations, ears of wheat, cogwheel, hammer and sickle, Yan'an pagoda, train, ship, lighthouse, pine tree, books, globe, and Mao side by side with other communist leaders. It is significant that slogans also appeared on these early badges, including aphorisms taken from Mao's writings: for example, 'Serve the People' (为人民服务 *Wei renmin fuwu*), 'Seeking Truth from the Facts' (实事求是 *Shi shi qiu shi*), 'Immerse yourself in hard work' (埋头苦干 *Mai tou ku gan*). These badges confirm that long before the Cultural Revolution, badge producers had already established a repertoire of symbolic imagery and slogans with which the general public was familiar. These badges can be seen in the context of the earlier Mao cult of the 1940s.<sup>4</sup> For examples, see Appendix 1.

However, pre-Cultural Revolution badges with a portrait of Mao differ in several ways from those of Cultural Revolution. The earlier badges were essentially medals awarded for meritorious service (especially in military and political spheres), or to commemorate participation in important events, such as the completion of public works or construction projects. As such, they were issued in smaller numbers, were presented to select and distinguished groups of people, and were worn only by those people.<sup>5</sup> They were usually made in a heavier metal than the later mass-produced, mainly aluminium Mao badges of the late 1960s. On the early badges, Mao is often portrayed side by side with others: for example, there are badges showing Mao with Zhu De, with Stalin, with Lu Xun,

with Gao Gang, and with Kim Il Sung. This is quite different from the Cultural Revolution badges which usually portray Mao alone, or, more rarely, with Lenin, with Lenin and Stalin, and with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

### Mao badges before the Cultural Revolution

There have been some significant studies on the development of early Mao badges, notably by Zhou Jihou and Li Xuemi, whose works are also quoted by Lu Na and Schrift.<sup>6</sup> Details of the earliest Mao badges, as described by Lu Na, are summarized below.<sup>7</sup> To this summary should be added the badges published by Yuan Wei in 1997 (see Appendix 1).

The earliest badges with a portrait of Mao are thought to be the 1930s badges, made of metal recycled from toothpaste tubes, worn by people at the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College (known as Kangda 抗大), in Yan'an. This set a trend for homemade Mao badges: for example, a glass and copper piece, 30mm in diameter, with the heads of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.<sup>8</sup>

In 1945, the Lu Xun Art Academy, in Yan'an, created badges for presentation to those attending the 7th National Congress of the CCP. The mould was carved into the back of an inkstone by Ling Zifeng 凌子风,<sup>9</sup> into which molten tin was poured, thus creating badges 27mm in diameter. A small wooden box, with a red cloth lining, was prepared for each badge, with the following inscription on the lid: 'On the occasion of the Party's 7th National Congress – a gift from from the Lu Xun Art Academy, Yan'an' (向党的七大献礼 – 延安鲁艺学院 *Xiang dang de qi da xianli – Yan'an Lu yi xueyuan*). One of these badges was presented by Chen Yi's 陈毅 son to the Chinese Revolutionary Museum in 1975.<sup>10</sup>

In 1949, badges with portraits of Mao and Zhu De side by side below a red star (Zhu De to Mao's right) were made with a copper base, a printed insert and a plastic front, 25mm in diameter.<sup>11</sup> In the same year, Guangzhou Southern University (广州南方大学 *Guangzhou Nanfang Daxue*) issued several different badges featuring Mao. The first was a bar-shaped badge (20 x 24mm) with a portrait of Mao to the left, and the inscription 'Be loyal, united, plain, devoted, diligent and courageous' (忠诚, 团结, 朴素, 重爱心, 勤劳, 勇敢 *Zhongcheng, tuanjie, pusu, zhong aixin, qinlao, yonggan*). These were the personal characteristics heralded in Yan'an. The second was a badge awarded to good students, and featured a red flag and a portrait of Mao. The third was a badge commemorating student graduation, featuring a red flag and a portrait of Mao.<sup>12</sup> These are just some of the 'Mao badges' issued before 1949 that are usually mentioned in the history of Mao badges. To this small group may be added the 1,179 badges in Yuan Wei's *Illustrated Collection*, 66 of which have a portrait of Mao (see Appendix 1). In other words, over 5% of the collection of pre-Cultural Revolution badges in the People's Revolutionary Military Museum had a portrait of Mao badges. This is a far larger proportion than previously thought.

In 1949, badges were made to commemorate the establishment of the People's Republic of China. These badges feature the national flag of the People's Republic of China (five yellow stars on a red background), the flag of the Communist Party of China (yellow hammer and sickle on a red background) above Tian'anmen; with ears of grain and ribbons at either side, and the inscription below 'Commemorating the

establishment of the People's Republic of China'. Mao's portrait was added to this badge design in 1951.<sup>13</sup>

In 1950 the Shanghai Gold Shop started to produce Mao badges in 22 carat gold. It continued to make gold Mao badges (reduced to 18k, then 14k) until the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. A typical specimen weighs 3 gm, has a diameter of 25mm, and the following inscription on the reverse: 'Shanghai Gold Shop, 22k gold' (上海金店, 22k 金制 *Shanghai jin dian, 22 jin zhi*).<sup>14</sup> Gold Mao badges made by the Shanghai Gold-Work Manufacturers (22k gold, subsequently reduced to 13k), were advertised in the *People's Daily*, on 10 February 1953.<sup>15</sup>

Also in 1950, star-shaped badges with a portrait of Mao were prepared for distribution among the Chinese troops serving in the Korean War.<sup>16</sup> In 1951, copper badges, 40mm in diameter, had the obverse inscription 'Commemorating the [War to] resist the US and support Korea' (抗美援朝纪念 *Kang Mei yuan Chao jinian*) and reverse inscription 'Presented at the National Congress of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee, 1951' (中国人民政治协商会议全国委员会赠, 1951 *Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi quanguo weiyuanhui zeng, 1951*). These badges were made in Korea, and featured Mao and Kim Il Sung side by side (Kim to Mao's right), and their respective national flags.<sup>17</sup> Chinese soldiers returning from the Korean War received star-shaped badges with Mao's portrait on the obverse, and the dove of peace, on the reverse.<sup>18</sup>

In 1952, badges with a portrait of Mao were made for the third National Day celebrations. These were 32.5mm in diameter, had the obverse inscription 'Commemorating National Day' (国庆纪念 *Guoqing jinian*) and the dates '1949–1952' (一九四九—一九五二 *Yi jiu si jiu – Yi jiu wu er*) on the reverse. Also in 1952, the Southwestern Military Region issued copper Mao badges, with the obverse inscription, in Chinese and Tibetan: 'Commemorating the Liberation of Tibet (解放西藏纪念 *Jiefang Xizang jinian*) and the reverse inscription 'Issued by the Southwestern Military Region, 1 August 1952' (西南军区颁发, 1952年8月1日 *Xinan junqu banfa, 1952 nian 8 yue 1 ri*).<sup>19</sup>

In December 1954, to celebrate the opening of the new road between Xikang (now Sichuan) and Tibet, a special commemorative badge was distributed to each of the road-builders. This had a copper base, plated in gold, a diameter of 45mm, the obverse inscription 'Commemorating the construction of the road from Xikang to Tibet' (交通部赠康藏筑路纪念章: 康藏筑路纪念 *Jiaotong bu zeng Kang Zang zhu lu jinianzhang: Kang Zang zhu lu jinian*) and the reverse inscription 'Presented by the Central Ministry of Communications' (中央交通部赠 *Zhongyang jiaotong bu zeng*). These badges were made by the Datong Factory (大同厂 *Datong chang*) and Daxin Factory (大新厂 *Daxin chang*).<sup>20</sup> For a similar example, issued in 1955, see Appendix 1.

Mao badges issued in 1956 included a copper piece, 32mm in diameter, with the obverse inscription 'Presented by a visiting delegation from the Central Government' (中央慰问团赠 *Zhongyang weiwentuan zeng*) and the date 1956 on the reverse. Another badge of 1956 was a round, silver piece, with the reverse inscription 'State-run Chongqing gold and silver jewellery shop, 93 silver' (国营重庆金银饰品店九三银 *Guoying Chongqing jinyin shipin dian jiu san yin*).<sup>21</sup>

The 1950s also saw badges celebrating the political alliance

of China and the USSR, expressed on the badges as the 'Sino-Soviet Friendship' (中苏友好 *Zhong-Su youhao*). These usually have a portrait of Mao and Stalin (with Stalin to Mao's right). A typical example is a silver badge, in the shape of a five-pointed star, 25mm at its widest, with images of Stalin and Mao on the front, made in 1953. The inscription reads 'Commemorating the Sino-Soviet Friendship reserves / Presented by the Chongqing branch of the People's Bank of China' (中苏友好储备纪念 / 中国人民银行重庆分行赠 *Zhong-Su youhao chubei jinian / Zhongguo renmin yinhang Chongqing fenhang zeng*).<sup>22</sup> Sino-Soviet Friendship badges are also known in copper.<sup>23</sup> Gold badges with a portrait of Mao and Stalin were produced in Kunming during this period. The obverse shows them both facing left, with Stalin to Mao's right, with a five-pointed star above them, ears of wheat and oak-leaves at either side, and the hammer and sickle below. The inscription on the reverse reads 'State-run Kunming Gold Shop, 20k' (国营昆明金20k *Guoying Kunming jindian 20k*).<sup>24</sup>

In 1963, the CCP issued badges commemorating the construction of China's first hydro-electric power station, in Xi'an, Shaanxi province. The design featured Mao's portrait emanating sunrays placed above the dam. The 1960s also saw the appearance of the 'Five-good' (五好 *wu hao*) badges which the PLA issued to those soldiers who met a certain five criteria, followed by the similar 'Five-good' badges which the government issued to workers.<sup>25</sup>

In the 1960s Chinese soldiers fighting in the Vietnam War famously made Mao badges from scrap metal gleaned from US planes. A typical example has a diameter of 26mm, and a portrait of Mao above the inscription 'The red sun' (红太阳 *Hong taiyang*), with a reverse inscription 'Commemorating [the War to] Support Vietnam and Resist the US' (援越抗美援朝, 1965 *Yuan Yue kang Mei liunian, 1965*). During this period, Mao badges were also made for distribution at international events, for example, at the Leipzig spring Fair, in 1965. By late 1965, the Shanghai Badge Factory (上海徽章厂 *Shanghai huizhang chang*) had started to produce small aluminium badges, 15mm in diameter, which it would produce on a much larger scale the following year after the Cultural Revolution had started.

### Early Mao badges as part of the Mao cult

Early Mao badges are closely associated with the development of the Mao cult that began in the late 1930s, after the Long March (1934–35), when Mao gained supremacy in Yan'an. An early woodcut portrait of Mao (remarkably similar to Edgar Snow's famous photograph of Mao at Yan'an, taken in 1936) appeared in the Communist newspaper *Liberation* (解放 *Jiefang*) on 22 June 1937. It shows Mao accompanied by marchers, flags and sunrays.<sup>26</sup> The Cult became more prominent during the Rectification Campaign of 1942–43. When Chiang Kai-shek's book *China's Destiny* promoted Chiang as China's saviour, the CCP elected to promote Mao in a similar way to counter Chiang's claims. Gao Gang promoted Mao as 'the saviour of the people' during a congress of labour activists in November 1943, and a photograph of activists presenting Mao with a wood-carving of this slogan appeared in the *Liberation* newspaper on 21 November 1943. While such images were initially confined to commemorative or ritual use, they played an important role in the Mao Cult of the 1940s and set precedents for the Mao Cult of the 1960s–70s.

## Notes:

- 1 Attwood 1985a–b, 1990, 2004.
- 2 The online catalogue, with listings, images and prices, is listed under Auction 26 on [www.mortonandedden.com](http://www.mortonandedden.com). There is also a small collection of Chinese medals of the late 19th and 20th centuries in the British Museum (see Martin 1964). For illustrations of private collections of 20th-century Chinese medals see [www.medal.com.cn](http://www.medal.com.cn) and <http://rustyknight.topcities.com/Chinese.htm>.
- 3 In Chinese 《关于决勋章授予中国人民解放军在中国人民革命时期有功人员的决议》，全国人民代表大会常务委员会第七次会议 (*Guanyu jue xunzhang shouyu Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun zai Zhongguo renmin geming shiqi yougong renyuan de jueyi*), *quanguo renmin daibiao dahui changwu weiyuanhui di qi ci huiyi*).
- 4 On the rise of the Mao cult in the 1940s, see Leese 2006, Apter 1994 and Meisner 1982.
- 5 The obverse design of the People's Bank of China 10-yuan note dated 1965 (but first issued on 1 October 1966) features four people wearing different types of pre-Cultural Revolution badges.
- 6 Lu Na gives few references in her text, but her text is very similar to Schrift's (2001: 59–66) which suggests she used the same sources. Schrift's sources are Li Xuemi 1993, Zhou Jiuhou 1993, and Xu Ren, Xu Miao and Xu Ying 1993, which, unfortunately, I have not been able to consult. It seems likely that Lu Na either followed the same sources as Li and Zhou, or followed their respective publications.
- 7 Lu Na 1993, 3–4.
- 8 In Tang Guoyun's 汤国云 private collection.
- 9 Ling Zifeng (1917–1999) was a filmmaker, and later became a director of the Beijing Film Studio, directing films such as *Rickshaw Boy* (骆驼祥子 *Luotuo xiangzi*) 1982; *Border Town* (边城 *Biancheng*) 1984; and *Ripples Across Stagnant Water* (狂 *Kuang*) 1992.
- 10 For an illustration, see Lu Na 1993, fig. 7. Schrift (2001, 61) notes that the badge mould was given to Zhou Enlai, but has not survived.
- 11 This badge is in the private collection of Zhang Benyi 张本骥, and illustrated in Lu Na 1993, fig. 8.
- 12 These three badges are in the private collection of Tang Guoyun.
- 13 This badge is described by Schrift 2001, 62. It is unfortunate that she does not provide the Chinese inscription, nor an illustration of this piece as it would be interesting to compare it with the silver dollar coins issued in 1912, which have the 'Memento of the birth of the Republic' (开国纪念币 *Kaiguo jinian bi*) below a portrait of Sun Yat-sen (Kann 1953, 188–191).
- 14 This badge is in the private collection of Jiang Liqun 姜立群.
- 15 Schrift 2001, 65–66.
- 16 Lu Na 1993, fig. 10.
- 17 Lu Na 1993, fig. 11.
- 18 Schrift 2001, 63. The white dove of peace, first seen in Pablo Picasso's poster for the World Peace Congress of 1949, also appears on Chinese stamps, issued in August 1950, and August 1951, respectively.
- 19 Lu Na 1993, fig. 12.
- 20 Lu Na 1993, fig. 14.
- 21 Lu Na 1993, fig. 19a.
- 22 Lu Na 1993, fig. 19b.
- 23 Lu Na 1993, fig. 13 (copper) and fig. 27 (plaster).
- 24 Seen by the author in a private collection, Kunming, in September 2007.
- 25 Schrift 2001, 65. The 'Five-good' concept is alive today and can be seen, for example, in the red labels attached to the doorway of a family home, identifying it as a 'Five-Good Household' (五好家庭 *Wu-hao jiating*).
- 26 Leese 2006, 13, fig. 1.

## Chapter 2

# Mao Badges as part of the Milieu of the Cultural Revolution

Mao badges did not exist in isolation during the Cultural Revolution. They were part of a vivid and noisy everyday life, and played an active role in the creation of a very specific milieu. Loudspeakers, meetings, public performances, revolutionary songs, newspapers, propaganda posters, and massive slogans carved into hillsides all conveyed the message that the entire nation should follow Mao Zedong's revolutionary line and carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to its end. The formalised language of the Cultural Revolution and the political education of the army were essential factors for consistency in the delivery of that message, and the use of symbols and slogans on all forms of media served to reinforce the message further. By formalising the language, controlling the press, media and all publications, and by ordering the daily structure of everyday life – by means of meetings, rituals, and regular timings of radio programming and broadcasts – those in authority sought to change the way people thought and behaved. The Mao Cult of the 1960s was certainly promoted by the state, but it was also elevated to extreme heights by fanatical and competitive supporters.<sup>1</sup> This chapter aims to illustrate the milieu of the Cultural Revolution, and to show the context in which Mao badges were produced, collected and worn.

### 1: The language of the Cultural Revolution

The linguistic setting of the Cultural Revolution was quite different from the Chinese language of today. Formal meetings would typically begin with a quotation from Mao, thereby setting the tone of the meeting. Quotations also featured in everyday situations, such as shopping. A delegation from Nanjing visiting the model revolutionary city of Shijiazhuang in spring 1968 recorded examples of dialogues between sales staff and particular categories of customers. It shows how different phrases and slogans were used for different categories of customers (see Table 1).

Analysis of Cultural Revolution language highlights the use of rhetoric<sup>3</sup> and formulaic expressions,<sup>4</sup> as well as warlike, extremist and vulgar vocabulary.<sup>5</sup> Yang Lan's analysis of the fiction of the Cultural Revolution also points to extensive use of quotations from Mao, of models, heroes and paragons of virtue, physical attributes, military references, metaphors and pathetic fallacy.<sup>6</sup> There was also extensive name-changing of both personal and other names to suit the times (see 'Name-changing' in the Glossary).

Much of the language of the Cultural Revolution is clearly of its own time and context; it is even known as 'Cultural Revolution style' (文革体 *wenge ti*). The stilted nature of particular expressions has rendered them unusable now except in joke form.<sup>7</sup> However, there are also frequent references and allusions to classical and traditional Chinese literature and philosophy, not least in Mao's poetry. Mao read widely, and

**Table 1: Typical uses of Mao-quotes, by social category** (adapted from MacFarquhar and Schoenhals, 2006)<sup>2</sup>

Customer category	When sales clerk says...	Customer responds by saying...
Workers	Vigorously grasp revolution,	energetically promote production.
	Within the working class,	there is no fundamental conflict of interests.
Soldiers	Support the army,	cherish the people.
	The army and the people	are united as one.
	When the army organises study classes,	soldiers should participate.
	The whole nation should learn from the Liberation Army,	the masses are the true heroes.
	Carry forward the revolutionary tradition,	strive for greater glory.
Peasants	Grasp revolution,	promote production.
	Keep a firm hold on grain and cotton production,	strive for even greater bumper crops.
	Self-reliance,	ample food and clothing.
Students	Study well,	make progress every day.
	Read Chairman Mao's books,	heed Chairman Mao's words.
	Shorten the time in school,	reform education.
	Follow Chairman Mao,	and forever make revolution.
Cadres	Do not live off past gains,	make new contributions.
	Fight selfishness, repudiate revisionism,	overcome selfishness, foster a public spirit.
	Follow Chairman Mao,	and forever make revolution.
	Study the Three Constantly Read Articles conscientiously,	thoroughly change one's world view.
	Serve the people,	heart and soul.
Elderly people and housewives	Long live Chairman Mao!	Long live Chairman Mao! Long live! Long live!
	Be industrious and thrifty in managing a household,	build the country through thrift and hard work.
	Respectfully wish Chairman Mao an eternal life!	Eternal life! Eternal life!

consciously wove the classical into his own contemporary writings. This lent depth to his work and legitimacy to his version of China's revolutionary history. Although Mao's writings were quoted on a daily basis during the Cultural Revolution, and people were encouraged to 'Actively study and apply Chairman Mao's Works' (活学活用毛主席著作 *Huo xue huo yong Mao zhuxi zhuzuo*), the vast majority of his essays, speeches and poetry were, in fact, written long before the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. The four volumes of the

*Selected Works of Mao Zedong* were published in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1960, respectively (see Appendix 5; and the individual pieces that were reproduced in *Quotations from Mao Zedong* date between 1926 and 1964 (see Appendix 3).

Many familiar slogans and inscriptions dating to the time of the Cultural Revolution can be classified as Supreme Directives (最高指示 *zuigao zhishi*), a term used for all directives for action that were issued by Mao, Lin Biao and the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Small Group (中央文革小组 *Zhongyang wenge xiaozu*). Between 1965 and 1970, these were published in the 'two newspapers and one journal' (两报一刊 *liang bao yi kan*): the *People's Daily* (人民日报 *Renmin ribao*); the *Liberation Army News* (解放军报 *Jiefangjun bao*); and *Red Flag* (红旗 *Hongqi*), and were quickly reproduced on badges and in other media. The directives were seen as indicators of which way the political wind was blowing. They were also known as Newest Directives (最新指示 *zuixin zhishi*). However, the same slogan was often construed in different ways, even in the same paper on the same day.<sup>8</sup> The Supreme Directives served to glorify Mao, which lent them further authority. They reached a peak in 1966, when the *People's Daily* published them on an almost daily basis, and they were copied and repeated in everyday exchanges, reports, articles, letters, and printed on ration tickets, coupons, enamelware, even on porcelain teapots and marriage certificates.

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) played a significant role in the Cultural Revolution, and the role of the education and propaganda in the army was very important indeed.<sup>9</sup> When Lin Biao succeeded Peng Dehuai 彭德怀 (1898–1974) as Minister of Defence in 1959, he noted the flagging loyalty and ideological commitment of the young PLA soldiers, and initiated an education and training campaign. The pocket-size *Quotations from Mao Zedong*, popularly known as the 'Little Red Book' was a product of this campaign. Furthermore, on the basis that 'one who knows nothing about exploitation knows nothing about revolution',<sup>10</sup> young soldiers were invited to recall the bitter life before 'Liberation' (ie before 1949), to sing revolutionary songs, interview veterans and heroes, visit exhibitions of revolutionary relics, read the memoirs of wartime heroes, and aspire to be model soldiers like Lei Feng 雷锋, and model companies like the Good Eighth Company of Nanjing Road (南京路上好八连 *Nanjing lu shang hao ba lian*).<sup>11</sup> At the same time, there was an overhaul of the organisation of Party branches and political organs down to the lowest level in the military structure.<sup>12</sup> The army served as a testbed for political work methods in the early 1960s, and the PLA subsequently became a national model for political work in civilian environments. Editorials such as 'Learn from the Army' appeared in the *People's Daily* from 1 February 1964. In this context, it is not surprising that a large number of images, symbols and slogans of the Cultural Revolution, and indeed badges themselves, were produced by the PLA.

## 2: The centrally controlled media of the Cultural Revolution

Symbols and slogans permeated every aspect of life, from the highest level political meetings down to sweet wrappers. In the pre-digital age, when televisions and telephones were still rare, the main forms of media were written, visual, audio and audio-visual. The political messages were also conveyed through performance events, public events, smaller meetings in the

workplace, at school, and in everyday activities. These categories are discussed below, picking out selected aspects of the centrally controlled media. Many of the symbols and slogans and inscriptions were carried over into unofficial contexts, and also on to badges.

### 2a: Printed and written media

Written media include printed and handwritten material, such as newspapers, journals, wall newspapers, books, printed booklets, slogans and banners painted on walls, and calligraphic inscriptions. The printed forms usually used the Songti (宋体) font and its variations. Handwritten calligraphy was admired and also reproduced in print. Indeed, Mao and other leaders provided numerous calligraphic inscriptions (题词 *tici*) for book titles, newspaper mastheads, institutional name-boards and other prominently placed types of inscription. Calligraphy plays an important role in Chinese politics, and it has been suggested that by presenting work-units and publications with inscriptions, Mao was creating an alternative system of political communication.<sup>13</sup> Anniversaries of calligraphic inscriptions were frequently commemorated on Mao badges in the 1960s; for example, Mao's calligraphic inscription for the name-board of the New China Bookstore (新华书店 *Xinhua shudian*) in 1939 (see Chapter 5, B.4). Most of the cursive inscriptions on Mao badges represent the calligraphy or handwriting of Mao (in particular, Mao's quotes and poems) and Lin Biao (in particular, the adulatory expressions).

### Newspapers, journals and publishing

All printed newspapers and journals were state-owned. The *People's Daily* (人民日报 *Renmin ribao*), *Liberation Army News* (解放军报 *Jiefangjun bao*) and *Red Flag* (红旗 *Hongqi*) constituted the three main press organs and often issued joint editorials. The *People's Daily*, the mouthpiece of the CCP, first appeared on 15 June 1948. News was collected mainly by the New China News Agency (新华社 *Xinhua she*), and the writing, editorial work and layout were done in Beijing. Page matrices were then sent by plane or train for printing in Changchun, Chengdu, Guangdong, Harbin, Kunming, Shanghai, Shenyang, Urumqi, Wuhan, and Xi'an. Distribution was through the Post Office (with 90% of copies going to subscribers). Advertising was restricted to new books, films and operas and the Canton Trade Fair.<sup>14</sup>

Other newspapers of this period include the *Peking Daily* (北京日报 *Beijing ribao*), *Wenhui Daily* (文汇报 *Wenhui bao*), *Liberation Daily* (解放日报 *Jiefang ribao*), *Guangming Daily* (光明日报 *Guangming ribao*). Periodicals include the *Peking Review* (北京周报 *Beijing zhoubao*), *China Pictorial* (人民日报 *Renmin huabao*), *China Reconstructs* (中国建设 *Zhongguo jianshe*), *Chinese Literature* (中国文学 *Zhongguo wenxue*), *People's China* (人民中国 *Renmin Zhongguo*), *El Popola Cinio* (人民中国报道 *Renmin Zhongguo baodao*), and *China's Medicine* (中国医学 *Zhongguo yixue*).

The number of publishing houses was also controlled, and included the People's Publishing House (人民出版社 *Renmin chubanshe*), the Cartographic Publishing House (地图出版社 *Ditu chubanshe*), the People's Medical Publishing House (人民卫生出版社 *Renmin weisheng chubanshe*), the Nationalities Publishing House (民族出版社 *Minzu chubanshe*) and the

Foreign Languages Press (外文出版社 *Waiwen chubanshe*). Bookstores included the New China Bookstore (新华书店 *Xinhua shudian*), the China Publications Centre (中国国际书店 *Zhongguo guoji shudian*) and the Foreign Languages Bookstore (中国外文书店 *Zhongguo waiwen shudian*).

Two store receipts from the New China Bookstore reflect the world of bookbuying on two of China's most famous shopping streets in the 1970s, and illustrate just how restricted the range of publications was. The first, dated 11 June 1974, from the bookstore on Wangfujing Street, Beijing, lists the eight categories of items in the store as 'Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin', 'Works of Chairman Mao', 'Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin', 'Portraits of Chairman Mao', 'textbooks', 'pictures/photographs', 'literature' and 'other'.<sup>15</sup> The second, dated 11 July 1975, has been stamped (in purple ink) with the 'sales counter seal of the Revolutionary Committee of the Xinhua Bookstore on Nanjing Road East, Shanghai'.<sup>16</sup> The standard procedure for shopping in a store involved several stages: asking for items at the store counter, reserving them at that counter, receiving a purchase slip for those items (in triplicate, one each for the cashier, counter and customer), taking the purchase slip to the cashier's desk, handing over the payment, at which point the cashier would validate the purchase slip with the cashier's stamp, and keep one copy. The customer would then return to the store counter with the remaining purchase slips, exchange one of them for the reserved items, and keep the third one as the receipt.

During the Cultural Revolution all books included a Mao quote as a frontispiece. Published articles had to meet the correct political standard, with appropriate quotes highlighted in bold. As elsewhere, these were usually taken from *Quotations from Mao Zedong* (毛泽东语录 *Mao Zedong yulu*) (see Appendix 3), or the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* (毛泽东选集 *Mao Zedong xuanji*) (see Appendix 5). Quotes also appeared in works of fiction.<sup>17</sup>

### **Selected Works of Mao Zedong**

Various publications with this, or a similar, title were issued before 1949,<sup>18</sup> however, it was not until February 1949 and the 'liberation' of Beijing that the CCPC began work on a standard edition. Mao was involved in the selection of texts, proofreading and the preparation of annotations. The selected texts were arranged chronologically in four volumes: vol. 1, *The First Revolutionary Civil War* (1924–27) and *Second Revolutionary Civil War* (1927–37); vols 2–3, *The War of Resistance against Japan* (1937–45); vol. 4, *The Third Revolutionary Civil War* (1945–49).<sup>19</sup>

The *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* were printed at the New China Printing Factory (新华印刷厂 *Xinhua yinshua chang*), and published by the People's Publishing House (人民出版社 *Renmin chubanshe*), both of which were located in Beijing. The first volume was printed in October 1951 to coincide with the second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The second volume was printed in March 1952, the third in February 1953, and the fourth in September 1960. By 1964, the *Selected Works* were widely read and had become the main source for selecting texts used in the compilation of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. The first editions of these texts were printed in a vertical format; the horizontal format appeared in 1966.

*Selected Works* appear frequently on Mao badges, either in the form of the badge, or in the design on the front of the badge. For example, some badges were prepared in the form of one volume or a stack of four volumes. The front cover of *Selected Works* was so immediately recognisable that a tall rectangle with the distinctive round portrait of Mao was sufficient to represent one or more of the volumes. Indeed, in propaganda posters and other media, the title was often omitted.

### **Quotations from Chairman Mao**

*Quotations from Chairman Mao* is known in Chinese by its title *Mao zhuxi yulu* 毛主席语录, and by the shortened forms *yulu ben* 语录本 (*Book of Quotations*) and *yulu* 语录 (*Quotations*). Its pocket-size and red cover account for its more familiar names, Little Red Book (小红书 *xiao hong shu*) and Precious Red Book (红宝书 *hong bao shu*).

This extremely popular publication was the result of an initiative by Lin Biao to advocate the use of Mao's quotes as a drill device in the PLA. (For a list of the chapter titles, see Appendix 3). From 1 May 1961 Mao quotations appeared daily on the front page of the *Liberation Army News*. At that time there were no formal indices to Mao's work. An index box containing famous passages from *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, arranged thematically, which had been prepared at the *Tianjin Daily*, was selected for development as the basis for *Quotations from Mao Zedong*. The first printed issue was distributed at a conference in January 1964, and the first regular print edition was issued on 16 May 1964, classified as 'internal' for military use. The second edition was issued on 1 August 1965 (the 38th anniversary of the founding of the PLA), again restricted to military use. The East is Red Publishing House (东方红出版社 *Dongfang hong chubanshe*), located in Beijing, produced the first copies for general sale in 1967. It also published the first bilingual edition (Chinese-English) in August 1967. Translations of the Little Red Book were produced by the Foreign Languages Press (外文出版社 *Waiwen chubanshe*) between 1966 and 1972 in many different languages.

*Quotations from Chairman Mao* was created outside the usual confines of the planned economy. This small pocket-size volume with its distinctive and practical red plastic cover was attractive in both concept and design. It was sought after by military personnel, civilians and foreigners, and quickly achieved cult status. The typical image of the Red Guard is a young person in army greens, wearing a Mao badge and holding up a 'Little Red Book'. Its popularity enhanced the image of Mao; indeed, Leese argues that 'the cult proved to be instrumental in securing a popular mass base for Mao's attack on the CCP bureaucracy at the outset of the Cultural Revolution'.<sup>20</sup> It is estimated that over a billion official volumes were printed between 1966 and 1969. Furthermore, at times when television broadcasting was severely restricted, rather than leave the screen blank, a copy of *Quotations* was shown, the pages turning one by one to show the texts that were already known by heart.<sup>21</sup>

Like *Selected Works*, the image of *Quotations* was so immediately recognisable that a simple red rectangle on the front of a Mao badge was sufficient to represent a 'Little Red Book'.

## 2b: Visual media

Visual media included officially controlled propaganda posters, photographs, currency, postage stamps and ration tickets.<sup>22</sup> Other important forms of visual media include those that were not so stringently controlled, such as badges, statues (see section 3), porcelain ware, indeed all objects bearing a revolutionary image and text.<sup>23</sup>

### Propaganda posters

Propaganda posters (宣传画 *xuanchuan hua*) are a rich source of visual imagery, and were printed in their thousands. Positive, colourful compositions such as *The Commune's Fishpond* (公社鱼塘 *Gongshe yutang*) adorned walls in China and overseas.<sup>24</sup> Most posters carry such details as the name of the artist(s), place and date of publication, and print-run. This makes them an excellent reference source. They began to receive scholarly attention in the 1990s, when exhibitions, conferences and publications of personal and institutional collections of posters began to open up the field.<sup>25</sup> There are now numerous publications about posters,<sup>26</sup> as well as many websites.<sup>27</sup> Some studies focus on particular aspects, such as the depiction of women, children, the PLA and local militia.<sup>28</sup>

Mao badges are clearly visible on propaganda posters. They are visible, for example, in 75 of the posters illustrated in the catalogue accompanying the sale of propaganda posters at Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 21 September 2006.<sup>29</sup> The most frequently seen badge on posters is the round red badge with a profile of Mao in gold (see Poster 2, p. 18). Soldiers are usually seen wearing the combination star-and-bar badges (see Poster 3, p. 50).<sup>30</sup> On posters Premier Zhou Enlai is always shown wearing the same badge: a small rectangular red-bar badge, with a profile of Mao in gold to the right, and the inscription 'Serve the People' (为人民服务 *Wei renmin fuwu*) to the left (see Poster 4, p. 82).

### Photographs

Although an enormous quantity of photographic images were taken and published during the Cultural Revolution, there are surprisingly few studies of photography during this period.<sup>31</sup> The New China News Agency (新华社 *Xinhua she*) was one of the leading suppliers of official photographs, and must have excellent archive resources. The names of a few individual photographers have become well-known, in particular Lü Houmin 吕厚民 (b. 1928), Hou Bo 侯波 (b. 1924) and Xu Xiaoming 徐肖冰 (b. 1916), who served as Mao's official photographers. Lü was his official photographer from 1950–64, followed by Hou and Xu from 1964. Other notable photographers of the 1960s and 1970s include the 'Red Colour News Soldier' Li Zhensheng 李振盛,<sup>32</sup> Li Xiaobin 李晓斌 whose famous photograph of a vagrant in Beijing covered in Mao badges (1977) has been in the collection of the Museum of Revolutionary History, Beijing, since 1998;<sup>33</sup> and Weng Naiqiang 翁乃强, who took colour photographs during the Cultural Revolution as a staff photographer for *People's China* (a Japanese language magazine issued by the Foreign Press Bureau).<sup>34</sup>

Many of the familiar images of Mao on badges were adapted from photographs; for example, Edgar Snow's photograph of Mao taken in 1936, and the images of Mao speaking at the 9th National Congress (see Chapter 5).

### Currency

The People's Bank of China (中国人民银行 *Zhongguo renmin yinhang*) was responsible for the issue of currency during the Cultural Revolution. Series 3 *renminbi* banknotes were issued from 1962 and remained in circulation until the late 1980s. This series was designed to highlight the achievements of socialist construction and the new face of China. The designs on the *jiao* notes feature the integration of education, production and labour, the newly constructed bridge over the Changjiang (Yangtse River) at Wuhan, and female workers with textile machinery.<sup>35</sup> The designs on the *yuan* notes feature a woman driving a tractor (based on a photograph of China's first female tractor driver, Liang Jun (b. 1931),<sup>36</sup> a man working with a lathe, a steel worker, and representatives of the people emerging from the Great Hall of the People. The 1-, 2- and 5-*yuan* notes have a five-pointed star as the watermark. The 1-*yuan* note was printed on 'Tian'anmen paper', a Chinese-made watermarked banknote paper featuring Tian'anmen with sunrays.<sup>37</sup>

Although these notes circulated during the Cultural Revolution, they were designed before 1966. While they do not refer to Mao directly, much of the visual imagery such as Tian'anmen, the five-pointed star and the bridge over the Changjiang are also found on Mao badges.

### Postage stamps

Postage stamps were an important and convenient way of conveying images and concepts extensively and cheaply throughout the country. A great deal of attention went into their design, with teams of designers and engravers working on original designs as well as adapting well-known images and paintings by artists such as Liu Chunhua 刘春华 (b. 1944), Dong Xiwen 董希文 (1914–73), Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) and Dmitri Nalbandian (1906–93).<sup>38</sup> Some well-known artists, such as Zhou Lingzhao 周玲钊 (b. 1919), worked on both stamp and banknote designs. Images of Mao, as well as inscriptions from *Quotations*, appeared frequently on stamps (see Appendix 2). There were also numerous other series of stamps which focused on construction projects, architecture, the educated youth sent to the countryside, barefoot doctors, revolutionary sacred sites and other imagery.<sup>39</sup> There were special rates for certain categories of post, particularly within military circles, and for the distribution of *Selected Works*, as well as specially prepared envelopes, which were stamped or printed with the postage charge and an inscription from *Quotations*.

Many of the designs and inscriptions found on postage stamps also appear on badges, and may have inspired some of the designs on the badges.

### Ration tickets

Ration tickets were used in China long before the Cultural Revolution, but became an everyday necessity during this period, closely associated with the stabilisation and central planning of the economy.<sup>40</sup> As ration tickets were issued only to holders of resident registration documents (户口 *hukou*) and were valid only within specific locations, they effectively restricted the movement of people. However, the revolutionary networking campaign, which encouraged young people to travel across China at no personal cost, disrupted the system and created chaos in regional and local accounting systems.

The visual imagery on ration tickets includes local landmarks, historical landmarks of the revolution, achievements in construction (the bridge over the Changjiang, hydro-electricity dams) and sheaves of wheat (representing abundant harvests). Ration tickets were issued in series, with different quantities of grain, cotton cloth and other rationed goods. In this way, they are similar to postage stamps, which were also issued in series of different values. It is not surprising, therefore, to see that the visual imagery on stamps, ration tickets and badges is remarkably similar. The same is true for inscriptions, and the following list (in chronological order) contains inscriptions that are found on both ration tickets of the Cultural Revolution and on Mao badges.<sup>41</sup>

Support the army, cherish the people (拥军爱民 *Yong jun ai min*) (1967)

Raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought, and carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to its end (高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗, 把无产阶级文化大革命进行到底 *Gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi, ba wuchan jieji wenhua da geming jinxing daodi*) (1967)

Supreme Directive: Economise when making revolution (最高指示: 要节约闹革命 *Zuigao zhishi: Yao jieyue nao geming*) (1968)

We must keep a close grasp on grain, cotton and cloth products. Mao Zedong (必须把粮食抓紧, 必须把棉花抓紧, 必须把布匹抓紧. 毛泽东 *Bixu ba liangshi zhuajin, bixu ba mianhua zhuajin, bixu ba bupi zhuajin*) (1968)

Supreme Directive: We must build up reserves of grain. By saving a little bit year on year, we will gradually increase our stock (最高指示: 一定要有储备粮, 年年储一点, 逐年增多 *Zuigao zhishi: yiding yao you chubei liang, niannian chuyi dian, zhunian zengduo*) (1968)

Serve the People (为人民服务 *Wei renmin fuwu*) (1968; 1970)

Be prepared for war, be prepared for natural disaster, and serve the people. Mao Zedong (备战, 备荒, 为人民. 毛泽东 *Bei zhan, bei huang, wei renmin*) (1968; 1970)

The Three Constantly Read Articles (老三篇 *Lao san pian*) (1969)

Grasp revolution, promote production (抓革命, 促生产 *Zhua geming, cu shengchan*) (1969)

Supreme Directive: We must never forget class struggle (最高指示: 千万不要忘记阶级斗争 *Zuigao zhishi: qianwan bu yao wangji jieji douzheng*) (1969)

Supreme Directive: Increase vigilance, protect the homeland (提高警惕, 保卫祖国 *Tigao jingti, baowei zuguo*) (1970)

Supreme Directive: Grasp revolution, promote production, promote work, promote preparation for war (最高指示: 抓革命, 促生产, 促工作, 促战备 *Zuigao zhishi: zhua geming, cu shengchan, cu gongzuo, cu zhanbei*) (1970)

Fight selfishness, repudiate revisionism (斗私批修 *Dou si pi xiu*) (1975)

## 2c: Audio media

Audio media included the extensive use of radio, audio recordings and revolutionary songs, broadcast through radio (wired and wireless) and loud speakers. In the early 1960s, 70 million loudspeakers were installed across China, in urban and rural areas: in school playgrounds, factories, even rice paddies, serving a rural population of some 400 million.<sup>42</sup> Radio broadcasts and other recordings were an effective way of reaching into remote areas, as well as reaching illiterate members of the population. They were relatively easy to manage and had a subliminal effect even on the least attentive of listeners.

## Radio

From 1949 radio stations throughout China were re-organised into a single system, known as the Central People's Broadcasting Station (CPBS; 中国人民广播电台 *Zhongguo renmin guangbo diantai*). Transmissions were made at national, provincial and municipal levels, and wired systems linking networks of loudspeakers enabled further transmission to communes, production brigades and production teams. Indeed, 'the two CPBS [national] broadcasting services were probably the only media which consistently penetrated the countryside at the time, whereas newspapers, books, wall newspapers and 'big-character posters' (大字报 *dazibao*) could be more easily suppressed or manipulated at the local level'.<sup>43</sup> Radio was particularly important as CCPC news and directives were usually broadcast from Beijing the day before they appeared in the printed press. The contents of evening radio broadcasts were also transformed overnight into slogans, posters and songs.

Radio programming of the Cultural Revolution can be classified in the following broad groups: news; politics and ideology; literature, arts and music; theatre, opera and drama; education; exercise and sport; other. News included domestic, international, newspaper (articles or editorials taken from *People's Daily*) and recorded news. Politics and ideology included commentary and broadcasts to specific groups (communes; PLA; Red Guards; Junior Red Guards; Workers; Farmers and Rural Areas; Youth; Workers, Farmers and Soldiers). Arts and music consisted primarily of excerpts from revolutionary music and Chinese ballet. Theatre, opera and drama covered modern and traditional Chinese opera, including revolutionary model operas. Education programmes often had titles beginning 'Let's learn' or 'How to...'. Exercise and sport included radio exercises. 'Other' included 'Preview of Programmes', weather information, the opening song 'The East is Red' and the closing song 'The Internationale'.<sup>44</sup>

The radio schedules of the two CPBS services, effective from 27 March 1967 until further notice (see Appendix 6), show the structure of the programming rather than the detailed content. CPBS 1 offered continuous broadcasting between 05:15 and 00:20, thus was on air for 19 hours and 5 minutes daily. CPBS 2 offered three broadcasting periods from 05:40–11:45; 11:50–14:00; 17:40–23:00, a total of 13 hours and 35 minutes on air daily. The two stations offered very similar schedules. On either station, a typical day would start with the opening song and a preview of the day's programmes, followed by *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. The *Quotations* slots usually lasted 10–15 minutes, and were broadcast at 05:30 (CPBS 2 at 05:50), then at 12:00 (CPBS 2 broadcast *Selected Works* at 13:45) and 18:50 (CPBS 2 at 17:50), suggesting that these may have been timed to coincide with breakfast, lunch and evening meals. There were also various news broadcasts, offering both national and international news, with the International News broadcast daily on both stations at 23:00. 'Revolutionary Literature and Art' programmes appear to have filled much of the airtime, particularly on Sunday, with two hours of this programme (21:30–23:00) on CPBS 1, and an hour and a half of the same (21:15–22:30) on CPBS 2. In addition to these programmes, CPBS 1 broadcast to specific target audiences, for example to the PLA, to Red Guards and to children. CPBS 2 appears to have had a more general programme, but offering other

programmes such as physical exercises. Revolutionary opera and theatre, as well as revolutionary songs, were frequently broadcast on both stations.

Much of the radio schedule is, therefore, directly relevant to the imagery and inscriptions found on Mao badges, albeit presented in an audio form rather than a visual form.

### Audio recordings

Audio recordings were expensive, and were purchased usually by work or military units rather than by individuals.<sup>45</sup> Their advantage was that they could be played repeatedly over loudspeakers or at public events. The China Record Company (中国唱片 *Zhongguo changpian*, also known as the China Record Corporation) appears to have produced all the gramophone-type records of the Cultural Revolution. The company's logo was, and still is, a stylised image of Tian'anmen. The designs on the front of the record sleeves were visual expressions of the contents: for example, a recording of *Quotations* might feature an image of Mao adapted from a well-known photograph or images of the period; and songs by ethnic minorities would typically have images of smiling Tibetans, Mongolians (or other ethnic group) on the record sleeve.

### Music and song

Music was seen as an important revolutionary tool in terms of both form and content.<sup>46</sup> Studies of music and song of the Cultural Revolution include general surveys of music since 1949,<sup>47</sup> detailed studies focusing on children's revolutionary songs,<sup>48</sup> adults' revolutionary songs,<sup>49</sup> Red Guard songs,<sup>50</sup> myths and symbols in revolutionary music,<sup>51</sup> the collecting of folk-songs and their use in revolutionary songs,<sup>52</sup> and on the iconic songs 'The East is Red' and 'The March of the Volunteers'.<sup>53</sup>

Revolutionary songs (革命歌曲 *geming gequ*) were an effective means of disseminating political news and orders, rousing spirits, boosting morale and unifying people in the same cause. In this way, both the role and content of revolutionary songs were important. Most people heard revolutionary songs from the radio, and there would be competition to see who could sing the loudest or be the most revolutionary in spirit.<sup>54</sup> Songs (music and lyrics) were also published in the newspapers, either individually or in collections. For example, the entire edition of the *People's Daily* of 30 September 1966 was devoted to 'Quotation Songs'. The Red Guards also composed their own, often vulgar, songs, and Wagner quotes a former Red Guard as saying, 'Singing was the most important method of propaganda, a propaganda team would take a bunch of kids, teach them a song and then ask them to spread it further – snowball effect! Without any further assistance of the team, propaganda would work by itself.'<sup>55</sup>

There were three distinct periods of revolutionary songs during the Cultural Revolution, which fall in line with the political developments of the period: 1966–69, 1969–71 and 1971–76.<sup>56</sup> The first period, 1966–69, is characterised by quotation songs (语录歌 *yulu ge*), in which *Quotations from Chairman Mao* were set to western-style militarised music. This coincided with the 'Daily reading' (天天读 *tiantian du*) campaign, which required people to study Mao Zedong Thought. The second period, 1969–72, is characterised by the Eight Model Operas and four historic revolutionary songs: 'The

East is Red' (东方红 *Dongfang hong*), 'Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman' (大海航行靠舵手 *Dahai hangxing kao duoshou*), Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention' (三大纪律, 八项注意 *San da jilü, ba xiang zhuyi*) and 'The Internationale' (国际歌 *Guoji ge*) The lyrics of these and other songs are also found on Mao badges (see Chapter 5). The third period, 1972–76, is characterised by a return to more traditional songs and music. During this period Zhou Enlai instigated the five-volume anthology 'New Songs from the Battlefield' (战地新歌 *Zhandi xingge*), a collection of revolutionary songs from throughout China. The first volume was published in 1972, marking the 30th anniversary of Mao's 'Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art'.<sup>57</sup> Books of revolutionary songs, giving both music and lyrics, continued to be published after the Cultural Revolution. A list of song titles in two such books is given in Appendix 7.

Much of the imagery and inscriptions in the songs is also found on Mao badges and in other media.

### 2d: Audio visual media

Audio-visual media included performance events, public events, film and television.

#### Performance events

Performance events included theatre, drama, dance and revolutionary model operas.<sup>58</sup> Some performances, such as ballet, were produced by specialist companies, travelling troupes or local teams. Others were performed by ordinary people: for example, the 'Loyalty Character Dance' (忠字舞 *zhong zi wu*), in which a person's body movements 'drew' the perfect form of the Chinese character for 'loyalty' (忠 *zhong*).

As Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, took ever greater control of opera, theatre and dance productions, the total number of titles was reduced to the Eight Model Operas/Performing Arts (八个样板戏 *ba ge yangbanxi*).

*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* (智取威虎山 *Zhiqu Weihushan*) – revolutionary modern Peking opera

*The Red Lantern* (红灯记 *Hongdengji*) – revolutionary modern Peking opera

*Shajiabang* (沙家浜 *Shajiabang*) – revolutionary modern Peking opera

*Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* (奇袭白虎团 *Qixi Baihu tuan*) – revolutionary modern Peking opera

*On the Docks* (海港 *Haigang*) – revolutionary modern Peking opera

*The Red Detachment of Women* (红色娘子军 *Hongse niangzi jun*) – revolutionary ballet-drama

*The White-Haired Girl* (白毛女 *Bai mao nü*) – revolutionary ballet-drama

*Shajiabang* (交响音乐《沙家浜》 *Jiaoxiang yinyue 'Shajiabang'*) – symphonic music

#### Public events

Public events included mass rallies, denunciation meetings, annual celebrations and special occasions. Annual celebrations included National Day (1 October), May Day (1 May), PLA Day (1 August), and Mao's birthday (26 December). Special occasions included anniversaries of historical events of the revolution, and current events, such as national or regional congresses. Mao's visits to factories and inspections of troops were also regarded as special occasions. Badges were produced

as mementoes of these occasions (see Chapter 5). Many of the smaller events would have been organised locally rather than centrally at national level.

### Film

In 1949 the CCP's Film Bureau became the national Film Bureau under the Ministry of Culture. In 1950 distribution of films was organised through a network of regional film management organisations and in 1951 this became a state monopoly that owned and operated all commercial cinemas throughout the People's Republic. The Film Bureau's censorship committee was established in 1950.

A major programme of cinema construction began in the cities in 1949, and mobile projection teams were established to take films to the countryside. Between 1949 and 1966 a total of 645 feature films were produced. These films were made by China's third generation of film-makers, many of whom had been trained at Yan'an. The emphasis was on art for the masses and the use of film as a political tool. Social realism developed into revolutionary romanticism.<sup>59</sup> These films continued to be shown during the Cultural Revolution.

The most famous film of the mid-1960s was *The East is Red* (1965), based on the 1960s song and dance epic of the same name, which depicted the history of the CCP. Although it was made before the Cultural Revolution, it is more generally associated with this period. During the Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary model operas and ballets were also developed into films. For example, *The White-Haired Girl* (白毛女 *Bai mao nü*) evolved from an oral folk-tale (1940), and was developed into a Yan'an local opera (1945), then a feature film (1950), a ballet performed in Japan (1955), a ballet performed in Beijing (1957), a ballet performed in Shanghai (1964) a model ballet (1965) and eventually a film of the model ballet (1971).<sup>60</sup>

Most accounts of film during the Cultural Revolution focus on film production rather than on which films were shown at cinemas and on television.<sup>61</sup>

### Television

Television was not widely available in China until after the Cultural Revolution. The first television station was Beijing TV Station, which made its first experimental broadcasts on 1 May 1958.<sup>62</sup> The date is significant: it was the annual International Labour Day, and the intention was to beat Taiwan to national broadcasting as a demonstration of socialist superiority. Regular broadcasts started on 2 September 1958. Beijing TV Station had one channel and was on air for two to three hours, on two (later four) evenings a week, from 19.00. The first news programme (using still photographs rather than moving pictures) recorded China's success in the automobile industry. The first news programme using black and white newsreel was an introduction to the contents of the journal *Red Flag*.<sup>63</sup> Provincial stations were set up and by the end of 1960 there were 20 TV stations and 16 experimental TV stations. There were, however, only 12,000 black-and-white TV receivers throughout China, and these were located exclusively in the major cities. In 1961 many stations were closed, leaving only the Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenyang and Tianjin TV stations. By January 1967 only the Shanghai and Guangzhou TV stations remained in operation, albeit on an irregular basis.

Between 1967 and 1972 Beijing TV station was under direct

military control. It too had been closed, and only resumed broadcasting in 1969. By 1973 the number of television stations throughout China had risen again to 32, and the number of transmitting and relay stations had risen to 80, but the availability of TV sets was still limited.<sup>64</sup> The main theme on Chinese television was politics, the only entertainment programmes being the revolutionary operas. A typical evening's television in 1970 would begin at 19.00 hours with Mao's portrait accompanied by a recording of 'The East is Red', China's unofficial national anthem. This was followed by newscasts of appropriate topics such as the commemoration of heroes, the work of educated youths in remote rural areas, the reception of foreign visitors by the Chinese leaders, and the 'heroic struggle' of the North Vietnamese. Next came revolutionary ballet and films, usually war-movies set during the War of Resistance against Japan, or the Wars between the Communists and Nationalists. The station closed down at 22.30 hours.<sup>65</sup>

### 2e: Everyday life

The visual imagery and inscriptions of the Cultural Revolution permeated all aspects of everyday life, at work, at school and at home, and even cigarette packets carried text and or images relating to the world of politics.<sup>66</sup> Even trainspotters could look out for appropriately named trains. Types of trains included 'the Mao Zedong' (毛泽东号 *Mao Zedong hao*), 'the Zhu De' (朱德号 *Zhu De hao*) and 'the National Day' (国庆节号 *Guoqing hao*). Individual trains could be identified by the initials of the class of train followed by a number. Class names included the following: Victory (胜利 *Shengli* [SL]), Forward (前进 *Qianjin* [QJ]), People (人民 *Renmin*), Liberation (解放 *Jiefang*), Construction (建设 *Jianshe*), Beijing (北京 *Beijing* [BJ]), The East is Red (东方红 *Dongfang hong* [DFH]), and Shaoshan (韶山 *Shaoshan* [SS]).<sup>67</sup>

Again, the same symbolic imagery and vocabulary are found on Mao badges and in other media. The image of the train is found on Mao badges, often with the inscription 'The people's revolution under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought is the front of the train driving history forward' (毛泽东思想指引下的人民革命是历史前进的火车头 *Mao Zedong sixiang zhiyin xia de renmin geming shi lishi qianjin de huochetou*).

### 3: Local initiatives (not state controlled)

In addition to the state controlled media, there were also numerous examples of local and spontaneous initiatives that were not state-controlled. These include statues of Mao and 'big-character posters' (大字报 *dazibao*).

### Statues of Mao

Statues of Mao became commonplace during the Cultural Revolution. They were created by local organisations, not by the state.<sup>68</sup> The first large statues of Mao appeared in May 1967, installed on university campuses by student organisations as demonstrations of loyalty. The first statue, built by the Qinghua University Jinggangshan Headquarters, was unveiled on 4 May 1967. Its height, 7.1m, was significant: it represented the date 7/1, namely 1 July, the date of the founding of the CCP. The statue showed Mao standing, wearing a cap with a five-pointed star and a long coat flapping in the wind, his right arm outstretched to show the way of the revolution. Lin Biao's

inscription celebrating Mao as the Great Teacher, Leader, Commander and Helmsman was engraved on the mount of the statue. Subsequent Mao statues were often built to specific and symbolic dimensions. The Mao statue at Peking University was installed on 1 June. Its height of 8.1m represented the date 8/1, namely 1 August, the date of the establishment of the People's Liberation Army. The aluminium Mao statue at the Beijing Mining Institute was inaugurated on 26 December 1967, on the occasion of Mao's 74th birthday. All the dimensions of this statue were symbolic and commemorative: the height of the statue itself was 7.1m (1 July, founding of the CCP), the socket measured 5.16m (May 16th Directive), the height of the total installation was 12.26m (26 December, Mao's birthday). The symbolic 12.26m became the standard height of Mao statues created by the revolutionary committees in mid-1968.<sup>69</sup> A quote from Lin Biao was usually carved into the base, but most of these were hacked away or blackened out after Lin's fall from grace in 1971. Although most of the Mao statues have since been removed, some still remain in place. The Mao statue standing in the centre of Chengdu is probably the best known example today.

The installation of a Mao statue was an important occasion, and inscriptions on Mao badges frequently refer to the inauguration of a Mao statue in a particular location, or to an anniversary of such an event (see Chapter 5, B.40). Such badges are examples of one form of non-state-controlled media (the badges) commemorating the creation of another non-state-controlled form (the statues).

#### **Big-character posters**

Big-character posters (大字报 *dazibao*) were hand-written posters pasted up with the latest news, views and opinions, often targeting individuals for attack. These were not centrally orchestrated; they were quick and easy to produce by anyone with paper and writing materials, and attracted large, spontaneous crowds. The first big-character poster was posted by Nie Yuanzi 聂元梓 (b. 1921) at Peking University in 1966, and questioned the politics of those in authority there, suggesting that they were revisionists. Mao had the poster copied and published in the *People's Daily*, and broadcast nationwide over the radio. He also lent approval to this form of publication by writing his own 'My Big-Character Poster: Bombard the Headquarters' (炮打司令部 — 我的一张大字报 *Paoda silingbu: wo de yi zhang dazibao*), which was published in the *People's Daily*, 5 August 1966. By adoting this spontaneous form of expression, and presenting first Nie's poster, and then his own, in the most official of media forms, Mao lent his support to big-character posters.

#### **4: Counter-revolutionary activity and propaganda**

Those who did not follow the correct line, either intentionally or accidentally, faced dire consequences. Many towed the line as a means of survival in the hope of a quiet life. However, counter-revolutionary activity and propaganda was promoted through clandestine radio broadcasts and other anti-Communist activities. The threat was expressed on Mao badges and propaganda posters in themes such as 'Increase vigilance, protect the homeland' (提高警惕, 保卫祖国 *Tigao jingti, baowei zuguo*).

#### **Clandestine radio stations**

Clandestine radio stations were set up after the onset of the Cultural Revolution and made short counter-propaganda broadcasts denouncing Mao and Lin Biao. The Asian Broadcasting Institute has identified the following clandestine stations, all of which have names that reflect the politics of the time: 'Voice of the Liberation Army' (解放军之声 *Jiefangjun zhi sheng*); 'Spark' (火花 *Huohua*), later renamed 'Radio Spark' (火花台 *Huohua tai*). This name refers to the title of the Russian revolutionary underground newspaper *Iskra* (Spark) and to Mao's quote 'A single spark can light a prairie fire' (星星之火可以燎原 *Xingxing zhi huo keyi liaoyuan*). There was also the 'Chinese Communist Party Broadcasting Station' (中国共产党广播电台 *Zhongguo gongchandang guangbo diantai*); 'The Contingent of Proletarian Fighters' (无产者战士 *Wuchanzhe zhandoushi*), later named 'Fighters' 战士 *Zhandoushi*); 'Liberation Army Activist Battle Corps Broadcasting Station' (解放军积极分子战斗兵团广播电台 *Jiefangjun jijifenzi zhandou bingtuan guangbo diantai*); 'True Representative of Proletarians Broadcasting Station' (真正代表无产阶级的广播电台 *Zhenzheng daibiao wuchan jieji de guangbo diantai*); 'News and Music Station' (新闻和音乐电台 *Xinwen he yinyue diantai*); 'Red Flag' (红旗 *Hongqi*); 'Red Army Broadcasting Station' (红军广播站 *Hongjun guangbozhan*); and the '[Phony] Central People's Broadcasting Station' (中央人民广播电台 *Zhongyang renmin guangbo diantai*).<sup>70</sup>

#### **'Anti-Communist activities'**

'Anti-Communist Activities' is the title of Chapter 56 of *The China Yearbook 1968–69* (410–420), published in Taiwan.<sup>71</sup> The chapter was written by Yeh Hsiang-chih 葉翔之, chief of the second section of the Kuomintang Central Committee. Yeh claims numerous purges and incidents as the results of successful KMT activity, and writes that the ideological struggle involved psychological warfare, namely expanding internal contradictions among the Communists and encouraging anti-Maoist forces to unite with Kuomintang anti-Communist efforts.

The KMT agents sought to provoke and deepen contradictions between different organisations: for example, between the Red Guards and the military. As newspapers frequently used 'letters to the editor' as a vehicle for attacking cadres in cultural, educational and propaganda departments, the KMT agents submitted over 1,000 such letters to those newspapers. They also attacked and criticised cadres through big-character posters, newspapers and political notices, using the names of over 1,500 Red Guard organisations as cover, and were particularly active in this respect during the period of revolutionary networking. The main aim was to create confusion. They encouraged resistance by advancing slogans such as 'Divide, use and eat up the products' in rural areas, and 'Increased wages and improved welfare' in factories.

Tactics to encourage the anti-Communist movement included supporting the stand of purged cadres, publishing underground newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, leaflets and posters to propagandise against Red Guard destruction; sending individuals to the PRC to convey anti-Communist messages from Chiang Kai-shek; using the reversed form of the character 毛 *Mao* as a 'symbol of anti-psychological warfare', writing it at over 24,000 places in principal cities; defacing

Mao's portrait or hanging it upside-down; and distributing copies of *Quotations of President Chiang Kai-shek*.

As the categories above have shown, symbolic visual imagery and text was all around. Furthermore, these were presented in a way that encouraged a routine life with a regular structure. This is seen, for example, in the radio scheduling and the loudspeaker broadcasts. Many aspects of everyday life revolved around timed activities at specific times of the day: the timed availability of hot meals in work-unit canteens, of boiling water to fill thermos flasks, of communal showerhouses for bathing. These routine activities continued long after the Cultural Revolution. There was also the well-known ritual of the Cultural Revolution: 'Asking for instructions in the morning, reporting back in the evening' (早请示, 晚汇报 *Zao qing shi, wan hui bao*) which referred to the daily practice of consulting with an image of Mao at the beginning and end of the day.<sup>72</sup> This epitomises the political ritualisation of everyday life.

This chapter has given just a brief glimpse at the milieu of the Cultural Revolution. There are, of course, numerous publications on the Cultural Revolution, in many different languages. For example, MacFarquhar and Schoenhals excellent book *Mao's Last Revolution* (2006) gives a narrative political history of this period, and offers a 48-page bibliography. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution Database CD-Rom* (chief-editor Song Yongyi 宋永毅) is another ambitious ongoing project, with its first edition launched in 2002, and a second edition issued in 2006.

## Notes

- 1 Leese 2006. There are also autobiographical accounts by former Red Guards, for example Gao Yuan 1987.
- 2 Reprinted by permission of the publisher from MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 266.
- 3 Huang Shaorong 1996, and Lu Xing 2004.
- 4 Schoenhals 1992, 1993, and Leese 2007.
- 5 Dittmer and Chen 1981; Perry and Li 1993; Hodge and Louie 1998; Wagner 1995.
- 6 Yang Lan 1998. On heroes and paragons of virtue see also Sheridan 1968 and Bergman 1984.
- 7 Deng 1988, and Jin *et al* 1989. Some vocabulary has subsequently been reclaimed in new ways: for example *tongzhi* (同志 'comrade') is currently used for 'gay' and 'lesbian'; see Cristini 2003.
- 8 Dittmer 1988.
- 9 It is interesting to see the short account of the propaganda initiative in the Red Army in 'A Report on the History and Condition of the Chu [Zhu De]-Mao Red Army', dated 1 September 1929, translated by Hsüeh and North (1968) 'The Founding of the Red Army', 74–75. This notes a shift in attitude from regarding propaganda as 'salesman's talk, and sometimes even a nuisance' to organised propaganda work that could be up and running within three hours of the Red Army's arrival at a county seat, putting up slogans, tearing off portraits of Sun Yat-sen and Sun's words. It was said that 'When the Red Army comes the street is full of red, as if it were New Year's Day.'
- 10 *People's Daily*, 15 November 1961
- 11 Braester 2005.
- 12 Gittings 1964.
- 13 Kraus 1991.
- 14 MacFarquhar 1973.
- 15 BM collection 2007, 4005.7.
- 16 BM collection 2007, 4005.9.
- 17 Yang Lan 1998.
- 18 Cheek 1988, 319.
- 19 For an online English version of *Selected Works* see <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/date-index.htm>; for an online Chinese version see <http://www.marxists.org/chinese/pr7.htm>.
- 20 For details on the history and various editions of *Quotations*, see Leese 2006, 9; 2007, and for illustrations, see Han 2004. For an online English version of *Quotations*, see <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/> (Mao Tse Tung Internet Archive [marxists.org] 2000).
- 21 For *Quotations* on television, see Walden 1999, 124.
- 22 I am grateful to Mary Ginsberg for initiating lively discussions that ask why the expression 'revolutionary art' is treated with distaste as an oxymoron, and why political scientists tend to neglect art in general. On the state construction of an optimistic imagery in the socialist revolution, see Cheung 2007.
- 23 On Cultural Revolution porcelainware see Fan 2002, Cui 2006 and Burakowski 2007.
- 24 For illustrations of this poster see <http://www.iisg.nl/exhibitions/chairman/chn45.php> and [http://home.wmin.ac.uk/china\\_posters/fishpond.htm](http://home.wmin.ac.uk/china_posters/fishpond.htm). The original painting was by the artist Dong Zhengyi 董正谊, of Huxian county, Shanxi province, famous for the eponymous Huxian peasant paintings. The Huxian artists were the subject of the 70-minute documentary film *Red Art* (红色美术: 文革宣传画 *Hongse meishu: Wenge xuanchuan hua*), directed by Hue Jie and Ai Xiaoming, 2007, and made with the support of the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster.
- 25 Fraser 1977; Landsberger 1995, 1998; Evans and Donald 1999; Chen Xiaomei 1999; Bajon 2001; Hill 2004.
- 26 For example, Min and Duo Duo 2003; Cushing and Tompkins 2007.
- 27 Notable websites are Stefan Landsberger's Chinese Propaganda Poster Pages' at <http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger/>; and the Chinese Poster Collection at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster at [http://home.wmin.ac.uk/china\\_posters/](http://home.wmin.ac.uk/china_posters/).
- 28 On women, see Evans 1999 and Chen 2003. On children, see Donald 1999. On the PLA and local militia, see Cloake 2003.
- 29 <http://www.bloomsburyauctions.com/auction/583>.
- 30 Cloake 2003, 4 notes that approximately half of all soldiers depicted on posters are wearing badges.
- 31 Several collections of photographs of the Cultural Revolution have been published, mainly aimed at the nostalgia market during the Mao craze of the 1980s and 1990s; see Davies 2005.
- 32 <http://red-colornewssoldier.com>.
- 33 <http://www.cpanet.cn/sysyl/li-xb/sl-1.htm>.
- 34 An exhibition of his photographs *Tracing Back Origins: Images of the Cultural Revolution* was displayed at the 798 Photo Gallery, 4 Jiuxianqiao lu, Chaoyang, Beijing, in August 2006. ('Cultural Revolution in living colour' *China Daily*, 8 August 2006, see [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/citylife/2006-08/08/content\\_659695.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/citylife/2006-08/08/content_659695.htm)).
- 35 For details, see Zhongguo renmin yinhang huobi faxing si 1993.
- 36 For images of 'tractor girls', see <http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger/ttg.html>. For the history of this image, see Tina Mai Chen 2003a, 2003b, and 2004.
- 37 Kranister 1989, 160–161; Wang 2003.
- 38 For the names of the designers, engravers, and original artists for each series see Zhonghua jiyou chubanshe 1985.
- 39 For details of Chinese postage stamps, see Zhonghua jiyou chubanshe 1985; Jiyou 1985; and Stanley Gibbons 2006. There are few serious English language studies on postage stamps of the People's Republic of China, and these tend to focus on questions of identity as compared with Taiwan; see Deans and Dobson 2005; Wachman 2005 and Huang 2007.
- 40 The British Museum has a small collection of Chinese ration tickets, totaling over 170 pieces, dating from the 1950s to 1993.
- 41 This list has been compiled from Lu 2003, 52–62.
- 42 Huang Yu and Yu Xu 1997.
- 43 Hoffer and Rayburn 1977, 705.
- 44 Hoffer and Rayburn 1977; Hamm 1991.
- 45 Bryant 2004, 67.
- 46 *Mao's Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art*, 1942, translated by McDougall 1980; also Perris 1983.
- 47 Kraus 1989, Mittler 1997 and Liang Miaochn 2004.
- 48 Leonard L. Chu 1978.
- 49 Wong 1984, and Bryant 2004.
- 50 Wagner 1995.
- 51 Hung 1996.
- 52 Tuohy 1999.
- 53 Kraus 1989 and Chi 2007.
- 54 Bryant 2004, 68–69.

- 55 Wagner 1995.  
56 Liang Maochun 1993, 17–19.  
57 Bryant 2004.  
58 On drama see Chen Xiaomei 2002.  
59 Kuoshu 2002, especially chapter 2.  
60 Berry and Farquhar 2006, especially chapter 3.  
61 For an annotated bibliography of Chinese cinema and documentary films, see Jenkins and Grant 1984. See also Clark 1987.  
62 It was renamed as China Central Television CCTV on 7 May 1978.  
63 Huang Yu and Yu Xu 1997.  
64 In 1978 there were just 3 million TV sets in China, see Huang Yu and Yu Xu 1997.  
65 Huang Yu and Yu Xu 1997, quoting Godwin Chu 1978, 37.  
66 On the designs of cigarette packets, see Huang Qi 2000.  
67 Beijing Railway Museum, Jiuxianqiao North Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing. For illustrations of the trains there, see <http://beijingman.blogspot.com/2006/07/maximize-your-beijing-experience.html>.  
68 Mao had previously rejected suggestions for statues, for example, when a proposal was put forward in Shenyang in 1950 to erect a monument topped with a bronze statue of Mao to commemorate the first anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Mao agreed to the monument, but not to the statue.  
69 Leese 2006, 197–198.  
70 See 'An Investigative Report on Mysterious Chinese Clandestine Stations', Asian Broadcasting Institute (<http://www.abiweb.jp/report/chiclaer.htm>).  
71 The *pinyin* romanisation would be as follows: *Ye Hsiang-chi* = *pinyin: Ye Xiangzhi*; *Kuomintang* = *pinyin: Guomindang*; *Chiang Kai-shek* = *pinyin: Jiang Jieshi*.  
72 This practice has been compared with religious rituals and with rituals associated with ancestral portraits, see Landsberger 1996.