

A SHATTERED MIRROR:
THE LITERATURE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

The literature of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) is examined by considering the divergent responsibilities of the author in contemporary China to "society" and "self."

Responsibility to "society" is a matter of presenting in a favourable light the progress of the Chinese nation in the socialist society of the People's Republic; concentration on the "self" involves both concern for the individual and accurate representation of life as it is observed by the author.

Writing for "society" and "self" need not be in conflict, if the realities recorded by authors reflect a sanguine image, and thereby inspire confidence in the course charted by the nation's leaders. In practice, however, the balance has proved hard to maintain. The tendency has been for Communist Party leaders to mistrust as potentially subversive the literature of the "self" and demand predominantly "social" works that will boost the Party's prestige (and their own) among the readership. The literature of the Cultural Revolution represents the culmination of a directed tendency towards the "social" already evident in the Communist liberated areas in the 1940's and restated with increasing vigour after 1949. Insistence on the author's responsibility to "society" led at times to the virtual abnegation of the "self," and gave rise to writings in which the "social" orientation is so strong that it often precludes the "self;" they feature fictional conflicts in which normative Party representatives overcome the enemies of socialism and win the

love of the populace.

The literature of the Cultural Revolution has been largely dismissed in China and the West since 1976. This neglect is unfortunate, both because of the intrinsic interest of the study and because the literature is an illustration of the extremes to which insistence on "social" responsibility can lead.

This thesis is an investigation of certain important features of Cultural Revolution literature. In the two opening chapters, the literary policy is examined that led to this emphasis on "social" responsibility. Thereafter (in chapter 3) the Beijing Operas created as literary exemplars in the first half of the Cultural Revolution will be analysed to extrapolate the model that was to serve for all other art. In each of chapters 4 - 6, a Cultural Revolution novel is examined. One of these is a collaborative effort produced under close Party scrutiny; the other two are by the most celebrated writer of the day, the peasant author Hao Ran. Only in one novel, Hao Ran's The Golden Road, do the concerns of the "self" balance the predominately "social" burden of Cultural Revolution literature, resulting in the best writing of the period; in a later work, the same author is seen to decline into producing factional propaganda. The final chapter reviews two novels with a similar background, the rustication of urban youth, to compare the idealistic images of Cultural Revolution literature with the sombre picture reflected in the "self"-oriented writing of the late 1970's.

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The cartoon shows heroes and heroines of the Model Works, most brandishing copies of Mao's Quotations. From left: Yang Zirong, Fang Haizhen, Li Tiemei (with red lantern), Wu Qinghua (with banner of the Red Detachment), The White-haired Girl, Yan Weicai. Under Yang Zirong's boot, from left are: Hai Rui, Li Huiniang, Liu Shaoqi.

Fig. 2. "Study Lu Xun, Carry on the Revolution to the End", Wall-poster, Fudan University, March 1976.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

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INTRODUCTION

The literature with which this thesis is concerned marks an attempt at a cultural transformation that was to spearhead the political and social transformations of the Cultural Revolution. The Communist Party media in the mid-1970's claimed magnificent success in creating a popular culture that was both truly socialist and truly Chinese, in accordance with the synthesis of the principles of Leninism and the realities of the Chinese Revolution that Mao Zedong had contrived in the revolutionary base areas during the war with the nationalists.¹ This transformation, it was claimed, resulted in the robust figures of China's workers, peasants and soldiers dominating the performing, literary and fine arts, replacing effete and treacherous elites (see fig. 1); and those same proletarians wielding the pen in vigorous defence of the revolutionary vanguard (fig. 2).

The legacy of the Cultural Revolution, in the arts as in society, is not the glorious one its defenders claimed. The writing of the period is too often crude, dogmatic and formulaic, concerned almost exclusively with narrow and often factional political goals, and scarred by ubiquitous Mao quotations in heavy type. Therefore the literature of the Cultural Revolution has largely been passed over by scholars preferring to concentrate on the post-Mao literary renaissance which began with the "wounds" and "exposure" literature of the late 1970's.² Yet

the literature of the Cultural Revolution deserves, and rewards, more study than has so far been accorded it. Here was the culmination of a tendency in existence since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920's to direct cultural endeavour in such a way as to propel the Chinese people towards the communist society that is its goal. We will be examining the development of the literary theories of the Cultural Revolution, and of the literary models of the 1960's that were to be the embodiment of these theories. All of these were designed to impose an orthodox message and appearance on modern Chinese literature. Through analysis of representative novels of the 1970's we will evaluate the literature thus produced.

Many influential frameworks have been offered by Chinese and Western scholars to analyse conflicts of ideas and wills in the development of modern Chinese literature. Four that have been considered in the preparation of this study will be summarised below before we elaborate on the paradigm that shapes the present investigation: the interaction of the author's divergent responsibilities to "society" and "self."

I. Alternative Frameworks

i) "Expression of Feelings" vs. "Vehicle for Morality"

In the second of his lectures on The Sources of China's New Literature (Zhongguo xin wenxue de yuanliu)³ given at Furen University in 1932, Zhou Zuoren postulated two opposing themes

running through Chinese literary history. He categorised these with two aphorisms: first, "poetry as the expression of feelings" (shi yan zhi) which is derived from the Preface to the Book of Odes (Shijing),⁴ and secondly, "literature as a vehicle for morality" (wen yi zai dao), a term coined in the eleventh century but with antecedents in the staunch Confucianism of the Tang literatus Han Yu.⁵ Zhou Zuoren saw social upheaval as conducive to the spiritual/aesthetic "expression of feelings" in literature, with strong government favouring the "vehicle for morality" approach.

Zhou's clear preference was for the "expression of feelings," which more closely adhered to his definition of literature as "something that uses an aesthetic form to transmit the author's particular thoughts and feelings so that the reader can derive pleasure from it;"⁶ and he was suspicious of "the political -- in particular the revolutionary political; the religious or quasi-religious; and the utilitarian"⁷ tendencies implicit in the view of literature as a "vehicle for morality." Zhou set himself the task of identifying periods of ascendancy for these expressive and pragmatic literatures, praising the former and denigrating the latter.

Zhou's framework is, as David Pollard wryly observes, "not a very delicate analytical instrument,"⁸ and he undermined his argument with the excessive zeal with which he pursued it back into history, claiming for example that the strong government of the Tang dynasty favoured "vehicle for morality" literature and

therefore produced little of value; but his analysis works quite well for the modern period. The May Fourth movement, in which he was a leading player, brought about a flourishing of literature that was indeed an "expression of feelings" in its tendency towards the individualist and subjective. Yet Zhou predicted, accurately enough, that under a strong government, the pendulum would swing back to an officially sanctioned "moral" literature.

Given the increasing insistence on a state-sponsored "morality" from the communist victory to the death of Mao, it is not surprising that many of the most popular of the writers of the Republican period ceased creative work. "A different kind of fiction is in demand now," Shen Congwen told the visiting Kai-yu Hsu in 1973; "I can't deliver."⁹

Even within the moral orthodoxy of communist literature, we can discern that in the post-Mao social and ideological upheaval, there has been greater emphasis on the "expression of feelings," making for a literature reminiscent of the May Fourth period.

ii) "Cog" vs. "Scout"

Rudolf Wagner's recent essay on the function of art and the artist as reflected in the debates of the mid-1950's (the Hundred Flowers period) presents two opposing roles for the writer: the "cog" and the "scout."¹⁰

The first of these positions, derived from Lenin¹¹ and reiterated by Mao at Yan'an, was that literature should function as a "cog and a screw," that is, an integrated and subordinate

component of the machinery operated by the revolutionary leadership. This parallels the didactic "moral" function of the arts outlined above. The second position, also imported from the Soviet Union, though this time in the "thaw" which followed the death of Stalin, was propounded by Valentin Ovechkin, who likened the writer to an army scout, working in the interests of the Party but independent of its organisational machinery. The "scout" notion, though immediately drawn from the Soviet Union, had Chinese antecedents in the bureaucratic office of censor, which entrusted its holders with the burdensome and precarious task of pointing the errors of their sovereign. By revealing inequity and incompetence within the communist system, and by illustrating their effects of the characters in their reports and stories, the Chinese "scouts," Liu Binyan chief among them in both the first and second "Hundred Flowers," intended to inspire the Party's leaders to reform. Their criticisms, like those of many of their censorious predecessors, were not always gratefully received by their rulers, and many of the young "scouts" spent twenty years in disgrace for their temerity.

iii) Party Leadership vs. Dissident Intellectuals

The most prevalent view of the history of Chinese literature under communism presents a running battle between the Communist Party leadership and dissident intellectuals.

C. T. Hsia, in his History of Modern Chinese Fiction, portrays an oppressive Party enforcing obedience from authors and squashing individual expression. "Precisely because all novelists

under Mao Zedong begin with types [Hsia writes], they have created nothing."¹² Hsia's portrait of communist fiction is one of servile hacks producing works the best of which are "very dull and mechanical,"¹³ wherein natural human feelings are repressed to meet the "jealous demands of the Party and state."¹⁴

Hsia's dim view of contemporary Chinese culture is developed in Merle Goldman's Literary Dissent in Communist China, which concentrates on the dissenters in a scheme which sets the Party, with Zhou Yang acting as its chief agent, against an opposition of bold and independent-minded intellectuals in a series of repressive campaigns dating from the Yan'an rectification.¹⁵

The same kind of "good guys" and "bad guys" analysis, this time with the roles reversed, can be found in the writings of Yao Wenyan and his successors, the polemicist writing-groups of the Cultural Revolution. Yao's view was of a "correct" Party leadership, identifiable with the person of Mao Zedong, constantly under attack from enemies within and without the Party (whom he stigmatised variously as revisionists, rightists, counter-revolutionaries, capitalist-roaders, etc., depending on the prevailing campaign). Yao's own work will be considered at length below; here we cite one example from other hands, a collective enterprise dating from the mid-1970s. This is a university textbook on literary history between 1942 and 1972 entitled Thirty Years on the Battle-front of Artistic Theory (Wenyi sixiang zhanxian sanshi nian).¹⁶ In this text, the same dissenters who are the heroes of Goldman's work are the villains

of the piece, but they are seen, not as independent critics of Party policies, but agents for a succession of purged Party leaders (Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, etc.) who were supposedly busily plotting to subvert the revolution in which all played leading roles. Gross distortions allow a simple two-line struggle to be traced throughout. This analysis, now discredited in China, resembles that of the Western scholars noted above in its perception of the debates in the arts pitting Party leadership against the rest, and (as will be shown in a study of Yao's writings below) in its shared contempt for Zhou Yang.

The weakness of the Party vs. intellectuals scheme is that neither side was as united as the analysis requires; the Communist Party has certainly had its share of factional infighting throughout the history of the People's Republic, and has seldom managed the unanimity to enforce any cultural policy for long. Furthermore, the "anti-Party" coalition posited by Yao and his inheritors contains Party leaders and artists with little in common beyond their eventual falling out with Mao Zedong. Goldman's subsequent analysis, which views conflicts in the cultural arena by dividing both the Party leadership and the intellectuals between "pragmatists" and "radicals," is a wiser one, though some of the major figures defy categorisation.¹⁷

iv) Realism vs. Romanticism

Finally, we must consider the meaning of two aesthetic terms commonly used in the categorisation of literary works in China:

realism (xianshizhuyi) and romanticism (langmanzhuyi). These are difficult, imprecise and ambiguous terms, even more so in modern China than in the West. Their meanings have not remained constant, either in the republican or communist years, and have become all the hazier when incorporated in hybrid forms like "socialist realism" and "the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism."

Realism, as Raymond Williams explains, has been used in the West since the nineteenth century to describe "a method or an attitude in art and literature -- at first an exceptional accuracy of representation, later a commitment to describing real events and showing them as they really exist."¹⁸ The purpose of their art, for the realists of nineteenth century Europe, was to study contemporary life and manners "dispassionately, impersonally, objectively."¹⁹ To this pursuit of truthful representation Friedrich Engels (in his letter to Margaret Harkness²⁰) added the dimension of typicality, whereby realist writing illustrates tendencies implicit in society at a given stage of development. In Georg Lukács' phrase, realism is shaped by a "hierarchy of significance"²¹ within which the situation and characters can be interpreted. Such a hierarchy is of course defined by the ideological perspective of the author. Thus his knowledge and understanding of human society are of crucial importance. Jaroslav Průšek cites as the qualities necessary to produce a great work of art "deep emotional engagement and a scientifically founded grasp of social processes,"²² giving the

example of the pre-eminent Chinese realist Mao Dun as a writer thus qualified.

The intention of realist writing to portray underlying truth and present a logically articulated picture of reality, as opposed to an ideal vision of man and the world, has characteristically involved exposing the seamier side of apparently proper and harmonious societies like Dickens' London or Mao Dun's Shanghai, and thus associated realism with the cause of social reform.²³ The identification of realism with revelation of corruption, injustice and oppression has been a constant in modern Chinese literature, from the novels of Mao Dun to the post-Cultural Revolution "new realism" (xin xieshizhuyi).²⁴

The communist parties of the Soviet Union and China, while following Engels in advocating realism as a desirable approach to literary creation, have seen fit to mitigate its propensity for the revelation of a darker side to socialist society. The introduction in the Soviet Union of "socialist realism" (by Maxim Gorky at the First Writers Conference of 1934) sought to ensure that the engagement of the realist would be "socialist" in accordance with the direction of the Communist Party and led, especially in the post-war commissariat of Andrei Zhdanov, to direct intervention by the Soviet state in the creative process. "Socialist realism" was advocated as its policy by the Chinese Communist Party until its break with the Soviet Party in the late 1950's.²⁵ The "socialist" epithet carried the expectation that

writers share the socialist goals of the Party, view man and society in terms of their potential rather than their observed failings, and thus eschew the kind of revelation that could present socialism and the Party in unfavourable light. Advocacy of unmodified realism since 1949 has been regarded with considerable suspicion by Party leaders as a demand for licence to criticise, or expose, the socialist system. In the extreme case of the mid-1960's, realism was condemned in Jiang Qing's "Summary" (Jiyao),²⁶ as anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary.

The romanticism that was imported from the West during the early days of the May Fourth movement involved the liberation of both the imagination and the individual from convention.²⁷ Guo Moruo and others of his colleagues who first espoused romanticism had by 1923 combined it with Marxism to link the causes of individual liberation and national revolution.²⁸

While realism in its traditional sense has pursued the typical, romanticism, from the euphoria that followed the French Revolution, dealt with the promise of mankind in writings characterised by "imagery, symbol and myth"²⁹ rather than graphic description, and produced heroic figures like Goethe's Werther (brought before a Chinese audience by Guo Moruo in 1921).

The concept of romanticism met with less favour among Chinese theorists in the decade following communist victory, but we should note that the promise of the realisation of mankind's potential in the post-revolutionary Chinese society was already

implicit in the "socialist" epithet that preceded the officially sanctioned "realism."

The combination of realism and romanticism was first proposed in China in March 1958 during the drive to collect folk-songs during the Great Leap Forward.³⁰ It was followed the next month by the "combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism" (geming xianshizhuyi he geming langmanzhuyi xiang jiehe) that was to be demanded of all writers for the next two decades. This combination was first described in essays praising Mao's poem "Reply to Li Shuyi" (Da Li Shuyi) in which Mao's first wife and Li's husband, both of whom perished in the civil war, are imagined joyfully transported to heaven.³¹ The poem is a highly romantic one, the "revolutionary" component provided by the cause in which both martyrs perished and in which their survivors achieved victory. There is little realism evident. "Revolutionary romanticism" did not long remain confined to poetry: the first issue of the Party journal Red Flag (Hongqi), in June of 1958, called for the "combination of revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism" -- referred to thereafter as the "double revolutions" (shuangge) to be applied throughout literature.³² A recent commentator has commented caustically that the reason for the introduction of the "double revolutions" in the late 1950's was that the large dose of subjectivism and optimism conveyed by "revolutionary romanticism" was indispensable if anything good was to be said about the utopian and ill-conceived Great Leap.³³ While most of

the policies of the Great Leap Forward were abandoned in the early 1960's, nominal adherence to the "double revolutions" was maintained, and they were re-emphasised in the Cultural Revolution. A 1973 text-book on Marxist literary theory (Cultural Revolution style) defined the two components as follows:

What we mean by revolutionary realism is the concrete manifestation in literature of the revolutionary scientific search for truth of the proletariat, which requires that [artistic] creation should adhere rigorously to the Marxist theory of reflection, enter deeply into life, and starting from the true facts of life, profoundly reflect the objective process of the historical development of the revolutionary reality. What we mean by revolutionary romanticism is the revolutionary idealism of the proletariat which requires that creation should express the great ideals of communism, the militant spirit of revolutionary heroism, and revolutionary optimism of the proletariat as they struggle to realise this ideal. 34

The effect of the "double revolutions" was to stifle the critical potential of "realism" beneath the weight of Party direction and utopianism imposed by the two "revolutionarys" and one "romanticism."

An illustration of the way the "realist" and "romantic" approaches in post-1949 China have differed in portraying the social change of, for example, agricultural collectivisation, is as follows: the "realist" author shows recognisable peasant types learning to adapt to unfamiliar but ultimately desirable policies by means of arguments among family members and neighbours, and through bitter experience. Since the realism is of a socialist

or revolutionary nature, the arguments put forward by progressive peasants, combined with practical experience, win over the more conservative. The "romantic" counterpart presents the same conflicts in terms of a struggle between a pre-eminent hero embodying the Party's policy, and a recognisable villain opposing it (a traitor, the representative of a purged leader, etc.), resulting in the triumphant victory of the hero and the humiliation of the villain, to the delight of the masses.³⁵ The latter is a scenario commonly seen in Cultural Revolution literature.

In the chapters that follow, we will refer to all four of the views on the disposition of the conflicts in modern Chinese literature that have been introduced above. We now turn to the paradigm that, it is suggested, offers the best approach to the study of Chinese literature under communism: "society" and "self."

II. "Society" and "Self"

In his essay on the stories of Feng Menglong (1574-1645/6),³⁶ C. T. Hsia observes that "the dichotomy of feeling to be discerned in a great many of the sanyan tales stems ... from the story-teller's dual allegiance to self and society."³⁷ In Hsia's reading of Feng's stories, "self" is essentially a matter of emotional fulfillment, particularly in the area of sexuality, and it is seen in conflict with "society" -- the conventional morality of Confucianism which "is identifiable with the

suppression of one's deep-seated instincts for the maintenance of social decorum."³⁸ "In story after story", Hsia writes, "he [Feng's narrator] pulls himself away from the brink of sexual licence to assert the importance of law and order."³⁹ A sense of duty to preserve the social order results in the author maintaining a balance-sheet of just deserts (baoying, usually translated "retribution"), with virtue rewarded, and condign punishment visited on those who, albeit with the tacit approval of the narrator, step beyond conventional limits. Only in a single story, Feng Menglong's masterpiece "The Pearl-sewn Shirt,"⁴⁰ does the author satisfy the divergent demands of licence and decorum to the extent that, in Hsia's words "it is no longer necessary to speak of the irreconcilable claims of self and society."⁴¹

Hsia's essay establishes a dialectic (though this is not the term he uses) between personal fulfillment and social obligation similar to that which has been observed in the Western literary tradition,⁴² and which provides the vocabulary for this analysis of Chinese literature under communist leadership. There are differences between the understanding of the terms as used by Hsia and as they appear in the present study: here we will elaborate on the meanings, for present purposes, of "society" and "self."

i) "Society"

What will be considered as "social" literature shares some common ground with in Feng Menglong's fiction inasmuch as the latter conforms to the Confucian code. The communism of the literature under review is likewise a state morality devoted to the establishment (pre-1949) and preservation (post-1949) of a society predicated upon it.

An author's responsibility to "society" is both monitored by the Communist Party and to a considerable extent measured in terms of perceived loyalty to the Party. It is the Party which sets guidelines for literary creation and assesses its social consequences. So a work's "partyness" (dangxing, c.f. Russian partinost) is an integral part of its "socialness." Imposed adherence to an official view of man and the world should not in theory trouble authors who are either members of the Party or at least share its broad goals; but it does in fact become problematical in a period such as the Cultural Revolution, when artists are required to reflect in their works the sharp changes in historical analysis and weltanschauung that result from elite struggles within the Party hierarchy. Writers eager to accommodate themselves to such shifts, either for reasons of Party loyalty or opportunism, face the danger that, in propagating views for which they have scant sympathy, they may commit a contemporary Chinese trahison des clercs. The writing of the novelist Hao Ran in the final year of the Cultural Revolution is examined below in the context of a possible

betrayal of conscience.

"Social" literature in the context of China since 1949 tends to be popular in nature (that is, designed to have mass appeal), portraying and appealing to the broad constituency (gong-nong-bing, "workers, peasants and soldiers") with which the Communist Party identifies itself, and of which it sets out to be the vanguard. It is optimistic and exemplary, in that it portrays a universe unfolding as it should and the members of a great nation achieving their potential in effecting the transformation of Chinese society towards the eventual goal of communism. Since it dwells on human potential rather than human failings, less savoury features of socialist society appear as tenacious survivors of a feudal or imperialist past, and the means to their eradication is demonstrated. As such, the intellectual process by which "social" literature is created is inductive, with received truths about human behaviour and social development applied to a particular case. Here, as in the literary world of Feng Menglong, a system of "just deserts" is in operation, benefits accruing to those who commit themselves to an enlightened Party initiative, danger stalking those who vacillate, and punishment meted on those who oppose or subvert it.⁴³

Like popular literature everywhere,⁴⁴ this communist "social" writing functions according to conventions with which its audience feels at home. As in Western popular fiction, be it detective/cowboy/romantic, etc., problems are resolved, order is

restored, the hero(ine) triumphs. For its formal conventions, Chinese popular writing has frequently reverted to the "simulated context" (to use Patrick Hanan's term⁴⁵) of the street-corner story-teller, coupled with the recycling of plot components from traditional narrative adapted to fit the setting of the modern work. This traditional intertext was expanded in the Cultural Revolution, with stock characters and plots from a corpus of literary models reappearing elsewhere in the arts in slightly different guises and situations. The accessibility to a popular audience that conventionality brings to a literary work has been almost invariably favoured by Communist Party officials overseeing the arts since the 1940's over the pursuit of aesthetic refinement, if this latter leads to more difficult styles less suited to presenting an inspirational picture to an audience of modest educational attainment.

ii) "Self"

At the heart of the literature of the "self," as it is understood below, are two related concepts. First, concern for the individual as he/she relates to society, whether or not they conform to the exemplary figures of the "social" works. To a certain extent, this corresponds to the exploration of the psyche and pursuit of emotional fulfillment posited as the self in Hsia's dialectic; but it is as much concerned with political and professional relationships as emotional ones, and more conscious of social effect. Secondly, belief that it is the responsibility

of the individual author, free of organisational direction, to interpret the realities of social life. In this respect it is the opposite of its "social" counterpart, and it is for this that many of its proponents have found themselves the targets of Party censure. The intellectual process here is deductive, with conclusions being drawn from an author's perception of his material rather than derived from a received vision. In cases where Party-imposed strictures on the arts have been lifted to allow the flourishing of "self"-oriented writing, (as in the Hundred Flowers of 1956, the "blooming and contending" of 1961-2, or the post-Mao "ideological liberation"), the results have often been pessimistic, and involved revelation of social evils perceived as prevalent or flourishing in socialist society. Especially in the most recent period, the literature of the "self" has been manifested in the recounting of tragedies of individual suffering, many of them wrought by the injustice and disequilibrium of the Cultural Revolution. In these works, loss of confidence in the proper working of the social order has undermined belief in "just deserts" and resulted in fictional works in which the hypocritical and unjust secure power by destroying the righteous and innocent.⁴⁶ All this is not to say that the tendency towards the "self" is of necessity anti-communist; indeed the most celebrated of the writers who were ostracised for their non-"social" (or "anti-Party") writings in 1956 and who returned to write in the same vein after 1978 (Liu Binyan, Bai Hua, Wang Meng) protest their loyalty to the Party,

of which they are reinstated members. It is simply that they reserve the right, and assert the duty, of the author to present reality as he sees it, independent of official interpretations of current social conditions and tendencies.

Writers who feel responsible to their own consciences and to their (generally well-educated) peer-groups, rather than to a broad and somewhat nebulous "mass" audience, are the ones who experiment with form. The post-Mao "stream of consciousness" (yishi liu) fiction and "shadows" (menglong) poetry have both been accused of inaccessibility and obscurantism, but their authors are anything but irresponsible. Wang Meng, the leading exponent of "stream of consciousness" writing, has emphasised social responsibility as a main theme of his work,⁴⁷ and a sense of responsibility has been seen as the "motivating force" of the "shadows" poet Bei Dao.⁴⁸

"Society" and "self" offer contrasting viewpoints on the momentous changes that have taken place in the People's Republic of China. Faced with the upheaval of agricultural collectivisation, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, the adoption of the responsibility system, etc., should the author show how men can best contribute to, and benefit from the realisation of these policies (the "social" approach)? Or should he rather concentrate on the effects, beneficial or injurious, on the individual (the "self") as he has himself observed them in the course of political and social

change? The final chapter of this study offers a comparison of two novels which describe urban youths dispatched to the countryside in the mass rustications of the Cultural Revolution. To the "social" novelist, rustication offers a youngster the chance to prove himself in heroic and patriotic endeavour; for the author who concentrates on the "self," the story is one of futility and alienation in a cruel environment.

In the literature of the Cultural Revolution, we are dealing with a literature that is overwhelmingly "social" in its approach, or, to use the terminology of the alternative frameworks outlined above, it is a "vehicle" for the "morality" of communism, produced by authors who are "cogs" in the machinery of the state, unambiguously following a Party line and displaying a strong bias towards "romanticism" of the "revolutionary" kind.

Yet "society" and "self" do not have to be mutually exclusive; in fact, in the view of literature presented by Mao among the cave-dwellings of Yan'an in 1942 and often reiterated, the apparently contradictory qualities demanded of the arts (accessibility and refinement, praise and exposure, etc.), have been seen as complementary goals for the artist to pursue. So while the Cultural Revolution literature examined in this study is determinedly "social," it is not obliged thereby to ignore the sensitivities of the author or eliminate concern for the individual. Yet this is frequently the case: for a work to satisfy the demands of "society" and "self" in post-1949 China would be as great an achievement for its time and place as "The

Pearl-sewn Shirt" represents for the vernacular story of the seventeenth century. Though the balance is maintained in extensive passages of one Cultural Revolution novel, Hao Ran's The Golden Road (Jinguang dadao),⁴⁹ none of the "social" works considered here meets these demands throughout, and most fall well short of this standard.

III. The Literary Mirror

The metaphor of the mirror, which provides the title for this study, is central to Chinese theories of narrative writing, be the mirror a bronze one (jian) or a glass (jingzi). It is implicit in the reflection (fanying) of life that is cited by most critics in China as the function of literature.⁵⁰ Communist literary critics can further point to Lenin's characterisation of Tolstoy as "the mirror of the Russian revolution."⁵¹

For the Confucian, history proceeded in an ordered cycle, the flourishing and decay of moral force reflected in the rise and fall of dynastic houses. The past repeated itself, lessons for present rulers being furnished from the conduct of their predecessors. The concept of history as a "comprehensive mirror to assist government" existed well before Sima Guang enshrined it in the title of his multi-dynastic chronicle Zizhi tongjian in the eleventh century.⁵² The justification for recording the past was moral as much as mimetic, praising the ancients for their virtue and censuring their evil as a guide to present and future rulers. The moral pattern that gives shape to the dynastic

histories is the same one that informs Feng Menglong's fictional world; their thesis is that Confucian propriety is the key to the satisfactory working of society. To a staunch anti-Confucian like Lu Xun, expressing himself through the perceptive madman of his first vernacular story, the morality of the histories was a rationale for cannibalism.⁵³

Factuality was not sacrosanct in historical writing. It could be sacrificed in support of a righteous judgment, or the record could be distorted on the insistence of a prescient sovereign concerned for his place in history. Belief in the contemporary significance of past events has made historical analogy a powerful weapon in literary and political writing. Thus, for example, the turpitude of the Sui Emperor Yangdi was used by a seventeenth-century author as an allegory for the declining Ming dynasty.⁵⁴ Debates over current policy have often been fought through historical proxy; the criticism of the Great Leap Forward which provoked the first salvo of the Cultural Revolution was Wu Han's Hai Rui Dismissed from Office (Hai Rui ba guan), a drama set in the Ming dynasty.⁵⁵ And in the early post-Mao years, contemporary themes of rehabilitation of disgraced leaders, righteous resistance to oppression, etc., were all explored in historical dramas.⁵⁶

The past as mirrored in communist historiography illustrates the progression of human society in the stages described by Marx and Engels. Mao Zedong shared with many of his predecessors as rulers of China the desire to have the record of the distant and

recent past reflect his current interests. Orwell's axiom of totalitarianism that "who controls the past controls the future, who controls the present controls the past,"⁵⁷ was implicit in Chinese theories of government well before 1949, and has been much in evidence since.

Mirrors in Chinese narratives, like "realist" writings in the modern period, have often served as the conveyors of unpalatable truth. A recent essay by a Chinese critic cites two examples where the harbinger of doom was held responsible for the image:

Simply because mirrors reflect the real state of affairs, there have been repeated cases, from ancient times to the present day, of people venting their spleen on mirrors. As the annals record: Xiahou Yuan of Cao [Cao's state of] Wei was struck in the left eye by a stray arrow; when he saw this in a mirror he became furious and hurled the mirror to the ground. Another case from the annals: Zhang Yu of the state of Shu was adept in the techniques of physiognomy. Whenever he picked up a mirror, he could see in his own face that he would die by execution, which was tough on the mirrors, since he smashed them.

Xiahou Yuan really was a one-eyed dragon, Zhang Yu truly had a doomed visage, neither of which was the mirror's doing. Therefore we should rehabilitate the maligned mirrors: they were not guilty. 58

Perhaps the most celebrated mirror in Chinese literature is the occult "mirror for the romantic" (fengyue baojian) which hastens the demise of the lovelorn Jia Rui in chapter 12 of The Dream of the Red Chamber (Honglou meng). It is presented to the ailing youth by the peripatetic limping Daoist with strict instructions to look only at the reverse. This is the side that shows him his true destiny, a death's-head. The obverse is his

erotic fantasy, the beckoning image of Wang Xifeng and the consummation of his sexual desires. Over-indulgence in the latter reflection leads swiftly to the young rake's demise. When his grand-father, seeing him bewitched, tried to destroy the mirror, it is snatched from the fire by its donor, who lays the blame with those who "took falsehood as truth" rather than with his mirror.⁵⁹

Like the definitions of realism, the mirror metaphor has been used to support varying views of the arts: as the reflection of underlying and archetypal truth, or as the literal reflection of the world as it is. Mao demanded interpretative reflection in his Yan'an "Talks" (in the celebrated liu geng "six even mores" passage), and insistence on a socialist view of things outweighed concern with factuality in theoretical writings on literary truth in the period under study here. As expressed by Yao Wenyuan in his rebuttal of the calls for truthful writing by those condemned as "rightists" in the late 1950's:

we need truth, but it only that kind of truth that
is politically correct, that reflects the
fundamental laws of life, that we are in need of. 60

That the literary mirror held up by Yao and his associates presented a grotesque distortion, and not a correct synthesis of truth, has been a major criticism in subsequent writings. Here we will quote from two of the defenders of the more literal than interpretative mirror, twenty years after Yao's attacks on their "rightist" ideas. First Liu Binyan, who used the metaphor in his speech to the Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists in 1979 in

defense of his own reportage:

... literature is a mirror. When the mirror shows us things in life that are not very pretty, or that fall short of our ideals, it is wrong to blame the mirror. Instead we should root out and destroy those conditions that disappoint us. Mirrors show us the true appearance of things; literary mirrors speed the progress of society. Smashing a mirror is no way to make an ugly person beautiful, nor is it a way to make social problems evaporate. History has shown that it is better not to veil or to smash literary mirrors. Isn't this truth all too clear from the extended period of time in which our realist tradition in literature was dragged toward an evil dead end? 61

Secondly, Bai Hua, who was himself shortly to discover the limits of Party tolerance of revelations of injustice;⁶² he articulated the accusation made by many of the rehabilitated "rightists," that in their twenty year ostracism, practising writers had lied to the people to ingratiate themselves with the Party leadership. He complained that, from the Great Leap Forward on:

literature beautified the sins of boasting and exaggeration, turning them into illustrations of the superiority of the socialist system. If writers had instead taken a more personal approach, pondering life's questions and writing according to their own feelings, then they might well have written works which truly reflected life and played a role in the rectification of current policies. 63

If we look through the eyes of these "rightists," outsiders in the Cultural Revolution, we see the artists who flourished during the period beguiled into "social" writing by the forbidden obverse of the mirror, gazing at the beckoning illusion of a Maoist utopia, and avoiding the death's-head that was the truth facing the nation. Clearly this is a picture that suits the interests of its authors, since their two heydays appear as noble

exceptions to a dismal rule.

Less self-serving, and more succinct, are the two lines that comprise the stanza on art in the poem "Notes from the City of the Sun" (Taiyang cheng zhaji) by Bei Dao, who was barely nine years old at the time of the anti-rightist campaign:

A million scintillating suns
appear in a shattered mirror 64

I believe that Bei Dao means here the literary mirror referred to above, smashed by those who could not face a true image and reflecting instead an illusory brightness. If so, it is a trenchant criticism of the literature of the first three decades of the People's Republic, which culminated, during the Cultural Revolution, in a literature so concerned with presenting the Party's view of society that it lost contact with manifest social realities.

IV. Outline of the Present Study

The criticisms cited above are relevant here in that they relate directly to the literary product of the Cultural Revolution. The shocking and tragic revelations of the persecution of literary figures during the Cultural Revolution which surfaced in the late 1970's, while of significance in the intellectual and social history of modern China, are beyond the purview of this study; some appropriate references are appended in a footnote.⁶⁵ Similarly, the history of the period, which has been described elsewhere,⁶⁶ will not be provided except as it relates to the content of specific literary works.

The Cultural Revolution is an easily definable period, beginning with Yao Wen Yuan's attack on Wu Han's drama in November of 1965, and ending eleven years later with the death of Mao and the arrest of the "Gang of Four" (sirenbang) in September/October 1976. In literature the first five years (1966-71), saw the establishment of rules for creation, and the refinement of the Model Works (yangbanxi); otherwise, almost all literary publication was suspended.⁶⁷ Publication of other literary works resumed in the second half of the Cultural Revolution (1971-6) and the short stories of the period are considered in an article by David Pollard.⁶⁸ For this study, examples have been selected from novels, which have, with one or two exceptions, been ignored by Western scholars:⁶⁹ from the first, History of Battles at Hongnan (Hongnan zuo zhan shi),⁷⁰ released in February 1972, to the last, Hundred Blossom Valley (Baihuachuan),⁷¹ published the month of the death of Mao Zedong.

The novels analysed here are all set in the Chinese countryside. This is not to say that there were no novels with industrial, military or educational settings, but the choice of rural fiction is the obvious one. The Chinese countryside is home to eighty percent of the nation, and its many changes since 1949 have provided the setting for many of the best novels written under communist rule; rural fiction is also the metier of Hao Ran, indisputably the foremost author to survive from the pre-1966 years and write in the Cultural Revolution.

The first two chapters below deal with communist literary theory from the 1920's to the 1960's. Chapter 1 traces the assertion of the need for a communist viewpoint and the justification for Party control in the arts from the early years of the Communist Party to the eve of the Cultural Revolution. Attention is paid to Mao's "Talks," consideration of which is indispensable for any study of communist literature in China. Chapter 2 covers Cultural Revolution literary theory as defined by Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing in the mid-1960's. From it will be discerned the parameters within which literary creation was practised in the subsequent decade. It will be seen that the demands placed on authors to convey a "social" message supportive of Communist Party policy, already evident in the polemical writings of Qian Xingcun in the late 1920's, were extended and enforced by Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing forty years later.

Chapter 3 deals with the first literary realisation of the theory of the preceding chapter. Examined are the development to the status of literary exemplars, and the common features, of the Model Operas. The operas, purportedly the triumphant combination of socialist content with artistic excellence, set a standard that all literature was obliged to follow, in their reinterpretation of history and society, in their depiction of revolutionary heroism, and in their strict ordering of character and event.

The remainder of the study, chapters 4 - 7, examines novels produced within the theoretical parameters established above and

adhering to the opera model. The first of these, analysed in chapter 4, is History of Battles at Hongnan, a novel of extreme orthodoxy produced by a collective authorship in close collaboration with Party leadership. It presents the agricultural collectivisation of the early 1950's in a perspective that reflects the Cultural Revolution rewriting of modern Chinese history, the elite struggle between a collectivist Mao Zedong and an individualist Liu Shaoqi being enacted within the microcosm of a single village in suburban Shanghai. In chapter 5, the historical period is the same, but the scene shifts to Hebei Province for Hao Ran's The Golden Road, which is generally acknowledged as the best novel of the Cultural Revolution.⁷² It will be shown that Hao Ran, while keeping within existing guidelines and following the opera model, still retained the concern for the material and emotional welfare of the individual peasant that had characterised his earlier work.

Chapter 6 presents another novel by the same author at the end of the Cultural Revolution. Hundred Blossom Valley has a contemporary setting, and supports not the general "social" goals of the Communist Party, or its revision of the past, but the ongoing ambitions of one (apparently dominant) group within the Party's Central Committee. It is representative of the factional literature of the final months of the Cultural Revolution, supporting the claims of Jiang Qing and her colleagues to succession, which was later condemned as "conspiratorial." For Hao Ran, it represents a low point in a distinguished career.

The overriding concern with "social" goals which pervades Cultural Revolution literature is contrasted in the final chapter with the return, in the literature of the late 1970's, to a focus on the "self." This is done through comparison of two novels reflecting a major social movement of the period: the rustication of urban youth. Guo Xianhong's 1973 novel The Journey (Zhengtú)⁷³ takes a young hero and his band of followers from Shanghai to action-packed struggle on the Soviet border; Zhu Lin's The Path of Life (Shenghuo de lù)⁷⁴ (1979) is the tragic tale of one city girl stranded in an alienating rural environment. The contrast in mood between the pre- and post-1976 novels is startling; the rhetorical conventions of Cultural Revolution fiction are reversed by an author holding up to the reader the frightening reverse side of the historical mirror.

CHAPTER 1

THE ASSERTION OF PARTY CONTROL:

FROM QIAN XINGCUN TO MAO ZEDONG

Just as the Cultural Revolution, as a political and social movement, was justified largely by its association with Mao Zedong, so the attempted cultural transformation drew its authority from Mao's writings on the arts. Foremost among these are his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on the Arts" (Zai Yan'an wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua)¹ -- hereafter "Talks." At the heart of Mao's "Talks" is the demand that writers subject the licence of the individual intellectual to the discipline of serving society and the Communist Party that governs it; a subjection that of necessity entailed a break with the subjective, individualistic and pessimistic² May Fourth tradition, and the production instead of partisan, populist and motivational works. The "Talks" were a specific and decisive response on Mao's part to debates at Yan'an concerning the function of art and the role of the artist in a socialist Chinese society, and have been since their enunciation the basis for Communist Party policy in these matters. Though the revisionist literary historians of the Cultural Revolution presented Mao's formulation of literary policy at Yan'an as an unprecedented act of genius, there were in fact antecedents within the Communist Party since the Party's establishment in the 1920's. This historical context

will be provided below, with an outline of the revolutionary literary activity of nationalist Shanghai and the communist Jiangxi Soviet, before consideration of Yan'an, the "Talks" and Mao's limited subsequent pronouncements on the arts. The focus of literary conflict since Yan'an has been functional rather than formal; for a Maoist vision of forms the arts should adopt, we must look elsewhere than the "Talks," to the discussions of National Forms (minzu xingshi) at Yan'an and their manifestations in the literary works produced thereafter under communist control.

I. Before Yan'an

i) Shanghai

One of the first tasks facing the fledgling Communist Party in the 1920's was to establish itself as the vanguard of the literary and intellectual revolution that had found dramatic expression in the months surrounding the nationalistic demonstrations of May 4, 1919. The May Fourth movement was a tide for social change which the Party sought to channel in directions commensurable with the proletarian revolution that had brought the Communist Party to power in Russia.

Among the earliest May Fourth intelligentsia to transform themselves from Sturm und Drang romanticism to revolutionary idealism were the youthful members of the Shanghai-based Sun and

Creation societies (Taiyang she, Chuangzao she).³ Attacks by one of their number, Qian Xingcun (alias Aying) on the leading leftist writers Lu Xun and Mao Dun exemplify the earnest and often inept attempts made by spokesmen for the Communist Party to propel the literary left towards a "social" literature in the decisive years between the decimation of the Party after the purges of 1927⁴ and the formation of the League of Left-wing Writers (zuolian) in 1930.

Qian Xingcun's espousal of Marxism (he became a Party member in 1926) led him to demand works of literature that would agitate a popular audience to revolutionary activism, and he found the fiction of both Lu Xun and Mao Dun unsuited to this mission. He criticised the stories of Lu Xun's two collections Call to Arms (Nahan) and Hesitation (Panghuang) as more likely to depress than inspire young readers. Lu Xun himself was dismissed as a pitiful petty-bourgeois, the product, like his most enduring creation A Q, of a bygone age.⁵ The case made against Mao Dun's Eclipse (Shi) trilogy was that its characters were hapless victims of an ineluctable fate rather than proud masters of their own destiny as Qian Xingcun would have them be. Eclipse, Mao Dun's first fiction, written in 1927-8, presents the reactions of young intellectuals to momentous contemporary events: in the first part, Disillusion (Huanmie), every hope of a girl student is dashed; in Vacillation (Dongyao), an official suffers for his inability to decide between political and romantic alternatives; and the young

graduates of Pursuit (Zhuiqiu) fail in their attempts to fulfill themselves through education, journalism or hedonism.⁶ The author defended the bleakness of his fiction as an accurate reflection of his own mood:

I can only, therefore, tell the truth: I am rather disillusioned, I am pessimistic, I am depressed, and I express these feelings in the three novelettes without the slightest disguise. ⁷

The individualistic realism of literature implicit in Mao Dun's self-defence was unacceptable to Qian Xingcun, who used his essay on Mao Dun as a platform for his own views on the function of the arts. In a style that has been characterised as "deduced, dogmatic and very aggressive,"⁸ Qian advocated an agitational "proletarian literature" (the term was a recent import from Japan) wherein the writer would function as the mouthpiece of the masses (rather than speaking for himself alone) and "observe the world through the eyes of the proletarian vanguard"⁹ (the Communist Party).

Neither Lu Xun nor Mao Dun was a Party member at the time of Qian's attacks,¹⁰ and his exhortations did not succeed in turning them into propagandists for Party policies; however his stern demands for a "social" literature and strident tone are significant in their anticipation of the rhetoric of later years when the words of Party spokesmen were to carry greater force.

Qian's vituperation was silenced in the interests of solidarity in 1930, when the Communist Party succeeded in uniting the squabbling progressives of Shanghai around the common cause of resisting imperialism with the formation of the League of

Left-wing Writers.¹¹ The setting-up of the League was the Party's first success in gaining leadership of progressive intellectuals, and was a component in the changing climate of opinion that brought the communists to victory. Symbolic of this new unity (albeit tenuous) was the appearance of Lu Xun and Qian Xingcun (with Xia Yan) as joint chairmen of the League's inaugural meeting. Under the guidance of Qu Qiubai (from 1931-4), the League maintained a more or less united front, but its fragility was shown in 1936. In that year, Communist Party policy changed from confrontation with the Nationalists to alliance with all anti-Japanese forces, and the League was disbanded; the leftist literati were called upon to adhere to the new line by producing works emphasising patriotism rather than class or political affiliation. The clumsy and arbitrary methods used by Party spokesman Zhou Yang et al to win Lu Xun over to the new "National Defense Literature" (guofang wenxue) led to a series of bitter exchanges in the last months of Lu Xun's life.¹² Zhou Yang's unsubstantiated denunciation of Lu Xun's acolyte Hu Feng as a traitor led Lu Xun to "start distrusting and even detesting those young men like Zhou Qiyong [Zhou Yang] who like to slander others."¹³

The failure of Zhou Yang and his associates to impose discipline on the question of National Defense Literature was an instructive one for the Communist Party: it showed that autonomous leftists like Lu Xun, potent force in opposing corrupt regimes as they may be, do not lightly alter cherished

opinions to accommodate changes in Party policy. When the conflict between independence and discipline resurfaced in Yan'an, the Party was to attempt by means of the rectification campaign, to transform the literary intelligentsia.

ii) Jiangxi

No such problems of disciplining established writers into supporting Party policies confronted the leadership of the embattled Jiangxi Soviet; the problem was rather one of bringing revolutionary literature and art to an illiterate peasant populace. Qu Qiubai served as Commissar of Education to the Soviet after his arrival from Shanghai in January 1934 until he was left behind on the evacuation of the Soviet the following year. Despite the brevity of his tenure, Qu played a major role in shaping the literary policies of the Soviet, and thereby contributed greatly to the views Mao was to formulate at Yan'an.¹⁴

In the early 1930's in Shanghai, Qu Qiubai had expressed his view that the May Fourth movement had failed to produce a truly popular literature. Instead, he saw the new generation of revolutionary writers as a Westernised elite, producing works accessible only to their own kind, and alienated from any mass audience by their class (petty-bourgeois), their language (Europeanised baihua vernacular) and the inaccessibility of their writings. The "proletarian May Fourth" that Qu demanded would require a transformation of the artists, from

bourgeois to proletarian revolutionaries, and their works, from elite to popular. In the case of the artists, this was to involve abandonment of patronising attitudes towards the proletariat and protracted experience of the life and language of the popular audience. As for their works, the literature of the "proletarian May Fourth" was to be written in the common language (putonghua) of the people; it was to have as its content their "actual revolutionary struggle;" and it was to derive its form from popular styles with which the audience was already familiar. Thus, two years before his departure for Jiangxi, Qu Qiubai envisaged that, for example, the stories of The Water Margin (Shuihu zhuan) could be recycled to dramatise the exploits of the heroes of the Soviet.¹⁵

To the extent that the scanty source materials now available on the literature of the Jiangxi Soviet permit conclusions, it can be seen that a popular agitational literature of the kind that Qu had advocated did in fact emerge. The inhabitants of the Soviet were presented with works arising out of the struggle for survival, in forms ranging from spoken drama to local folk-songs. New words were set to traditional love-songs to tell of wives sending husbands off to war; and a policy statement by army commander Zhu De and political commissar Mao Zedong was written in doggerel.¹⁶

The organisation of artists (on which Qu had not spoken) was styled on Soviet practice. For example, drama was taught at the Gorky Drama School and performed by "blue-denimed troupes"

modelled on similar groups in the Soviet Union. Most of the writer-performers were extremely young, had no previous reputation and were not identified with the May Fourth movement.¹⁷ Consequently they could easily adapt to meet the immediate needs of the Soviet for propaganda in what Qu called "traditional popular forms."

Although Qu Qiubai himself was depressed at the last by the gulf that had existed between himself and the peasantry he had tried to serve,¹⁸ much experience had in fact been gained in the Jiangxi Soviet, both in terms of the organisation of the arts and the recycling of traditional forms in service of the political needs of the moment. On a theoretical and practical level, Qu Qiubai had provided a model for the literary policy that the Party was to adopt at the other end of the Long March.

II. Yan'an

i) Mao and the "Literary Opposition"

By 1942, the year of the Yan'an Forum and the rectification campaign, Mao Zedong had established himself firmly as the leader of the Communist Party. He had been actively engaged in revolutionary war for fifteen years and had been Party Chairman for seven. Furthermore he had, in 1941, staved off a challenge to his leadership from Wang Ming and the Soviet-trained "twenty-eight bolsheviks."¹⁹ At Yan'an, he had begun the synthesis of the theoretical system that became known as "Mao Zedong thought"

by combining the Marxism he had read (largely in the writings of Lenin and Stalin) and learned from colleagues with his own experiences as a revolutionary.²⁰ The empirical combines with the theoretical in Mao's Yan'an essay "On Practice" (Shijian lun)²¹ with which he defended himself against those at Yan'an (whom he called dogmatists) returning from their Party education in the Soviet Union believing that they were better qualified than he to lead the Chinese revolution. This practicality is evident in his attitude to the arts.

The sources of Mao's views on the arts are twofold: first, his own reading preferences and literary practice, and secondly theories inherited from the Soviet Union from translations or through such intermediaries as Qu Qiubai (in Jiangxi), Zhou Yang and Chen Boda (at Yan'an). His "literary world"²² will be considered first.

Though Mao acknowledged his indebtedness to the May Fourth movement and praised its anti-imperialism, he was, like Qu Qiubai, unimpressed with the literature that it had produced, finding it insipid and remote from the realities of Chinese society. His own preference, as expressed in the autobiography dictated to Edgar Snow, was for the tales of The Water Margin and Three Kingdoms (Sanguo zhi yanyi): "What I enjoyed were the romances of old China, and especially stories of rebellions ... I believe that perhaps I was much influenced by these books, read at an early age."²³ It is not surprising that the May Fourth writer he most appreciated was Lu

Xun. Lu Xun was a more traditional, and less Europeanised, writer than his younger associates. His best fiction is set in small-town central China around the time of the collapse of the Qing dynasty, and depicts struggling tradesmen, insecure intellectuals and other typical characters from late imperial and early republican China that Mao would have known well. So it was precisely the traditionalism that Qian Xingcun abhorred that made Lu Xun's writing accessible to Mao.

Mao's disdain for most May Fourth writing should not be seen as absolute anti-intellectualism on his part. Certainly he had less than fond memories of the Westernised elite who had spurned him as a young provincial during his sojourn in Beijing, and whom he decried in the "Talks" as "remote and uncomprehending"²⁴ towards the masses they affected to lead. He mistrusted the humanistic individualism of the Lu Xun disciples who came to Yan'an, and resented their pretensions to leading roles in the artistic life of the liberated areas independent from the control of Party Central. Yet Mao clearly saw himself as an intellectual and artist on a par with the best of them by virtue of his poetry, and their senior as a revolutionary. In his poem "Snow" (Xue), Mao had portrayed himself as a warrior-leader of the stature of Qin Shihuang, Tang Taizong and Ghengis Khan, yet surpassing them all as an "exceptional character" (fengliu renwu) with his greater literary cultivation.²⁵

Mao's literary theories were profoundly utilitarian.

From the Stalinist interpretation of Lenin's "Party Organisation and Party Literature"²⁶ he took the view that the arts were a component in the overall activities of the revolutionary Party (the "cog and screw" theory mentioned in the introduction). In this respect, Mao was both a Stalinist and a traditional Chinese leader; as John K. Fairbank has observed of imperial China: "print was to be used in the service of orthodoxy as judged by the political authorities."²⁷ Mao's views on the arts fall within the mainstream of Chinese pragmatism as defined by James J. Y. Liu, as "a means to achieve political, social, moral or educational purposes."²⁸

Much of what Mao had to say on the future development of the arts and the role of the artists was derived from Qu Qiubai. The "national scientific mass culture"²⁹ Mao associated with new-democracy was strikingly similar to Qu's "proletarian May Fourth." Both men saw the need for intellectuals to transform their ideology and their language to bring them closer to the majority of the population, and maintained that long-term integration of intellectuals among the masses was the only way that this could be achieved. Furthermore, both advocated that art for a popular audience should be in a form with which that audience could identify. Mao's indebtedness to Qu Qiubai was considerable; indeed, Qu Qiubai's political biographer Paul G. Pickowicz observes that: "first, while the ideas of Mao and Qu are by no means identical, Mao said very little that had not been said already by Qu. Second, and perhaps more

significant, where their views differ, Qu seems to have adopted the more radical positions."³⁰

Mao's formulation of policies for the arts in 1942 came as a direct response to the views of a group of intellectuals whom Gregor Benton has described as a Yan'an "literary opposition,"³¹ whose members included Ding Ling, Xiao Jun, Ai Qing and Wang Shiwei. In addition to their long and often bitter experiences of revolutionary activity in the Nationalist-controlled "white" areas, the first three named also had considerable literary reputations. They may well have regarded themselves as heirs to the legacy of Lu Xun and the natural leaders of modern Chinese literature, positions which Mao, while welcoming them to Yan'an, was unprepared to cede to them.

Their criticism of the Yan'an leadership, and implicitly Mao, was contained in articles many of which appeared in the "literature column" of the Yan'an newspaper Liberation Daily (Jiefang ribao).³² Their essays included criticisms of inequities existing at Yan'an (which need not concern us here), and, crucially to the present discussion, views on art and the artist incompatible with those of Mao, Zhou Yang and Chen Boda. They believed, first, in the right of the artist to express himself without fear of political intervention: "Apart from creative freedom," Ai Qing wrote in "Understand Authors, Respect Authors" (Liaojie zuojia, zunzhong zuojia), "authors demand no privileges."³³ Secondly, separation of the roles

of "Politicians and Artists" (Zhengzhijia yishujia) was demanded by Wang Shiwei. Wang held that politicians should concern themselves with human society, artists with the human soul, and that neither should meddle in the other's territory. (Wang's argument is disingenuous, in that, while decrying the meddling of politicians in the arts, he is reserving the right to intervene in politics himself.) Wang suggested that politicians who gained control of the arts would use them for self-aggrandisement, while artists could be relied upon to act with integrity.³⁴ Thirdly, it was the duty of the artist to expose the "darkness" (hei'an) i.e., injustices, harmful practices and attitudes, as Wang and Ding Ling had done in their criticisms of Yan'an life. Wang Shiwei maintained that it was more important for artists to purge the uncleanness of the individual and their own society than to "turn the guns outward" (qiangkou xiang wai)³⁵ by criticising the enemy. Ai Qing saw the artist as a surgeon of the soul, wielding a scalpel to lance spiritual ills rather than soothing his patients with palliatives.³⁶ The scalpel recommended for the purpose by Ding Ling and Luo Feng was the incisive zawen essay used by Lu Xun against his opponents in Shanghai.³⁷

ii) The "Talks"

The humanism, individualism and desire for autonomy of these authors typified those aspects of May Fourth thinking that Mao wished to see transformed. The "Talks" are Mao's refutation.

The familiarity of the "Talks", and the availability of Bonnie S. McDougall's judicious commentary on the earliest text extant,³⁸ make further extensive analysis unnecessary. Here we will concentrate only on what Mao had to say about the function of the arts and the role of the artist.

a. Function of the Arts

What then is the crux of the matter? In my view it consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. 39

Thus Mao, early in his concluding speech to the Forum, sought to define the tasks facing the authors of the base areas. The "masses" he defined as workers, peasants and soldiers, adding to these groups the revolutionary cadres in his introduction and the petty-bourgeoisie in his conclusion. In terms of how these groups were to be served, Mao emphasised political criteria: the arts were to be subordinate to politics and should serve goals defined by political leaders -- in the present case unity under Party leadership in resistance to Japan. This is, of course, a direct contrast with Wang Shiwei's preferred separation of politics from art, as Mao's audience was doubtless aware. Unlike Wang, Mao did wish to "turn the guns outwards" focussing criticism on the enemy while emphasising the positive at Yan'an.

The vital fourth section of Mao's conclusion, ostensibly on the importance of the political criterion in literary criticism, was in fact a systematic refutation of the views

of the literary opposition, particularly of Wang Shiwei's "Politicians and Artists."⁴⁰ Mao rejected humanism and love of mankind as starting-points for artistic creation, and countered by saying that in a class society, class differences define inter-personal relations and override abstract considerations of humanity and love. Rejecting Wang's notion of the arts as responsible for exposing the inequities of Yan'an society, Mao proposed that, instead, praise (gesong) should be directed towards the people and the Party, despite their shortcomings, while exposure (baolu) should be almost exclusively reserved for the enemy. Further, Mao specifically ruled out the use of the zawen essay that Ding Ling and Luo Feng had advocated. The nature of the zawen had been as a means to expose the evils of an unjust society in which the writers had lived, and, to Mao, the different nature of 1930's Shanghai and 1940's Yan'an rendered the form obsolete. Mao's utilitarianism is at its plainest here: what is not appropriate to the Party's cause, even if cherished by writers and associated with Lu Xun, must be done away with.

The dialectical nature of Mao's thinking on the function of the arts is evident in references to "accessibility" (puji) and "refinement" (tigao), terms which are elsewhere rendered "popularisation" and "raising standards." Given the practical constraints imposed by the scant education of the popular audience, and the relative success of the Jiangxi Soviet's literary policies in agitational terms, Mao opted for

"accessibility" in bringing a motivational message to the largest possible numbers, but still stressed the need for immediate "refinement" of works intended for cadres and students and future large-scale "refinement" to meet the changing needs of a better educated mass audience.

Mao's insistence on the subordination of the arts to politics, and indeed his calling of the Yan'an Forum in the first place, testify to his recognition of the power of art, especially when it is of high aesthetic quality, to inspire or depress its audience. Like Lenin, Mao saw that under his control, the arts could be invaluable to the revolution and the cause of the Communist Party; and that conversely, art was too powerful a weapon to be left in the hands of independent humanists like the literary opposition. An inherent problem was that to produce Party literature of the required quality for the workers, peasants and soldiers, the services of intellectuals, most of whom were of petty-bourgeois origins, was essential.

b. Role of the Artist

Implicit in Mao's "Talks" was the recognition that, for the time being at least, literature and art were to be provided for the masses by an educated elite. The life of the masses was to provide the raw material for the arts, but Mao did not see the masses themselves giving that material artistic shape. The artist's role was to process life into elegant literary form for the masses to appreciate.

In the "Talks," the people who produce art are referred to as "workers in the arts" (wenyi gongzuozhe), in preference to Ai Qing's "authors" (zuo jia) or Wang Shiwei's "artists" (yishujia). Mao perceived the artist as a literary artisan, reworking material under his master's watchful eye, rather than a revered professional, the engineer of the human soul or the spiritual surgeon. In this context, Mao refuted Wang's description of Lu Xun as a lonely titan struggling bitterly with his own impurities, and presented him instead fiercely defying the enemy and humbly serving the people. (Both are plausible analyses of limited aspects of Lu Xun's complex character, selected to support opposite positions; Mao and Wang both sought, as have many others in subsequent literary debates, to bring the shade of Lu Xun on side.)⁴¹

Mao's attempt to define the character of the literary form given to life required from the reshaping of life into art is contained in a resounding, if imprecise, passage which was later used to justify the Cultural Revolution policy regarding the portrayal of pre-eminent heroes; it came to be known as the "six even mores" (liu geng):

life as reflected in a work of art can and should be even more lofty, even more intense, even more concentrated, even more typical, even more ideal and thus even more universal than actual ordinary life. 42

How were intellectuals who were (in Mao's opinion) unfamiliar with and patronising towards the masses be persuaded to assume the role that Mao had in mind for them? Mao's answer

to this question was the same as had been Qu Qiubai's a decade earlier: by transforming their thinking and their language. This was to be achieved by thorough study of approved texts of Marxism-Leninism⁴³ and by protracted contact with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In a conciliatory passage in the introduction to the "Talks," Mao offered his own example as an instance of the way this transformation from petty-bourgeois to proletarian ideology, and from alienation from the masses to acceptance by them, could come about. Mao's emphasis on the study of Marxism-Leninism was sterner in his conclusion, probably in response to the objection raised by Ouyang Shan the previous year that study of revolutionary theory was stifling to creativity; Mao insisted that he certainly wanted to see destroyed those creative impulses that were "feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberal, individual, nihilist, art-for-art's-sake, aristocratic, decadent, pessimistic."⁴⁴ For Mao, there was no contradiction between orthodoxy (correctness) and creativity.

These latter comments by Mao are a clear condemnation of the May Fourth style of writing in which the members of the "literary opposition" were well versed; for example, many of the epithets used by Mao, in language reminiscent of Qian Xingcun, to describe undesirable creative impulses could legitimately be applied to Mao Dun's Eclipse trilogy or Ding Ling's famous story "Diary of Miss Sophie" (Shafei nüshi de riji).⁴⁵ With the conditions Mao prescribed for art and the

artist under Communist Party control, May Fourth-style writing could not long survive at Yan'an.

(Many commentators writing in the West have decried the "Talks" for their rejection of May Fourth writing. For C. T. Hsia, "in repudiating the Western tradition in modern Chinese literature [the Talks] ... reversed the course of that literature and killed its potential for future development."⁴⁶ Hsia implies here that the West provided the only possible source for the development of Chinese literature; his own eminent analysis of China's classic fiction (inter alia) refutes this by demonstrating the wealth of the indigenous tradition. One may infer that his remarks on the "Talks" are emotional outburst as much as scholarly conclusion. More pertinent is the contention of his brother T. A. Hsia that Mao, in his "Talks", harmed the arts by taking them away from the individual and giving them to the Party.⁴⁷ Mao did indeed maintain that those individualists who were challenging his authority could not be relied upon to produce works adhering to the criteria he had set forth: supporting the war effort, engendering confidence in the Communist Party, etc. T. A. Hsia's objections are the more cogent in that their focus is on the effect of the "Talks" not at Yan'an, but after the establishment of the People's Republic. He points out that the application of the "Talks" have been far more illiberal and dogmatic than the original text itself; Hsia's observation, made in 1962, is prophetic of the puritanical

readings of the text prevalent during the Cultural Revolution.)

While Mao was clear as to the function of art, his "Talks" give little indication of the form artistic works should take. To demand that literature should arise out of real life, and to demand (in passing) "proletarian/socialist realism"⁴⁸ as a means to that end, still appears to leave choices regarding form and style in the hands of the author. However, Mao's recommendation of the "budding literature and art" (mengya zhuangtai de wenyi) of the masses as models for literary and artistic workers to emulate was an indication of Mao's approval for positions taken on "national forms" by others at Yan'an, notably Zhou Yang and Chen Boda. The influence of the debates on "national forms" is evident in the literature produced after the Yan'an Forum.

iii) "National Forms"

In extant texts of Mao's Yan'an writings, there is only a single, tangential reference to "national forms," as something to be integrated with foreign forms in the enduring quest for the holy grail of a modern and quintessentially Chinese culture.⁴⁹ At the Jiangxi Soviet, this integration had been seen in the use of both folk-song (an indigenous form) and spoken drama (a Western importation) to convey a propaganda message. In Yan'an, the foreign forms, like the "refinement" of the accessibility/refinement dialectic, were to take a subservient position. Mao's views on the unsuitability of most Westernised

writing to the conditions of Yan'an, and their antecedents in the thought of Qu Qiubai, have been outlined above. Further, Mao had little knowledge of the Western literary heritage, and he did not feel the need (as had Marx and Engels) to make it widely available to a mass audience.⁵⁰ The writers that had excited the imagination of the revolutionary intellectuals of Beijing and Shanghai -- Byron, Shelley, Keats, the young Goethe, Balzac, Yeats, Ibsen et al⁵¹ -- meant little to Mao, and the imitative works of their Chinese admirers were alien and objectionable to him.

An alternative model, also unfamiliar in its form but made more acceptable by virtue of its ideological content, was the work of Gorky and the other Russian "socialist realists." Soviet literature had influenced some Chinese writers: Xiao Jun's Countryside in August (Bayue de Xiangcun),⁵² a sinification of Fadeyev's The Rout,⁵³ was popular, if controversial, when it appeared in Shanghai in the mid-1930's. It was, however, the original Russian novel that Mao praised in his "Talks," both because of its association with Lu Xun (who had translated it) and out of distaste for Xiao Jun's criticisms of life at Yan'an.⁵⁴ Zhou Libo, who taught Russian literature at the Lu Xun academy in Yan'an, admitted to the influence of Sholokhov's writing on his novel Hurricane (Baofeng zhouyu).⁵⁵ However, at Yan'an and thereafter, there seems to have been no wholesale borrowing from Soviet sources.⁵⁶

It was the indigenous literary tradition that was chosen to

provide the forms which, emptied of Confucian ideology and feudal customs, could be refilled according to the political guidelines of the "Talks." "National forms" encompassed both performing folk-arts (balladry, story-telling, yangge, etc.) and more elite forms with broad popular appeal (classic fiction, Beijing opera, etc.). While the folk forms were readily accessible to a local audience and provided a basis for literary work at Yan'an, the limitations imposed by their rustic regional nature became clear as the Red Army headed south; the more literary "national forms" retained their appeal even after the withdrawal from Shaanxi.

The advocates of "national forms" at Yan'an saw that folk styles would be a useful initial vehicle in conveying a communist message, as had been done in the Jiangxi Soviet. Before the "Talks," Zhou Yang, for example, had discussed the "national forms" in terms of the dialectical relationship between accessibility and refinement, maintaining that folk idioms were an acceptable base from which to build a more refined proletarian culture.⁵⁷ For Zhou Yang, the transformation of folk idiom was a strictly temporary expedient; a reader with his wide-ranging tastes could hardly be satisfied for long with such limited fare. A stronger advocate of "national forms" among Mao's advisers at Yan'an was Chen Boda, whose commendation of the integration of popular culture was a component in the wider sinification of Marxism in which he and Mao were the major figures, and which resulted in Mao Zedong thought.⁵⁸ Chen saw

"national forms" as the means whereby the masses could contribute (albeit through the intermediacy of intellectuals) to the creation of a revolutionary Chinese culture during the transition to socialism, and he rejected the argument (put forward by Wang Shiwei, and resulting in a sharp rhetorical exchange) that popular forms were irrevocably tainted by their origins in a backward feudal culture and were best dispensed with altogether.⁵⁹ Wang's implication that feudal Chinese culture could be more harmful than Western culture was unacceptable to a nationalist like Chen Boda.

That the significant feature of literature produced after the rectification campaign was the "persistence of traditional forms" has been noted by many commentators. (Jaroslav Průšek observed the conscious revival of a wide range of popular traditions in his landmark study Die Literatur des Befreiten Chinas und Ihre Volkstraditionen,⁶⁰ and Cyril Birch and others have made similar observations in the case of fiction.⁶¹) A mass movement was launched to transform the comic and often bawdy local dramatic form of yangge ("rice-sprout song") into a medium for mass education and the promulgation of Party policy.⁶² A Beijing Opera with a historical setting but a contemporary message, Forced to Ascend Liangshan (Bi shang Liangshan)⁶³ showed the righteous rebellion of The Water Margin to latter-day rebels of Yan'an and won Mao's praise for opening a new era in opera;⁶⁴ it was followed by The White-haired Girl (Baimao nü),⁶⁵ the dramatisation of a contemporary story in which the

sufferings of the central character are brought to an end by the arrival of communist troops. Audience reaction to the play witnessed by Jack Belden attested to its effectiveness as propaganda;⁶⁶ the familiarity of its formal conventions must have contributed to its political effectiveness.

The influence of story-telling and balladry is seen in the early stories of Zhao Shuli, some of the first fiction to appear after the Yan'an Forum. In his best-known story "Li Youcai's Rhymes" (Li Youcai banhua), written in 1943, the clapper-
tales (kuaiban) of the central character indicate corruption in an apparently harmonious village, and justice is restored by the communist authorities.⁶⁷ Both Průšek and Birch note the influence of The Water Margin on the Yan'an novel New Son and Daughter Heroes (Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan)⁶⁸ and of Three Kingdoms on Heroes of Lüliang (Lüliang yingxiong zhuan);⁶⁹ Birch says of the latter novel that it "is very clearly for mass consumption, new wine in an old and well-loved bottle."⁷⁰

It is not suprising that works in a traditional style easily accessible to a peasant audience should have made such effective propaganda at Yan'an. What is questionable is the extent to which a new literature grew out of this imitation of the old. Wang Shiwei's misgivings about "national forms" as a basis for a truly modern Chinese literature had been prescient. As it transpired, traditional works provided not only the vessel for the new wine (the song-and-patter framework of the yangge, the simulated story-teller context of the novel) but also much of its

body (stock character-types, plot motifs) with only the flavour changed by the essence of communism with which the tincture was infused. The tenacious grip of the "national forms" persisted well into the post-1949 years, and many of the most popular novels of the 1950's and 1960's borrowed liberally from traditional works.⁷¹

There have been occasions when a familiar, even hackneyed, plot-line or character-type has been delightfully revived in the hands of a sophisticated writer. Appended to this chapter in illustration is an account of the recycling of a tale from The Water Margin in three manifestations from Yan'an to the mid-1960's. Essentially, however, the perpetuation of the "national forms" has been a conservative force in Chinese literature, fostering archaism at the expense of the bolder writing that might have inherited the modernism of the best of the May Fourth tradition and still been Chinese enough in its language and style to reach a mass audience, and thereby realised the "proletarian May Fourth" desired by Qu Qiubai.

III. From 1949 to the Eve of the Cultural Revolution

Both the literary politics and the major novels of the period have been described elsewhere, by Merle Goldman⁷² and Joe C. Huang⁷³ respectively, and need not be reviewed here at length. Germane to the present study is the way in which the Yan'an position on the social and political role of the arts as a component in political struggle was periodically restated in

response to various perceived threats. Such reiterations habitually coincided with the resurfacing of the developmental model associated with Yan'an.⁷⁴

After 1949, Soviet-style governmental institutions were set up to oversee writers and artists, and Party literary policy was enunciated by the heads of these institutions, notably Zhou Yang. Cultural Revolution literary histories portray these years as dominated by a "black line" contrary to Mao's policies as stated at Yan'an.⁷⁵ Certainly there were periods of greater eclecticism, featuring a wider range of subjects permitted in debate, greater freedom to examine the concerns of the individual and more liberality towards artists in their choice of subject-matter. Mao's interventions, as emphasised afterwards, characteristically presaged tighter control and rectification. His first move against a target in the arts after 1949 was his objection to the film The Life of Wu Xun (Wu Xun zhuan); his comments placed greater emphasis on class struggle than had been the case at Yan'an, where his prime concern had been to unite the population of the liberated areas to support the military struggle. Mao held that The Life of Wu Xun showed the masses passively grateful to a wealthy philanthropist rather than rising up to overthrow feudalism; thus it represented to him propaganda for the feudal gentry and a distortion of the role of the proletariat.⁷⁶

Mao's orchestration of the campaign against Hu Feng in 1954 was in response to a challenge to the authority of the "Talks."

Hu Feng (whom Lu Xun had defended against the Party in 1936) had objected both to Party control of the arts and to the elevation of the "Talks" as a totem after 1949. The campaign against Hu Feng was presented by Mao as a consciousness-raising exercise in suppressing counter-revolutionaries.⁷⁷ Its effect was to provide fair warning of what was to come in terms of literary rectification, and to hasten the ascent of Yao Wenyuan.

In the mid-1950's Mao offered some elaboration of his Yan'an utterances on both form and content. In his "Talk to Music Workers" of August 1956 he reiterated the position Chen Boda had taken on "national forms," insisting that the purpose of studying foreign art was to "create a new socialist art of the various peoples of China, which will possess its own national forms and styles."⁷⁸ The anti-rightist campaign of the following year (1957) marked a return to harsh criticism of dissenting intellectuals reminiscent of the Yan'an rectification. Mao's 1957 essay "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (Guanyu zhengque chuli renmin neibu maodun) established guidelines that would bring to an end criticisms of the Party and its policies (including those by authors representing the "scout" view of the artist) unleashed by the Hundred Flowers movement of the previous year. Mao admitted a lack of class character to the twin slogans of that year -- "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" (baihua qifang, baijia zhengming), and amended this lack by presenting six criteria

for distinguishing politically acceptable works, or "fragrant flowers" (xianghua) from unacceptable ones, or "poisonous weeds" (ducao). The two most important of these, (in Mao's estimation), were that works of art "should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction", and that "they should strengthen, and not shake off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party."⁷⁹ Mao did not carry out the attack on the "rightists" himself; typically he left it to Zhou Yang to summarise the Party's case against those who were judged to have made excessive criticisms.⁸⁰

Following the second "blooming and contending" of 1961-2, Mao expressed disillusion and exasperation with the effects of Party policies in the arts (inter alia) in two short "critical evaluations" (pishi) in 1963 and 1964. He concluded that in the arts, especially in the field of opera "socialist transformation has had minimal effect up to now," and that the institutions supposed to control the arts "have not carried out Party policy, have acted officiously, have not made contact with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and have not reflected socialist revolution and reconstruction."⁸¹ In other words, the literature anticipated at Yan'an had failed to emerge. For Mao, it was time to wipe the slate clean and start again, and in this his agents were Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing. Their attacks on the literary establishment and their proposals for a revolutionary transformation of the arts are the basis for the

discussion, in the next chapter, of Cultural Revolution literary theory.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1
NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES:
FOUR FACES OF A BOGUS BRIDE

To illustrate the perpetuation of the "national forms" and to show how a motif from the Chinese tradition could be reworked by communist authors within a new context, we will review an incident from The Water Margin and three recent reworkings. The tale might best be called "come-uppance at the hands of a bogus bride." As it appears in the original, a bandit chieftain forces an unwilling father to give up his daughter in marriage; after the wedding feast, the girl is replaced in the bridal bedchamber by the "stout fellow" (haohan) Lu Zhishen. The bandit gets as far as stroking Lu's bare belly in the dark before the "bride" siezes him and beats him up.¹ (In an equivalent story in Journey to the West (Xiyou ji) it is the Monkey King Sun Wukong who plays wife to the venal pig-spirit Zhubajie.² In the Yan'an novel New Son and Daughter Heroes, the groom is a Japanese army commander and the intended reluctant bride is the novel's romantic heroine Little Plum. Her place is taken at the wedding by Niu Xiaoshui, a young member of a communist guerilla band -- the latter-day haohan. The plot is more elaborate than the Water Margin original, with Xiaoshui bewigged, high-heeled and lipsticked as the bride. When the drunken groom claims his conjugal rights, he gets no more than a feel of Xiaoshui's leg before the "bride" shoots him.³

Much the same scene provides the climax to the 1964 opera Sparks in the Reeds (Lutang huozhong); here the guerillas, masterminded by the teahouse proprietress Aqing's wife, provide the cooks, musicians and sedan-chair bearers for the marriage of a nationalist commander. In this case, however, the "bride" does not appear, as the commander and his retinue are captured before the ceremony.⁴ (When the opera was adapted by Jiang Qing as a model opera, with the new title Shajiabang, the wedding-scene finale was abandoned for a more conventional guerilla attack, to the detriment of the opera as entertainment.⁵)

The final version of the "bogus bride" motif to be considered is as it appears, much adapted but still recognisable, in Hao Ran's 1964 novel Bright Sunny Skies (Yanyang Tian). Here a marriage is to be arranged rather than consummated. Jiao Shuhong, like Little Plum the ideal match for the novel's hero, is courted by the bookish and untrustworthy Ma Liben. Ma discovers that Shuhong will be taking her turn to guard unharvested crops at night, and arranges to meet her at her post, lending her a large straw hat to wear. That night, seeing the wearer of the hat crouching at the assigned spot huddled in a padded coat, Ma delivers his words of passion. Emboldened by the silence of the listener, Ma risks a kiss, and comes up against the bristly cheek of Shuhong's father, whom the girl has persuaded to replace her. Ma's boldness costs him a punch in the mouth and an earful of insult.⁶ This is the most comic version

of the story, both because it is the least violent and because the reader discovers at the same time as Ma Liben who is under the hat, since the author has led up to the incident by describing only Ma Liben's excited anticipation. Creative use of a familiar motif has enriched the story, leaving the reader with something that combines the accessibility and refinement which the Yan'an "Talks" had aimed to synthesise.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL REVOLUTION LITERARY THEORY:

YAO WENYUAN AND JIANG QING

The opening salvo of the Maoist counter-attack against the "blooming and contending" of the early 1960's was a collaboration involving its named author, Yao Wenyuan, with Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing. With "A Criticism of the Recent Historical Drama Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" (Ping xinbian lishiju Hai Rui ba guan),¹ the setting of cultural policy passed into the hands of Yao and Jiang Qing, who were to command the arts in China for the next decade. In articles and speeches dating from the five years 1964-8, Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing established guidelines for literary endeavour in the Cultural Revolution. Thereafter, they ceased to publish in their own names, working instead through surrogates organised into writing-teams.²

The essays and speeches of Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing offer a rationalisation for the denunciation of the cultural authorities and literary production of the seventeen years following the communist victory, and seek, through puritanical exegesis of the "Talks," to justify stern new rules for artistic creativity. Yao's role was to attack specific members of the literary establishment, and specific works, as inimical to Mao (both the man and his thought) and consequently counter-revolutionary; only by implication did he decree what literature should be. Jiang Qing concentrated, in the

documents now available, on attacking literary theories rather than personalities (though there is ample evidence of personal vindictiveness elsewhere), and establishing guidelines and exemplars for art that would contain it within an exclusively "social" role in the service of the policies of the Communist Party and by extension, of her own ambitions and caprices.

I. Yao Wen yuan

Yao Wen yuan had been active in Shanghai literary circles for a decade before his attack on Wu Han was published in November 1965. His previous activities qualified him for the role of cultural avenging angel at the outset of the Cultural Revolution. Particularly in essays dating from the "anti-rightist" movement of the late 1950's, Yao had exhibited a highly political view of the arts, and a polemical style, that set the style for Cultural Revolution critical writing. Three major critical essays by Yao -- on Wu Han's opera, on a newspaper column by the "three-family village" of Deng Tuo, Wu Han and Liao Mosha, and on Zhou Yang, epitomise the Cultural Revolution attack on the literary establishment of the seventeen years 1949-66. From these three essays can be extrapolated the theoretical basis for Yao Wen yuan and Jiang Qing's seizure of control over the arts, and an early indication of the art, and the artists, that would be permitted to flourish in the Cultural Revolution.

i) Yao's Early Career³

Yao became known as an aggressive critic (the Chinese term is gunzi "cudgel") for his attacks on writers during the 1950's, first in the campaign against Hu Feng, and then, more prominently, in the "anti-rightist" campaign. Central to Yao's outlook on artistic questions was his concentration on the political message of art and emphasis on class struggle. Writing in 1958, he had this summary of the literary history of the first decade of the People's Republic:

The history of China's new literature is primarily the history of the proletarian literary line struggling with the bourgeois literary line both inside and outside revolutionary literature. It is the history of Marxist-Leninist literary theory struggling with naked feudal restorationism, reactionary bourgeois and revisionist theory cloaked in Marxist terminology. It is the history of the world of revolutionary literature struggling with enemies outside and enemies who have sneaked in.⁴

Yao presented himself as the defender of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism against revisionism in cultural spheres. To Yao, revisionism meant believing that art, and artists, were special and warranted special treatment, and denying that the arts are subservient to politics and must follow the Party's instructions.⁵ His most virulent attacks were on those "revisionists" who defended themselves by attacking dogmatism, a charge frequently, and justifiably, laid against Yao, and strengthened by drawing authority from Mao's "On Practice" in which dogmatism and empiricism are both condemned.

Thus Yao interpreted the anti-dogmatism of Hu Feng (which was directed at Mao), and later of Yao Xueyin and Liu Shaotang (which was aimed at himself), as a rejection of the theoretical base provided for the arts in Mao's "Talks."

Yao consistently used his interpretation of Mao on the arts as the base from which to attack those who were theoretically opposed to him or who stood in the way of his advancement in cultural circles. Targets of attack among writers of fiction included Wang Meng and Liu Binyan, young authors whose idealistic heroes (in stories published in 1956) were suppressed by craven, corrupt or cynical office-holders;⁶ Yao construed their stories as attacks on socialism.⁷ Their offence was linked to that of Qin Zhaoyang, the editor who had published their stories in People's Literature (Renmin wenxue). Qin had further demanded a "realist" literature that was "loyal to life" as the author perceived it, in preference to the Party control implicit in both the "socialist realism" advocated at Yan'an and its successor, the "combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism" (formulated after Qin's article on realism was published).⁸ Other targets included the humanist literary critic Ba Ren, whose emphasis on "man" (ren) Yao Wenyuan, following Mao at Yan'an, took to be a denial of the determining role of class struggle in defining human relations;⁹ and Ba Jin, for his past association with anarchism and the potentially depressing effect of his writings on the young.¹⁰

This series of attacks on leading cultural figures

inevitably alienated Yao Wenyuan from much of the literary establishment, and has been denounced, since Yao's fall, as demonstrable ultra-leftism on his part.¹¹ However, while he was consistent in his demands for a polemical "social" literature, Yao was punctilious in his adherence to current Party guidelines at any stage. As his critical biographer Lars Ragvald wryly observes of his anti-revisionist writings: "every new insight gained by Yao shows a strange coincidence with the official elaboration of rightism and revisionism."¹²

Condemnation greatly outweighs commendation in Yao's writing, but it is instructive to see what kind of literature Yao praised in his anti-revisionist essays, as a preview of works produced under his authority. Yao's preference was for simple propagandistic works by authors stronger on practical experience than schooling. This is shown in his defense, against Liu Shaotang, of works produced in the liberated areas before 1949, including the early stories of Zhao Shuli. Yao refuted Liu's claim that these works, and the "Talks" that inspired them, were ephemera specific to their times, claiming for them lasting value.¹³ He held up Du Pengchong, author of the novel Defend Yan'an (Baowei Yan'an) as one of a new breed of author schooled in battle rather than the arts who would replace the aesthetes and theoreticians he despised.¹⁴ Of post-1949 works, he lavished praise on the new-style folk-songs of the Great Leap, (which were both simple propaganda and latter-day "national forms"), and the fiction of uneducated

worker-writers like Hu Wanchun.¹⁵ Yao abandoned the specific authors he praised when the situation demanded (Zhao Shuli was denounced for his "middle characters," Du Pengchong for his supposed hagiography of Peng Dehuai), but retained his preference for works of this kind.

Yao's perception of his role throughout his career was that, as a critic, he should be a Party cadre exercising political surveillance over the arts. His responsibility, as he saw it, was not to the artists, but to the Party. By the time of his attack on Wu Han, Yao had significantly narrowed the scope of this responsibility, identifying the Party exclusively with Mao, and the ideology to be defended as Mao's thought. In this sense, he was, as Ragvald suggests (but does not develop) a Chinese equivalent of Andrei Zhdanov, who insisted that artists eulogise socialism, the Communist Party and its leader (Stalin), and eschew "tastes and habits that have nothing in common with the morality and traits of the Soviet people."¹⁶ For Yao, as for Zhdanov, political criteria were primary, and his sensitivity to political innuendo was never more acute than in his three Cultural Revolution criticisms.

ii) The Object of Yao's Attacks: the "Blooming and Contending" of 1961-2

Though Peng Dehuai had been dismissed, at Mao's insistence, for his blunt condemnation of the Great Leap Forward in 1959, there was clearly support for his position among the leadership

in the early 1960's. The brief liberalisation of 1961-2 coincided with economic policies marking retreat from the mass mobilisation and political activism of the Great Leap. The manifestations of the "blooming and contending" (to use Merle Goldman's phrase¹⁷) were indirect criticism of Mao and his mass-line policies, and a tendency in the arts away from the strident and often simplistic social writing that had won Yao Wen Yuan's praise in the late 1950's.

The attacks on Mao came from Beijing, where they appeared on the opera stage and in newspaper columns. In addition to Wu Han's drama on Hai Rui, other operas with historical settings made indirect criticisms of Mao. The Tang dynasty heroine of Tian Han's Xie Yaohuan pleads with a harsh ruler who has put his own pride before the interests of the peasantry. The concubine Li Huiniang, in Meng Chao's opera of the same name, is executed after criticising the confiscation of peasants' land by her ruler husband, and returns as a ghost to be avenged.¹⁸ Both implicitly condemned the collectivisation of peasant land to form the people's communes as confiscation, and portrayed Mao, through analogy with past autocrats, as an uncaring tyrant forcing unpopular policies on the peasantry. The two newspaper columns which similarly criticised Mao and the Great Leap were "Evening Chats at Yanshan" (Yanshan yehua) by Deng Tuo,¹⁹ which appeared in Beijing's daily and evening papers in 1961-2, and "Notes from Three-Family Village" (Sanjiacun zhaji), by Deng, Wu Han

and Liao Mosha in the Beijing journal Frontline (Qianxian) from 1961 to 1964.²⁰ Some of the allegations made by Deng, Wu and Liao against Mao will be summarised in the analysis of Yao's essay "A Criticism of 'Three-Family Village'" (Ping "Sanjiacun")²¹ below.

At the same time these criticisms were being made, Xia Yan (the Party official supervising cinema and a long-time associate of Zhou Yang) was encouraging film-makers to broaden the scope of their works to include more personal and intimate films, in contrast to the propagandistic, nationalistic and predominantly military themes of the rushed productions of the late 1950's. This led to screen adaptations of May Fourth works like Ba Jin's Family (Jia), Mao Dun's Lin Family Store (Linjia puzi) and Rou Shi's Early Spring in February (Zaochun eryue), each of which featured intense psychological and moral struggles within the hearts of bourgeois characters sympathetically portrayed.

Debates on literary theory in the early 1960's showed a tendency away from the "social" function of art implicit in the formulations "socialist realism" or "revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism." At a conference in 1962 on stories about the countryside, Shao Quanlin proposed that stories might concentrate on "middle characters" (zhongjian renwu) neither heroic nor evil, rather than showing the poor peasantry as necessarily progressive politically, as official policy dictated, and as they had appeared in the

stories of the Great Leap Forward.²²

Shao's theories, and many others which were condemned as heterodox in the Cultural Revolution, were by no means uncontested before that.²³ However, for Yao Wenyuan, the lack of a full-scale political campaign to condemn either the criticisms of Mao or the de-emphasis on class conflict was clear evidence of complicity by the officials overseeing the arts in a conspiracy against Mao by bourgeois intellectuals. Zhou Yang, as Party official in charge of the arts, was for Yao the chief culprit.

Yao's three criticisms will be summarised below in the order of their publication, starting with his essay on Wu Han's opera.

iii) Hai Rui Dismissed from Office²⁴

Wu Han, the deputy mayor of Beijing, had begun to write about the Ming dynasty "upright official" (qingguan) Hai Rui shortly after Peng Dehuai's criticism of Mao at the Lushan Plenum in August 1959.²⁵ Hai Rui Dismissed from Office (Hai Rui ba guan) was Wu Han's first opera.²⁶ It was presented in 1961 and withdrawn after a few performances. The story of the opera, set in Suzhou in 1569-70, is as follows: the family of Xu Jie, a former prime minister retired to Suzhou, tyrannises the local peasantry. His son seizes the land of an old peasant and abducts his granddaughter. When the peasant protests, he is beaten to death in court on the orders of a magistrate bribed by the Xu family. Hai Rui, newly appointed as

district governor, discovers the true facts of the case and rights the injustices done to the peasants by having the young Xu executed and the corrupt magistrate fired. He restores the land expropriated by the Xus to its rightful owners. This he does despite the pleas and threats of Xu Jie, and at the cost of his governorship as Xu engineers his dismissal by the remote and arbitrary Jiaqing Emperor.

Wu Han's historical analogy was clear enough: in the Great Leap, collectivisation of land had taken it out of direct peasant ownership only a decade after land reform had given it to the tiller, and unreasonable demands had been placed on the peasantry by local officials. Further, when Peng Dehuai apprised himself of the situation, and protested against policies that were causing widespread famine and devastation, he was ousted by Mao. The name of Peng Dehuai was mentioned neither in Wu's play nor the debate over the opera, but the point was not lost on Mao, who observed: "the Jiaqing Emperor dismissed Hai Rui, and we dismissed Peng Dehuai in 1959. Peng Dehuai is a Hai Rui as well."²⁷

Yao Wenyan's criticism of Wu's drama represented the first attack on a large body of works, and a large group of influential people; it had, by Yao's standards, a restrained and civil tone (for example, Wu Han is addressed as "comrade" throughout). Yao was prepared to accept the challenge to the Great Leap implicit in the opera, but avoided the personal implications for Mao and Peng in the portrayal of the Emperor and

Hai Rui respectively. Yao chose to attack Wu Han first for his interpretation of history (both of the Ming and the People's Republic) and then for his class stand.

Yao contested the claim that the historical Hai Rui had "righted injustices" (ping yuanji) and "restored land" (tui tian) to its true owners. He asserted that Hai Rui had actually sentenced the younger Xu to banishment rather than death. (Wu had admitted as much in his preface, claiming the change was for dramatic effect.) Yao also claimed that Hai Rui had given the land confiscated from the Xus not to the peasants, but to other landlords. To Yao, Hai Rui was not an upright and incorruptible supporter of the people against bad government, as Wu Han had showed him, but an oppressor himself. Turning to the modern period, he denied that the Chinese people had suffered injustices at the hands of the Communist Party, and denounced the opera's "restoring of land" as an attack on the communes when, Yao claimed, it was actually the Party that had given the peasants their land in the first place.

Yao was on difficult ground debating Ming history with an acknowledged expert like Wu Han, particularly since Wu had freely confessed to bending certain historical facts. He was also hampered in his demystification of the historical analogy by the self-imposed constraint against mentioning the conflict between Mao and Peng Dehuai. Yao's expertise lay rather in denouncing the class orientation of opponents, and his strongest condemnation of Wu Han was on that score. For him,

Wu Han's opera, and his other works on Hai Rui, represented the perpetuation of the oppressor's myth of the benevolent ruling class. Wu Han's peasants depended for their salvation on a representative of officialdom, rather than (as Yao would clearly have preferred) rising up to overthrow their oppressors themselves. Wu Han was thus avoiding the issue of class struggle and denying the motive power of the masses in the creation of history. Furthermore, Hai Rui was unacceptable to Yao as a hero, since his heroism was not mass-based, but dependent on a strong individual sense of justice.

Yao Wenyuan's attack on Hai Rui Dismissed from Office echoed Mao's criticism of The Life of Wu Xun, in that both works were seen to have subverted Mao's teaching on class struggle by presenting the people passively dependent on oppressor-class saviours. In his essay, as in his anti-revisionist works, Yao assured himself of the strongest possible political base by presenting himself as the spokesman for orthodoxy against a "poisonous weed." As defender of Mao and the Party, Yao also exhibited his resolution not to cede the right to interpret history to opposing scholars like Wu Han. Yao recognised the power of historical analogy (he was himself responsible for the attempted exoneration of Empress Lü on Jiang Qing's behalf ten years later), and was unprepared to leave the historical mirror in the hands of his enemies.

iv) The "Three-family Village"²⁸

Yao's essay "A Criticism of 'Three-family Village'" published six months after his article on Hai Rui, was similarly framed as the rebuttal of covert attacks on Mao and his policies. However, this second "criticism" was by no means the first attack on Deng Tuo,²⁹ Wu Han and Liao Mosha, and political advantage was by then swinging towards Mao, Yao and Jiang Qing; so the rhetoric was much more strident than the earlier piece, and the threesome was denied the courtesy of comradeship.

Many of the essays that had appeared in the two columns, ostensibly light discursive pieces on history and scholarship, contained attacks on Mao by historical analogy, portraying him as unrealistic, arbitrary and domineering. Of the several hundred articles we will here take only three, two of Deng Tuo's "Evening Chats" and one collectively written by the "three-family village," that most clearly represent this criticism. In an essay on "Doctrines of Caring for the Workforce" (Aihu laodongli de xueshuo), Deng Tuo praised the forbearance of former rulers in exacting corvée labour from the peasants, set in the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli) at "three days [per annum] in a good year, two days in a middling year, and only one day in a poor year."³⁰ The contrast with the massive levies for prestige construction projects in the Great Leap was inescapable; by implication, Mao had much to learn from feudal emperors in caring for his people.

A cautionary tale from the Ming dynasty allowed Deng Tuo to

mock Mao's rashness in launching the Great Leap. In "Setting up in Business with One Egg" (Yige jidan de jiadang), a pauper who finds an egg fantasises on the wealth it will bring him; but when he suggests to his wife that he will even be able to afford a concubine, she smashes the egg and his hopes with it. Deng Tuo's remarks on the moral of the story have direct bearing on the unfeasibility of the Great Leap: "this plan had no reliable basis, and arose out of a total misconception, each new step being predicated on the results of the previous misconception. As for things years ahead, he totally replaced reality with fantasy ...".³¹

Not only had Mao stubbornly persisted with errant policies, it was suggested, he also talked too much to no clear purpose. Under their collective pseudonym Wu Nanxing,³² the "three-family village" in an article "Great Empty Talk" (Da kong hua) parodied the clichés and jargon of the folk-songs of the Great Leap by cramming them into a silly child's rhyme which ended: "The East Wind is our benefactor,/ The West Wind is our enemy."³³ They also advised those tempted to "great empty talk" to "read more, think more, and say less."³⁴

The bludgeon of Yao's rhetoric was in sharp contrast to the elegant rapiers of the "three-family village" as he launched this furious assault on the passage quoted above:

In ostensibly criticising a child's poem, he indirectly condemned the statement that "the East Wind is our benefactor and the West Wind is our enemy" as "empty talk," "jargon," "cliches" and "pomposity." This was a flagrant denigration

of the Marxist-Leninist scientific thesis [sic] that "the East Wind prevails over the West Wind" as "empty talk" ... What was Deng Tuo's purpose? It was to slander the great Mao Zedong thought that leads us forward as "empty talk;" to get us to abandon Mao Zedong thought in our political life and to give up the Marxist-Leninist line. He even went so far as to make the extravagant demand that our Party should "say less and take a rest when the time comes for talking". If Mao Zedong thought were laid to rest, would it not be possible for revisionist ideas to be rampant? This desperate denunciation of Mao Zedong thought could not do it the least harm; on the contrary it showed even more clearly that Mao Zedong's thought is an ideological weapon of unlimited revolutionary force which makes all cow-demons and snake-spirits tremble with fright. 35

The strident and almost hysterical tone of Yao's writing in this and subsequent pieces demonstrates that, although his position strengthened to apparent invulnerability, he remained acutely sensitive to opposition. The virulence of the passage quoted above is representative of Cultural Revolution rhetoric and its influence can be seen not only in the polemical discourse, but also (as chapter 4 below will show) in the literary writing of the Cultural Revolution.

The newspaper column of the "three-family village," like Wu Han's opera, no longer presented any threat to Yao Wenyan, the Chairman or his wife at the time of Yao's attacks. The "three-family village" were still in office, however, and Yao's essays were part of a concerted drive to stamp out the criticisms of defiant and unmanageable intellectuals, and to oust the Beijing municipal and cultural authorities. In 1966, Yao won the day: Deng Tuo died in jail before the year was out, Wu Han perished in 1969, and only Liao Mosha survived to give tearful

testimony when Yao and Jiang Qing stood trial in 1980.³⁶

v) Zhou Yang

Yao's separation of Mao from the Party in his attacks on the literary activities of the early 1960's was seen to greatest effect in his essay "A Criticism of the Two-faced Counter-revolutionary Zhou Yang" (Ping fangeming liangmianpai Zhou Yang).³⁷ As the Party official charged with supervising the nation's intellectuals and overseeing the arts, Zhou Yang had accommodated himself to numerous shifts in policy, including the retreat from the Great Leap Forward and the liberalisation of the early 1960's, the backlash against which launched the Cultural Revolution.

Zhou had attempted to represent the Party and the intellectuals to each other. Thus he could be blamed by writers and artists for suppression of intellectual freedom on the Party's behalf, and by the Party if the intellectuals were unduly critical or failed to produce the masterpieces of socialist art expected of them. The untenability of Zhou's position is shown by condemnation of him in 1967 from the contrasting standpoints of Merle Goldman and Yao Wenyan. To Goldman, Zhou was guilty of suppressing dissenters in a series of campaigns dating from 1942;³⁸ to Yao, Zhou was guilty of abetting those same dissenters and criticising them only to save his own skin when Mao's position became clear. Both critics, however, largely concurred in their assessments of

Zhou's intellectual prowess. Goldman saw him as an "urban pseudo-intellectual"³⁹ (a judgment later revised to "urbane intellectual"⁴⁰), and Yao claimed that Zhou's "published writings and private talks ... abound in reactionary twaddle and are riddled with mistakes and obvious fallacies."⁴¹

Zhou had actually handled his charge with greater finesse than his critics allowed him in 1967. His position was much more ambiguous than Yao's, when the latter replaced him as de facto cultural commissar, in that Yao felt himself responsible only to Mao, and not at all to the intellectuals. Zhou Yang was a rival whom Yao had to destroy; but he was also an ideological adversary, better read in Chinese and foreign literature and theory, and more eclectic than Yao, the basis for whose Cultural Revolution theory was romantic loyalty to Mao.⁴²

The essence of Yao's attack on Zhou Yang was that Zhou had been two-faced in his service to the Party. (Here "Party" stands for Mao.) Yao demonstrated Zhou's heterodoxy by retelling the history of the literary debates of the 1950's, showing Zhou first encouraging those opposed to Mao, then when Mao attacked them, taking responsibility for presenting Mao's case, and finally protecting the offenders from harm by stifling further criticism. Yao was thus able to dismiss the orthodoxy of Zhou's final statements on each campaign by asserting that they were merely a smokescreen to conceal his real sympathy for the heterodox. (This case is hard to make, especially in the

case of the "rightists," whose lengthy internal exile represented a punishment that should have satisfied even Yao.)

The divergence between Zhou and Yao's positions is clearest for the early 1960's when Zhou, responding to the initiatives of many Party and State leaders,⁴³ presided over the liberalisation that gave rise to the criticisms of Mao on stage and in print, and to the films Yao pilloried for sympathetic portrayal of the bourgeoisie and lack of class struggle. What Zhou had done in those years that was anathema to Yao was to loosen Party control to the extent that the arts explored characters as individuals rather than as members of classes. That cinema scenarists had returned to May Fourth texts with multi-faceted bourgeois characters as subject matter showed that they, like many other artists and intellectuals, rejected the strictures on the arts that Mao had enunciated at Yan'an, of praising the Party, socialism, workers, peasants and soldiers. The breach between Zhou Yang, who had briefly allowed these artists free rein, and Yao Wenyuan, was total and irreconcilable. Under Yao's leadership, a new cultural dispensation was inevitable.

vi) Yao's Literary Policy for the Cultural Revolution

Yao's three "criticisms" cited above reveal those practices by intellectuals that he regarded as political crimes: any criticism of Mao, relaxation of Party control of the arts, and concentration on conflicts within the individual rather than class struggle. For Yao's view of the role of the artist, we

must look elsewhere, to two speeches given to mark anniversaries, thirty years after Lu Xun's death and twenty-five after the Yan'an "Talks." Like Mao, Yao presented Lu Xun as a role model, though the Lu Xun that Yao offers to support his own position is a revised form of the one Mao used against Wang Shiwei in 1942, and is hardly recognisable as the historical figure; the 1966 model Lu Xun is an unswerving proletarian revolutionary completely loyal to Mao and absolutely integrated with the masses.⁴⁴ For the artist, as for everyone else, Mao and his thought are the only true talisman, as Yao's speech on the "Talks" makes clear:

We must certainly place the studying, grasping, and carrying out of Mao Zedong thought in a position higher than anything else, greater than anything else, first before anything else and more important than anything else.⁴⁵

Such an elevation of Mao's thought to the status of a totem Yao shared with Lin Biao, but Lin's demise in no way diminished the cultivation of the myth of Mao, which continued unabated through the full decade of the Cultural Revolution.

Yao's Cultural Revolution theories, preceded as they were by his anti-revisionist writings, were also heavily influenced by his association, from 1965, with Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing's biographer Roxanne Witke found Yao "clearly subservient"⁴⁶ to her, a eunuch to Jiang Qing's empress.⁴⁷ Yao's clearing of the cultural stage was the prerequisite for the empress' grand entry.

II. Jiang Qing

The Cultural Revolution was for Jiang Qing what Yan'an had been for Mao: the opportunity to scotch prevailing humanistic views and provide new political direction for the arts. She saw her role essentially as clarifying and implementing the literary policies Mao had enunciated in his "Talks" but which those entrusted with supervision of the arts had subverted in the succeeding quarter-century. She indicated to Roxanne Witke that the authority for her intervention in the arts derived from Mao's "Talks;"⁴⁸ and she suggested in a 1967 speech that had she been empowered to implement policy at Yan'an, a more thoroughgoing transformation of the arts would have ensued.⁴⁹ Her identification of her actions with her husband and his policy featured in the self-promotion of her heyday in the mid-1960's and in her defence after her fall. "I was Chairman Mao's dog," she told her accusers at her trial in 1980, "who[m]ever he told me to bite, I bit."⁵⁰

Certain differences do exist, however, in the answers given by Jiang Qing and Mao on basic questions concerning the function of the arts and the most suitable people and methods for producing them. Conflicting views between and her husband are incompatible with the image Jiang Qing presented of herself in her essays and speeches and in the oral autobiography she gave to Witke, and have not been addressed since; but they are instructive in understanding the differences in the arts produced after the Yan'an Forum and in

the Cultural Revolution. On the function of art, Jiang Qing shared Mao's utilitarianism, seeing art as subordinate to the other work of the Party. However Jiang Qing had higher strategic expectations of the arts. Mao had seen a symbiotic relationship between revolutionary art and revolutionary practice, with the former based in the realities of the latter and, by presenting it in inspirational terms, consolidating popular support for the Party. Jiang Qing saw art as playing a leading, rather than a supporting, role in the transformation of man and society; and the source of the arts, as she conceived it, was more the potential than the actual (more "revolutionary romanticism" than "socialist realism"). Of all Chinese communist leaders, Jiang Qing has had the greatest faith in the motivating force of art: she indicated to Witke that "drama shapes consciousness"⁵¹ and that "the superstructure could lead the base."⁵² In purely strategic terms, she grossly overestimated the suasive powers of the arts, since a decade of cultural control won her little public sympathy in 1976. If Jiang Qing believed that she could turn ideals into reality by putting them on stage and making people watch them, then the public reaction to her fall must have been a disillusioning experience for her.

On the question of who was to produce the arts, Jiang Qing, like Mao, (and Qu Qiubai before him) expressed mistrust that artists left to their own devices could produce works that would serve the interests of the revolutionary vanguard, but her

solution to this dilemma was more radical than his had been. Mao had sought to bring about the ideological transformation of the Yan'an intellectuals, most of whom were of bourgeois origin, by means of theoretical study and protracted exposure to the people, so that they would acquire the proletarian standpoint of the Party. Jiang Qing chose rather to reject the intelligentsia wholesale in favour of less educated writers more amenable to Party control. This implicit rejection of Mao's belief in the potential of intellectuals, and others of bourgeois origin, to transform their thinking had a profound effect on the course of the Cultural Revolution. It provided the justification for the maltreatment of many older intellectuals who were seen as incorrigibly inimical to the Party and its chairman by virtue of their class background and learning, and thus undeserving of humane treatment.

Jiang Qing's disquisitions on artistic method show her to be more specific and less flexible than her husband. Mao had concentrated on the function of art, and aimed to steer intellectuals (once they had undergone ideological transformation), away from the individualistic and Westernised May Fourth tradition, to produce a "social" literature in a demonstrably national form; but, as a poet himself, he allowed the individual "worker in the arts" a substantial role in artistic creation. Jiang Qing was prepared to allow considerably less autonomy than Mao. Her mistrust of established authors with commensurable egos may have been due to the disregard in which

they held her as much as their unmalleability; it led to her sponsorship of young and unknown authors, often assembled in "creative groups" (chuangzuo zu). She felt that the people who create art should be constantly supervised both by their audience and, more importantly, by the Party authorities; in the initial phase of the "revolution in the arts" over which she presided, she herself was the sole arbiter of what could or could not be presented. Such intimate supervision ensured not only that the arts would support the Communist Party (as Qian Xingcun had demanded in the 1920's and Mao had insisted at Yan'an), but that this support would present the interests of the Party leadership (both long-term and immediate) at any given moment. This led inevitably to the use of art as a weapon in factional struggle, wielded by those who controlled the arts (Jiang Qing chief among them) against their adversaries.

Three of Jiang Qing's many speeches and articles from the mid-sixties will be reviewed below to indicate the ideological basis for her attempt at cultural transformation; these will be followed by discussion of the "three prominences" (san tuchu) formula that was employed in refining operas to model form and was subsequently required in all artistic and literary practice.

i) "On the Revolution in Beijing Opera" (Tan Jingju geming)⁵³

Jiang Qing's speech, given at the extensively publicised Festival of Beijing Operas on Contemporary Themes in July of 1964 was by no means that festival's keynote address. The major

speeches on the reform of opera were by Beijing mayor Peng Zhen and culture minister Lu Dingyi, who encouraged the trend towards operas on modern themes as complementary to the continued staging of historical pieces, and urged performers in revolutionary roles to cultivate revolutionary attitudes themselves.⁵⁴ Jiang Qing's address, which went unpublished until the fall of Peng and Lu, was (as much as can be judged from the 1967 text available) more radical in tone, calling for a revolution (geming) rather than reform (gaige) in Beijing opera. Before dealing with the text of Jiang Qing's speech, it is worth considering her choice of Beijing Opera as the base from which to transform the arts.

As an actress in Shanghai in the 1930's, Jiang Qing's area of expertise was in the Western forms of spoken drama (huaaju) and cinema. It was natural therefore that the performing arts should be the focus of her activities after 1949. Her first foray had been in the political control of cinema, where she had been outranked and frustrated by Xia Yan and others more experienced in the making of films. Opera, the field of her subsequent endeavours, was better suited to her in her role as reviver of the principles of Yan'an, in that it was a "national form," the most universal of the Chinese performing arts; and Beijing Opera, performed in the common language of China, was most conducive to promotion on a nationwide basis. Further, Chinese opera plots traditionally portrayed in highly stylised form the triumph of good over evil, and could easily be adapted to suit differing versions of good and evil. That the scripts and stage

directions could also be endlessly changed to clarify the political message also held appeal to the perfectionist in Jiang Qing.

The suitability of opera to carry a contemporary political message had been shown in the work of Wu Han and others in the early 1960's. It was in reaction to their works that Jiang Qing had, on Mao's behalf, begun her own investigations into the Peking Opera in 1962. She had almost certainly been instrumental in Mao's singling out of opera as a bastion of "dead men" in his 1963 "critical evaluation."

The final reason for Jiang Qing's involvement in Beijing Opera was simple opportunism: as the size of the Festival and the number of works performed indicates, the movement to create operas with modern settings was underway and gathering momentum by 1964. Leadership in modern Beijing Opera was tantamount to leadership in the arts, and as such the conflict over opera reform was a focus for the internecine struggle that was building in the Communist Party in the years immediately preceding the Cultural Revolution.

Jiang Qing's most notable supporter in her bid for control of the arts, as of 1964, was Ke Qingshi, then mayor of Shanghai, who had voiced many of the opinions put forward by Jiang Qing in July 1964 at a smaller regional festival some months before. Ke's speech had insisted on adherence to Mao's "Talks" and his six criteria (of 1957), implicitly demanding tighter Party control of the arts, and had called

for dramatisation of the exemplary deeds of heroic proletarians, including the formation of a human dam against flood-water later immortalised in Ode to Dragon River.⁵⁵

Jiang Qing's speech "On the Revolution in Peking Opera" began with condemnation of that great majority of the nation's drama companies which persisted in performing operas on other than contemporary themes. Despite her personal experience with it, she dismissed spoken drama (a Western form that had existed in China only since the May Fourth movement) as the province of "foreigners and ancients" (wairen guren); while the opera stage "which is of course a place to educate the people ... is full of emperors, kings, generals, ministers (diwang jiangxiang), scholars and beauties (caizi jiaren), [setting forth] feudalism and the bourgeoisie."⁵⁶ She presented herself as the champion of the majority against those despised minorities ("landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, rightists and bad lots (di fu fan you huai) who, she alleged, still dominated the arts, and demanded instead, as had Ke Qingshi that artists follow the "worker-peasant-soldier" line of Mao's "Talks," producing operas presenting revolutionary heroes and set in the fifteen years since 1949.

In her remarks on the mechanics of writing, Jiang Qing advocated the three-in-one (san jiehe; also known as san heyi) combination of Party authority, professional author and representatives of the masses. This method had already been promoted by Lin Biao in the preparation of tales of heroic

soldier-martyrs like the novel Song of Ouyang Hai (Ouyang Hai zhi ge)⁵⁷ in the mid-1960's, and had the advantage, for Lin and Jiang Qing, of allowing leadership input at any stage of the creative process. The theme of a given work was to be set by political leaders, executed by artists and revised after suggestions from selected readers channelled through the leaders, in a process Jiang Qing later described as "democratic centralism on a broad scale."

The concentration on heroism that was to dominate Jiang Qing's theory on the structuring of a work was already forming as she told her audience that "our purpose in producing operas on contemporary themes is mainly to extol the positive characters."⁵⁸ In this context she cited changes that "leadership" (principally herself) had made to Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, one of five operas performed at the festival which were to become Model Works two years later. The changes had involved reducing the roles played by the negative characters and strengthening the hero Yang Zirong (a process that will be discussed in the next chapter).

It is quite apparent from the published speeches that Jiang Qing was committed to a more tightly controlled and politically engaged operatic theatre (as a synecdoche for the arts as a whole) than Peng Zhen or Lu Dingyi, though it was two years before the exact nature of that theatre was fully revealed. Her struggle with Peng Zhen intensified after the Beijing Opera Festival, as Peng refused her demand that he

"give her an opera troupe to reform on her own."⁵⁹ The conflict led both to make statements on the arts in February of 1966.⁶⁰ Jiang Qing's was the "Summary of the Forum on Work in the Arts with which Comrade Lin Biao Entrusted Comrade Jiang Qing" (Lin Biao tongzhi weituo Jiang Qing tongzhi zhaokai de budui wenyi gongzuo zuotanhui jiyao), hereafter "Summary."

ii) The "Summary"

If the Cultural Revolution was Jiang Qing's Yan'an, as has been suggested above, then the "Summary" was Jiang Qing's "Talks." Like Mao's work, it came at the start of a political campaign aimed in large part at intellectuals. Both Mao and Jiang Qing chose to refute theories they opposed, leaving ad hominem attacks on the theories' proponents to Chen Boda (at Yan'an) or Yao Wenyuan (in 1965-8), and then to lay down their own rules for the creation of the arts. Finally, both deal primarily with the political role of the arts: Lin Biao's commendation of Jiang Qing to the armed forces was an astute one, that "she is very strong politically [emphasis mine: R.K.] on artistic work, and an insider (neihang) in the arts."⁶¹

The literary theories attacked by Jiang Qing in the "Summary" dated from the periods of relatively relaxed control of the arts during the life of the People's Republic: the early 1950's (prior to the attack on Hu Feng), the Hundred Flowers of 1956, and the "blooming and contending" of 1961-2. All had subsequently been contested by Party spokesmen; but Jiang

Qing felt they were still prevalent, and, like Yao Wenyan, blamed those who had allowed such theories to be raised, and had then (in her view) protected the offending theorists. An immediate target was Peng Zhen, who had sought to defuse the campaign Yao Wenyan had launched against Wu Han by limiting it to academic debate, and had chastised "scholar-tyrants [Yao himself being the obvious, if unnamed example] who are always acting tyrannically and trying to overwhelm people with their power."⁶²

Jiang Qing selected for condemnation eight propositions later referred to as the "eight black theories" (heibalun).⁶³ Of these, three dealt with realism: these were "write the truth" advocated by Hu Feng, "the broad path of realism" of Qin Zhaoyang from the Hundred Flowers movement and "deepening realism" raised by Shao Quanlin at the 1962 conference on rural fiction. At issue, as has been discussed in the introduction above, was whether the writer should portray an individually-conceived or an officially-sanctioned version of reality. The realism of Hu Feng was specifically an individual vision;⁶⁴ Qin Zhaoyang opposed the Soviet doctrine of "socialist realism" with the more ambiguous (in terms of commitment and control) "realism of the socialist age;" and Shao Quanlin's suggestion that thoroughgoing realism was the only valid basis for romanticism implicitly criticised the political idealism inherent in the "combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism"

formulation.⁶⁵ From Jiang Qing's point of view, the unrestrained realism of these three slogans was one which invariably led to the tarnishing of the Party's image by revealing unpalatable truths and condoning emotional traits inappropriate to socialist man.

Three other "black theories," this time concerning the artist's choice of material, had arisen in the three years following the Great Leap. Two are associated with Xia Yan, who had been most responsible for the choice of less proletarian and motivational subject matter for films: "opposition to 'the smell of gunpowder'" reflected Xia's disenchantment with the militarism of many Great Leap movies, and was seen by Jiang Qing as an attack on revolutionary heroism. Similarly Xia's intention to "discard classics and challenge orthodoxy" was predictably (and probably rightly) interpreted by Jiang Qing as "discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's war" when making movies. And from Zhang Guagnian's "opposition to 'subject matter as the decisive factor'" she inferred opposition to the Party's (or her own) imposition of themes on artists.⁶⁶

Shao Quanlin's plea for more "middle characters" in fiction, another "black theory," was for Jiang Qing an attempt both to detract from the importance of heroic revolutionary stereotypes and to downplay class struggle, by showing ideas conflicting within an uncommitted individual rather than between classes. Emphasis on class struggle was also the basis for denunciation of

Zhou Gucheng's theory that "the spirit of the age is the merging of various trends." Jiang Qing interpreted Mao's view, from "On Contradiction" (Maodun lun)⁶⁷ that the dominant force in social change was contradiction, to mean that the opposition of irreconcilable class ideologies was paramount in establishing the spirit of any given period. Zhou had already been scolded by Yao Wenyuan for "bourgeois idealistic thinking" for his view that the opinions of members of different classes could usefully be combined.⁶⁸

In her onslaught on the "eight black theories," Jiang Qing chose to attack the same fundamental targets as had Mao at Yan'an: defence of the artist's right to express an individual view of reality, and unwillingness to concentrate their efforts on praising characters of an established proletarian type pursuing officially sanctioned goals. That such ideas could have persisted into the People's Republic proved to her that "we have been under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought." This "black line" theory featured in the personal attacks by Yao Wenyuan (inter alia) on Zhou Yang and others who could be singled out as purveyors or defenders of theories inimical to Mao's; it was also used to discount virtually everything that had been created prior to Jiang Qing's own involvement with Beijing Opera.

Such unequivocal condemnation of the former dispensation,

in the spirit of Mao's aphorism that "there is no construction without destruction" (bu po bu li),⁶⁹ was an essential prerequisite for the creation of a new socialist culture, and the "Summary" expands on the form that culture was to take. To replace the individualist/bourgeois heroes seen as populating the "black line" works, Jiang Qing demanded proletarian "Models" (yangban) featured in "Model Works" (yangbanxi)⁷⁰ mostly set in a revised form of Beijing Opera. (The model characters and dramas will be analysed in the next chapter.)

As for the environment in which the heroes were to function, Jiang Qing reiterated Mao's injunction that class struggle was under no circumstances to be forgotten. The creative process recommended elsewhere as "three-in-one" appears in the "Summary" as "democratic centralism" (minzhu jizhong zhi), with the emphasis on leadership and popular input at the expense of authorial control. Jiang Qing also offered her own clarification of the combination of "revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism." The realism was of the heightened variety of the six "even mores;" and the romanticism was an emphasis on the glory, rather than the hardship, of revolutionary struggle.

The "Summary" offers the most coherent statement of the literary policies of the Cultural Revolution, both the rationale for condemning what had gone before (the "black line"), and for the rules for creating literary models to be emulated throughout the arts. One further speech will be

considered, dating from November of 1966, when Jiang Qing's star was most clearly in the ascendant. It has been selected for its revelation of Jiang Qing's attitude to the Chinese and Western literary traditions in the context of the appearance of the first eight Model Works.

iii) "Comrade Jiang Qing's Talk to an Assembly on the Arts"
(Jiang Qing tongzhi zai wenyijie dahui shang de jianghua)⁷¹

Even in the much revised text available,⁷² this address, largely directed towards the opera company whose endeavours Jiang Qing had controlled during 1966, is her most rhetorically unrestrained statement on the arts. Its purpose was to justify the models by identifying them as the realisation of the literary theories of Mao. In fact, however, the interpretations she offered of Mao's injunctions to "select from the ancient to promote the new" (tuichen chuxin) and "use foreign things for China" (yang wei zhong yong) were so proscriptive as to contradict their original meaning. The purpose of the former, she claimed, was the production of new, popular national forms, but if old forms had any connections with ghosts, religion, or the moralities of feudalism or capitalism (as all traditional Chinese culture had to some extent) they simply could not be assimilated. Mao's dialectical intent was replaced by a rigid absolutism. Likewise, it was impossible that anything foreign could benefit her ideal of Chinese socialist art. She dismissed Western "classics" as irrelevant to the present

day, and denounced modern Western culture as degenerate and poisonous. Her choice of forms to summarise the corruption of Western culture was a bizarre combination of the popular: rock-and-roll dancing (afei wu), jazz; the immodest: striptease; and the avant-garde remembered from her Shanghai days: impressionism, symbolism, abstractionism, primitivism (yeshoupai), modernism. D. W. Fokkema, then resident in Beijing, observed: "As far as I know, no Chinese authority has ever spoken so disparagingly of Western culture yet with so little knowledge of it."⁷³ Her object was not to understand Western culture, however, any more than it was to understand traditional Chinese culture. It was sufficient to assert that neither could be suited to socialist content, and thus, within the letter of Mao's law, both could be discarded.

(It is worth noting, however, that in her artistic practice, as in her personal life, Jiang Qing allowed herself more latitude than those she controlled: ballet, in which two of the Model Works were performed, is a foreign form whose Chinese name, balei wu, is merely a transliteration of the French; and the piano, used to accompany a model recital version of The Red Lantern, is neither Chinese nor proletarian in its origin.)

To Jiang Qing's mind, the degenerate traditional and foreign-influenced works had already been replaced by something better: the first eight Model Works, which she claimed as a triumph for the Cultural Revolution, sanctified by the approval of Mao, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng and others,

and welcomed by the people. Though she was actually to continue to intervene in the arts for several years to come, the impression given by the speech is that a mission -- the perfecting of unprecedented socialist literary exemplars -- had already been accomplished, even if other work might in future keep her away from the arts.

This speech, the last of Jiang Qing's works to be considered here, reveals most clearly the face she presented to the Chinese people in the Cultural Revolution: a radical zealot charged with carrying out Mao's will (or her interpretation of it) by establishing a socialist culture in a society still polluted by unhealthy ideas. Her crusade on her husband's behalf conveniently complemented her own desire for revenge on those who she felt had suppressed her thespian career in the 1930's and spurned her leadership aspirations in the 1950's. In the 1960's, it was her turn to be dominant.

iv) The "Three Prominences" (san tuchu)

Jiang Qing's emphasis on the role of the hero was already evident in the documents discussed above. She was not, of course, the first Chinese authority to propose the portrayal of heroes. Her contribution was to formulate, during the course of the revision of the modern Beijing Operas, a system of stratification that would show off to best advantage their proletarian heroes. This system was the "three prominences." Jiang Qing claimed in her interviews with Roxanne Witke to have

discussed it with Ke Qingshi, who died in 1965,⁷⁴ but it was not officially enunciated until 1968, in an article by her supporter and later culture minister Yu Huiyong:

Based on the spirit of Comrade Jiang Qing's directives we have summed up three prominences as an important principle in depicting characters, viz: of all characters, give prominence to positive characters, of positive characters give prominence to heroic characters, of heroic characters give prominence to the most important one, i.e., the central character. 75

A precise ordering of characters was thus set within a given opera (or novel, short story, film, comic-book, painting, etc.): a single central hero or heroine supported by secondary heroic figures, surrounded by acquiescent masses, and opposed by villains. (The same system was also conversely described also as the "three enhances" (san peichen) whereby the portrayal of the villains enhanced that of the positive characters, etc.) Insistence on the "three prominences" was the focus for the transformation of operas from their pre-1964 versions to model form, a process to be described in the next chapter, and thus for the changes throughout the arts in the Cultural Revolution.

The effect of the "three prominences" was to reflect a highly stratified vision of society, with abiding and irreconcilable divisions, recalcitrant enemies striving to thwart the inevitable progress of the proletariat, but vulnerable to exposure and humiliation at the hands of exemplary heroes. Jiang Qing naturally presented the "three prominences" as

derived from Mao's writings, particularly the six "even mores" of the "Talks," but there is more to them than that. The most important added ingredient is the pre-eminent socialist hero(ine), as precise a model as possible for the audience to emulate.

The "three prominences" formula sought to provide the ideal form for the propagation of a political message. When, following Jiang Qing's fall, critics immediately attacked it, it was generally from the point of view of the morality conveyed, rather than the vehicle that carried it. One exception was Mao Dun, who likened its "formalism" to the "three unities" of the neo-classical French theatre of Racine and Corneille, as a device to draw literature away from realistic portrayal of action and character.⁷⁶ Certainly it was anti-realistic in the sense that Jiang Qing had criticised realism in her "Summary." The central heroes of the Model Works, as analysis of their collective features in the next chapter will show, were grounded firmly in her own idealism concerning the working class.

Thus Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyan committed themselves to the promotion of a literature that was demonstrably Chinese, accessible to a mass audience, and a suitable vehicle for a normative vision of man and society, untainted by the influence of the "self." For a look at the form this new literature was to take, we shall next consider the Model Works.

CHAPTER 3

THE PATTERN FOR LITERARY CREATION:

THE MODEL WORKS

The first group of Model Works sponsored by Jiang Qing was presented in 1966. Of the eight models of that year, five were in the form of "Modern Revolutionary Beijing Opera" (geming xiandai jingju).¹ During the next half decade, other works were gradually added to the model corpus, including another four operas.² (The non-literary forms, initially ballet and symphonic music, and later painting and sculpture, will not be discussed here). The nine Model Operas were in a modified form of the century-old Beijing Opera. Many of the modifications were in the production, where some Western technique was incorporated, including elaborate stage-settings and lighting, and an orchestra augmented with brass, woodwind and a string section; these aspects (which have been introduced elsewhere³) will not be considered in the analysis of the literary model in this chapter. Instead, concentration will be on the texts of the operas.

(The nine Model Operas are: Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy (Zhiqu Weihushan), The Red Lantern (Hongdeng ji), Shajiabang, On the Docks (Haigang), Ode to Dragon River (Longjiang song), The Red Detachment of Women (Hongse niangzi jun), Raid on the White Tiger Regiment (Qixi Baihutuan), Fighting on the Plain (Pingyuan zuozhan), Azalea Mountain

(Dujuan shan).⁴)

These models were by no means the first Chinese operas to have contemporary settings. Experimental modern pieces had been performed in the Republican period by opera companies including that of Mei Lanfang, the greatest player of female roles in the history of the Beijing theatre.⁵ "Guerilla theatre" troupes in the Jiangxi Soviet performed operas depicting contemporary events, and The White-haired Girl was performed in Yan'an in 1945. Further works with modern themes appeared after the communist victory in 1949; among the first was Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, a production of the Beijing Opera company serving with the Chinese forces in Korea; it was among the first group of models. In fact, all of the Model Operas were in existence in some form before the 1964 Festival of Operas on Contemporary Themes.

Jiang Qing's contribution was not the creation of the operas, but their transformation to models, a task to which she exercised herself relentlessly for a decade. A hyperbole often repeated in eulogies of the Model Works was that "every word and every phrase, every tone and every beat, is soaked through with the heart's blood of Comrade Jiang Qing."⁶ Immediately following her fall (when the Model Operas were still highly regarded in official circles), Jiang Qing was portrayed as merely claiming the credit due to other state leaders (Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai etc.) for the sponsorship of the models,⁷ but the contemporary evidence of her

decisive involvement is considerably more convincing.

What were Jiang Qing's reasons for promoting "Model Works?" The pre-1966 leadership had given extra weight to novels they regarded as desirable by designating them "keybooks" (zhongdian shu) and printing them in large numbers.⁸ The "keybooks" presented human models for emulation (as for example Ouyang Hai), but the books themselves were not presented as models for all other literary endeavour. The use of "model" (yangban) to describe works of art (here xi "drama" includes ballet, music, etc.) originated with Jiang Qing.⁹ Her purpose in promulgating the Model Works was to ensure the greatest possible prominence to her own views of revolutionary struggle and revolutionary heroism in order to promote public acceptance of those views. By transforming the nation's culture, she believed she could also transform society.

The model status of works sponsored by Jiang Qing was also intended to set them aside from whatever had preceded them. The worthlessness of the indigenous and imported art that she condemned in her statements of the mid-1960's was contrasted to her achievements in creating the Model Works. A claim reportedly made on her behalf by her Gang of Four colleague Zhang Chunqiao was that "from the Internationale [written in 1871 by Eugene Pottier] to the Model Works is a complete blank (yipian kongbai)."¹⁰ And Jiang Qing was also characteristically immodest in her own claim that "hundreds of years of the bourgeoisie and thousands of years of feudalism had

their influence. But they are nothing to be afraid of -- weren't they all cast down when opera was reformed and the [first] eight Model Works released?"¹¹

To understand the nature of the literary model epitomised by the operas and later applied in fiction, we will first examine the development of the operas from their pre-1964 texts to the model versions; secondly, by examination of all nine opera texts we will extrapolate the common features that define a Model Work.

I. The Revision Process

What did Jiang Qing seek to put into the operas that was not there in the 1964 versions? First, her own idealisation of how the proletariat behaves, what it means to be a Party member and how revolutionary struggle works. Secondly, the history of the Communist Party from a Cultural Revolution perspective, emphasising Mao's own contribution.

It is axiomatic in Marxism that the proletariat is the most politically advanced class; Jiang Qing sought to present a stage proletariat strong in its resistance to oppression, easily won to the cause of the Communist Party, and almost without human failings. For example: Jiang Qing demanded of an actress portraying a girl (Chang Bao in Taking Tiger Mountain) recalling the murder of her mother that she no longer slump down and cover her face with her hands. "Working-class people don't sit down or bury their heads when they cry," Jiang Qing said, "they cry standing."¹²

The stage proletariat, despite its capacity to defy oppression, cannot quite save itself, either by overthrowing the oppressors or identifying hidden class enemies. This is the role reserved for the Party, represented by the central heroic figures. Where the masses of the Model Operas differ from the peasants of Hai Rui Dismissed from Office is only that they are of the same class origin as their saviours.

Changes made in the presentation of Party members contrived to show them simultaneously absolutely loyal to the Party leadership (meaning here, as for Yao Wenyuan, Mao in particular) and capable of feats of initiative. When a human dam is proposed to combat flooding in Ode to Dragon River, the Party members are the first to volunteer:

Uncle Ajian: We are Party Members ...

Li Zhitian et al: Let's go. 13

Wartime opera communists are full of physical courage: Yan Weicai of the Korean-war opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment claims that "no danger however huge can stop/a Communist Party member."¹⁴

Jiang Qing's understanding of revolutionary struggle, as revealed in changes she directed in specific operas, was derived from a simplistic reading of Mao's essays on contradiction. She saw contradiction as meaning only conflict against an enemy -- armed struggle with a military foe, or class struggle with a concealed traitor. In the Model Operas, the conflict found expression in oppression committed by national or

class enemies and revenged by the proletariat. All of the operas with a civilian setting contain a class enemy who is unmasked by the hero or heroine, most of these enemies having been added to the early scripts on Jiang Qing's orders before model status was accorded. Jiang Qing's own recollection of her revision of the operas, as recounted to Roxanne Witke, was full of vicious attacks by unscrupulous enemies -- Zhou Yang, Peng Zhen, Lin Biao, etc. -- who tried to downplay the element of class struggle. Thus in her memory, life imitated art as she overcame class enemies within the leadership of the revolutionary ranks in order to emphasise class struggle on the stage.

Jiang Qing's preoccupation with scores that must be settled and traitors who must be rooted out parallels Yao Wenyuan's constant vigilance for enemies, and is symptomatic of the paranoia of the leading radicals in the Cultural Revolution.

The operas' emphasis on the role of Mao in the history of the Chinese revolution can be seen as Jiang Qing's contribution to the perpetuation of the myth of Mao launched by Lin Biao in the army after the purge of Peng Dehuai. Lin's major contribution to the deification of the Chairman was the "little red book" Quotations of Chairman Mao, (Mao Zhuxi yulu), a collection which presented Mao's thoughts as (in Stuart Schram's words) "absolutely immutable and universally valid truths,"¹⁵ and Lin's effusive introduction was the touchstone for subsequent eulogies of Mao.¹⁶

When Mao's writings are quoted in the Model Works, they have immediate efficacy in winning doubters over to the cause of the central hero or heroine. When the peasants of Ode to Dragon River balk at making the sacrifices the Party leadership demands, the heroine Jiang Shuiying's quotation of Mao's essay on Norman Bethune (a passage included in the "patriotism and internationalism" section of the "little red book"¹⁷) wins them over straight away.¹⁸ Jiang Shuiying's aria, which follows the quotation, drives home the decisive importance of Mao's writings in the operas:

The precious book I hold warms all our minds,
Within our breasts the red sun shines, ...
Reading the precious book, we hear the Party's call,
Like drums of war inspiring one and all. 19

Mao is referred to in all of the operas, and extensively quoted in many. He and his words are the inspiration of guerillas in the war against Japan, Chinese soldiers in Korea, post-1949 peasants and stevedores and many others. "Long live Chairman Mao" are the last words of heroes executed by their enemies.²⁰

Key to the idealisation of proletarians and Party members, the emphasis on conflict, and the increased importance of Mao, was the transformation of the the central heroes of the operas, who underwent considerable change during the revision process supervised by Jiang Qing. This transformation was from heroic individual to heroic stereotype (dianxing) embodying Jiang Qing's ideals of the proletarian and the communist and promoting the myth of Mao. Changes made to three operas will

be described to illustrate the acquisition of model features. The three are Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, The Red Lantern and Shajiabang.

i) Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy

This was the most extensively revised of all the Model Works. Jiang Qing's lengthy involvement with it is the source of the Cultural Revolution cliché about perfectionism: "ten years to refine one opera" (shinian mo yi xi).²¹ This revision process has received some scholarly attention,²² and discussion of it here will be limited to one key element: the transformation of the hero Yang Zirong.

Taking Tiger Mountain is an adaptation of the most exciting episode in Qu Bo's military romance Tracks in the Snowy Forest (Linhai xueyuan),²³ which recounts the exploits of a small Red Army unit behind enemy lines in the latter years of the civil war of 1945-9. Yang Zirong, the unit's scout, poses as an outlaw in order to infiltrate the mountain stronghold of a bandit tyrant allied to the Nationalists and smuggle in his unit while the bandits are drunkenly celebrating their leader's birthday. The novel, and early operatic versions of the story, presented Yang as a swashbuckling hero whose impersonation included (mildly) racy stories and coarse manners. Though a dedicated communist of proletarian origin, Yang Zirong, in pre-model incarnations, also had the flavour of the traditional "stout fellow" (haohan), rough and jocular as well as earnest and

revolutionary. In the interests of Jiang Qing's notions of revolutionary purity, if at the expense of realistic portrayal, Yang's language, rakish behaviour, posture and clothing were smartened up. More important, his heroics were placed firmly in the context of discipline loyalty to the Party and Mao. As expressed in an article written by (or for) the company performing the opera, and in the official translation:

While delineating his [Yang's] indomitable courage and soaring spirit, we also give expression to the steadiness and poise, the sagacity and alertness in his make-up. The description of these facets rests firmly on one essential point, the soul of the hero Yang Zirong, and that is "the morning sun in his heart" -- a red heart that is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and his thought ... without Mao Zedong thought, Yang Zirong would certainly be reduced to a nincompoop, a vulgar and miserable mountebank ... 24

Comparison of the novel and opera versions of a single incident illustrate the change in Yang Zirong. It comes as Yang volunteers for the role of bandit impersonator and outlines to his commanding officer his qualifications for the job. The initial points he makes are the same in both versions: possession of a map coveted by the tyrant, knowledge of bandit slang and ability to act the bandit. There is a subtle difference in his final reason, however, and thereafter the conversation takes a very different turn:

a) "Fourth ..." Yang Zirong paused briefly, his eyes flashing stern and resolute, "... I have faith in my heartfelt loyalty to the Party and the people."

"You think these things will guarantee victory?"

"Yes! That's what I believe."

"You're wrong! ... The fourth criterion is only the weapon enabling you to infiltrate the enemy camp. It can only help you crawl into the enemy's belly. That isn't the main problem today, the key is how you can carry on our work when you're in his belly." 25

b) Yang Zirong: The third condition is the most important ...

Commander: That is a Liberation Armyman's heartfelt loyalty to the Party and Chairman Mao!

Yang Zirong: Commander, you understand me!

Commander: Old Yang, this is no ordinary task!

Yang Zirong: Commander!

A Communist Party member always obeys the Party's call

Taking for himself the toughest tasks of all ...

Moving mountains like the foolish old man,

I'll get through all hardships, be sure I can ... 26

Loyalty to the people in the original version has been replaced in the model by loyalty to Mao, and that loyalty is not an individual trait, but typical of communist solidarity. The implicit role-model for his mission is no longer drawn from traditional fiction (the monkey-king Sun Wukong) but from Mao's writings (the foolish old man whose story is used as a parable in the third of the constantly-read articles (lao san pian)²⁷). Finally, it is inconceivable that the Model Opera Yang could be contradicted by his commanding officer as happens in the novel. Profession of loyalty to the Party and the chairman is guaranteed to win any argument, and anyway, the hero is never wrong. So while the early Yang is forced to elaborate on his plan, the model Yang launches into an aria about what it means to be a Party member. The typification (dianxinghua) of Yang to a "scout

hero of the Chinese Liberation Army armed with revolutionary courage of the revolutionary proletariat"²⁸ is complete.

ii) The Red Lantern²⁹

Another opera on which Jiang Qing had early and decisive impact was The Red Lantern, and here, as in Taking Tiger Mountain, her emphasis was on the hero, in this case the railwayman and underground communist organiser Li Yuhe. The story of Li and his family's resistance to Japanese occupation enjoyed considerable popularity in a number of regional operatic forms in the early 1960's. Two Beijing opera versions were performed at the 1964 festival: The Red Lantern, the chosen vessel for Jiang Qing's reform, and Naturally the Revolution Will Have Successors (Geming zi you houlairan), performed by a company from Harbin.³⁰

The revision of the opera, as recounted by Jiang Qing and Qian Haoliang, the actor who played Li Yuhe, took place against a background of conflict with "enemies," in this case headed by deputy culture minister Lin Mohan.³¹ At issue was the portrayal of the hero -- should it follow "realism" or the "three prominences?" The "enemies" wanted Li to look like a middle-aged railwayman (shabby and slightly stooped) as opposed to the upright and martial posture favoured by Jiang Qing, and to be portrayed as more or less equal to his adoptive mother and daughter, rather than standing above them. Jiang Qing's Li Yuhe (the one that appears in the model version) is, of course,

prominent and supreme. The model Li Yuhe most clearly epitomises Jiang Qing's romanticised proletariat in his final martyrdom (he is one of only two heroes to die), a scene which was purportedly written by her. Despite the torture he has undergone, he remains erect and elegant; as Jiang Qing explained to Roxanne Witke: "Since he has just gotten [sic] out of prison, logically his clothing and hair should be dishevelled. But because he is on the verge of becoming a martyr, we have made him appear clean and tidy, white and pure, for he must present a dignified image. We don't go in for naturalism."³²

Li Yuhe's relationship with his mother and daughter, and with the villainous Japanese commander Hatoyama, also changed in the revision process; the end result being to set the hero above the other characters. Here is Qian Haoliang's summary of the technical aspects of the revision:

Comrade Jiang Qing required us to use the best of everything in portraying the heroic proletarian figure of Li Yuhe. That is to say, the best music, the best singing, the most forceful gestures, and the most important positions on stage should be used to show off the character of Li Yuhe, and make his heroic form more prominent, higher and finer. 33

The model Li is also purged of all feelings that stand between him and his mission, the delivery to his comrades of a secret code. In some early versions, Li hid his daughter to protect her from capture, but Jiang Qing insisted that his responsibility was to Mao, the Party and his class rather

than his family. Consequently he welcomes the readiness with which she faces death with him on the Japanese execution ground. Though Li's role is primary, his mother and daughter, the secondary heroines, remain strong characters. Each dominates in a powerful scene: Granny Li as she recounts their tragic family history to the girl Tiemei, and Tiemei herself as she vows revenge after her father and grandmother are killed, and inherits the spirit of resistance symbolised by the red lantern of the title. The villain Hatoyama was considerably reduced to prevent him from stealing the show. The textbook on the Cultural Revolution version of Marxist literary theory mentioned above stressed that Hatoyama's role should be as a foil for Li Yuhe, with his evil traits (oppressor-class attitude, cruelty, conniving, etc.) precisely complementing Li's virtues (proletarian world-view, uprightness, resourcefulness, etc.), in accordance with the "three prominences."³⁴ In this case, however, as in the other operas, the "three prominences" does not work quite according to its formulation. Hatoyama and the rest of the opera villains do not enhance (peichen) all of the positive characters, only the central hero. Model opera villains are always strong enough to oppress or dupe the masses, and even secondary heroes, gallantly though they may defy them, cannot overcome them. It is Li Yuhe who gains the moral (though not the military) victory over Hatoyama.

iii) Shajiabang³⁵

In this, the third opera to be considered, revision involved a change in the primary heroic role from one character to another and also a change in title. The original text, Sparks in the Reeds (Lutang huozhong), centred on the underground communist and teahouse proprietress Aqing's wife, who first protects a detachment of Red Army wounded from the nationalist forces, then cleverly engineers the wedding at which the nationalist officers are captured.³⁶ The changes, suggested by Mao and carried out over the next two years by Jiang Qing, were made to emphasise armed struggle (which Mao had led) rather than underground resistance (in which Liu Shaoqi had been engaged) as decisive in winning the civil war; as such, they are historical, as well as artistic revision. The new title, Shajiabang, is the name of the fictitious village in which the action occurs, and the new hero is Guo Jianguang, the officer commanding the wounded troops. The elevation of Guo was achieved through complementary techniques described in two set phrases (chengyu): "the boat stands tall as the waters rise" (shui zhang chuan gao), i.e., increasing the intensity of the plot shows the hero more decisive; and "the rock emerges as the waters subside" (shui luo shi chu), i.e., diminution of other characters makes the hero more forceful by contrast.³⁷ A military climax replaced the wedding hoax to downplay the role of Aqing's wife, and Guo's lines were increased by incorporating those of another character from the 1964 text and adding a long and

intricate aria in which he summarises the strategic balance, his loyalty to Mao and his confidence in victory.³⁸ Even after these changes, Shajiabang is nearer than any of the operas to having two principal heroes. Guo Jianguang, a composite cobbled together from two characters in the original, has none of the verve of Aqing's wife; the latter, despite the change of ending, still has the opera's best scene, as she conceals the whereabouts of the wounded in a fast-talking "battle of wits" (zhidou) with enemy commanders. Dissatisfaction with the disposition of heroic characters may have been the cause for Jiang Qing's unwillingness to hear the opera praised.³⁹

Revisions in other operas from original to model form similarly focussed on making the central figure dominant and embodying the idealised proletarian image desired by Jiang Qing. A further change that took place in the two operas with post-1949 settings, On the Docks and Ode to Dragon River was the inclusion of a concealed "class enemy," whose unmasking by the heroine was both a lesson for the audience in how to practise class struggle and a warning to those whose vigilance might be reduced. Doubters in both operas (those believing in personal fulfillment or the interests of a small group over revolutionary altruism) were shown as deluded by enemies rather than harbouring genuine grievances.

Once the revision process was complete, the texts were inviolable. The model for stage performance was the version enshrined on celluloid and in definitive editions

(biaoben); these editions, in addition to the text and musical score, had precise instructions on sets, lighting, choreography, costume, make-up and stage properties, even down to the exact measurements of the red pencil and notebook carried (but not used) by the commanding officer in the volunteering scene of Taking Tiger Mountain.⁴⁰ The point of all this detail was to ensure that there could be no interpretation by an individual director, or improvisation by an actor, that would differ from the official version. It is a paradox that absolute obedience was required in operas portraying heroic acts of revolutionary initiative.

II. Common Features of Character and Plot

i) "Three Prominences" Characterisation

Beijing opera, in common with other Chinese operatic forms, has always presented characters in personality types, divisible into genres and subgenres, readily identifiable by their clothing, actions and singing styles. (The characteristics of the various roles are described in William Dolby's study A History of Chinese Drama.⁴¹) The Model Operas of the modern Beijing theatre likewise present a set of character types, though different from those of the traditional theatre. In some cases the characteristics coincide: the stooped and shifty traitors of On the Docks and Ode to Dragon River correspond to the clowns (chou) of earlier dramas. In

other cases, characters from the modern dramas draw from more than one traditional character type: Granny Li of The Red Lantern, a beldame (laodan) role, also adopts the male warrior (wusheng) style when times toughen; and the actress portraying Jiang Shuiying in Ode To Dragon River was required to perform not only in the ingenue (qingyi) style she learned in childhood, but also in the woman warrior (wudan) style.

The major differences in the characterisation of the traditional and modern Beijing stages, according to those who directed opera reform, was that the modern stage was dominated by the figures of workers, peasants and soldiers, rather than the ruling-class figures of the past. This new set of stereotypes will be presented here in the order suggested by the "three prominences": central heroes, secondary heroes, masses and villains. Thereafter another group will be introduced, the "turnabout characters" (zhuanbian renwu). Though their role is not explicit within the "three prominences" formula, they appear in several of the operas, and are significant in having the only roles with any hint of development or ambiguity. Within these four broad character types will be found all the dramatis personae of the Model Operas and almost all of the characters of Cultural Revolution fiction.

a. Central Heroes

Each of the model opera has a single central hero or heroine, who is the focus of the action. All of them drawn

from the groups that comprise the broadly defined "proletariat" (wuchan jieji "the unpropertied class" rather than gongren jieji "industrial working class," which is also generally translated "proletariat"), i.e., workers, peasants and soldiers. But these are no ordinary proletarians; they

embody the unity of revolutionary ideals with reality, of revolutionary with scientific nature, of universality (gongxing) with individuality (gexing), they are the refined and concentrated crystallisation, true, good and wonderful, of the proletariat. 42

These are mature men and women, Party members whose loyalties are primarily to Mao Zedong. None is conspicuously married at the time of the action, and Li Yuhe is the only one with family commitments. Their class and Party affiliations take the place of family in their thinking. Thus they are free to work whole-heartedly in the revolutionary cause. All have a personal history of suffering at the hands of oppressors, and are inspired to revenge by the present sufferings of others; their work is rewarded by final triumph. Two, however, Li Yuhe and Hong Changqing of The Red Detachment of Women, are executed by their enemies before victory is won.

The central heroes are of two kinds, military and civilian.

The five military heroes, all men, are: Yang Zirong (Taking Tiger Mountain), Yan Weicai (Raid on the White Tiger Regiment), Guo Jianguang (Shajiabang), Hong Changqing (The Red Detachment) and Zhao Yonggang (Fighting on the Plain). The operas in which they appear concentrate on the battle with an enemy better armed but lacking a mass base or a righteous cause. War allows

these heroes to exhibit daring and resourcefulness as they outwit and overcome their enemies. These are glamorous roles; all disguise themselves to infiltrate enemy territory -- Zhao Yonggang dons three different disguises as he destroys a munitions store of the occupying Japanese army and kills its commander.

Subtler qualities are required of the civilian hero and heroines, who are Li Yuhe (The Red Lantern), Fang Haizhen (On the Docks), Ke Xiang (Azalea Mountain) and Jiang Shuiying (Ode to Dragon River). Like the soldier heroes, they face an external threat, either from a military enemy or climatic emergency, and further have to combat a traitor. The three women must also educate a misguided colleague in the process.

Jiang Shuiying, the only peasant among the central heroic characters, is representative of this type. She is the model of a peasant Party cadre. At the suggestion of her Party superiors, she plans to build a dam and flood a fertile strip of her own Dragon River brigade's land in order to divert water to drought-stricken neighbours. The brigade leader (who is responsible for agricultural production) is appalled at the flooding of valuable crops, and a prosperous peasant is loath to lose his private plot, but both are won over by Jiang Shuiying's selfless example and timely reading of Mao on Bethune. When the uncompleted dam is threatened by high waters, Shuiying leads the peasants in forming a human dam. Finally she exposes the

concealed villain, a former landlord, as he tries to sabotage the dam. Thus she conquers nature, the class enemy and the doubts of a colleague. Most praised about the opera and its heroine was the "Longjiang style" (Longjiang fengge), encapsulated in this passage of praise by an elderly peasant supporter:

In order to care for the livelihood of the commune members and lessen the burden on the state, Shuiying, sick as she is, has been slaving day and night in the paddy-fields. She gets up at crack of dawn to boil drinking-water for the peasants and mend tools. At night she goes from house to house helping people with their troubles and organising work. These last few days her eyes have been red with fatigue and she's lost weight, but she just works harder and never complains. 43

These qualities combine with Jiang Shuiying's familiarity with Mao's writings and acuteness to class struggle to make her the paradigm for later peasant cadre heroes in fiction and film. They embody the desire of that faction promoting the "Yan'an Way" to proletarianise the peasantry, downplaying love for land, crops and family in favour of state, politics and Party.

The nine opera heroes exhibit more common character traits (resolution, courage, vigilance, class love and hatred) than individual ones. Though each was supposed to combine universality with individuality, the former quality invariably predominates, for the central heroes were essentially to be emulated as models rather than understood as people.

b. Secondary Heroes

The secondary heroes serve as staunch supporters to the central heroes, orchestrating praise for them, emphasising their close links with their colleagues and the people (lest the heroics of the central figures be seen to be individualistic and insufficiently mass-based). As such, their roles are as "stars showing off the moon, green leaves highlighting a red flower."⁴⁴

Pride of place among the secondary heroic characters must go to the revolutionary grannies who appear in four of the Model Works. Militant matriarchs are a stock type in the traditional Beijing repertory (especially in operas about the Yang family);⁴⁵ but these characters serve another purpose as well: their maltreatment at the hands of villains -- all are shot or tortured -- inspires the hero to righteous class revenge. Take, for example, the Korean Aunt Choe (Cui Daniang) in Raid on the White Tiger Regiment. Herself the mother of a soldier, she voices popular adoration of the Chinese army and their heroic representative Yan Weicai. When South Korean troops burn her village, Aunt Choe leads the villagers in defying and denouncing them, and is shot, first by the Korean commander and then, fatally, by their American advisor. Her death is a "blood debt" (xue zhai) to be exacted by Yan Weicai.⁴⁶

Other secondary heroic characters include the commander in Taking Tiger Mountain (indicating support for Yang Zirong from his Party and army superiors), the village organisers Li Sheng (Fighting on the Plain) and Aqing's wife (Shajiabang),

epitomising civilian support for military heroes, and the young girl activist Alian, who leads other young peasants in support of Jiang Shuiying in Ode to Dragon River, and urges doubters to reform. Characters like these recur constantly in Cultural Revolution fiction.

The secondary heroic characters may offer defiance to enemies and leadership to comrades, but they do not have the wherewithal to resolve the problems posed in the operas. For example, Li Sheng's heroic act of defiance against a Japanese commander is essentially a futile gesture, leading to the death of a militant granny. Only the hero Zhao Yonggang can overcome the enemy.

c. The Masses

The major functions of the lesser positive characters are to suffer (in the operas with pre-1949 settings), and thus arouse a protective instinct in the central hero; to offer enthusiastic support to a military hero's plans like the women soldiers of The Red Detachment; or to be initially unenthusiastic towards the central figure but be won over by her (or his) example and teaching. This latter group includes the partisans of Azalea Mountain, who are transformed from a band of brigands to disciplined troops by the Party representative Ke Xiang, and the prosperous peasant Chang Fu of Ode to Dragon River, whose devotion to his private plot of land obscures his view of public interest until Jiang Shuiying's selflessness shows him the

error of his ways.

Civilian masses are often passive in their suffering; this group of lunching workers in The Red Lantern may grumble, but they cannot change their lot:

Member of the masses E: Saleswoman, give me a bowl
of gruel. What sort of taste do you call
this? It's all mouldy!
A: Yeah, there's all kinds of stuff in the rations.
Saleswoman: There's nothing we can do about it.
B: Ugh! (crunches a piece of grit and spits it
out) Broke my tooth on it!
A: It's full of grit!
B: We just don't get treated like humans.
A: Hush now, you'll only get into trouble.
B: How can we eat it? We can't keep going like
this. 47

Such defeatism among the masses does not tally with the decisive role as the makers of history assigned them in Mao's writings. However, in the same opera, a member of the masses does take some action in the cause of the hero. A suffering neighbor, in gratitude for the Li's help, disguises herself as Tiemei to draw away the nationalist soldiers who are shadowing her. Mostly, however, they are passive and helpless before the central hero or heroine intervenes.

d. Villains

The Chinese opera tradition offered rich possibilities for the diverting portrayal of wickedness, and the villains of the Model Operas, even after being scaled down to prevent them from upstaging the heroes, are often more colourful than their virtuous conquerors. All of the villains are middle-aged and

male (as is true of almost all the wicked characters in Cultural Revolution literature), and they fall into two main categories: obvious enemies (who pose a military threat) and concealed traitors.

Three of the military operas feature a foreign invader as the chief villain, two Japanese and one American. These are brutal men whose low cunning is no match for the hero. The Japanese at least are prepared to die fighting, while the American advisor (of Raid on the White Tiger Regiment) tries to escape and leave his South Korean allies to their fate. Their Chinese counterparts, usually bandits affiliated to the nationalist army, are as cruel as the foreign oppressors, but rather more intelligent and initially suspicious of the deceptions of their communist adversaries. For example, the Viper (Dushedan) of Azalea Mountain is astute enough to capture and mistreat Granny Du, the adoptive mother of the partisan leader Lei Gang, using her as bait for a trap. Lei Gang, a mere secondary hero, succumbs, but the central heroine Ke Xiang leads a surprise attack to rescue the captives.

Concealed traitors are hidden only from the other characters: they are immediately revealed to the reader by their place at the bottom of the cast lists, and to the viewer by their stooped posture and green stage lighting. They struggle to undermine and destroy the central heroic figures, and to turn others away from the heroes' path. Thus Huang Guozhong, the villain of Ode to Dragon River, not only tries to sabotage the

dam built to divert water to needy brigades, but also tries to foment opposition to the heroine's plan among those concerned with personal and local enrichment. In the denouement, Huang is revealed as a former landlord's bailiff; he is thus of an oppressor class, and all his actions can be explained as stemming from his class origin. The heroine's struggle with him is therefore class struggle. Similarly Qian Shouwei, villain of On the Docks, is of a capitalist class by virtue of his past association with foreign bosses. His conniving is also presented as typical of his class.

There are also lesser villains: the sidekicks and stooges of the oppressors. These include the brutal Old Fourth, bailiff of the Southern Tyrant in The Red Detachment of Women, and the sinister but inept Indestructibles (Zhong jingang) who cluster about the Vulture in Taking Tiger Mountain. They, and the enemy soldiers of the military operas, wind up sharing the fate of their masters.

e. "Turnabout Characters"

As the central hero's struggle with the villain represents a dramatisation of "contradictions with the enemy," so the transformation of immature or doubting characters symbolises "contradictions among the people," which had been the focus of Mao's 1957 anti-rightist speech. These are similar to the "middle characters" (zhongjian renwu), as condemned in Jiang Qing's "Summary," in their initial

reluctance to accept the socialist orientation commended in the works in which they appear. But while the "middle characters" of the rural fiction of the early 1960's may persist in their conservatism and doubting, and be sympathetically portrayed nonetheless, the doubts of the "turnabout characters" are presented as delusions engendered by weakness of vision and enemy deception, and must be rejected wholeheartedly as the characters transform themselves from doubt to certainty and follow the lead of the hero(ine).

Lei Gang of Azalea Mountain is a secondary hero who is also a "turnabout character." He is heroic in that he is fearless in his opposition to the Viper, but flawed by impetuosity and the trust he places in his lieutenant Wen Qijiu. When the Party emissary Ke Xiang assumes leadership of the band, Lei Gang (egged on by Wen) opposes her lenient treatment of captives, and her restraint in not launching futile counter-offensives. His conversion comes as, languishing in the Viper's jail after his foolhardy attempt to rescue Mama Du, he hears of Ke Xiang's own debt of blood (the murder of her husband by the Viper), which she is awaiting the propitious moment to repay. Enlightened by Ke's example, Lei sees through Wen's blandishments and shoots him.

A non-heroic character who turns away from delusion is the young dock-worker Han Xiaoqiang in On the Docks. Though himself the son of a docker and thus of solid proletarian background, his ambition is to go to sea, and he is distressed by his job on

land. His disillusionment is heightened by the artful villain Qian Shouwei's insistence that dock work is demeaning to an educated young man like himself. A significant feature of Han's conversion, like that of Lei Gang, is the recalling of past sufferings (in this case the tragic death of his own father) by the heroine and an elderly stalwart, here a retired docker. The youngster sees the importance of his job, realises the true reason for Qian's apparent concern, and destroys his application for a job away from the docks.

Initial neglect of revolutionary goals or class struggle in favour of otherwise laudable economic concerns is the error of Li Zhitian, the brigade leader in Ode to Dragon River and another "turnabout character." Li is persuaded, by the sufferings of drought-stricken neighbours, by Jiang Shuiying's example and by her quoting of Mao texts, to believe a constantly reiterated tenet of Cultural Revolution Maoism -- that political correctness and class struggle are more important than considerations of agricultural or industrial production, and actually lead (at least in the ideal world of the Model Operas) to greater productivity.

The "turnabout characters" complete the spectrum of Model Opera dramatis personae. Theirs is a role that is frequently seen in expanded form in novels modelled on the operas, since it is only through them that an author can deal with problems that might legitimately arise in the execution of Party policy, and demonstrate the process whereby doubters can be won over.

ii) Plot Structure

The Model Operas are simple tales of the triumph of Maoist good, personified by a central heroic figure, over evil represented by aggressors and traitors. They bear the two main features of melodrama (as defined by Northrop Frye): "the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealism of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience."⁴⁸ Here, of course, "virtue" is of a specific kind: devotion to Mao and his works, righteous anger against oppression, unshakable faith in the inevitable victory of Mao's course for the Chinese revolution and (for the civilian heroes and heroines) alertness to class struggle. The plots of the Model Works are highly predictable -- it is inconceivable that Longjiang brigade might not have a record crop yield, or that Yan Weicai and his "dagger squad" (jiandaoban) could fail to capture the headquarters of the White Tiger regiment. Such predictability is common in popular literature (as has been suggested in the introduction) and can be seen elsewhere in the Chinese opera tradition. For example, many of the heroic tales of The Water Margin and the operas derived from them follow a pattern of: unjust exercise of power/righteous resistance/persecution/flight to Liangshan.

There are two standard plots in model opera, the military and the civilian.

The military plots deal with straightforward struggle

against armed oppressors, varying only slightly from this standard plan: confronted by apparently insuperable forces, but with support from the people and inspiration from Mao and his works, the hero infiltrates enemy-occupied areas in disguise, then masterminds a raid in which the enemy is defeated.

The civilian operas, which were the applicable model for fiction with post-1949 settings, are rather more complex, with "internal" as well as "external" contradiction, class struggle as well as combat with an obvious foe. The plot is seen as a series of contradictions, each focussing on the central character, which develop from existence (cunzai) through variation (zhuanhua) and exacerbation (jihua) to clash (chongtu) before final resolution (jiejue). A distillation of all the civilian plots gives a model of this kind: the central character's determination to carry out enlightened Party policy to meet an external threat (armed force or natural disaster) encounters resistance from a narrow-minded colleague and sabotage from a concealed enemy, who is a member of a non-proletarian class. The enemy cunningly fuels the colleague's doubts. Two means are used to disabuse the doubter - the recalling of past bitterness, by the hero(ine) and an older character, to arouse the will to class revenge, and the quotation of a seminal Mao text. With the internal contradiction thus resolved the hero(ine) can lead a united act of valour against the external force. Finally the class enemy is unmasked and revealed to have a long history of wickedness.

The significance attached in civilian operas to class struggle, a tenet central to Cultural Revolution ideology, is unmatched in Chinese literary theory. Similarly the person and writings of Mao are eulogised to a much greater extent than in any previous works. A further common feature of the operas, evident in the Chinese opera tradition and emphasised in the Model Works, is revenge (bao). A revenge theme appears in each opera, reportedly on the insistence of Jiang Qing, for whom retribution in art, as in life, was of considerable importance. The finest call for revenge is Granny Li's recounting to Tiemei of their family's history (a scene which reduced Jiang Qing to tears even in 1972⁴⁹):

In the strike, your own parents perished at
the devils' hands,

Li Yuhe worked everywhere for revolution's
plans.

He vowed to keep the martyr's red lantern
alight,

Wiped his wounds, buried the dead and
returned to the fight.

Your father was dragged away to jail from us
here,

Leaving us to pay a debt of blood and tears.

You must: be courageous, be determined that
you will see

that debt repaid by the enemy; a blood debt
must be paid in blood! 50

III. Models for Life and Literature

From the time the first group of eight works were declared models in 1966, and in successive media campaigns thereafter, the operas (and the other models) were presented as exemplars to be emulated in social behaviour and in the creation of art.

Emulation of heroes set up by the Party has been a feature

of communist education in China, the prime post-1949 case being Lei Feng, the model of frugality and selfless dedication since 1963.⁵¹ Where the opera heroes and heroines differ as models is in their alertness to class struggle. One factory which became famous during the Cultural Revolution for fostering the spirit of the model heroes was Shanghai's Benefit the People #4 Factory (Yimin sichang), where production targets met, longer shifts worked and emergencies resolved were all attributed to emulation of one or another of the opera heroes. (The factory also had three amateur operatic societies singing only arias from the Model Operas, and known as the Granny Li, Tiemei and Lei Gang troupes.) An article celebrating the factory's success in making accessible (puji) the opera model offered this report as testimony to its efficacy:

There was a girl working in the biscuit-making plant who had seemed willing to make progress before being corrupted by the sugar-coated bullets of a scion of a "four bad element" [landlord/ rich-peasant/ counter-revolutionary/ bad lot] family. She was infected by evil bourgeois thought and committed errors. An experienced worker saw it and was saddened; she tried on many occasions to discuss it with the girl and make her recognise her faults, but to no avail. Then the older worker thought of [the scene in which] Granny Li educates Tiemei by recounting their bitter family history and thus makes Tiemei see clearly and strengthen her resolve to fight. So she told her own family history to the girl, remembering past bitterness and thinking of present sweetness, solemnly saying "You should be like Tiemei, red-hearted, courageous and with steely determination, don't be defeated by a sugar-coated bullet" ...[The girl] determined to take Tiemei as her model (bangyang), to be tested in the billows of class

struggle, and always to walk the road of revolutionary heroes. 52

This passage demonstrates that emulation of the models was extended not only into life, but into reportage of life; under the influence of the models, documentary evidence was transformed into myth.

The opera model was also intended to influence the creation of fiction. In the Chinese context, this was not unreasonable: there has traditionally been a symbiotic relationship between fiction, opera and the popular oral tradition (balladry, storytelling, etc.), whereby authors in one medium borrowed plot-lines and technique from the others. The great novel The Water Margin, whose sources were the oral tradition and opera, in its turn gave rise to numerous operas, recitations, etc. Many of China's greatest novelists (Li Yu, Luo Guanzhong, Cao Xueqin) were also dramatists, and Cao had considered writing his masterpiece in opera form before composing it as a novel. It is thus well within the Chinese tradition that fiction should borrow from opera, and as subsequent chapters will show, the Model Works were highly influential in the shaping of Cultural Revolution novels. Many of the novelists writing in the first half of the 1970's acknowledged a debt to the models, among them Hao Ran, the leading writer of the period. Two of his novels, both showing evidence of the Model Works' influence, will be considered in subsequent chapters. This is not to say that the operatic model necessarily provided a good basis for writing novels. Judgment on that question must be suspended

until representative novels of the period have been analysed.

IV. Conclusion

How successful were the Model Works in founding the unprecedented socialist literary tradition Jiang Qing had demanded in her speeches in the mid-1960's?

First, the acknowledged "basic duty" of the operas was the portrayal of the central heroic figures, and the success or failure of a given work depended to a large extent on having a hero or heroine sufficiently exciting to the imagination, whom the viewer or reader would wish to emulate. After the fall of the Gang of Four, much criticism was directed at the "three prominences" method for creating heroes who were impossibly decisive and politically correct. A typical example follows:

No matter what the 'hero's' status, age, experience, education, and position at work may be, he must be head and shoulders above others. This sort of character can do anything, has analysed everything, can predict the future, makes plans like an immortal, spouts Marxism-Leninism, astonishes people with his actions, and no matter what objective conditions are like, always succeeds straight away. 53

However, the credibility of the hero is not the prime issue; in fact the operas in which the stronger heroes appear (Taking Tiger Mountain and The Red Lantern are the obvious examples), which should be the most objectionable according to the critic quoted above, are actually the most coherent and entertaining works. At the opposite extreme, Shajiabang, in its revised form, suffers crucially from weakness at the centre, since the

"model" hero Guo Jianguang is not only implausible (which can usually be forgiven in an opera hero) but lifeless and uninteresting as well, which is unpardonable. That opera is the clearest case of the revision under Jiang Qing being to the detriment of the drama.

Secondly, the range of subject-matter and expression permitted by Jiang Qing was too narrow to serve as a nation's sole literary fare for half a decade. There is little humour and no romance in the Model Operas. The dominant emotions (pain and righteous anger, class hatred and class love, revenge and triumph) fall within a limited range. While there is no reason why individual operas should impose these limitations and not succeed, it is hardly feasible that a theatre-loving audience could be satisfied with nothing else for long. Defenders of the operas in the 1970's were especially sensitive about charges that the Model Works imposed "strictures" (kuangkuang) on the development of the arts in China. Their defense was to say that the only expression constricted was bourgeois and thus harmful to the viewer, but the vehemence of their reaction testified to their vulnerability to the charges.

Thirdly, the Model Works do not fulfill the role of providing a historical, political and social education that was assigned to them in the campaigns to promote them. As history, they naturally (according to Chinese tradition) support the interpretation of the past best suited to present rulers, in this case emphasising the decisive nature of Mao on the Chinese

revolution. Two operas stand out as particularly wayward historically. In Azalea Mountain, set in 1928, we are expected to believe that a partisan group would accept a stranger, and a woman at that, as their leader simply because she is a member of the Communist Party, even though the Party had been decimated the year before. And in The Red Detachment of Women, the women's regiment whose historical predecessor was massacred by nationalist troops is presented triumphant. To the unlikelihood of the operas in general is added, in these two works, an element of feminist fantasy for which Jiang Qing is presumably responsible. In terms of political education, the operas perpetuated the divisive and dangerous policy of seeing social problems as caused by the activities of class enemies, thus adding credibility to witch-hunts against those who might have less than completely proletarian backgrounds. And, the testimonials of the workers as the Benefit the People #4 Factory notwithstanding, it is hard to see the heroes of the Model Operas as a complete guide to social practice.

Finally, as Frye's definition of melodrama makes clear, audience concurrence in the moral/political views expressed is essential for appreciation of the Model Works. During the Cultural Revolution, the authorities attempted to ensure acceptance of those views by requiring that everyone attend numerous showings of the films of the models, as well as by constant reiteration of those views and praise of the operas in the media. After the fall of the Gang of Four,

however, the deification of Mao and the class antagonism of the models quickly became outmoded, thus diminishing audience sympathy for their social burden. It was disenchantment with the models as propaganda weapons for policies and people (especially Jiang Qing) under attack after 1976 that accounted for the strongest attacks on the models. If the models had been designed to perpetuate, in the long term, a new vision of man and society, they clearly failed. However, in the short term, the half-decade from 1972 to 1976, the message of the model was proclaimed in officially-sponsored fiction. It is with examination of representative works of this fiction that the remainder of this study is concerned.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF BATTLES AT HONGNAN:

THE FIRST MODEL-INFLUENCED NOVEL

History of Battles at Hongnan, published in February of 1972, was the first full-length novel to be released in China in the six years since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.¹ As a first attempt at the Cultural Revolution novel, it was intended to exemplify the qualities required by Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan and other members of the new cultural leadership. It was written by a "three-in-one" writing team of the kind pioneered by Lin Biao in the early 1960's and adopted by Jiang Qing in her Beijing Opera speech of 1964. Such was the importance attached to the venture that Yao Wenyuan was himself involved in the creative process,² directing the authors towards the simple and highly political style he favoured.

In addition to its preparation by a "three-in-one" team, the novel also adhered to Party policy by modelling itself on the operas discussed in the previous chapter. Like them, it offers a revised version of events in the history of modern China to the best advantage of Mao, and presents characters whose relationships are defined by the "three prominences" system. Its plot, though lacking in the climactic finale of the opera model (the novel was the first in a projected series of which no others were published), nevertheless demonstrates many of the

standard features of the model. These include: the recalling of past suffering to arouse the desire for revenge, the decisive introduction of a Mao text, and the resolution of contradiction in society by means of class struggle.

The novel will be considered below for its creation by the "three-in-one" process, and for its realisation of the opera model. Conclusions on the literary merit of this novel will permit generalisation both on the viability of the collective writing process and the opera model.

I. "Three-in-one": the Writing Team

The purpose of forming writing groups rather than relying on individual authors to create fiction was to impose strict Party control on literature. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan's suspicion of literary intellectuals was inherited from Mao's distrust of the "literary opposition" at Yan'an. They suspected that established authors, both survivors from the Republican period and those flourishing under the "black line" (of 1949-66) still harboured bourgeois or revisionist ideologies, both in their interest in the individuality, rather than the typicality, of their characters, and felt more answerable to themselves than their political masters.

The sponsors of "three-in-one" writing groups felt (as had Mao at Yan'an) that the intended recipients of literature were insufficiently schooled and sophisticated to produce it for themselves, and therefore the expertise of intellectuals was

needed. (It would seem that the Cultural Revolution leadership had little respect for the achievements in education in the People's Republic, as they still thought in the Yan'an terms of sending authors "down" to the masses to create mass literature, and concentrated their energies, like Mao, on accessibility rather than refinement.) The new leadership sought to utilise the technical talents of these intellectuals yet deprive them of the means to express viewpoints that might conflict with Party line. The means to that end at Yan'an and in the 1950's had been to insist that authors should transform their thinking by prolonged contact with the masses and by study of Marxism before getting a freer hand to write themselves. Under Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, tougher external controls were added. The limitations placed on the role of the artist are implicit in the Cultural Revolution description of the function of the three components of the creative trinity: "leadership provides the thought, the masses provide the life, the author provide the technique."³

The "three-in-one" system permitted surveillance of the artist from above (the Party) and below (the masses); in practice it was the Party that exercised the decisive role, especially over the slight production of the early 1970's. Jiang Qing indicated to Roxanne Witke that she reserved the right to ignore the opinions of the masses if they did not suit her purposes, in a process she called "democratic centralism on a broad scale."⁴

The "History of Battles at Hongnan composition group" had

five members based in Shanghai county, a densely populated farming area to the west of the city of Shanghai. There was a Party representative, answerable to Yao Wenyuan and Zhang Chunqiao in Beijing, and responsible for the ideological rectitude of the work. The second member was a literary professional, an editor named Zhou Tian. (Other such groups had experienced writers in this slot.⁵) The other three were young residents of Shanghai county, where the novel was set. The three were not native to the area, but had been sent there from metropolitan Shanghai after high-school graduation as part of the Cultural Revolution rustication of urban youth. Nor had they volunteered for membership in the writing group: they had been selected on the basis of reports written for local journals. The theme of the novel was supplied by Yao Wenyuan through the Party representative on the writing team: two-line struggle between Maoist and revisionist (i.e., Liu Shaoqi-inspired) policies on the collectivisation of suburban agricultural land in Hongnan village in Shanghai county in the early 1950's. The choice of Hongnan county was to celebrate an editorial comment written by Mao commending the achievements of collectivisation there;⁶ the Chairman could thus be kept as close as possible to the action. After discussion between the Party representative and the literary professional, a plot outline was prepared in four sections, one each to be written by the professional and the three young writers. Released from other duties, the four writers conducted research into the history of

collectivisation in the area by interviewing area residents, and then wrote their respective sections. These were rewritten by Zhou Tian, who added a prologue and an epilogue. The writing process was completed in a year and a half,⁷ no mean feat for a novel of six hundred pages.

The "three-in-one" system in operation for the writing of History of Battles at Hongnan was slightly different from the one which had produced Lin Biao's literary exemplar, The Song of Ouyang Hai six years before.⁸ The earlier novel had likewise required its author to produce a figment of the Party's imagination rather than his own, and had involved extensive field research among the comrades of the eponymous martyr. However the literary professional, Jin Jingmai, had written the work alone -- the "masses" furnished the raw material for the novel and suggested revisions, but did not provide young hack writers whose work could be rewritten by a more experienced colleague. Though Jin Jingmai had more control over the form of his novel, the guiding principle was the same: the decisive input was the Party's, the writer(s) merely serving to present the message in palatable form. The ideological differences between the two works cannot be ascribed to their authors, but to the Party line on history and social relationships prevailing when the novels were composed.

Chief among these differences was the analysis presented in the two novels of the chief contradictions existing in Chinese society. In The Song of Ouyang Hai, the struggle is exemplified

within the hero himself, between self-fulfillment and altruism, with Ouyang Hai learning to efface the self and to dedicate himself to his fellow-soldiers and society. In History of Battles at Hongnan, this same contradiction is externalised, becoming a class struggle between proletarians possessed of self-denial like Ouyang Hai's and representatives of non-proletarian classes (middle-peasants, landlords, bourgeois intellectuals, etc.) who for various selfish or malevolent reasons oppose the policies set forward by Mao. The de-emphasis of class in the earlier novel and its re-emphasis in the second follows a change in the Party's policy.

II. Historical Background: Agricultural Collectivisation

"What is the purpose of going over historical events once more?" asks the narrator rhetorically towards the end of the novel's prologue. The answer: "the purpose is to explain history, to explain historical experience."⁹

As its title makes plain, the subject of History of Battles at Hongnan is history; like the Model Operas, it provides a revised version of a critical phase in China's recent past. The collectivisation of agriculture, a process which began shortly after the communist victory, was chosen for historical review in the first Cultural Revolution novel for three major reasons: it had been of immense organisational and ideological importance in the building of the new society of the People's Republic; it had been the first sign after the communist victory of a conflict

between two opposing developmental strategies; and it had already provided the setting for popular novels presenting a view of history of which the Cultural Revolution leadership disapproved.

The Communist Party's promise of land to the tiller was the single most important factor in radicalizing the peasantry, without whom there could have been no communist victory. The land reform, which began as the communists took over new rural areas during the civil war and was completed after 1949, was the means whereby the Chinese peasants were persuaded to assert themselves over their landlords and take possession of the land in an economic and ideological transformation known as fanshen (usually translated as "emancipation"). William Hinton, in his account of the land reform in a Northern Chinese village, attests that "through this process they [the peasants] had transformed themselves from passive victims of natural and social forces into active builders of a new world. This was the essence of fanshen."¹⁰

Under the land reform, land, agricultural equipment and household possessions confiscated from landlords and wealthy peasants were redistributed among the hired hands and poorer peasants, allowing them to farm in family units. It soon became clear, especially in the poorer areas, that the same families who had been destitute before land reform were least able to cope with individual farming, lacking equipment, manpower, and the capital to buy seeds and fertiliser, while the relatively prosperous middle-peasants

were able to take the fullest advantage of land reform.¹¹

Agricultural collectivisation was seen as the means to prevent rural society from degenerating once more into one divided between rich and poor, exploiter and exploited. There were, however, disagreements within the leadership as to the manner and the pace of collectivisation. Briefly stated, one side held that the creation of wealth was the prerequisite for collectivisation, and thus that the move toward collectivisation should wait until the more successful individual farmers had amassed some capital in a period of social stability; for the other side, collectivisation was the prerequisite for the creation of wealth by the poorer peasants, who had been the communists' natural constituency before 1949, and who were in danger of being bankrupted and reverting to tenancy or servitude. For this latter side, a swift move towards collectivisation was essential, and should be achieved through mass mobilisation.

Thus, within months of the communist victory, "two lines"¹² on developmental strategy were evident within the Communist Party leadership, in a conflict that has continued with varying intensity until the present day. The first, centralist, organised and pragmatic, and associated with Liu Shaoqi, has been described as "the Soviet Model;" the second, populist, inspirational and utopian, has been identified with Mao as the "Yan'an Way."¹³ Mao was the one responsible for forcing the pace of collectivisation in the

1950's, from the early cooperatives, through the higher-level collectives to the people's communes in the Great Leap Forward; while Liu and his followers are seen as having opposed the precipitancy of Mao's initiatives and, after Mao's death, moved towards the decollectivisation of agriculture. The breach between these two conflicting strategies became public with the attacks on Liu Shaoqi in the mid-1960's, and the Party media, which had previously been careful to minimise differences and present the image of a united leadership, was suddenly required to revise the historical record to show a counter-revolutionary Liu Shaoqi repeatedly attempting to undermine Mao's brilliant and popular policies. Since novels produced prior to the Cultural Revolution had, in line with other Party writing, portrayed solidarity rather than "line struggle" within the Party on the issue of collectivisation, now new fiction was now required to fill the gap.

Agricultural collectivisation had been the subject of a number of novels written in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Among them were Zhao Shuli's Sanliwan,¹⁴ Zhou Libo's Great Changes in a Mountain Village (Shanxiang jubian),¹⁵ and Liu Qing's History of Setting Up (Chuangye shi, translated as The Builders).¹⁶ (These three novels are among those analysed in Joe C. Huang's study of the pre-Cultural Revolution novel.¹⁷) Collectivisation novels, though set in a particular area, have nevertheless used a single village as a microcosm for the whole Chinese countryside, showing the means whereby typical objections

to collectivisation are overcome and Party policies can win popular support. In Sanliwan (1958), opposition to the collectivisation of recently allocated plots is shown as a natural conservatism, which can be broken down by explaining the superiority of the collective way, and by providing a vision of a better, socialist, future. Great Changes in a Mountain Village (1958) deals at length with middle peasant opposition to, and obstruction of, collectivisation; the author candidly admits the policy's unpopularity with those able to make a success of individual farming. To Zhou Libo, such opposition is understandable, but deluded, though their conversion to socialist thinking, at least as he describes it, is less convincing than their resistance to it. It is in History of Setting Up (1959) that the conflict between socialist collectivisation and conservative individualism is most intimately portrayed, with the focus within a single family, on a father and his adopted son. The father, Gaffer Liang the Third, is overjoyed at being assigned land in the land reform, and believes that the prosperity that has always eluded his family is finally within reach. His son Liang Shengbao, as a Party member, is more concerned with their less capable neighbors than with building family fortunes. Though he could certainly prosper as a private farmer, Shengbao chooses the path of collectivisation instead, arousing his father first to frustrated rage, then to grudging tolerance and finally to loving acceptance.

The conflict between the forces advocating and opposing collectivisation in the three novels mentioned above is essentially perceived as one of progressive thinking against peasant conservatism; the authors take the side of progress towards socialism, but are sympathetic to the other viewpoint. It is not an analysis based on class struggle, which is seen as having been left behind when the landlords and rich peasants were denounced and stripped of their land in the land reform. Rather the contradictions are non-antagonistic, "among the people" (renmin neibu), even within a single family or individual.

The Cultural Revolution perspective is a different one, presenting the same opposition to collectivisation not as understandable conservatism or delusion, but as stupidity or wickedness. The conflict has been externalised, with heroes and villains personifying good and evil. There are class enemies at work in History of Battles at Hongnan, and within the Party there is a struggle between the policies of Mao and Liu. The Cultural Revolution collectivist cadre, here Hong Leisheng, unlike his predecessor Liang Shengbao, is more concerned with prosecuting class struggle than explaining the merits of collectivisation. The key to the difference between the two heroes, and the two "histories" in which they appear, is the adherence of the later work to the opera model.

III. Application of the Opera Model

i) Characterisation

The novel's characters, like those of the Model Operas, fit into a "three prominences" system. The action revolves around the central hero Hong Leisheng, who is supported by secondary heroes, and leads the "masses", who are generally approving but prone to doubt and backsliding. Opposing forces include those inside and outside the Communist Party. Naturally, there are more characters in a long novel than in operas a tenth of its length; the categories whose numbers are increased are the masses and the negative characters.

a. A New Hero of Collectivisation

Hong Leisheng, scion of an impoverished hired hand family and the leader of the poor peasants of Hongnan, is the organiser of the first collective farming enterprise in the novel and the defender of Mao's line against the various assaults of the opposition. In a prologue set before 1949, he appears as an underground activist for the Party and a Red Army soldier who is demobilised to his home village; by the start of the novel proper he is head of the local branch of the Communist Youth League.

One difference between Leisheng and his opera counterparts is in his youthfulness. Intuitively correct though his judgments may be, he lacks experience, and we are constantly reminded by

the narrator of the limitations of his knowledge. Dependence is not so much on his fellow villagers as on Mao: at every step he is guided by quotations from Mao (which appear at considerable length and in heavy type). At moments of crisis, directives come deus ex machina, which Leisheng need only follow to be assured of victory. Leisheng believes totally in Mao's omniscience: "Chairman Mao is truly brilliant! Chairman Mao is in Beijing, how is it that Chairman Mao knows everything that happens here, just as if he had seen it with his own eyes."¹⁸

Leisheng shares with the boy soldier heroes of the 1960's the desire to be no more than an instrument of the Chairman's will, a passivity that makes him a weaker figure than, say, Jiang Shuiying of Ode to Dragon River; but he shares her suspicion of class enemies, and triumphs in his conflicts with them. Leisheng's willing subservience is expressed as he listens to the reading of the text by Mao praising the progress of collectivisation at Hongnan:

Leisheng raised his head to gaze at the portrait of Chairman Mao in the centre of the podium at the meeting hall, and the great leader was smiling at him. A hot surge rose in Leisheng's heart as he silently repeated his vow to Chairman Mao: "Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao, I, Hong Leisheng, son of a hired hand, will always obey you, and hurry towards socialism and communism. No force however strong can destroy my faith and resolution to go forward."¹⁹

Within the terms of the novel, this utter reliance is enough to bring Leisheng victory at every turn. But the narrator is at

pains to point out, in a lengthy disquisition on the nature of the literary hero, that Leisheng is no genius, in the manner of Zhuge Liang of Three Kingdoms, who can foresee the future and uses people as pawns in a game of chess. Rather, the narrator insists (though there is little evidence in the text to support the assertion), Leisheng's strength is derived from his reliance on the masses.²⁰ There is genius at work in the novel, though it is not, to be sure, the hero who possesses it; rather it is Leisheng himself who is the pawn in the mighty hand of the Chairman, moving forward step by step as Mao directs.

Hong Leisheng is a supremely "social" hero, lacking in any individual characteristics. If, as one of the authors said, his character was based on a real-life village cadre, then the portrait has been "typified" out of all recognition, to the point where individuality is extinguished. This makes him a paler figure than Liang Shengbao of History of Setting Up, even despite the "three prominences." Though Shengbao, like Leisheng, is primarily concerned with carrying out Party collectivisation policies, he also has a softer side, seen both in his relations with his step-father and mother, and in a failed romance with a strong-willed girl whom he exasperates and alienates with his constant postponement of courtship. Leisheng, by comparison, has neither the time nor the inclination to do anything but struggle and organise.

b. Secondary Heroes

Support from secondary heroes in the higher echelons (such as was enjoyed by the opera heroes Yang Zirong and Yan Weicai from their commanding officers) is all the more important in the case of a hero as youthful as Hong Leisheng, especially when he has the temerity to challenge the Liuist policies of the local Party authorities. Here it is the Party official An Keming, Leisheng's mentor in the prologue and throughout the novel, who supplies him periodically with the works of Mao and lectures him on the importance of vigilance for class struggle (though he is constrained by Party solidarity from explaining the rift within the Party until the youngster has himself joined).

Another supporter directly drawn from an opera stereotype is Leisheng's mother. Mama Hong is a woman of the same type as the militant grannies of the Model Works, though she is spared the violence inflicted on them. Like them, she is loving and solicitous towards the hero, and arouses his determination with a stirring recitation of past oppression and resistance. Her virtues include frugality (she lights her house at night only to entertain guests or to allow her son to study Mao's writings), and patriotism, sewing to help the war effort in Korea.

Dynamic young activists -- Alian of Ode to Dragon River is an example in the Model Operas -- are common secondary heroines in Cultural Revolution fiction. Here we have Zhang Baozhen,

whose militance is revealed to best effect when Liu Shaoqi supporters decide to establish a collective in deference to Mao's orders, but admit only middle peasants with a view to ensuring economic success. Baozhen, in Leisheng's absence, leads the poor peasant protest.

c. The Masses

The masses in the novel comprise those peasants who are not leading advocates of either the Maoist or Liuist lines. There are both poor and middle peasants, the former sufferers and the latter doubters, and each behaves according to his ordained class characteristics. The class analysis that defines their characterisation is Mao's 1926 essay "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society" (Zhongguo shehui ge jieji fenxi),²¹ which the narrator updates to 1949 in the first chapter of the novel proper. Mao's essay posits that, the poorer the peasant, the more inclined he is to the cause of the Communist Party; in the updated version, this means not joining the revolution, but collectivising. Hardship and indecision may stall the poor peasant from making the decision to support collectivisation, but he is destined to do so. By contrast, the middle peasants seek only their own economic gain, and though this may take them into the collective, they remain a disruptive force there. The authors are constrained by the Party's land reform policy of alliance with the middle peasants from portraying them as villains, but the

contempt in which the narrator and the poor peasants of the novel hold them leaves little doubt of their distaste for the alliance policy. Mao's belief in man's potential for transformation has been all but abandoned; as the narrator says of the people of Hongnan at the novel's end: "their thinking in each case bears the mark of their class and status, with no exceptions."²²

Typical of the poor peasant sufferers is Xu Tugen, whose family shared with the Hongs the doubtful distinction of being the worst off in the village before the land reform. Even afterwards financial difficulties, including his wife's sickness, mean that Xu is unable to manage on his own. He seems doomed to sell his land and hire himself out if no one helps him. Hong Leisheng's willingness to admit Xu into his cooperative and provide other support are designed to show the hero's close affiliation with the most disadvantaged members of society.

By contrast, Niu Husheng represents the middle peasants. Niu joins the cooperative early on, and thereby earns more than his brother, who stays out. But his commitment to collectivisation is strictly limited. He bickers about the cash value of his investment when joining and tries to force the cooperative to sell its produce on the private market rather than to the state (which is seen as dishonourable money-grubbing by the narrator). Niu's grasping nature is clearly incorrigible, as it stems naturally from his class. The narrator concludes of an argument between Leisheng and Niu Husheng: "all men have

feelings, but people of different classes have different feelings."²³

Such rigid class analysis deprives the novel of any potential for character development. The authors also shun the only device available from the Model Operas that permits any degree of ambiguity or flexibility, the "turnabout character." There are none in this novel.

d. Enemies Within and Without

The Model Operas invariably conclude with the unmasking and humiliation of the hero's enemies. In History of Battles at Hongnan, some of the conflicts are left unresolved, saved for further volumes that were to continue the story. This is clearest in the case of Leisheng's two adversaries within the Party, the county Party secretary Pu Chunhua and the middle peasant cadre Gao Quwen, both of whom represent the Liu Shaoqi line on agricultural development.

Pu Chunhua is one of a new kind of villain, distinct from those in the operas, brought into Cultural Revolution literature to personify the Liuist road -- the senior Party official opposed to the hero and the Chairman. In later manifestations, this type becomes the "capitalist-roader" villain. His class background is (from the author's point of view) highly suspect. His family are urban, prosperous and intellectual. Being urban, he has no knowledge of the countryside; being prosperous, he cannot tell rich from poor in the villages where living standards

are generally low; and as an intellectual he is (in the new conventions of the Cultural Revolution) myopic, gullible and arrogant. As the Party official responsible for Hongnan (where he outranks An Keming) he is keen for good production results to show to his superiors, and invariably supports ventures involving middle peasants, seeing them as more capable of delivering the desired results. When Leisheng and other poor peasants object to Pu's forming Hongnan's first official cooperative with only middle peasants, he counters by insisting on Party solidarity. He regards Leisheng as a "meddlesome brat" (maoshou maojiao de xiao haizi)²⁴ and resents his interference in the carrying out of Party (or Liuist) policies. Judgment is suspended in this volume as to whether he is merely deluded or a "right opportunist;" we may assume that had the saga ground its way to the anti-rightist campaign, Pu would have had his come-uppance.

Pu's ally at the local level is Hongnan's first Party member, the wealthy middle peasant Gao Quwen. The selfishness that the authors regard as innate to his class (c.f. Chang Fu of Ode to Dragon River) runs counter to the altruism expected of a peasant cadre. Thus when he assigns tasks to members of his cooperative, he insists that his own land be worked first (whereas model cadres like Leisheng or Jiang Shuiying would have their land tilled last). This, explains the narrator, derives from "the exploiter mentality of the wealthy middle peasant."²⁵ Because Gao is a Party member rather than

an ordinary middle peasant, his conflict with Leisheng is both line struggle and inner-Party conflict.

Just as Mao, rather than Leisheng, is the real hero of the novel, so is Liu Shaoqi the real villain. The battles are fought by surrogates, but the narrator constantly reminds us that Liu's hand is at work behind the scenes. It is Liu Shaoqi who is accused of attempting to arrest Leisheng's political and cognitive development by suppressing publication of volume three of Mao's Selected Works; and when Gao Quwen's mercenary tendencies bring him into conflict with Hong Leisheng: "Pu Chunhua comforted Gao Quwen with the theory of the dissolution of public and private (gong-si ronghua lun) of the great traitor Liu Shaoqi."²⁶ At these early stages of the land reform, Liu's supposedly treacherous role is concealed from the inhabitants of Hongnan, though the actions of his agents arouse suspicion among the peasants. When Mama Hong is confused by the half-heartedness of Pu Chunhua (whom she reveres as a Party official) towards her son's Maoist views, the narrator excuses her perplexity thus:

Of course Mama Hong can't be expected to know as yet that there is a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the Party represented by the traitor Liu Shaoqi, and that there are a minority of Party members receptive to revisionism by reason of a class standpoint and world view arising from their class status and experience
... 27

Outside the Communist Party, the other, and less significant, villains of the piece are the rich peasant Lai

Fucai, who tries to profit from Xu Tugen's bankruptcy by buying his land, and then spreads rumours with a view to discrediting the collective; and Jiang Yexian, trouble-making niece of a deceased landlord. Such villains outside the Party are obligatory but very weak, having little power, few brains and no popular support.

ii) Plot

The purpose of the plots of the Model Operas, as Qian Haoliang's remarks on Li Yuhe and The Red Lantern quoted in the last chapter illustrate, is largely to demonstrate the character of the hero. Since History of Battles at Hongnan is more about history than character, it is to be expected that plot plays a greater role in the novel. The story is of collectivisation as the unfolding of the theories of Mao. Since Mao and Liu are the effective hero and villain, the conflicts in the novel are the embodiment of the "line struggles" of the early 1950's, with Hong Leisheng and his rivals enacting that struggle at village level. The lifelessness of the characters arises in part from their surrogate nature, in part from their creation by four different pens, none daring to imbue characteristics that might be contradicted elsewhere.

The disparity of authorial input between the four sections of the novel is clearer in the case of the plot, which is riddled with inconsistencies. Two examples: Pu Chunhua is seen in section I frustrating Leisheng's attempts to join the Communist

Party, yet in section III Leisheng is suddenly a Party member, without any of the fanfare a hero's admission to the Party might be expected to involve. Also, in the novel's final section, a younger sister to the hero emerges, unmentioned in the preceding 498 pages.

Like the operas, History of Battles at Hongnan traces a series of contradictions involving the hero, rising to a climax of sorts at story's end.

The action begins in 1951 with the establishment of two cooperatives, each representing one side of the policy conflict that dominates the novel. The first consists of Hong Leisheng and seven poor peasant girls including Zhang Baozhen. The second, set up to rival it, is grouped around the middle peasant and Party member Gao Quwen. Gao's middle-peasant cooperative has the approval of Pu Chunhua, the county Party secretary, while Hong's is set up on the advice of An Keming, Pu's deputy. Gao refuses to admit Xu Tugen to his group because of Xu's poverty, but Leisheng accepts him. The lines are drawn between the Maoist poor-peasant collectivisation of Leisheng and An Keming on the one hand and the reliance on more prosperous farmers associated with Liu Shaoqi and here represented by Pu Chunhua and Gao Quwen.

To help them survive their first winter, Leisheng and his friends earn money by dismantling landlord graves located on their newly acquired land and selling the bricks. This is achieved despite a show of grief put on by Jiang Yexian, the

daughter of a former local tyrant whose grave the peasants dismantle. A group of rich peasants form a third cooperative to take advantage of government aid, but Zhang Baozhen and Xu Tugen refuse to give up any of a shipment of effluent (for fertilising the land) from Shanghai. Meanwhile all is not well in Gao Quwen's cooperative, as the middle-peasant selfishness of its members (including its leader) interferes constantly with cooperation. The problems accompanying these first cooperative ventures cause Leisheng to realise, simultaneously with Mao and as a result of studying the text of "Get Organised" (Zuzhi qilai)²⁸ that a more advanced stage of collectivisation is necessary.

A larger collective unit is duly established in the second part of the novel. The organisation of the collective is the responsibility of Pu Chunhua, and he selects Gao Quwen, rather than Leisheng, to lead it. So keen is Pu that the collective should be an economic success and reflect credit on himself that he is reluctant to allow the poor peasants to join at all; in Leisheng's absence it is Zhang Baozhen who leads the poor peasants in demanding, and gaining, admission. The problems of collectivising the middle-peasants are personified by Niu Husheng, who tries (among other tricks) to falsify the value of the goods he puts in to the collective to maximise his investment-related dividend when harvest comes. On An Keming's advice, Leisheng resigns himself to the unpalatable policy of uniting with the middle

peasants.

As collective head, Gao Quwen discriminates against the poor peasants, assigning them work which will give them a lower share than middle peasants of future income. The reason he gives for this is that middle peasants are more capable than poor ones; Leisheng disproves this by outworking Niu Husheng. Two disputes arise between Leisheng and the middle peasants: first Leisheng insists on selling all produce to the state -- the correct path by Cultural Revolution standards -- rather than on the lucrative private market; then he suggests building an irrigation system to combat drought, but the middle peasants will not commit themselves to capital projects and do not want trenches dug on their own land. Despite these disputes, which are designed to show the intermediate level of cooperation as unsatisfactory, the second section ends on a high note, with a good harvest attesting to the efficacy of collectivisation.

The ideological conflict between Hong Leisheng and Pu Chunhua continues in the third part of the novel. First Pu attempts to prevent a neighbouring village from forming a collective because they have no Party member. Then Zhang Baozhen and Xu Tugen clash with Niu Husheng over Niu's attempts to market collective produce through middlemen. Pu resents the constant interference of Leisheng and his poor peasant friends in what he sees as administrative matters, but Leisheng's intuitive judgments find support in an extensive exegesis of Mao's works by An Keming. The section ends with a plan underway

to set up a higher-level collective with no dividends on investment, in response to Mao's "On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture" (Guanyu nongye hezuohua wenti).²⁹ Hong Leisheng, now a Party member, becomes secretary of the newly formed Hongnan Party branch. Thus a small triumph concludes section III, with the completion of a further step in the path dictated by Mao, though Pu Chunhua is still in control and still opposed to Leisheng.

The fourth and final section begins with Leisheng's struggle for swift collectivisation vindicated when an article praising the setting-up of cooperative farming programmes at Hongnan wins the praise of Mao. At this point in the novel, historical fact is incorporated into historical fiction: the article, with Mao's editorial comment, appears in the 1955 compilation Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside (Zhongguo nongcun de shehuizhuyi gaochao). The article condemns as "conservative, timid and bureaucratic"³⁰ those officials who (like the novel's Pu Chunhua), have suppressed the peasants' laudable desire for collectivisation. It is the public reading of this article that raises Leisheng to the rapturous self-dedication quoted above. Pu Chunhua is unbowed by the criticism and gives Leisheng's new collective a derisively low official rating. At this crucial moment, the authors bring in the opera device of "recalling past bitterness." Here the speaker is Mama Hong, who, at the request of Zhang Baozhen, recounts a saga of grinding poverty and oppression before 1949.

Her talk is a village equivalent of Granny Li's recollections in The Red Lantern, and has the same effect -- tears, and then slogans including calls for revenge on past exploiters: "Don't forget class oppression, bear in mind enmity forged in blood and tears!"³¹ Leisheng and his followers are thus prepared for a final confrontation with their enemies outside the Party. It comes as adverse weather conditions lead the wealthy peasants, at the instigation of Lai Fucui, to plead poverty and claim relief funds in an attempt to bankrupt the collective. The poor peasants outface them by lining up at the collective's office to invest their savings as the rich peasants line up to make withdrawals. Shamed, the rich peasants withdraw. Jiang Yexian is caught trying to sabotage the irrigation system, the evil intentions of Lai Fucui are exposed, and there is triumph among the poor peasants.

The triumph is by no means as decisive as those which climax the Model Operas. The conflict within the Party awaits final resolution, though it is clear that Leisheng has Mao and the masses on his side, so the reader is to assume his triumph in future conflicts. With the conflict between the principal antagonists shelved, the final confrontation with the token and ill-defined enemies outside the Party is an anti-climax at a point where a grand finale was sorely needed. The unfulfilled promise of a second volume can scarcely have excited its readers, even after a six-year dearth of novels.

IV. Non-operatic Elements

Even for such rigorously orthodox writers as the History of Battles at Hongnan writing team, the opera novel could not resolve all the formal aspects of writing prose narrative. To this end, the authors borrowed from the "national forms" tradition that had already shaped the communist novel, and from the rhetorical style of the political discourse of the Cultural Revolution. In the preface (yinzi) and in the role of the narrator are seen the elements which relate least to the opera model.

The operas do not have prologues; they start in medias res, with historical context being supplied by the recalling of past bitterness. Earlier in the Chinese operatic tradition, however, a xiezi or "wedge" began a drama (for example the zaju of the Yuan dynasty) introducing the main characters and their situations. In some of the classic Chinese novels, prefatory chapters function as a mystical genesis, or creation myth: a hundred and eight malign spirits released by an incautious imperial envoy become the heroes of The Water Margin, and a magic stone rejected when the goddess Nügua repaired the heavens is identified with both narrator and central figure in The Dream of the Red Chamber. In the communist novel, the preface is often retained, but shorn of its mystical aspect, as a cognitive genesis, whereby the ideological growth of the hero prior to the start of the novel proper is explained. In Liu Qing's collectivisation novel History of Setting Up, as well as in

History of Battles at Hongnan (and also Hao Ran's The Golden Road, the subject of the next chapter), incidents from the hero's life before 1949 are recounted to introduce a novel otherwise set in the years following the communist victory.

In Liu Qing's novel, Liang Shengbao first appears as a timid refugee child; through his own industry and ingenuity, he makes a success of cultivating land rented by his stepfather, only to be ruined by usury, taxes and the cost of buying himself out of the nationalist army. His bitter experience provides the rationale for his conversion to communism.

From the title of the preface to History of Battles at Hongnan, "A Fledgling Eagle" (Chuying), it is plain that the young Leisheng is already of heroic stuff. Though immature, Leisheng is still a brave young revolutionary as he guides An Keming through enemy lines near his home. Leisheng's learning is not empirical but metaphysical, with his introduction to the picture of Mao. The scene in which this occurs sets the tone for the entire novel:

[An Keming] unbuttoned his jacket and drew out from his breast a bundle of mimeographed pages, which he reverently opened.

The glorious image of the great leader Chairman Mao shone forth before the eyes of young Leisheng.

No need for An Keming to explain [who it was], young Leisheng realised straight away. Both of them exclaimed with spontaneous unity: "Chairman Mao."

Oh Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao, how blessed now is Hong Leisheng, son of a hired hand! How many heartfelt words young Leisheng, thirsting for fanshen and longing for liberation, has to say to you! Oh Chairman Mao, how many little

Leishengs there are who want to grow up lit by your
sun and nourished by your dew. 32

Such rhetorical excess is unusual even by the standards of the Model Operas; it establishes the mere image of Mao as the force that inspires the young Leisheng to go off and join the Red Army, at a time when the boy had never seen or heard the words of Mao (a void that An Keming fills).

The passage quoted above is typical of the novel as a whole in that it is the narrator, rather than any of the characters, who provides the bulk of the adulatory rhetoric. The homiletic narrator is a feature of the Chinese literary tradition, his function being both to tell the story and draw moral lessons from it within the simulated context of a storyteller working a street-corner audience.

As story-teller, the narrator of History of Battles at Hongnan relies on tried and tested techniques. In the opening pages of the preface, as the figures of Leisheng and An Keming emerge from the shadows to penetrate enemy lines, the reader is drawn in to the action:

Hey! Two people are coming, creeping out of
the wheatfield over there to the east of the river!
... Who are they? What can they be doing,
braving the wind, tramping through the mud,
risking their lives by approaching the [enemy]
cordon at dead of night? 33

Later in the same passage, clichés familiar to readers of traditional fiction set us in the thick of things: "all you see is" (zhijian), "from the look of it" (kanlai), "in the twinkling of an eye" (zhuanyan zhijian), "it takes a time to tell

but it happened in a flash" (shuo shi chi, nei shi kuai). When the political rhetoric begins, however, the fast-paced narrative ends, and it is seldom recovered in the novel proper. Others of the traditional clichés do occur occasionally, the sporadic nature of their use probably being due to the unfamiliarity of the younger members of the team with the techniques of fiction writing.

The narrator's didactic function far outweighs his role as entertainer; the simulated context that dominates the novel is less that of the street corner than of the classroom. The narrator's role is that of the political instructor (zhengzhi laoshi) of Chinese high-schools and universities, both pedagogue and watchdog. His perspective is the official view of history, society and human nature at the time of writing, and he constantly reminds his readers that twenty years have elapsed, and the Cultural Revolution has begun, since the days in which the novel is set. Like the political instructor, he assumes community of belief with his audience, but not of knowledge. Since the younger members of his audience would have no memory (and the older ones perhaps a different memory) of the events described, his mandate is to inform them of the new normative history of collectivisation in terms of class and line struggles. To this end, historical context is customarily established before the action of a chapter is allowed to begin. For example: the second chapter begins with a lecture interpreting the early problems of collectivisation according

to Mao's writings. It is explained that the earliest manifestation of line struggle in the Party after 1949 was between Mao's pursuit of socialist goals and others within the Party attempting to arrest the progress towards socialism by clinging to the now outdated "new democracy" of the liberated areas. The lecture concludes:

This, then, is the historical background to certain events that take place at the time of the chapter.

Hongnan village is no isolated island ... the two-line struggle within the Party is even now unfolding in ways that accord with the local conditions! 34

Even with the background so thoroughly explained, the narrator does not trust the reader to infer the desired conclusion from the words and actions of the novel's protagonists, but intrudes to explain how class background and political line shape men's personalities. As Gao Quwen sets members of his cooperative to work on his own land first, this outburst ensues:

Ai! Gao Quwen cannot avoid the spontaneous capitalist thinking that binds the wealthy middle peasants; he still hasn't understood that the key to the problem is not a little bit of money, but what Leisheng described as "the exploiter mentality of the middle peasant." If he really had resolved this problem in his thinking, why would he send the cooperative members to work on his own land first? 35

Most of the narrator's energies are thus devoted to instructing the reader on history, class struggle and human nature. Periodically he also offers admonition and consolation to the characters in the novel. Leisheng, shocked at Pu Chunhua's derogatory assessment of Hongnan's new collective,

is offered words of comfort:

Youthful leader of Hongnan collective! Young Party member Hong Leisheng, fully dedicated to the cause of collectivisation! In your heart you blame yourself for lack of foresight; but we know you couldn't have anticipated this. You are not yet a mature commander who has fought a hundred battles and is rich in fighting experience, you're just a young leader determined to carry out collectivisation for the masses and propelled by them into the political arena. Though you may feel yourself responsible, how could you really be expected to anticipate every possible variation of class and line struggle? 36

At moments of triumph, the narrator addresses Mao in terms of reverential awe, praising him for his wise policies and assuring him of the devotion of the hero and the audience. (One example of this has been quoted above.)

The narrator's purpose is to control completely the reader's perception of the events described. The effect is rather to alienate the reader from his opinions; the narratorial voice is pedantic, dogmatic, hectoring and dull, lacking any glimmer of humour or ironic detachment to sweeten the didactic pill. It is fiction writing in the style of the political rhetoric of Yao Wenyan.

V. Conclusion

History of Battles at Hongnan is fiction as the Cultural Revolution leadership would have it written: composed by inexperienced writers under close Party supervision in a "three-in-one" composition team, following the opera model and its "three prominences" characterisation. The taboos cited by Jiang

Qing in her 1966 "Summary" are scrupulously avoided. It is a highly polemical novel in which the demands of the "self" are completely subjugated to those of "society." It is also inept, pedantic and dull, proof enough that a system and a formula do not necessarily create a good novel.

The "three-in-one" method used in the writing of The Song of Ouyang Hai has been shown by Joe C. Huang to have been a stultifying process aimed ostensibly at verifying facts but in practice better suited to preventing the expression by Jin Jingmai (the man who put pen to paper) of anything but the preordained line.³⁷ This is all the more true in the case of History of Battles at Hongnan, where the writers were supplied with plot summaries of the sections of novel they were supposed to create. The inexperience of the writers (three of whom had never written anything longer than a news report) ensured that no liberties of individual expression could be taken with the guidelines provided. Those guidelines were more exacting than any previously imposed under communist rule: the subject matter, and the historical and class analysis expressed were all supplied by the authorities in a control of the creative process reminiscent of (if less mechanised than) the Fiction Department of George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-four.³⁹ Under the unrelenting scrutiny of the Party authorities, it would hardly have been possible for an experienced and capable author to breathe any life into the skeleton plot provided to the writers of the composition team.

The end result has been described (in an assessment purportedly current in the mid-1970's) as "not like a novel, not like reportage, not like a critical essay or a philosophical treatise;"³⁹ yet having elements of all four in uncomfortable coexistence. The responsibility for this mess rests squarely with the Party authorities who, careless of any criteria but the political, demanded from their hacks a novel that read like a tract. The greatest test that the "three prominences" formula imposes on the author is that of creating a hero who adheres to the characteristics of his predecessors in the operas but still excites the imagination. Of the nine opera hero(ine)s, only one, Yang Zirong, was regularly cited as the model for real-life heroism; and certainly Hong Leisheng is not a hero for the reader to emulate. He is merely a marionette, dancing woodenly on strings pulled by a distant and omniscient puppeteer in Beijing. In addition to their failure to produce an engaging hero, the authors also ignored the single possibility that the "three prominences" characterisation formula allows the author for the presentation of doubts, concerns and psychological complexity: the "turnabout character." We may guess at two likely reasons for this omission: first, the Party representative and the literary professional had neither the wit nor the imagination to conceive a problematic character; and secondly, fear of being accused of creating a "middle character" kept them away from "turnabout characters."

The unconvincing nature of the novel robs the historical

revision of any cogency. The analysis of the early 1950's ignores factors like the problems of combatting traditional or feudal thinking (the theme of the earlier novels on collectivisation) and local variations in the collectivisation process. Here we cite only two questions which should have been considered for the novel to carry some local flavour and credibility. First, the fertile lands and ready access to urban markets offered a good living to the majority of the fanshen peasants of suburban Shanghai, leading to greater resistance to collectivisation than in poorer areas (like the Hebei villages of Hao Ran's fiction); secondly, opposition to the Communist Party was at its height in this former "white" area as peasants resisted pressure to volunteer for service in Korea.

History of Battles at Hongnan was an ill-starred project. Greeted initially as a "new experiment" in fiction writing for its "three-in-one" team and its "three prominences" structure,⁴¹ and praised occasionally until 1975, it fell into deserved oblivion thereafter. No second volume was ever published, and even the village cadre on whom the character of Hong Leisheng was loosely based was reportedly exposed and jailed after repeated sexual assaults on young women assigned to his care.

The novel has been considered here to illustrate the worst aspects of fiction writing in what was generally a lean period for literature in China. In few cases can a novel have been produced that was so occupied with its "social" function and so unconcerned with the individual, so

tendentious, alienating and insulting to the intelligence of the reader. The same criticisms can, with variations in degree, be made of much of the fiction produced (especially collectively produced) in the following four and a half years. Only one author was prepared to test the limits of the opera model and attempt thereby to reconcile the dilemma of social responsibility versus individual expression. That author was the peasant novelist Hao Ran, and his first Cultural Revolution novel The Golden Road will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING THE LIMITS:

THE GOLDEN ROAD

The two volumes of Hao Ran's novel The Golden Road, which will be considered in this chapter, were released in 1972 and 1974, and represent half of a novel which was completed, but has never been published in full.¹ The novel shares historical background and perspective with History of Battles at Hongnan: it describes the struggle between advocates of collective and private farming in the early 1950s, fought out within the microcosm of a single village. The forces of Maoist "good" likewise comprise a young cadre and allies within the Party and the poor peasantry; Liuist "evil" has, predictably, a representative at village level backed by a coalition of the misguided and counter-revolutionary.

Despite these considerable similarities, The Golden Road is essentially different from, and far superior to, History of Battles at Hongnan.

The first difference between the two novels is in their physical setting: the action of The Golden Road takes place in the fictional Hebei village of Sweet Meadow (Fangcaodi). Hebei is a much poorer farming area than suburban Shanghai; the frequent droughts of North China make concerted effort on irrigation a virtual necessity. Historically, land reform met with less opposition, and brought more rewards, in Hebei than

around Shanghai; it is no historical distortion to show the poor peasants of Sweet Meadow awakening to the merits of the "golden road" of collectivism along which they are led by the novel's hero Gao Daquan.

A more important difference concerns the organisation of the creative process. The Golden Road is not the work of an arbitrarily-assembled and ill-matched "three-in-one" writing team, but of a single gifted author who had already published several volumes of short fiction and one monumental novel. Furthermore, far from being "sent down" to the countryside, Hao Ran was himself of peasant stock, with personal experience of village life, land reform and collectivisation. An individual author, trusted sufficiently to be spared constant Party supervision, he was able to explore such flexibility as existed within the opera model and the "three prominences" structure in a way that had been beyond the capabilities of the History of Battles at Hongnan writing team.

Some of the problems facing Hao Ran as he sought to adhere to the opera model were: how could literary didacticism avoid pedagogical dogmatism like that of History of Battles at Hongnan? how could psychological complexity be shown within the "three prominences" format? how could someone whose early celebrity was as a writer of love stories incorporate these talents into a model drawn from operas whose only romanticism was of the revolutionary kind? In sum, how could the author produce art with an approved social

function and yet present the countryside and the peasantry as he knew them? In Hao Ran's strivings to balance the conflicting demands of "society" and "self," of romanticism and realism, of accessibility and refinement, lie the reasons why The Golden Road, alone among Cultural Revolution novels, comes near to greatness.

I. Creative Adherence to the Opera Model

As the foremost (though not the only) novelist surviving from the "seventeen years" 1949-66, Hao Ran's submission to the new demands placed on authors was highly desirable to the cultural authorities. The author spoke often in favour of the opera model and the "three prominences" during his years at work on The Golden Road.² Addressing a gathering of amateur writers in 1972, he credited the Model Works with reversing the distortion previously observed by Mao and Jiang Qing, whereby "emperors and generals, scholars and beauties" rather than workers, peasants and soldiers, had been the heroes; and he made high claims for the Model Works. "In all history," he claimed, "there have never been works of art as generally known as the Model Works, as loved by all members of the worker and peasant masses, and thus exercising such a vast spiritual force. We all have an ardent desire to study the revolutionary Model Works."³ He recommended the "three prominences" to his audience as "the principle we must honour in composing works of proletarian literature."⁴ Though the fervour of Hao Ran's

advocacy of the Model Works and the "three prominences" may have been heightened by Party loyalty and political expediency, their influence can be clearly seen in The Golden Road.

The novel is orthodox, in Cultural Revolution literary terms, in its adherence to the "three prominences;" where it differs from the operas and most opera-influenced fiction is in its full characterisation not only of the central hero and a limited number of lesser characters, but of a wide range, particularly among the "masses" and the "negative" characters. In this respect it more closely resembles the same author's previous novel, Bright Sunny Skies (Yanyang tian), than other Cultural Revolution fiction. In The Golden Road, Hao Ran also takes full advantage of the opera's "turnabout characters," producing, in the person of the hero's brother Gao Erlin, the most successful character of this kind in modern Chinese fiction.

As is the case with some of the Model Operas and much Cultural Revolution fiction, there is a seminal Mao text introduced at a critical moment. Here it is "Get Organised," a text dating from Yan'an brought to the fore (like the "Talks") in the Cultural Revolution. "Get Organised" celebrates the collective farming practised by the Red Army and local residents to sustain the military effort in the liberated areas in the early 1940's. Its theme is the importance of "organising the strength of the masses."⁵ Hao Ran's novel can be read as a dramatic realisation of Mao's text with the

collectivisation of the early 1950's derived from the spirit of Yan'an. Mercifully, however, quotations from this and other articles by Mao, obligatory in Cultural Revolution writing, are kept to a minimum, averaging fewer than one every two hundred pages.⁶

The plot is composed, following the opera model, of a series of struggles or contradictions bearing on the central issue of collectivisation versus individual farming. Both sides have their leaders: the young cadre Gao Daquan represents the Maoist/poor peasant/collectivist line, while the village head Zhang Jinfa is the front-man for the Liuist/wealthy peasant/individualist faction, whose main force is the middle-peasant Feng Shaohuai. Both sides have their developmental strategies encapsulated in a single slogan: Mao's "Get Organised" versus the current Party policy (implicitly that of Liu Shaoqi, though his name is never mentioned in the novel) "Build Family Fortunes" (fajia zhifu). The ground on which the battle is fought is the village, the aim being to win the souls of the villagers. The novel is made up of a series of interwoven stories, in each of which the central struggle is played out at an intimate and individual level. These subplots typically emerge, submerge and resurface over the course of several hundred pages before they are either brought to a climax or left hanging for a later volume. They focus on a single person or symbolic object, and frequently involve the hero only at their final stages. Of the

subplots focussing on an individual, the most important is the battle between Gao Daquan and Feng Shaohuai for the loyalty of Gao's brother Erlin, which will be examined in detail below. Symbolic objects around which struggles unfold include a wall of bricks that Zhang Jinfa buys from the village's former landlord to build himself a luxurious house; as he dismantles the wall, he is symbolically removing the barrier that should exist between himself, as a peasant and Party member, and the landlord. Constant shifts in the focus of attention from story to story as the struggle unfolds enable the author to maintain and develop dramatic tension in a novel which is more dialogue than action. The unfolding of the characters' attitudes to the two lines is more important than what happens to them in a physical sense. No attempt will be made here to present a narrative summary of the whole novel; rather, a few of the components will be discussed in greater detail.

Characters from The Golden Road are examined below within the "three prominences" outline to see how they conform, and in some cases stretch to unprecedented limits, the relevant opera models.

i) "Lofty, Large and Complete": the Central Hero

Gao Daquan is the novel's hero; the sounds of the characters that compose his name mean "lofty, large and complete."⁷ He is his author's ideal of the peasant cadre, created from the perspective of the Cultural Revolution and

placed in the early 1950s. The original model for the hero had been the quasi-legendary peasant model Wang Guofu,⁸ and the obsessive sacrifice associated with Wang is a feature of Daquan's character; however the author claimed, in line with the literary policy of the time, to have moved away from the "realism" of the Wang model in favour of a more "typified" figure in later drafts of the novel.⁹

From his first appearance in the novel's prologue, Daquan is an instinctive, if unschooled, revolutionary. The prologue recounts the hero's progress to manhood, showing his initial resistance to the exploitation of the peasants of Sweet Meadow by both the landlord Crooked Mouth (Waizuizi) and the rich peasant Feng Shaohuai, his early contacts with Communist guerillas and his joining of the communist Eighth Route Army. By 1950, when the novel proper begins, he is back in Sweet Meadow, a Party member and also a married man with a small son, having fulfilled the dying wish of his peasant protector to locate and care for his daughter Lu Ruifen.

Daquan is a leader by virtue of his political acumen and his sacrificing nature. As a hero in the opera mould, he can never actually be wrong, but there are limitations in experience and understanding which give scope for a process of maturation as the novel progresses. (The cognitive development of Gao Daquan is the focus of Wong Kam-ming's study of the novel.¹⁰) He gains experience in a series of conflicts with Zhang Jinfa and

Feng Shaohuai which begin as the novel proper opens with Feng Shaohuai's testing of the new family enrichment policy by buying a mule. As well as his experiences in the village, Daquan gains in understanding by meeting outside exemplars; the first of these are Beijing railway workers with whom Daquan and other villagers load trains with supplies bound for the Korean front. The proletarians' unstinting efforts are contrasted with the peasants' habit of slow work and long rests. Two senior Party officials add to Daquan's education. One is Tian Yu, whose first appearance in the novel is an act of disciplined heroism, as he skillfully restrains a runaway horse that Daquan had bravely but unsuccessfully tried to stop. Tian's strategic approach shows him that a plan is needed, in collectivisation as in halting horses. (Hao Ran had used the runaway horse motif in an earlier story, but as an act of chivalric heroism rather than as a political metaphor.¹¹) The other Party cadre is Liang Haishan, identified as an authorial voice in sharing both his surname and place of origin (the Kailuan coal-mines) with Hao Ran. He it is who introduces the seminal Mao text, and whose approval vindicates Daquan's intuitive judgments.

Daquan is himself the patient educator and advisor to the villagers, especially the younger ones. He is able to patch up disagreements between his supporters, including an early squabble between male and female members of the village's youth club over a short play composed by the village bookworm Qin Wenqing

propagating the family enrichment policy. Daquan sides with the young women who refuse to perform in it, explaining to the male activists that family enrichment is wrong even though it is current Party policy. Flashes of temperment save Daquan from being a saint, as when he becomes furious at the poor peasant Deng Jiukuan for sowing seed on ill-prepared land rather than ask for help with ploughing.¹² However Daquan's propensity for being right places a strain both on reader sympathy and narrative structure, since he must be removed from the village for long periods to allow tensions to develop that he would otherwise have soothed. The author has admitted that the constraints of the opera model prevented him from developing the weaknesses, as well as the strengths, of his hero as much as he would have liked.¹³

Separating Gao Daquan from the novel's other peasant characters, and from heroes of previous novels about the countryside, is his conscious rejection of "peasant mentality" (nongmin yishi), which the novel identifies as incommensurable with the collectivist spirit. "Peasant mentality" is portrayed as a narrow concern for one's own family and land at the expense of others. It is noteworthy that the people on whom Daquan seeks to model himself are not peasants, but the industrial proletariat of Beijing (the most advanced class in Marxist terms). The author is lending his support to the Party's attempt, mentioned above, to proletarianise the peasantry. The Chinese scholar Wang Yongsheng suggests that Hao Ran's denigration of peasant mentality results in a composite hero who is more urban

proletarian than peasant, to the detriment of his own and the novel's credibility.¹⁴

Daquan's sacrificing of himself and his family, a virtue shared with heroes of antiquity and revolution, is symptomatic of his rejection of the traditional peasant way. In the style of the sage emperor Dayu, Daquan stays away from his home for several hours after returning to Sweet Meadow from his two months in Beijing, to the great distress of his son. He is again away from the village when his second child, a daughter, is born. Like Wang Guofu, who chose to live in a "hired hand's hut" (changgongwu), he insists on taking for himself, and thus imposing on his family, the worst housing in the village. The one who is most hurt by Daquan's sacrifices is his brother Erlin. So busy is Daquan with his duties as peasant activist that he neglects the fields for which he and Erlin are jointly responsible, and is derelict in his responsibility, as family head, to find Erlin a wife. When Erlin finally marries, Daquan is away buying an ox on behalf of another family and does not attend. For the author, Daquan's sacrifice is exemplary, a triumph over peasant selfishness; but to this reader at least, it appears harsh and uncaring.

The influence of the opera model can be seen in the portrayal of Daquan, as opposed to Hao Ran's earlier peasant cadre hero, Xiao Changchun of Bright Sunny Skies. Xiao is less given to wanton sacrifice -- indeed the most powerful act of self-sacrifice in the earlier novel, the voluntary eating of a

thin soup of bitter herbs to conserve grain supplies, is made not by Xiao but by the stockman Old Ma the Fourth.¹⁵ Xiao Changchun is presented as a suitor as well as a cadre and family man, his courtship being one of the most appealing aspects of the novel he dominates.¹⁶ Xiao's romantic sensibilities would sit uneasily on the sterner Daquan. The romanticism in the portrayal of Daquan is of the "revolutionary romantic" kind, and the element of idealism is especially strong in that the reality from which it derived (the Wang Guofu story) was already several stages removed from the quotidien. With this reservation, Gao Daquan is still the most human, and the most successful, heroic character produced in fiction derived from the opera model. He is certainly a more likely, and more likeable, figure than Hong Leisheng, the hero of History of Battles at Hongnan.

ii) Stock Characters and Individuals: The Secondary Heroes

Like Hong Leisheng, Daquan is backed by supporters outside and inside his village. The upper level cadres who support him are conventional stereotypes found in all novels with a young hero, dispensers of enlightenment at crucial times, and little more. (This is the role of An Keming in the novel discussed above.) Within the village, the secondary heroes of the Zhou family, the older peasant Zhou Zhong and his daughter Liping, similarly fall easily into the set roles of the experienced stalwart and the dynamic young female

activist. Another predictable secondary heroine is the militant Third Granny Deng, an elderly admirer of the hero, though a much warmer and more humorous character than the opera grannies.

Two of the secondary heroes for whom there are no opera predecessors, but who are drawn directly from the author's own observation, are the young peasant activist Zhu Tiehan and Daquan's wife Lü Ruifen.

Zhu Tiehan is derisively described by Zhang Jinfa as an "impetuous Zhang Fei;"¹⁷ and he certainly shares with that character from Three Kingdoms the qualities of loyalty and courage flawed by rashness and unpreparedness. His Party loyalties mean that, in Gao Daquan's absence, he can be induced to follow policies that are non-Maoist, but his own analytical capacities increase as the novel progresses. Tiehan is characterised by impatient enthusiasm for the tasks he undertakes, to the extent that he works himself to feverish exhaustion helping out the poor peasant Liu Xiang; by black depression when he fails, for example, to prevent Erlin from breaking with his brother; and by a boisterous and indiscreet sense of fun, eavesdropping on the conversation of his friends and then interrupting them, spying gleefully on the middle-peasant Qin Fu as he in turn sneaks a glance at Feng Shaohuai's new mule, or blundering jovially in on one of the few tender moments shared by the hero and his wife.

The character of Lü Ruifen had already been rehearsed in an

short story, "Caixia,"¹⁸ a sketch of a sharp-tongued but loving wife of a village cadre. In the second chapter of the novel, the resemblance to Caixia is unmistakable as Ruifen banters with Tiehan about the whereabouts of her husband: "If he's not eating or sleeping, what would he be doing at home? ... He's got wheels under his shoes, who knows where he's rolled off to now?"¹⁹ Ruifen is basically undemonstrative, but springs hotly to Daquan's defence when Erlin maligns him. Hers is essentially a supportive role, a generalisation that can be applied to all but one of the married women in this novel²⁰ -- Hao Ran's vivacious and strong-willed village girls settle into obedient wife and motherhood roles after marriage and childbearing.

iii) A Parallel Structure: the Villains

The conventions of the operatic model require that good be seen to triumph over evil, and in the two operas set in the post-1949 period, the representatives of that evil are feeble and token additions to existing works. The opposition in History of Battles at Hongnan likewise fails to convince the reader that it is estimable. In The Golden Road, Hao Ran stretches the conventions to the limit in his creation of negative characters and villains. Given the historical fact of agricultural collectivisation and the discrediting of the "family enrichment" policy (for the first thirty years of the People's Republic), the villains, in the persons of Zhang

Jinfa and Feng Shaohuai, are determined and resourceful adversaries. Zhang Jinfa, Gao Daquan's antithesis, heads an uneasy coalition bound by their dislike of Daquan and their perceptions of their own interests.

Zhang Jinfa, though a prominent figure as village head, has a weakness of character which, combined with the strength of his ambition, makes him subject to the manipulation of the more wily Feng Shaohuai. Zhang's motivation is suspect from the prologue where, as the landlord's foreman and an underground supporter of the communists, he is on both sides in the civil war. When the communists attack the landlord's house, someone (presumably Zhang) warns him and allows him to escape; but when communist victory is assured, he leads the condemnation of the landlord, becoming both a Party member and village head. His concerns throughout the novel are to maintain his position and match his prestige with prosperity, concerns which inevitably bring him into conflict with Daquan. He misinterprets Daquan's criticisms as ambition to succeed him as village head, and fights desperately to suppress his younger rival. Initially, Party policy is on the side of individual enrichment, and he is able to unite his personal interests with Party loyalty: "Fellow villagers! From now on, making revolution is making a living! Glory to those who get rich, and shame on those who don't!"²¹ A common love of wealth and loathing of Daquan drives him towards Feng Shaohuai until, in the words of Third Granny Deng "they're so close they'd think there was too much room in

one pair of trousers."²² Not that there is any love lost between the two men: Zhang is envious of the wealth that allows Feng to feed his son mantou (steamed rolls made with refined flour), and dreams he is locked in combat with him. Zhang is a complex character, an able farmer whose anxiety to please authority leads him into decisions that harm his harvest, acutely conscious of face yet humiliated by the ease with which others manipulate him. His failure to halt collectivisation is a matter of historical inevitability by the end of the second volume of the novel, and he finds himself abandoned by his allies in the upper Party echelons.

Zhang's supporters parallel those of Daquan: there are two upper-level cadres and a number of allies within the village. They are distinguished from Dao's supporters along class lines -- Daquan's friends are poor peasants and Zhang's constituency is among the wealthier peasants with a vested interest in private farming. Zhang's upper-level supporters are unsympathetic caricatures of a busy bureaucrat and a refined scholar-official, both out of touch with reality and resentful of Daquan's interference with their policy decisions. Sympathisers in the village include his former boss Crooked Mouth and a shadowy ex-landlord with a new identity (his name, Fan Keming, is a pun on his nature, fangeming, "counter-revolutionary"), neither of whom are much developed in the first two volumes. The real power in the village among the opponents of Daquan lies with Feng Shaohuai, whose progress to

considerable wealth was rudely arrested by the communist victory and who seeks to discredit socialism and thereby continue his enrichment. Antipathy to socialism combines with a vendetta against Daquan, who had challenged his designation as middle-peasant at land-reform (wanting him condemned as a rich peasant), and whom he sees as the stumbling-block to his own enrichment. He vows that "if I don't destroy Gao Daquan, even in death I won't close my eyes."²³ Feng is the motive force behind all the challenges to Daquan, typically acting through intermediaries and hiding behind Zhang Jinfa's prestige -- he it is who masterminds the defection of Erlin, the bankrupting of the peasant Liu Xiang and a complaint laid against Gao Daquan by the middle peasant Qin Fu, all of which narrowly fail. Though nervous of the volatile Tiehan, Feng is more than a match strategically for Daquan's supporters; only the hero (in the manner of his operatic counterparts) can stop him.

iv) The Sibling Split: Representatives of the Masses

As has been noted above, the masses in the Model Operas, and in most Cultural Revolution fiction as well, are so "typical" as to be merely stereotypes of sufferers or tacit supporters without influence over their fate. Such limited characterisation would be disastrous in The Golden Road, where the author seeks to portray the process of developing mass consciousness in favour of collectivisation. The representatives of the masses must be allowed to make their own choices between the two paths available

to them so that the merits of the collectivist alternative can be demonstrated, and paradigmatic class attitudes must be evaluated as the choice of sides affects them. To this end the author has devised what we may describe as a sibling split, whereby four pairs of brothers, representing poor and middle peasants, youthful and mature, each divide, with one of the pair adhering to the collective path and the other to the individualist road. Though it is inevitable that the author will favour the collective path, these parallel and antithetical cases allow him to explore more fully the implications for the individual of the two paths. While one of the sibling pairs involves the hero and his "turnabout" younger brother, the other three fall within the parameters of the masses. They are the older poor peasants Liu Wan and Liu Xiang, and two pairs of brothers within the middle peasant Qin family, Qin Fu and Qin Kai, and Qin Fu's two sons Wenji and Wenqing. Here we will consider two of these pairs, the Lius and the elder Qins.

Liu Xiang's is a story of tragedy averted by his membership of Gao Daquan's cooperative, Liu Wan's of success subverted by an ill-advised alliance with Zhang Jinfa and Feng Shaohuai. Liu Xiang, with no capital, a sick wife and dependant children, is incapable of surviving as a smallholder. (Xu Tugen is his equivalent in History of Battles at Hongnan, though a less convincing character). He tends naturally to the collective path, but is ashamed of his dependence on his friends and tries to conceal his problems. He thus lays himself open to attacks

by Feng Shaohuai, who seeks to bankrupt Liu and force him into selling his newly-acquired land and thus undermine the land reform and Daquan's leadership. While Gao Daquan is at Liu's house, Liu hits his foot with a hoe, but he conceals his injury from Daquan until he is incapacitated and his family starving. Daquan, his wife and son take over their family's reserves of food (despite the protests of the food's co-owner Erlin), other peasants work Liu's land and the women of the cooperative care for his wife and children. Liu is temporarily saved, but still owes on a debt negotiated earlier to buy medicine for his wife. When he discovers, to his horror, that the source of the loan is Feng Shaohuai, and when Erlin (at Feng's prompting) demands the repayment of his half of the gift of Gao family grain, Liu is trapped by his debt and again too proud to ask for help. At Feng's suggestion, Qin Fu offers to buy Liu's land, and Liu consents. Daquan hears of the deal and rushes to save the victim from the brink by disrupting the sale. Liu becomes solvent for the first time after the first collective harvest.

By contrast, Liu Wan is slightly more prosperous than his brother; his wife is healthier and he is the proud owner of an ox. It is this slight wealth that prejudices him against collectivisation; though Liu Wan's wife urges him to join Daquan's cooperative, Zhang Jinfa manages to persuade him that the cooperative's poor peasants would overwork his ox. Liu Wan agrees instead to join a nominal cooperative set up

by Zhang Jinfa and some middle peasants in superficial adherence to Party policy, but when Liu needs help weeding and planting after spring rains, none of his new associates will oblige. His wife gets up too soon after childbirth to work with him, is caught in a hailstorm and dies. Her death is a direct result of his failure to join the cooperative, while his brother's wife survives through the solicitude of fellow cooperative members. When Liu Wan joins the collective set up at the end of volume II, he tearfully entrusts his ox, the symbol of his prosperity and his loss, to his brother, the collective's stockman.

Hao Ran had included a number of middle peasant characters in the earlier Bright Sunny Skies, but only one such family appears in The Golden Road. In 1975, Hao Ran decried the earlier novel for superfluity of middle peasants, but he later claimed that he had actually reduced their numbers in The Golden Road for fear of being accused of concentrating on "middle characters" who retain an ambivalent attitude to socialism rather than being dramatically converted like the "turnabout characters" of the Model Operas.²⁴ Middle peasants are habitually treated in Cultural Revolution literature with mistrust and derision, grudgingly tolerated only because Mao had declared them to be potential allies of the Communist Party and the poor peasantry. Hao Ran explores the capacity of the middle peasants to reject or accept the collective path through the brothers Qin Fu and Qin Kai.

Qin Fu is the text-book middle peasant, exactly corresponding to Mao's 1926 characterisation of the "owner-peasants" (zigeng nong) who, "though they may not hope to amass great fortunes, still aspire to the status of the middle bourgeoisie. They invariably drool when they see how respected the lesser wealthy are. These people have little courage, fear officials and are also nervous of revolution."²⁵ As his nickname "little abacus" (xiao suanpan) implies, he is mean and petty, pursuing any opportunity for profit, however small. Qin shows his meanness when he anticipates that the impoverished Liu Xiang will need to hire the Qins to plough his land -- Qin Fu starves his family the night before so that they will eat more at Liu's expense the next day.

Qin Fu envies the greater prosperity of Feng Shaohuai (the "lesser wealthy" of Mao's analysis), but timidity prevents him from taking the steps necessary to achieve it. His avarice allows him to be used by Feng in the entrapment of Liu Xiang as the buyer for Liu's land; when the deal is broken up by Daquan and Feng makes him lodge a complaint with the higher authorities, Qin Fu, a bullying tyrant at home, kneels in abject terror at a county official's feet. At the 1952 harvest, Qin Fu sees the benefits that the poor peasants have gained from cooperative irrigation projects, but is still unwilling to commit himself to collectivisation. Qin's abiding irresolution in the received text closely resembles that of the "middle characters" who appear so often in the rural fiction of the

early 1960s, seeing the merits of the new collective farming but unable to relinquish the traditional ideal of independent prosperity. If Hao Ran persisted with the opera model in the two unpublished volumes, we may presume that Qin will either turn to the cause of the hero or identify himself clearly with Feng Shaohuai.

While Qin Fu timidly follows Feng Shaohuai, his brother Qin Kai tentatively sides with Daquan, representing the middle peasant potential to coalesce with the poor peasants. His class status initially allies him with Zhang and Feng, but he is upset when Zhang exploits the desperation of his neighbour Zhu Zhankui for personal profit. Admiration for Daquan leads him towards the collective side, but he is by no means a fully reliable ally, backing out of a commitment to help Liu Xiang. However, as Zhou Zhong observes, Qin Kai, unlike his brother, at least has the conscience to be ashamed of his actions.

These pairs of "split siblings" are not of course the only "masses" of the novel, though their characterisation is the most stylistically innovative within the group. In fact, a large number of poor peasant characters appear, many of them painstakingly presented. There is a breadth and attention to detail in Hao Ran's description of simple villagers and their lives which sets him above writers "sent down" to write about the countryside. The most fully characterised of the "masses" is the one who is also a "turnabout character," Gao Erlin. Erlin is the most sensitively portrayed

character in The Golden Road, a sympathetic portrait of a believable peasant torn between old and new, his responsibilities to self and society.

v) Transformation of a Peasant Archetype: a "Turnabout Character."

Erlin, as the sibling split from Daquan, has all the characteristics of "peasant mentality" that Daquan has purged from his own character. If Daquan is the model of a village cadre, then Erlin is the archetypal peasant, who "adores the trifling tasks of tending a plot and the physical strain of labour in the open fields."²⁶ While Daquan neglects his own land to pursue political goals, Erlin longs, by hard and honest toil, to gain the best harvest from the Gao's own land. While Daquan sacrifices his own interests and those of his family, Erlin worries, first that he will not find a wife and then, when he is in love, that he will lose his chance for future happiness if Daquan, as family head, does not act swiftly on his behalf. The preoccupations of both the brothers are revealed in a scene in which they are at work on their own land. Erlin pleads with Daquan to approach the family of his girlfriend Qian Caifeng, insisting that "the sooner it's done, the sooner I'll stop worrying" (zao banle zao sheng xin).²⁷ Daquan, distracted, virtually ignores his brother's entreaties; he is more concerned that the poor peasants, especially Liu Xiang, should have access to draught animals for ploughing. When the brothers get

home, Daquan rushes off to ask Qin Kai to help Liu Xiang out, with the same words that Erlin had used of his marriage: "the sooner it's done, the sooner I'll stop worrying."

When Erlin heard this sentence from his brother, it felt like a blow to the heart, and he thought dejectedly, "when it comes to people outside the family (shuangxing pangrenjia) having animals to use you worry your guts out over it, but something affecting your own brother's whole life, you won't even listen to it, you sure are some activist." 28

Erlin is haunted by dreams (he is one of the very few characters in Cultural Revolution fiction whose innermost thoughts are so revealed), of the lonely death of an old bachelor seen in his childhood, and of a horde of poor peasants with hands outstretched, begging the Gaos to give them grain and work their land.

Erlin's fears, rising naturally from his "peasant mentality" make him easy prey for Feng Shaohuai. Feng propels his wife's niece Qian Caifeng at Erlin. Caifeng, a young divorcée, longs for a reliable man after an unhappy marriage, and she and Erlin are soon in love. The author gives a premonition of the danger Erlin is in the first time he walks Caifeng back to Feng's house from the youth club: "Erlin hastily turned out the lights, locked the door, took a flashlight, escorted Qian Caifeng quickly down the long stairway, and turned away towards the darkness."²⁹ Erlin is turning away from his brother's "golden road" into the "darkness" of Feng's influence. When Erlin breaks with his brother, at the insistence of Caifeng's family (at Feng's prompting), he builds a wall in the Gao courtyard that

symbolically separates him from the protection of the poor peasants. Erlin goes to work for Feng, thus moving physically and symbolically from one side to the other.

His transformation from disillusion to concurrence with his brother takes place as a result of his experiences in the Feng household. First he sees Feng's ruthlessness at first hand in the plot to entrap Liu Xiang, and is himself unwittingly used against Liu. Then, though they had reasoned that Feng would treat them well (since Caifeng is a relative of the Fengs), he and Caifeng realise they are being exploited as cheap labour, and that they have lost more by denying themselves the emotional and practical support of the poor peasants than they gained from Feng's empty promises of future payment. When Erlin falls sick with exhaustion after a soaking during carting duties away from home, Feng simply abandons him. In the first of two cathartic dreams as he lies feverish in an innkeeper's stable, a shivering Erlin recalls his brother braving freezing rain to fetch him medicine, and then, in a hot flush, remembers his sister-in-law heating the kang bed for his comfort. In the second dream, he sees himself fighting with Feng Shaohuai over a bag of grain in the latter's granary. In his dream he shouts to Caifeng as she tries to separate him from Feng: "Get away! Get away! He's a treacherous wolf who harms everyone, today I'll fight him to the death."³⁰ Erlin's ideological transformation is thus complete before Daquan and Tiehan, alerted, rush to his aid, and it is proved

as Erlin furiously rejects the money with which Feng tries to placate him.

The test case of Erlin is by far the most cogent argument for collectivisation in The Golden Road in that Erlin, as a worldly and sensible peasant, first rejects the utopianism implicit in the archetypal symbol of the golden road, and then returns to the fold through bitter experience of the apparently more pragmatic and profitable individualist way, rather than through political rhetoric. Because Erlin's emotions and ambitions are so natural, the reader can sympathise both with his resentment of Daquan and his return to the collectivist mainstream in which, as a poor peasant, he rightfully belongs. Hao Ran has realised the potential of the "turnabout character" in a way that no one else was able to do.

What Hao Ran has achieved by his full exploitation of the possibilities of the "turnabout character" and by his use of the "sibling split," is to stretch the limits imposed by the "three prominences" of the opera model, and to produce among the "masses" characters as well-developed and affecting as any in modern Chinese literature. Where the limitations can have a detrimental effect on the novel is at the top of the "three prominences" pyramid, in the character of the hero. Despite the author's considerable efforts to mitigate the hero's perfection, Gao Daquan remains too "lofty, large and complete," too sacrificing of himself and his family, too righteous and

unctuous, for the health of the novel. Hao Ran cannot detach himself from his hero, and thus cannot offer an independent or ironic view of him except through characters whose judgements are known to be suspect.

II. Narrative Technique

The question of the preferred narrative style to carry "three prominences" characterisation and other aspects of the opera model was approached by Hao Ran very differently from the History of Battles at Hongnan writing group. Instead of their dominant narrator using the novel as a dramatic monologue, Hao Ran structures The Golden Road in the form of traditional opera, with the emphasis on dialogue. Instead of a single narratorial point of view, he constantly switches narrative perspective among the novel's characters. Further, he uses authority figures within the novel to provide analysis of situations and characters rather than relying on a homiletic narrator for it.

i) Operatic Structure

The most cursory glance at The Golden Road is enough to indicate that it is primarily a novel of dialogue. The author made a conscious decision when planning the novel to pattern it on the traditional Chinese operas which had been his earliest cultural fare; the chapters are self-contained but inter-related scenes, each with a limited number of characters, a limited

frame of time and space, only one or two topics of conversation, and a single character at centre stage. Only the prologue (yinzi) like the "wedge" of the operas, stands apart from this design, following a single character, Gao Daquan, throughout its nine sections, taking him from Shandong to Hebei and back over the course of seventeen years, and introducing most of the major characters that will appear in the novel proper. Hao Ran's adaptation of such an operatic model was an innovation in modern Chinese fiction, but was not without historical precedent: The Dream of the Red Chamber, the novel most admired by Hao Ran, has a prologue that sets historical, physical and cosmic context, while most of the action takes place through small gatherings in intimate settings. Much of Cao Xueqin's novel is concerned with conversations between the novel's children and their attendants in the dwellings of the Grand View Garden, in contrast to the open spaces, larger groupings and robust action that characterise most episodic novels (The Water Margin being the obvious example); in Hao Ran's novel, the intimate scenes take place in peasant homes, in the fields and at the steps of the former landlord's residence at the centre of the village; crowd scenes and large meetings are strictly limited.

In The Golden Road, this operatic influence is much stronger than the simulated story-teller context familiar to readers of communist novels, and few of the hallowed story-teller clichés appear. References to other popular dramatic forms do

occur periodically, but as proof of their durability among the peasantry rather than in conscious imitation of "national forms," as had been the case at Yan'an and in the early years of the People's Republic. For example, two popular vaudeville (quyi) forms serve as metaphors for Feng Shaohuai's propensity for covert action: his manipulation of Qin Fu's appeal to authority is "donkey-skin shadow theatre" (lupiyang)³¹, with the litigant Qin the puppet moving at Feng's will; and Feng and his wife are seen as performing the comic routine shuanghuang³² in which the front-man (or in this case, -woman) must perform actions to the singing of the partner concealed behind. For Hao Ran, patterns of thought derived from traditional literature and popular forms, while prevalent, are not necessarily reliable. It is the untrustworthy Zhang Jinshou who supports his argument with: "I've heard ballads (pingshu) of Three Kingdoms and I've seen operas of Three Kingdoms and they say that"33 We may conclude that Hao Ran's espousal of "national forms" was a great deal less literal and more sophisticated than that of most of his predecessors.

ii) Shifting Perspective

Rather than allowing an omniscient narrator to explain the attitudes, actions and motivations of all the characters, the author switches his focus from chapter to chapter, by allowing the narrator to attach himself to a different character and present situations through his or her perspective. Typically,

we join one character at the beginning of a chapter, viewing its events and hearing its dialogue through him or her. This does not mean that the reader is entirely dependent on a chapter's central character for an interpretation of what goes on; the author has already indicated in the prologue who is to be trusted. So we know that Zhang Jinfa is ambitious and unreliable, Feng Shaohuai grasping and unscrupulous, and Daquan dynamic and altruistic, before we are privy to their thoughts in the novel proper.

The shifting of narrative perspective allows the reader to see conflicts building through the different actors in each drama. For example, the denouement to the Liu Xiang land-sale is seen from three perspectives in three chapters (vol. II, chapters 17-19). First (chapter 17), the victim of encirclement, as Liu Wan suggests to his unfortunate brother the possibility of selling his land; when Liu Xiang is then confronted by Erlin who comes to pressure him into repaying half of the Gao family grain he borrowed, we see the shame that drives Liu into agreeing to sell his land while attempting to keep the deal secret from Daquan. The scene shifts (in chapter 18) to the Qin household as they prepare for the purchase of Liu's land. Here the focus is on Qin Fu's daughter-in-law Zhao Yu'e, a covert supporter of Daquan, who prepares the celebratory meal harbouring grief for Liu Xiang, then manages to slip out of the Qin compound to warn Lü Ruifen in her first act of disobedience to her husband's family.

Finally (chapter 19), the action focusses on Daquan as he hears of the impending sale and rushes back to the village to disrupt the transaction and draw the moral from the story.

In a subsequent chapter, the village and its inhabitants are described through the eyes of a complete outsider. This is the young cadre Xu Meng, sent from the county seat to adjudicate on the charge made by Qin Fu arising from Daquan's disruption of the land sale. Xu Meng expects to find that Daquan is a bullying tyrant, but determines to investigate thoroughly; the problem is that she is naive and unfamiliar with the countryside. (That her gullibility is not unrepresentative of the young urban intellectuals drafted into cadre service in the countryside in those years is borne out by an autobiographical land-reform novel recently published in the West.³⁴) We are prepared for Xu Meng's failures of judgement as we follow her first idyllic stroll through Sweet Meadow:

As she walked, she looked along this unfamiliar road on the plain, with its scattered courtyard dwellings, trees thick and thin of types unknown to her, piles of stuff which might have been earth or manure; all sorts of plants grew on fences and trellises, twining like the morning glories in a schoolyard, bursting with blossoms like butterflies. A sweet unfamiliar fragrance wafted through the air ... pondering which door to enter first, she remembered a new novel she had recently read about village life, which described cadres sent down to the countryside "putting down roots" by paying their first visits to the poorest folks, enabling them to grasp the true situation and stand firm. 35

Her obvious ignorance of things rural -- names of trees and plants, the difference between soil and manure -- extends to

judgement of people; her first representative "poor peasant" turns out to be the former landlord Crooked Mouth. The deception of Xu Meng and her subsequent enlightenment are more effective as seen from her own perspective than they could have been as told by an omniscient narrator. (We can only imagine the heavy weather that the pedagogue-narrator of History of Battles at Hongnan might have made of the incident.)

The practice of following a single character through a chapter is effective only when the character is one that can command attention and arouse interest. While the novel works well within the village and among the villagers, it falls short in those sections where the focus is on a stereotyped character away from Sweet Meadow. Chapters in which the "typical" old activist Zhou Zhong is seen pursuing a shipment of soles for army shoes to rescue one defective pair, or in which his daughter Liping leads a protest against the managers because of a factory making up these same shoes in a shoddy way, fail both because of their implausibility as plots and their unconvincing central characters. Particularly weak are the chapters dealing with the upper-level cadres, whose discussions of the village are abstract and unrealistic.

iii) Enlightenment through Authority Figures

Without a homiletic narrator, but still feeling the need to offer the reader reliable analysis of events and characters, Hao Ran makes use of figures of authority within the novel to

address the reader on the author's behalf. These are the senior cadres and the older villagers as well as the hero Daquan. Within the village, the main voice of authority, by virtue of his seniority, is Zhou Zhong. His assessments of Qin Wenqing, Zhu Tiehan and Zhang Jinfa, offered in his first appearance in the novel, shape the reader's perception of them as the struggle unfolds. When a political disquisition is required, it is given by Liang Haishan. Liang delivers the novel's first political lecture at the end of the prologue, on the hardships of the road ahead; later he introduces and expounds Mao's "Get Organised" to Daquan and, late in the second volume, offers a definitive summary (in conversation with his wife) of Daquan's activities.

That the reliable characters frequently express praise for Daquan also raises the status of the hero; when Liang Haishan's wife, after hearing her husband's retelling of the saga of Sweet Meadow, exclaims "Aiya, he [Daquan] is a real hero,"³⁶ she speaks for the reader.

In the few cases where the narrator does intervene, it is more for dramatic or rhetorical effect than to inform the reader directly what his opinion should be. In the final paragraph of the prologue, the narrator appeals to Daquan to decide and respond on the question of how he will meet his historical destiny of striving for socialism;³⁷ as Liu Wan makes his fateful decision to delay before joining Daquan's cooperative, the narrator laments, "Oh Liu Wan, Liu Wan, if only you'd

walked straight ahead when you left your house, how good that would have been!"³⁸ The narrator also influences reader perceptions through the physical and anecdotal descriptions that introduce each character; one need not expect reliable opinions to come from someone "short, scrawny, sallow and puffy-eyed"³⁹ like the village idler Zhang Jinshou. Rarely does the narrator address the reader directly; one occasion is to heighten our admiration for the hero: "See how well he studies and goes into things, see how loving he is towards his comrades ...".⁴⁰ More often, the author relies on spokesmen whom we know can be trusted, and though these are generally the novel's less appealing characters, they are nevertheless able to deliver a political message more appositely and succinctly than can the narrator of History of Battles at Hongnan.

Hao Ran's adoption of the traditional opera structure, his constant shifts in narrative focus and his avoidance of the homiletic narrator represent a departure from the narrative style of most Chinese communist literature, and the maturation of a highly individual method of writing fiction. The sophistication of Hao Ran's style avoids the dogmatism inherent in the use of a dominant narrator concentrating on an exemplary hero. The standpoints of the opponents of socialism, the "negative characters," can be much more clearly shown, and the views of the "masses," as well as those of the heroes and villains, can be represented through sections concentrating on them. Hao Ran has

done everything possible to avoid the limitations placed on him by the opera model.

III. Romantic Love and Revolutionary Romanticism

One of the greatest differences between Hao Ran's pre-Cultural Revolution work and the opera model he followed in The Golden Road concerned the portrayal of love: in all the operas there is no marital relationship, no courtship, and love is defined only in class, not personal terms. How could such a model not constrict a writer who had established himself before 1966 as the most romantic of his generation, both in his short stories and in the romance between the hero Xiao Changchun and Jiao Shuhong in Bright Sunny Skies?

The novel's lack of a simple and happy love story disappointed at least one young reader, who demanded of the author: "Why didn't you dare to write a love story?" Hao Ran's response was that "whether or not you write about love-life (aiqing shenghuo) is decided by the needs of the central theme and the central hero."⁴¹ Besides, he argued, he had written about the relations of three couples, Daquan and Ruifen, Qin Wenji and Zhao Yu'e, and Erlin and Caifeng.

Hao Ran's self-justification indicates a change of purpose in writing about love. His early love stories had celebrated the new equality of young men and women and the free choice of partners under communist rule. Love arising out of comradeship is a common theme in these stories, and it is

community of purpose that strengthens the bond between Xiao Changchun and Jiao Shuhong in Bright Sunny Skies. By the early 1970's the author may have felt that his young readers were sufficiently familiar with the concept of free choice, and should instead be reminded of the primacy of shared political interest as a basis for a satisfactory relationship.

The marriage of Gao Daquan and Lu Ruifen does not arise out of free choice; rather it is a filial obligation to the dying wish of Ruifen's father (and Daquan's guardian) Lu Changle. Only after their marriage does Ruifen "quickly get to know Gao Daquan, and fall deeply in love with this warm and capable peasant fellow."⁴² The reason for this is sketched in much later in the novel, through Ruifen's memory:

The first night in the bridal chamber is of course a joyous thing, but she had cried. Her man had clasped her hand and said: "Don't cry, don't be afraid, I shan't bully you. We're brother and sister from the same hovel...." With these words, she tasted sweetness and warmth again. ⁴³

It is the memory of his consideration for her that makes her join her husband as he works through the night on Liu Xiang's land, an expression of love and shared objectives. Thereafter their tenderest moment comes as Ruifen emulates her husband's capacity for sacrifice by giving to the cooperative's funds the eggs she had been saving to nourish her for her second confinement.

As a shared purpose unites the hero and his wife, so its lack separates Qin Fu's eldest son Wenji from his wife Zhao Yu'e. They are committed to different lines; he is a follower of

Feng Shaohuai while she, as a poor artisan's daughter, tends towards the poor peasants and Gao Daquan. In the crisis of the Liu Xiang land sale, she betrays her husband. Hao Ran implies that without reconciliation of their political views (which appears impossible), the marriage cannot succeed.

The presentation of Erlin's love for Caifeng also concentrates on the effect of political and ideological struggle on personal relations. The young couple are capable and well suited, but not until they free themselves from Feng Shaohuai's grasp and shed their "peasant mentality" (as they do at the end of the second volume) can they be happy together. Fulfillment of the demands of the self (a secure life with a good mate), the author argues, cannot be achieved without first satisfying social goals.

In The Golden Road, Hao Ran has certainly deprived his readers of the simple village love stories at which he had been so adept. The novel represents a disciplining of his talents to the service of his theme, though not directly to his hero, as the author had claimed. Romantic love has been downplayed in favour of revolutionary romanticism.

IV. Conclusion

The Golden Road is a didactic work serving "society" by presenting the Party and its leadership (as constituted at the time of writing) positively, without compromising the integrity of the "self" either by presenting other than the author's

perception of events or by ignoring the needs of the individual. Hao Ran's account of the problems facing the Northern Chinese peasantry following land reform is corroborated, for example, in William Hinton's Shenfan,⁴⁴ and his belief in the rightness of collectivisation was unshaken in an interview conducted thirty years after the events he described. Further, he continued to maintain, well after the hero of his novel had been ridiculed for excessive loftiness, largeness and completeness, that he had himself met village cadres quite as selfless and inspiring as Gao Daquan during the land reform, and that if Daquan was "higher than life" (gao yu shenghuo), he was also "based in life" (yuan yu shenghuo), as "revolutionary realism" requires. The impression of reality is heightened by the author's empathy for the peasant's visceral, and even sensual feeling for the land,⁴⁵ a feeling seldom conveyed in rural fiction. Though Sweet Meadow is, like Hongnan, a microcosm of nationwide and elite debates, the villagers who enact these struggles are the novel's key figures in The Golden Road, rather than merely pawns in a larger game played by distant rulers. The "revolutionary romanticism," reflecting the author's own optimism for the collectivist cause and faith in socialism, is not overbearing in the village sections of the novel, though where the setting and the characters are unconvincing (the Beijing railyards, the county seat), the romanticism smacks of empty idealism.

The novel adheres in its scheme of characterisation to the opera model, but does not derive unmitigated benefit from it.

Where the novel is strongest is in the sections dealing with Erlin (who is, as a "turnabout," an inheritance of the operas), the other initially uncommitted peasants (of whom Liu Xiang's is the most detailed case), and the middle peasant Qin family. The effectiveness of the portrayal of the Qins in the volumes considered above has little to do with the Model Operas, and has to do with the fact that the novel is incomplete -- a finished work would have to see Qin Fu and his family decide their destinies rather than simply allowing their characters to unfold and leaving them in political limbo, as happens here. As the novel stands, Qin Fu has all the appearance of a "middle character."

Where the opera model does the novel a disservice is in the overemphasis of the hero, and the stilted officials who are the secondary heroes; and since heroism is at the heart of the opera model, the disservice is considerable and unavoidable. The novel would have been stronger if, granting Gao Daquan his heroic attributes, the author had made Erlin his focus, but to have done so would have been to run foul of the taboo against concentrating on "middle characters" of Jiang Qing's "Summary."

The novel downplays, to its advantage, the revenge theme of the operas. Only once does the hero "recall bitterness," and even then it is not his own: he tells to a child the story of a prosperous peasant bankrupted by a rapacious landlord and unjust officials, and forced to sell his three daughters in a vain attempt to remain solvent. The moral, that a peasant is insecure

on his own, is not lost on the boy's mother (one of the daughters of the story), who drops her objections to the family joining the collective. Mostly, however, the catastrophes that engender catharsis are not recalled, but experienced within the time-frame of the novel (as Erlin's exploitation by Feng Shaohuai), and the dramatic effect is the greater for its immediacy.

The Golden Road is a flawed masterpiece, representing the best that could be achieved within the limits placed on the arts by Mao's Yan'an "Talks" and the further strictures of the "Summary." In his later Cultural Revolution novels, Hao Ran failed signally to retain the delicate balance between self and society that he maintained in long sections of this novel, moving further away from the "self" and into the domain of almost entirely "social" polemic.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

HAO RAN: A BRIEF LITERARY BIOGRAPHY¹

Hao Ran (penname of Liang Jinguang) was born in 1932 to dispossessed peasant parents in a landlord's manure shed near the Kailuan coalmine in Hebei Province. His first seven years were spent in a workers' compound near the mine, where his neighbors included performers of the local pingxi operatic form; he was able to attend performances free. After his father's death Hao Ran went with his sister to live with peasant relatives of his mother, and was there exposed to others of China's performing arts, including story-telling and shadow-puppetry.² He also managed three and a half years' schooling, which allowed him to start reading China's great classic novels, before his mother's death in 1945.

With the ending of the Sino-Japanese war, Hao Ran came into contact with the communist Red Army, becoming a Youth League cadre and, in his sixteenth year, a Communist Party member. His first writing was at the urging of the army, a short play dramatising land reform policy. The young author appeared in his play in a female role, as the local peasant women were too shy to appear on stage. Thereafter he wrote numerous plays and reports for village "wall-newspapers," his first printed article appearing in 1950. After taking part in land-reform in his own village, Hao Ran worked as a reporter for Hebei Daily

(Hebei ribao) and the Russian-language Friendship Magazine before moving to the editorial staff of the Communist Party's journal Red Flag (Hongqi).

His first short story was published in 1956, and several volumes of stories followed in quick succession.³ His early stories can best be categorised as celebrations of China's new socialist society, consisting of vignettes of village life, character sketches and simple love stories, with (as the veteran writer Ye Shengtao judged) the characters of young peasant women most adeptly described.⁴ While conflicts exist between old and new values and customs, the author is sympathetic to peasant conservatism, and the overall impression is one of social harmony; this prompted the criticism from Yao Wenyan, in a 1962 review, that among Hao Ran's stories there were "too few concerned with class relationships and class struggle in the countryside" [emphasis Yao's].⁵

A transformation of Hao Ran's view of peasant life was brought about by Mao's re-emphasis of class struggle in 1962. The author reviewed the events of his past, especially the collectivisation of agriculture, not in terms of the conflict of the new with the old, but as the unfolding of class and line struggles in a peasant society. It is this new perspective that informs his first novel, Bright Sunny Skies, which a contemporary Western reviewer described as the first novel to portray collectivisation against a background of class struggle.⁶ In many ways, Bright Sunny Skies

anticipates the Cultural Revolution novel, with its outstanding hero, a villain within the Party and concentration on class struggle. Where it differs is in its larger number of sympathetically portrayed middle peasant characters, its inclusion of a love story involving the hero and a lower level of political intensity. Its transitional nature is a reason for the novel's unique distinction (among post-1949 Chinese novels) of critical acceptance during and after the Cultural Revolution.⁷

Hao Ran's move towards the kind of fiction approved by the post-1966 authorities contributed to his escaping condemnation in the Cultural Revolution. He was further helped by his poor peasant background and his lack of identification with the Party's cultural elite in the early 1960's, who (according to the author) disparaged him as writer of reportage incapable of psychological analysis and unversed in literary theory⁸.

The five year hiatus in fiction publication (1966-71) saw the author in the countryside preparing a hagiography of the model peasant cadre Wang Guofu. Though his version of the Wang Guofu story was never published, some of the material collected was used in fashioning the hero of The Golden Road, the first two volumes of which were written between 1971 and 1973. Up to this point, all the author's fiction had been set in the Hebei countryside; in 1974, on commission from Jiang Qing (whom he had met in January of that year), he accompanied the

poet Zhang Yongmei to the Xisha (Paracel) Islands. Both were charged with producing works celebrating the repulsing of a South Vietnamese expeditionary force by the island militia and the Chinese navy. Hao Ran's Sons and Daughters of the Xisha Islands (Xisha ernü) was published in two volumes within the year.⁹ Unaccustomed subject-matter and the author's haste in producing the novel resulted in an awkward plot and factual inaccuracies, and an experiment with a sanwen-influenced poetic prose-style compares unfavourably with the rich language of his peasant fiction.¹⁰

After completing his commission, Hao Ran has claimed, he began to have reservations about Jiang Qing, refusing a post at the Ministry of Culture when offered, and withdrawing to a village west of the Great Wall to continue writing. A second commission from Jiang Qing, this time for a movie script, remained unwritten while the author wrote the final two volumes of The Golden Road. (These have never been published except in brief extracts; they were suppressed by the post-Mao leadership as incompatible with its official interpretation of history.)

Hao Ran's other writings from the prolific years 1972-6 include short stories, children's fiction, reportage, speeches and articles.¹¹ His final Cultural Revolution novel, Hundred Blossom Village was published the month of Mao's death and was almost immediately withdrawn from circulation.

The author's flourishing in the Cultural Revolution made him an object of suspicion and resentment for authors returning from

incarceration or obscurity after the fall of the Gang of Four. A self-criticism offered to the reinstated Writers' Association in November 1977 satisfied a majority of his peers, and his writing career resumed. His first post-Cultural Revolution novel Rural Romance (Shanshui Qing)¹² explored the hazards of the rigid class analysis he and others had practiced in the Cultural Revolution. Though he has enemies within the Chinese literary fraternity (as do most Chinese writers) his position seems relatively secure.

CHAPTER 6

FACTIONAL POLITICS IN COMMAND:

HUNDRED BLOSSOM VALLEY

Hao Ran's final novel of the Cultural Revolution was serialised early in 1976 as Three Fires (Sanba huo) before a revised edition was released with the new title Hundred Blossom Valley (Baihuachuan) in September of that year.¹ It is the latter text that will be considered here, as representative of the fiction of the last three years of the Cultural Revolution. The physical setting of a Hebei village, and many elements in the plot, resemble The Golden Road; but the historical background is contemporary, and the political struggle of the novel is updated to epitomise not the struggle between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi over collectivisation, but the ongoing battle between Jiang Qing and Deng Xiaoping for succession to supreme power.

Stylistically, Hao Ran characterised the transition from The Golden Road to his later novels as involving greater reliance on the Model Operas and their "combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism" in preference to his earlier, more realistic approach. "In the process of learning how to use this (the "double revolutions") creative principle," he told an audience in late 1974, "I came to the realisation that I must thoroughly reject all shapes and forms of so-called realistic creative method."² Hundred Blossom Valley was not, as the author's preceding novel had been, written on commission from

Jiang Qing;³ rather it was his best attempt, as a Party loyalist, at writing tailored to political guidelines currently in force. It displays the strong factional bias of the published literature of the period, which was stigmatised, following the arrest of the Gang of Four, as "conspiratorial."

I. Features of "Conspiratorial Literature and Art" (yinmou wenyi)⁴

A literary conspiracy is seen as having been a component in the media campaign launched by Jiang Qing and her associates, after the fall of Lin Biao, to support their claims to succeed to the top leadership roles on the imminent deaths of Mao Zedong and his ailing contemporaries Zhou Enlai and Zhu De. At the Tenth Party Congress of August 1973, Wang Hongwen, the junior member of the Gang of Four, replaced Lin Biao as second in the Party hierarchy, and the Gang's other members also moved up in the Party ranks. However, the same conference saw the restitution of Deng Xiaoping, who had been purged along with Liu Shaoqi in the mid-1960's but, who, unlike Liu, had survived the experience. Deng's restoration set the stage for the struggle for succession between two factions: the Gang (described in the West as "radicals" or "leftists") versus Deng and other returnees ("pragmatists" or "moderates"). While Deng held the government and the economy (in the Marxist metaphor, the base), the Gang controlled the media and the arts (the superstructure), and attempted to use this control to discredit Deng and his faction.

Much of the fiction subsequently criticised as "conspiratorial" appeared in Zhaoxia (Dawn Clouds), which was published in Shanghai in the form of periodic literary anthologies from May 1973, and a monthly magazine from January 1974, until the end of the Cultural Revolution.⁵ We will consider a single example here, "A Report Exposing Contradictions" (Yipian jie maodun de baogao).⁶ This story was singled out for praise after its publication in April 1974,⁷ and for attack in the early criticisms of "conspiratorial literature".⁸

"A Report Exposing Contradictions" (hereafter "A Report") has the three features which typify the Zhaoxia fiction: "reflection of the Cultural Revolution", the "horned and thorned" heroic character, and the "capitalist-roader" villain.⁹

The first fiction of the Cultural Revolution, including the two novels considered in the previous chapters, was set in the period spanned by the Model Operas, no earlier than the first essay in Mao's Selected Works, and no later than the early 1960's. Before 1973, no Party consensus existed on how the turmoil of the mid-1960's should be portrayed, particularly regarding the role played by Lin Biao. With Lin gone, and the danger to the Gang faction represented by Deng Xiaoping, it was in their interest to revive the iconoclastic spirit of that early period when Deng was condemned by red guards and Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan led Shanghai's January (1967) Revolution.¹⁰ Fiction written after 1973 reflects the Cultural Revolution,

either its early stages (without mention of Lin Biao), as for example the first "conspiratorial" story "A Morning in Early Spring" (Chuchun de zaochen),¹¹ or at the time of writing. "A Report" is set in 1974 after the restitution of Deng and others similarly condemned in the mid-1960's.

To the qualities characteristic in the heroes of the early fiction of the Cultural Revolution -- self-sacrifice, loyalty to Mao and the Communist Party, class awareness -- were added an additional truculence and combativeness. Theirs was the "spirit of going against the tide" (fan chaoliu jingshen) praised by Wang Hongwen in his speech to the Tenth Party Congress.¹² The new heroes and heroines of the fiction of the mid-1970's are mostly in their late twenties and early thirties, younger than their adversaries, just as the Gang of Four represented a new generation of leaders. Their experience of struggle had been gained in the Cultural Revolution rather than on the battlefields of the civil war of the 1940's. Many are former red guards, matured but retaining their radical zeal as they confront for the second time older cadres reinstated with Deng. These young activists make uncomfortable adversaries, described as having "horns on their heads and thorns on their bodies" (toushang zhang jiao, shenshang zhang ci). Ren Shuying, heroine of "A Report" is one such: thirty years old, a former red guard, a Party member, an experienced worker, and the mother of a small child (though family life is not important to the story). Like the Gang of Four, she opposes the import of foreign technology and expresses

infinite faith in the Chinese proletariat; she opposes material incentives, mobilising the workforce with patriotic and political rhetoric; and she is passionate about the Cultural Revolution and all it stands for. "I'm not a bad-tempered sort" she tells her colleagues, "... but if anyone looks down on the workers or says that the Cultural Revolution is no good, I just can't stand it."¹³

"The struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads" had been declared in the 1973 constitution to be an abiding feature of socialism, and "capitalist-roaders" (zouzipai) are the most frequent villains of late Cultural Revolution literature.¹⁴ (Deng was himself called "that most unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party" in the propaganda of 1975-6.) Industrial "capitalist-roaders" promoted material incentives and foreign technology; their rural counterparts encouraged the cultivation of cash-crops (to raise peasant incomes) over self-sufficiency in grain. The "capitalist-roader" villain of "A Report," Hu Zhengmin, is, like Deng, a returnee, restored to management of Ren Shuying's factory after being fired in the mid-1960's. Back in his old post, he tries to equip the factory with a foreign production-line, and when Ren Shuying opposes him, resorts to underhand tactics (deceit, covert use of personal connections, etc.) to undermine her.

In this and other stories of the period, the "horned and thorned" heroine has both popular and Party support, and is vindicated by practice. For example, "A Report" shows a Chinese

television set produced more economically and quickly than its foreign counterpart, and productivity raised by activism rather than bonuses. The literary mirror of the mid-1970's presented a distorted image of reality, if subsequent evidence is to be believed: while actual productivity and worker morale were low, the factories and villages of the "conspiracy" stories enjoy unprecedented levels of productivity, generated by enthusiasm for political mass campaigns; and while Jiang Qing and her radical policies (represented here by Ren Shuying) enjoyed little popular support, in fiction it is Deng (Hu Zhengmin) who is despised for his materialist approach. If "A Report" is, as I believe, a superior specimen of late Cultural Revolution fiction with an industrial setting, then Hundred Blossom Valley is its rural counterpart.

II. The Divided Village

Hundred Blossom Valley is a much shorter novel than The Golden Road, covering a mere 220 pages. There are great similarities in the dramatic disposition of the two novels: in both, an established Party member and village power-holder who has pursued selfish and non-Maoist goals is replaced by a younger heroic radical, also a Party member, who leads the peasants on a new course. The deposed leader tries to regain power, plotting to discredit the new leader by sabotaging his/her policies; but public opinion and Party directives favour the young radical. The new leader is vindicated and his/her predecessor disgraced.

Whereas the struggle between Gao Daquan and Zhang Jinfa in The Golden Road was Maoism/collectivism versus Liuism/individual enrichment, in the latter novel it is updated to Maoism/emulation of the Dazhai brigade versus Liuism/the capitalist road. The time is October 1975, and the National Conference to Study Dazhai in Agriculture is underway in Beijing. The setting is the fictitious Hebei village of Hundred Blossom Valley which, as the novel opens, is in disgrace for its failure to implement the model brigade's de-emphasis of material incentives, mass mobilisation for land reclamation, and self-sufficiency in grain. Criticism of the management of the village leads to the umbraged resignation of the brigade-leader (a rank corresponding to village head in the earlier novel) Chang Zide and his replacement by the young woman Yang Guozhen. These two represent, respectively, the capitalist and socialist roads.

Yang Guozhen is a "horned and thorned" heroine, the product of the struggles of the People's Republic. Born at the birth of the state, shortly after her mother denounced the area's former landlord (Chang Zide's uncle), Yang is a former red guard, a middle-school graduate who chose to resettle in the countryside, and a member of an advanced brigade married into Hundred Blossom Valley. Like Ren Shuying, (but unlike the opera heroes), she is married; but none of them has family encumbrances. On her selection as team-leader, she packs her young child off to live with its grandmother, sends her husband to stay at his factory's hostel, and moves her bedding into her office. When her visiting

husband tried to persuade her to visit their son by saying how much he misses the child, she tells him "don't be such an old woman."¹⁵ Her priority is the struggle at Hundred Blossom Valley.

Yang Guozhen is very different from Hao Ran's previous peasant women characters, who behave conventionally as wives by caring for children and supporting their husbands. For example, Lü Ruifen, at the start of the novel proper in The Golden Road has "completely assumed the look of a mother."¹⁶ Yang Guozhen's flaunting of village marriage customs, much to the chagrin of her husband's uncle Liu Gui'an, serves notice that she is determined to "go against the tide" in the anti-traditional spirit of the Cultural Revolution:

As for the wedding, the more Liu Gui'an thought about it the more peeved he felt. Liu Gui'an was the senior member of the Liu family and a personage worthy of respect; besides, he was the one who'd speeded up the marriage [by counselling his nephew Liu Han], so naturally he should take charge of the proceedings. On the day, Liu Gui'an got time off and went off with the cart to receive the bride personally. Who would have guessed the bride would go to Hundred Blossom Valley on her own, by bicycle, thereby making him return home empty handed! On the day, Liu Gui'an had planned to go into the kitchen to prepare the wedding-feast himself. Who would have guessed that the bride would send the guests off one by one, so that he had done the work but later had no fun! On the day after the wedding, a new bride should go and pay her respects to the clan elder. Liu Gui'an swept his room, made tea, put on clean clothes and waited. Who would have guessed the new bride would be up at the crack of dawn and off to work in the fields! He felt cheated. 17

By comparison with Yang Guozhen, Gao Daquan is a model of devotion to family! Gao is also a much less assertive and more

democratic leader than Yang Guozhen, who has absolute conviction of her own rectitude without the advice of her seniors, and completely decides the future of the village before divulging her decisions to the villagers. Where Gao learns and disseminates the teaching of Mao, Yang is replete with the slogans of the mid-seventies. Finally, Gao Daquan is both activist and peasant, frequently at work on the land, usually that of his neighbours; Yang Guozhen is almost exclusively an activist, seen only once, in the epilogue, performing manual labour. If, as has been suggested above, Gao Daquan is as much proletarian as peasant, the balance has swung completely towards the idealised socialist proletarian in the case of Yang Guozhen. She has, in fact, much more in common with the archetypal "conspiratorial" heroine mentioned above, the factory worker Ren Shuying, than with either of Hao Ran's previous peasant heroes.

The "capitalist-roader" villain Chang Zide is closer to his counterpart in The Golden Road, Zhang Jinfa, though less resourceful. He is a returnee, having been condemned early in the Cultural Revolution (by Yang Guozhen inter alia) for promoting the Liuist agricultural policy of "three freedoms and one contract" (san zi yi bao),¹⁸ but reinstated thereafter. His recent resignation was merely a gesture which he expected to be refused, and he spends the duration of the novel conniving to regain his former position. He represents himself as a leader concerned with distributing as much as possible of the brigade's earnings among its members, albeit at the expense of capital

projects like irrigation. The cash wealth of the brigade derives largely from a brickworks and a pear-orchard, the profits from which have been either distributed or embezzled by Chang. Chang is desperate both to regain control of these two "treasures" (baobei) and to prevent his past corruption from coming to light. Unlike Zhang Jinfa, however, he has no network of powerful supporters, and is seen operating in isolation, eavesdropping, snooping, blackmailing and deceiving. (Hundred Blossom Valley and other fiction of the late Cultural Revolution makes it clear that cadre corruption, here that of Chang Zide, was a major social problem in the 1970's; and the same corruption recurs constantly in post-Mao exposure writings. The spokesmen of both sides predictably blame their adversaries for that corruption: in the stories of 1973-6, the embezzlers are the "capitalist-roaders", and when these same "capitalist-roaders" returned to power, it is the "radicals/leftists" who are said to have practiced widescale corruption behind a smoke-screen of revolutionary purity.¹⁹⁾

The struggle over the brigade's pear-trees epitomises the conflict between Yang Guozhen and Chang Zide. Profits from the pears are such that Chang buys new saplings to be planted on prime land. Yang Guozhen decides instead to cut down the existing trees and replace the orchards with paddy-fields to ensure a sufficiency of grain, building terraces on hilly land unsuited for grain to plant the saplings. Yang Guozhen's policy is very much Dazhai-style, emphasising grain production and

peasant participation in arduous construction projects. It is also symbolic - she is cutting down aging trees (the older cadres) to replace them with new shoots such as herself -- a plan that one critic saw paralleling Jiang Qing's desire to clear out the old guard from leadership positions and replace them with her own younger supporters.²⁰

The conflict between Yang Guozhen and Chang Zide over the pear trees seems to offer a faithful representation of the positions the Jiang Qing and Deng factions, one side committed to reducing cash-crop cultivation in the cause of grain self-sufficiency, the other favouring whatever raises peasant living standards regardless of political goals. Here the bias is clearly in favour of the radical side, but in a story written three years later, with the Gang overthrown and Dazhai losing its credibility, the same conflict was re-enacted with a different perspective. In Ru Zhijuan's "A Mis-edited Story" (Jianji cuole de gushi), the radical young cadre who orders a pear orchard cut down and turned into paddy-fields is portrayed as a cynical opportunist, while the old cadre who opposes it is a popular hero.²¹

The novel's secondary heroes are largely drawn from the new leadership group formed by Yang Guozhen after she is chosen as team-leader. There is the "stolid and undemonstrative"²² old Party stalwart Chen Cheng, whose views coincide with those of the heroine but who has failed to combat Chang Zide effectively in past years. There is the upright but irascible Chang Wu; and

there are two young girl activists, Xiaoling and Xiulian, who are indistinguishable from each other and frequently speak in unison. A secondary hero from outside the leadership group is the elderly ex-manager of the Hundred Blossom Valley brickworks, Grandpa Qin, whom the heroine brings out of retirement to restore to his former post.

As with Hao Ran's earlier novel, it is among the "masses," those villagers who have to be convinced of the rightness of the leading character's cause, that the most rounded characters appear. There are a few such in Hundred Blossom Valley. Two represent an updated peasant conservatism; these are Liu Gui'an and the store-keeper Old Chang the Second. Theirs are not the reservations about relinquishing title to land seen in collectivisation novels, but rather the concern among those already committed to socialist collectivisation that agricultural work is being shelved while the leadership indulges in political struggle. The heroine and her new leadership group have to persuade them, and the reader, that activism actually results in higher agricultural productivity. It is a hard case to make, and the leadership group resorts to slogans rather than explanations:

His face livid, Old Chang the Second spoke furiously as he walked: "Production brigades are there for production, but you lot haven't even mentioned the word production for three days, you'll worry us to death."

Chen Cheng explained: "What you say is incorrect. The brigade leader is right - it's true enough that production brigades are for production, but it has to be achieved through revolution, politics in command! 23

A peasant backslider who must be returned to the socialist fold

is the brickworks accountant Liu Yuan. By the time the novel opens, Liu Yuan has already strayed, trapped into debt and embezzlement after meeting the extravagant demands of his bride for a new house and luxuries he could not afford. Liu's building of his house with purloined materials has been discovered, and he is consequently in disgrace; but his embezzlement of money is known only to Chang Zide, who blackmails him with the prospect of harsh punishment if this is revealed. Chang thus prevents Liu from exposing his own greater corruption.

Apart from these three, none of the ordinary villagers is presented in any detail. Instead, the narrator refers simply to "those who were around" (zhouwei de ren), "the commune members" (sheyuanmen), or even simply "the masses" (qunzhong), whose function is choric, greeting the heroine's pronouncements with cheers or shouting suitable slogans, in contrast to the intimate conversations seen to characterise The Golden Road. The brevity of the novel is in part the cause of such limited characterisation; but difficulty in portraying peasants won over to the utopian agricultural policies of the mid-1970's must also have been a contributing factor.

III. The Opera Model: Azalea Mountain

Hundred Blossom Valley is a much more simply constructed novel than The Golden Road. Gone is the traditional operatic structure with the prologue, and the concentration within individual chapters on a single character and limited sequence of

events. The reader is privy to the thoughts of only three of the novel's characters, these being the heroine, the villain and the old peasant Liu Gui'an, whose precipitate conversion to Yang Guozhen's point of view represents the triumph of socialist thinking over peasant conservatism. The role of the third-person narrator is correspondingly greater, though this does not result in the type of narratorial homily seen in History of Battles at Hongnan. The political lectures are given instead by the heroine and her two stalwarts Chen Cheng and Chang Wu.

The novel adheres more closely than any of Hao Ran's other work to the Cultural Revolution opera model, and to one in particular, Azalea Mountain. A brief summary of the opera follows: The partisan band of Lei Gang and his followers is consistently defeated by the nationalist militia of the Viper. Realising that he needs the leadership of the Communist Party, Lei Gang rescues from the Viper's execution ground the heroine, the communist emissary Ke Xiang. Once among the partisans Ke Xiang is confronted by four conflicts: with the enemy, the Viper; with a traitor in a position of trust, Lei Gang's lieutenant Wen Qijiu; with those of the partisans unwilling to cast off unruly ways and easily duped by Wen; and with the stubborn and impetuous Lei Gang himself. An early conflict concerns the treatment of a captured landlord's servant Tian Dajiang, whom the partisans are about to beat up before Ke Xiang persuades them that Tian is a class brother forced into the service of the enemy. After Lei Gang has been captured by the Viper, Wen tries to hurry the

partisans into a trap in Ke Xiang's absence; however she returns to present an alternative plan which results in the rescue of the captives and the exposure of the concealed villain. (An allegorical reading of the opera in terms of the politics of the year of its production as a model, 1971, is entirely possible: Ke Xiang/Jiang Qing boldly and brilliantly completes the work of her husband after the latter's death, unmasking the second-in-command Wen Qijiu/Lin Biao as a concealed traitor in the process.)

Hundred Blossom Valley likewise begins in failure -- the failure of the eponymous village to emulate Dazhai -- which the secondary heroes (Chen Cheng, Chang Wu) recognise but cannot avert. When the saviour is dramatically introduced by the Party authorities (in novel and opera alike), the partisans/villagers are shocked to see that she is both young and a woman. The resentments faced by Yang Guozhen are like those of the opera's Ke Xiang, as she squares up to an external threat, an enemy at home, deluded masses and stubborn secondary heroes in Hundred Blossom Valley.

The external threat is not an armed enemy like the Viper, but rather the risk of grain insufficiency, a peril into which Chang has lured the villagers with material benefits derived from the sale of bricks and pears. The stigma of backwardness, like the stigma of defeat borne by Lei Gang's band, can be removed only by the intervention of the heroine with new policies from the Party centre. Here the solution is the literal application

of the Dazhai model: hillside terracing, improved irrigation, cutting down cash crops to grow more grain, ideological mobilisation of the workforce.

The enemy within is of course Chang Zide himself. (In an allegorical reading like that offered for Azalea Mountain, he plays Deng Xiaoping to the heroine's Jiang Qing.) Like Wen Qijiu of Azalea Mountain, he sees the defeat of the heroine as the prerequisite to his own rise, and seeks to exacerbate the existing discontent of the other character with her. Chang alarms the older peasants by suggesting that Yang Guozhen is unconcerned about their livelihood, forces Liu Yuan into silence by telling him Yang will have him severely punished, and infuriates Chang Wu and Liu Gui'an (who were responsible for exposing Liu Yuan's theft of building materials) by telling them that Liu Yuan is to be unconditionally forgiven. Further, he tries to stop brick production by cutting the supply of coal through an underhand relationship with the coal depot head.

Chief among the deluded "masses" whom Yang Guozhen must convince of Chang's perfidy are the old villagers Liu Gui'an and Old Chang the Second. Like Lei Gang's men, they prefer the traditional ways and resent change. Their suspicion of Yang is fanned by Chang Zide, who takes advantage of Yang's absence to hurry Old Chang the Second into using available and enthusiastic student labour to plant the new saplings into prime land before Yang returns. His pressuring Old Chang the Second parallels Wen Qijui's attempt to rush the partisans of Azalea Mountain. Both

plots are thwarted when the heroine returns. Yang Guozhen satisfies the concerns of the older peasants by devising an ideal solution, planting the saplings in terraced "socialist soil" unsuited for grain production.

The Lei Gang role, of the good-hearted hothead, is taken by Chang Wu. His conflict with Yang Guozhen over Liu Yuan matches Lei Gang's with Ke Xiang over Tian Dajiang (both Tian and Liu being brothers to be reclaimed rather than foes to be hated). Chang Wu views Liu Yuan as a class enemy because of his past corruption, and so opposes Yang's even visiting Liu. An eavesdropping Chang Zide seeks to widen the gap between the heroine and her short-tempered ally by sending Chang Wu a letter, purportedly from the "revolutionary masses" of the village, protesting Yang's reversal of the verdict against Liu Yuan. Chang, predictably fooled, is livid with Yang, before she uncovers the forgery -- ordinary peasants use flour and water paste to seal their letters, but this one is sealed with glue. As a piece of detection, this device is less than satisfactory -- why should Chang Zide be instantly identifiable as the only inhabitant of Hundred Blossom Valley to own glue? -- but its effect on Chang Wu is nonetheless cathartic, uniting him with Yang Guozhen against Chang Zide, just as Lei Gang is won over by the revelation of Wen Qijiu's duplicity. Finally, both Lei Gang and Chang Wu have mothers (adoptive in Lei Gang's case) sympathetic to the heroine and smarter than their sons. Chang Wu's mother explains to her son in rustic terms the threat posed

by the deposed brigade leader: "if you don't do battle with this guy Chang Zide, he'll ride on your shoulders and crap on you."²⁴

Thus, like her operatic predecessor Ke Xiang, Yang Guozhen resolves conflicts among her supporters and allies on the way to unmasking the traitor and devising the solution to the external conflict. By comparison with the slow and painful steps made by the characters of The Golden Road towards the path of the hero, the conversions of Chang Wu, Liu Gui'an and Old Chang the Second seem unreasonably swift and simple, and we have insufficient psychological evidence either for their change of heart concerning the efficacy of the Dazhai model, or for the conversion of the prodigal Liu Yuan.

IV. From "Middle Character" to "Turnabout"

Hundred Blossom Valley follows the model of Azalea Mountain in all but one major respect: the elderly peasant Liu Gui'an has no equivalent in the opera. Liu's role is crucial in the novel (like Erlin's in The Golden Road); he must be disabused of his "peasant mentality," by reasoning and experience, so that the reader will also be persuaded of the rightness of the Party policies put forward by the hero(ine). For this to be achieved successfully, both the initial objections and the process of transformation must convince, as is the case in the Erlin sections of The Golden Road.

Liu Gui'an is the character through whom much of the action of Hundred Blossom Valley is seen. The reader is introduced to

both villain and heroine through Liu: Chang Zide as a capable peasant and experienced organiser, and Yang as a young iconoclast. Liu is a respected village elder, but the prospect of being asked to take over as brigade-leader himself alarms him so much that he flees the village before the election for the vacant post takes place. The reader, with Liu, returns to the village only after the decision has been made, and Yang appointed. Liu Gui'an is displeased at the election of the female upstart (all the more so because she was ungracious enough to vote for herself) and supports Chang Zide's attempt to have himself reinstated. Chang's policy of keeping peasant incomes high and preserving the pear-orchard has emotional and material appeal to Liu Gui'an:

In the old days, the people who did the work in Hundred Blossom Valley wouldn't taste the flavour of fresh pears in their lifetimes, only windfalls and rotten fruit. Then, all of a sudden, everything changed with the land reform, trees were taken away from the landlord and, joy of joys, became his very own! Liu Gui'an's thoughts went on to collectivisation - what determination had been required by the peasants to commit the trees to communal ownership! ... Besides, Liu Gui'an had another, extremely practical problem -- he depended on his share of the profit from selling the pears to repay his debt to the brigade for money borrowed to build his new house25

Liu is a sympathetic character - as a poor peasant, and a long-standing supporter of collectivisation, his credentials are exemplary - so his reservations about the heroine's emphasis on political activism and grain production, and his opposition to her appointment as brigade leader, carry considerable weight. To

this extent, Liu Gui'an, as he appears in the early part of the novel, resembles the "middle characters" of the novels of the early 1960's. Like Gaffer Liang the Third (of Liu Qing's novel History of Setting Up), he resents the disrespect for traditional ways and for himself of a junior member of his family (Liu Gui'an's nephew's wife, Gaffer Liang's adopted son).

The "middle character" Gaffer Liang slowly and grudgingly comes to accept Liang Shengbao's new way, and finally admires the young man; but such a gradual reform is not seen in the Cultural Revolution novel. "Turnabout characters," like their antecedents in the operas, must be enlightened to the extent that they joyfully accept the path they formerly rejected, and furiously condemn the villains who beguiled them. Yang Guozhen confidently predicts that Liu Gui'an will "be sorry when you see his [Chang Zide's] true face, and then I'll expect your applause for this new group of ours."²⁶ Liu hotly denies the possibility, but he is resisting the inevitable.

The transformation begins as Liu sees the treatment by Yang of the prodigal Liu Yuan. Liu Gui'an, furious when told by Chang Zide that the young man is to be forgiven, storms to Liu Yuan's house, but watches from outside as the new leadership group talks with Liu and his wife. He is impressed that Yang scolds the young couple but still offers them a chance to redeem themselves. Liu's hostility to Yang diminishes, but he remains sensitive about the pear-orchard, leading a group of protesters to confront the new group when they hear the rumour (purveyed by Chang Zide)

that the orchard is to be cut down. He is unconvinced by Yang's nostrums about considering the interests of future generations and the socialist road (as opposed to the capitalist road of the years before the Cultural Revolution), as she refuses to divulge her plans. When he later learns that she wishes to expand pear production (on terraces rather than on good arable land), he is won over, and any remaining objections he has are refuted by Yang (to thunderous applause from the inevitable bystanders).

Though Liu Gui'an is now a supporter of Yang (he does indeed applaud as predicted), he has not seen through Chang Zide. Instead, he cheerfully lectures Chang on the virtues of "taking class struggle as the key link and using revolution to lead production,"²⁷ and advises repentance from his former ways. Liu turns against Chang only after his blackmailing of Liu Yuan is revealed and Chang himself subjected to a Cultural Revolution class analysis:

[Liu Gui'an queried:] "Chang Zide has got a lot of faults. But he's not a landlord or rich peasant, and he's not a long-standing counter-revolutionary, how could he do such harmful things?"

Chang Wu replied: "I think that those who walk the capitalist road are capable of any wicked deed." 28

Thus persuaded, Liu Gui'an adds his furious condemnation of Chang Zide in the final chapter.

Liu's conversion from entrenched opposition to enthusiastic support for the heroine is too sudden to make the "turnabout" Liu anything like as convincing as the original one. Liu Gui'an has known perfectly well all along that Chang favoured material

benefits, so Chang's designation as "capitalist roader" should hardly surprise him, let alone have the cathartic effect presented here. He is also rather too easily persuaded that a "politics in command" approach will guarantee the higher production which is his criterion for good leadership. So while Liu works well initially as a "middle character", he is unconvincing as the "turnabout" that the Cultural Revolution fiction demands.

V. Purification through Fire

In The Golden Road, the path associated with the hero is characterised by brightness. It will be recalled that in rejecting his brother's vision, Gao Erlin turned away from light towards darkness. The golden light that colours the archetypal road to socialism is benign and welcoming. In Hundred Blossom Valley, the heroine's leadership is associated (as the title of the first version implies) not with light, but with fire. The earlier title derives from a proverb often quoted in the novel: "a new official lights three fires" (xinguan shangren sanba huo), meaning that the newly-appointed Yang Guozhen can be relied on to disrupt the village.

Yang Guozhen's fire is purgative in nature, burning away the dross to bring out the pure qualities of the villagers. The Party secretary on whose recommendation she is appointed brigade-leader advises her to "light a fire to reveal the true and the false."²⁹ By visiting the villagers and uncovering smouldering

resentments, Yang is seen by Chang Zide to be lighting fires that will do him no good. Indeed, by the end of the novel, Chang is described by Liu Gui'an's wife as "like a man with a fire up his arse" (huoshao pigu yiyang).³⁰ When Chang is decisively condemned by the villagers, he crumples "like gaoliang (sorghum) stalk burnt by a fierce fire."³¹ Liu Gui'an, analysing past events after his conversion to the heroine's side, sees (in an obvious reference Mao's observation that "a single spark can light a prairie fire") that before Yang Guozhen's arrival, the village was like kindling, needing only her spark to set it in flames.

In addition to its purging function, the fire which pervades the novel will also, the heroine hopes, "light up a clear and bright new road."³² In the conclusion to the epilogue, the peasants resolve to tell their descendents the story of the fire lit by the new brigade leader "so that this fire of revolution would burn forever in their hearts."³³

VI. Faction as "Society"

It has been stated that there is a pronounced factional bias in the literature of the last three years of the Cultural Revolution, supporting the claims of Jiang Qing and her allies to succession by showing their policies (and occasionally their persons) as popular and successful.³⁴ Such a bias can be seen in Hundred Blossom Valley. If, as we have suggested, the role of literature throughout the Cultural Revolution period is largely

"social," then the "society" that is served here is not, as before, the state as led by the Communist Party, but rather one clique within the leadership of that Party. "Society" has become faction.

The "social" role accepted by Hao Ran in The Golden Road required him to approve agricultural collectivisation that had brought individual farmers to the commune system. The task in no way conflicted with the author's beliefs. That The Golden Road does not represent any betrayal of the author's beliefs is most clearly seen in the sympathetic portrayal of Gao Erlin's turning back to the cause of his brother.

The same sympathy is not evident in the later novel. By the time Hao Ran wrote it, he was well aware (as he had not been prior to 1974) of the unpopularity of Jiang Qing and her radical views among the peasantry.³⁵ Furthermore, as a writer of peasant background who still spends much of his time in village Hebei, he had seen the ill-effects of the "grain as the key link" totem, both in terms of lower peasant income and damage to the land. That he still supported it in Hundred Blossom Valley shows that he allowed Party loyalty to outweigh the evidence before him. Despite the author's best efforts to produce a work in line with current guidelines, the novel is poor propaganda in its factional cause. We may conclude that the author's sympathies were nearer those of the untransformed Liu Gui'an than the heroic Yang Guozhen: loyal to socialism and collectivisation because they had improved the lot of the poor peasants, and unconvinced by

policies which, for all their revolutionary rhetoric, might impoverish them. Certainly the more convincing arguments seem to rest with the doubting Liu rather than the clichés of the radical leadership group. In fact, the plausibility of the early Liu Gui'an undermines the effectiveness of the novel's advocacy of radical agricultural policy.

Comparison between Yang Guozhen and Hao Ran's earlier peasant hero Gao Daquan shows her to be mechanistic and insensitive. Where Gao Daquan comes to an understanding of Mao's ideas and Party policies through personal experience, and interprets them for his friends, Yang Guozhen merely parrots them. This can only be because Hao Ran, an acknowledged master in the portrayal of young peasant women, had no empathy for the village girl as "horned and thorned" heroine, and had to fall back on stereotypes derived from stories with industrial settings like "A Report." This abandoning of village life as the source for a village novel represents typicality bankrupted, a heroine who is merely a compendium of prevailing dogma. Yang Guozhen's final speech, which ends the novel proper, is worth quoting here in full as an example of the decline in Hao Ran's writing from the committed didacticism of The Golden Road to the empty sloganeering of Hundred Blossom Valley:

Standing in the midst of the crowd, the woman team-leader Yang Guozhen said fervently: "Comrades, we have gone through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticise Lin Biao and Confucius, we have studied the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we understand that in the historical stage of socialism class and line

struggles have not been extinguished. We know that small scale production is constantly, daily and hourly producing capitalism and a bourgeois class spontaneously on a large scale. We know that the object of our revolution is the bourgeoisie, with Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as our chief focus. Isn't this Chang Zide before our eyes today a living example? Why has Hundred Blossom Valley lagged behind in the last few years? It's plain enough now. When Chairman Mao called on us to study Dazhai, the real point of it was to take class struggle as the key link and carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat at lower levels! If we don't grasp this basic principle, if we don't carry it out, then we'll go backwards, and there may be a resurgence of capitalism! We must remember this painful lesson. Whatever we do we must not forget class struggle." This speech caught like a fierce fire in the minds of the people. They clenched their fists, raised their arms and yelled out a slogan with all their hearts:

"Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

Finally, Yang Guozhen addressed the demoralised Chang Zide: "Your wicked soul and your evil deeds are exposed to broad daylight now. You have two choices as to what to do - either be buried with the corpse of capitalism, or humbly confess your crimes and be a man again. The gate of socialism is open to all who are willing to break with old things and walk a new path| It's up to you to choose which way you go!"

Chang Zide stammered: "I-I'll certainly confess ..."

Yang Guozhen shouted to the crowd: "Let's get on with our meeting, talk about putting into practice the spirit of the conference to study Dazhai, and make out plans for the battle!"

The people raised a passionate cheer. 36 [The novel proper ends here.]

This is a speech that could not have been given by Gao Daquan, both because this kind of rabble-rousing oratory has no place in the intimate settings of The Golden Road, and because there is no sense at all of an observed individual speaking. The same lines, with very few words changed, could have been put in the mouth of

a "horned and thorned" factory worker denouncing her "capitalist-roader" manager or a young soldier abusing a "revolutionary democrat turned capitalist-roader" in the officer corps.

The decline of Hao Ran from social commitment to factional propaganda at the end of the Cultural Revolution is representative of a degeneration in Chinese letters as a whole in the mid-1970's. It is not a role for which literature is suited, or effective: certainly the years of media domination appear to have generated no popular support for the Gang of Four, and the fiction of the time makes disappointing reading. It is particularly unfortunate that a writer as talented as Hao Ran should sink to the level of the final paragraphs just quoted. They represent the low point in the fiction of the author and the nation as the Cultural Revolution came to an end in the fall of 1976.

CHAPTER 7

"SOCIETY" AND "SELF":

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION NOVEL IN PERSPECTIVE

In terms of the dialectic between "society" and "self" outlined in the introduction, the literature of the Cultural Revolution has been seen to be preponderantly "social," concentrating on showing characters (particularly heroic ones) contributing to the ideal society envisaged by the Communist Party leadership, rather than investigating the impact of Party policies as they affected the individual. As the Cultural Revolution progressed, authors were steered further away from the "realism" condemned in Jiang Qing's "Summary" (though realism remained a component in the Party's "double revolutionary" recipe for literary creation), towards the idealisation of the proletariat and the revolutionary vanguard that is "revolutionary romanticism." According to Zhou Zuoren's terminology, the literature of the Cultural Revolution was the most extreme "vehicle for morality;" and like the "moral" neo-Confucianism of the late Qing, it was the precursor of a more individualistic "expression of feelings." In both eras, violent and passionate anti-government demonstrations in the heart of the nation's capital symbolised the unleashing of the creative energies that find literary expression in the subjective and individualistic writing of the "May Fourth" and "April Fifth" periods.¹

The contrast between the "social" (revolutionary romantic/morally instructive) literature of the Cultural

Revolution and the individual (realist/spiritually expressive) writing of the "wounds" and "exposure" literature (shanghen wenxue, baolu wenxue) within the single decade of the 1970's allows us a comparative perspective on the Cultural Revolution and its writing.

In this final chapter, we will contrast the perspectives of Cultural Revolution writers, acting within the conventions of their day, and those who surfaced (or resurfaced) after 1976. The world portrayed in the literature of 1973-6 and 1978-9 is the same one: Cultural Revolution China. Yet that same world, and its denizens, have a different face in works published either side of the momentous events of September/October 1976.

To illustrate the disparity between the "society"-oriented Cultural Revolution novel and its "self"-centered successor, we will compare two novels, one from each period, on the same theme: the integration of urban youth in the Chinese countryside following the mass rustication which began in the Winter of 1968. The two novels are Guo Xianhong's The Journey (1973) and Zhu Lin's The Path of Life (1979). Similar as these novels are in their content, the pictures they draw of the countryside, the peasantry, of political struggle and its effect on urban youth are diametrically opposed. We will consider in detail the presentation of one character type in the two works: the sensitive and artistic city girl struggling to adapt to the harsh realities of a new life in an unwelcoming environment.

Each novel is representative of its time in both the manner

of its creation and the weltanschauung conveyed. The Journey is an adventure novel written to order. Its author, who had previously written some stories with industrial settings,² was appointed in 1970 to the post of literary professional with a group assigned the task of producing a novel glorifying the rustication policy. Research for the novel, including a trip to Heilongjiang, plus the writing and revision process (which was done by Guo Xianhong alone) took two and a half years.

By contrast, The Path of Life is an independently written work drawn directly from the experiences of the author. Zhu Lin was one of the first young Shanghainese to be assigned to Fengyang County in Anhui Province, one of rural China's poorest areas. After six years in the countryside, she returned to Shanghai in 1975 and began to write her novel in secret, with no immediate expectation that it would be published. The novel is a tragedy, and stands in contrast to the romanticised view of the life of the urban youths still evident in official propaganda at the time of writing. Fortunate coincidences of timing led to the novel's publication: it was finished early in 1979, when the post-Mao authorities, keen to see the Cultural Revolution discredited, permitted considerable latitude in the airing of sordid truth (provided that the sordid events depicted took place prior to the arrest of the Gang of Four). The author's manuscript came to the attention of the veteran realist author Mao Dun, who managed to persuade Party authorities to allow its publication despite fears that it would further undermine the already

unpopular rustication policy. First, however, a compromise was reached whereby the novel was abridged (without consultation with the author) by Meng Weizai, a novelist and editor with People's Literature Publishing House, with a view to getting it past the Party censors.³

Both novels have physical and temporal settings that suit their authors' differing intents: the destination of The Journey is the mysterious (to a Shanghainese) northern wasteland of Heilongjiang, on the Sino-Russian border, and the time is 1968-9, when the rustication policy was still fresh and exciting to the youthful imagination. The Path of Life leads to the poverty of Anhui in the final years of the Cultural Revolution, when ten years of intensive rhetoric and eight years of rustication had taken their toll on the militance of the red guard generation. These variations notwithstanding, the two novels address the same key issues of the rustication movement: how would the urban youths react and adapt to rural life? how would they be regarded by the peasants? and how would the politics of the Cultural Revolution impinge on them?

I. Historical Background: Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages (Shangshan xiaxiang)

The population explosion that followed the communist victory of 1949 provided the red guards of the late 1960's. Mao had sensed both the idealism of China's youth and their frustrations in seeking advancement, and unleashed the young on both the

"bourgeois headquarters" of his rivals among the leadership in 1966, and the "four olds" (ideas, culture, customs and habits) that he saw as thwarting the development of socialism. "Youth is the great army of the Cultural Revolution"⁴ declared Mao in 1966, and in his name, millions of schoolchildren denounced, and in some cases beat to death, the teachers whom they saw as symbols of feudal authority.⁵ With the schools closed, they formed themselves into red guard groups, roaming the country in "revolutionary liaisons" (geming chuanlian) and assembling in Beijing for tumultuous rallies reviewed by Mao. By the summer of 1968, the red guard movement had degenerated into bloody factionalism verging on civil war, as rival groups, each purporting to represent the revolutionary left, fought pitched battles in the streets of China's major cities. A means had to be found to end the carnage by disbanding the factions, while preserving the good name of the red guard movement with which Mao was so clearly identified.

The solution to the problem was provided in 1968. Rustication had been an integral part of Mao's policy towards intellectuals since Yan'an, though it had been largely confined to xia fang "sending down" cadres to integrate with the lower orders, with the strategic rationale of imbuing them with the practical values of the peasantry. In 1968, the rustication policy was extended to include almost all high-school graduates, with the additional tactical purposes of removing

potential trouble-makers from the cities, relieving unemployment and conserving urban food supplies. The rustication policy was presented to the young people, their parents, and the villagers who were to receive the young urbanites in ideological terms, as a glorious revolutionary duty for all concerned, in a directive from Mao released in the late summer of 1968. Between that year and 1975, at least twelve million urban youths were dispatched to rural communities.

Though many of the red guards were keen to respond to Mao's call, or were obliged by the discipline of the Communist Youth League to obey it, others among their contemporaries were less than willing to forsake the security of home and the amenities of the city for an uncertain future amidst the poverty of rural China. Every high-school graduate, except a single child in each family and those with physical defects, was expected to volunteer and quotas were set for schools and neighbourhoods. Propaganda teams were sent to cajole, criticise and coerce those who failed to put their names forward. It was not uncommon for the persuasion of the most recalcitrant to be continued round the clock by rotating teams of slogan-shouting polemicists. Faced with this kind of pressure, the majority of those eligible went to the countryside, after a rousing send-off.⁶

The euphoria they felt on leaving was in many cases quickly dissipated. The peasants responsible for welcoming the urban youths suspected that the newcomers would consume more than they

could produce, and were in turn often despised as ignorant rustics by the better educated urbanites. Accommodation for the urban youths was generally primitive, and food inadequate. Furthermore, many of the cadres in charge of the urban youth betrayed their trust by demanding sexual favours from their female charges. In one early case quoted in Thomas P. Bernstein's study: "There were 77 youths at the Daping farm at Guiyang ... over 80 percent of the young women were raped. The farm manager, the Party branch secretary and the xian committee 'played a leading role' in this regard."⁷ Within months of the first group leaving the cities, urban youths were starting to leave the countryside, circulating tales of hardship, starvation, abuse and suicide in the villages.

Given the continuing need to remove young people from the cities, the Party sought to counteract negative popular perceptions with propaganda glorifying the rustication policy. Life in the countryside was portrayed, for example in an anthology of letters from urban youths entitled Red Letters Home (Hongse de jiaxin)⁸ as a spartan but eventually rewarding experience, with the urbanites receiving the encouragement of a supportive peasantry.

A celebrated early Cultural Revolution short story also portrayed a young person overcoming difficulties to make a success of life in the countryside, and thus fulfilling the aspirations of the older generation. "Yan'an Seeds" (Yan'an de zhongzi)⁹ is a masterfully constructed inspirational tale in

which an exemplary urban youth overcomes initial disillusion to become "a worthy successor to the poor and lower-middle peasants."¹⁰ The story's heroine Ji Yanfeng, the daughter of veteran revolutionaries who had fought alongside Mao and thus herself a "Yan'an Seed," finds her zeal for the arduous new life flagging, and is further discouraged by an insidious "bad element" who tries to persuade her that she is wasting her life. An elderly peasant cadre, Grandpa Tian, shows his solicitude for her by reassuring her of the worth of her chosen path, and drawing the analogy that people, like plants, must weather storms to grow strong. Yanfeng returns to her duties with renewed vigour, and distinguishes herself in a heroic act of physical courage, saving a peasant from a falling boulder. In the story, as in the Red Letters Home, the new life in the countryside is one of noble struggle; here it is further dignified by linking it, through symbolic objects and a Mao text, with the battlefield heroics of the civil war.

Yanfeng is normative in that she whole-heartedly adapts to the inevitable; not until after the Cultural Revolution did writers consider the cases of those for whom, by reason of background or temperament, such adaptation was more difficult. The other side of the coin from Yanfeng is Wang Xiaohua, the central character of the story that gave its name to "Wounds" literature. Lu Xinhua's landmark story, which appeared as a big-character poster before an editor could be found to publish it, concerns a girl whose mother has run foul

of the Party authorities and is therefore branded traitor. Despite Xiaohua's attempts to adhere to socially accepted behaviour by rejecting her mother, the stigma of inherited guilt blights her life in the countryside. The life of the urban youth as seen in the story appears lonely and unfulfilling, with the cadres responsible for them arbitrary and callous (though not sexually exploitative). Lu Xinhua's peasants are, like those of "Yan'an Seeds" largely supportive, though there is no elderly adviser in the Grandpa Tian mould on hand for Xiaohua. The issue of the gulf between the peasants and the urban youths was not addressed in "Wounds," which concentrates on the tragic rift between Xiaohua and her mother. What interests Lu Xinhua is not the physical and political struggles of the urban youths (the subject-matter of the earlier story), but the emotional and spiritual toll of the new life.¹¹

The same divergence seen in these two short stories is explored in much greater depth in the two novels to be compared below, The Journey painting heroic portraits of those who adapt, and The Path of Life recounting the tragedy of someone whose desperate efforts to conform end in failure.

II. The Journey

The Journey was one of the first novels to "reflect the Cultural Revolution" rather than reliving the earlier years of communist rule (as had History of Battles at Hongnan and The Golden Road). However it predates the "conspiratorial" writing associated with the final months before the death of Mao Zedong. Its purpose was not to lend weight to radical positions in current factional debate, but rather to reflect glory on the official policy of sending the red guards to the countryside.

To this end, the novel begins, like the operas, in medias res and at a high emotional pitch as a group of Shanghai youngsters huddle round a radio to hear the directive from Mao that will bring about their exodus.¹² The red guards of the novel are very much the youth vanguard, young idealists thrilled at the challenge Mao's words represent. Far from seeking ways to avoid rustication, they vie for the most arduous and out-of-the-way postings. Chief among them is the novel's hero Zhong Weihua, who forgoes a place in the army to lead a red guard contingent to the Russian border region in Heilongjiang. Both options would allow him to "protect China" (weihua) as his name promises he will. Zhong Weihua is joined by youthful stereotypes who include the impetuous Zhang Dawei, the frivolous Tao Abao, and Wan Lili, the spoilt daughter of a former capitalist. It is their unquestioning faith in Mao's judgement that makes them volunteer, and their resolve is further strengthened

at a final rally in Shanghai by a lengthy and emotive recitation by the hero's mother of the evils of the former society. Her harrowing tale of service as an indentured child labourer in a Shanghai textile factory (managed by Wan Lili's father) is a model of "remembering [past] bitterness and considering [present] sweetness" (yiku sitian) a rhetorical form much used in the Cultural Revolution.¹³ Her talk is less relevant to the structure of the work than, say, Granny Li's recital in The Red Lantern, since these are not injustices that the hero can avenge; its purpose is to increase respect for Mao and the Communist Party, who are credited with ending the exploitation, and it ends predictably in a euphoria of sloganeering to warm the young audience for the rigours that lie ahead.

One problem that does not confront the urban youths of the novel (as compared to their historical predecessors) is a cool reception from the peasantry. On the contrary, the villagers of one Manchurian settlement are upset and resentful that the entire red guard contingent has been assigned not to them, but to Pine Tree brigade (Songshu dadui), and an unpleasant fracas is narrowly avoided by Zhong Weihua's timely shouting of more slogans, after which peasants and urban youths unite in a rendition of "The East is Red." The peasants of Pine Tree brigade welcome the new arrivals with firecrackers, gifts and offers of accommodation, and the village elder Grandpa Guan is speaking for them all when he tells the urban youths: "ever since

Chairman Mao gave the word, telling you to come and settle in our village homes, I've been longing for you to come soon, to come in numbers, to come fast!"¹⁴

Two major struggles appear as soon as the youngsters reach Heilongjiang. The first is the struggle with the elements, which they confront head-on, at Zhong Weihua's suggestion, by marching cross-country in temperatures forty degrees below zero rather than accepting a ride in the brigade cart. The second, inevitably in Cultural Revolution fiction, is class struggle. Zhong Weihua's antagonist is Zhang Shan, a concealed class enemy very similar to the sly and cringing Huang Guozhong of the Model Opera Ode to Dragon River. Though registered as a poor peasant and working as a carter, Zhang is an ally of the former local landlord, The Grizzly (Maxiong), a past officer-interpreter with the occupying Japanese army and currently a Soviet agent. Mutual antipathy between Zhong Weihua and Zhang Shan is immediate; the young red guard perceives instantly that Zhang does not conform to the ideal (standard criteria) for a poor peasant. Zhang attempts to sabotage the rustication policy both by discouraging and corrupting the more malleable urban youths and by turning the local brigade leader, Yu Baochun, against them. Yu, whose job is to ensure agricultural productivity, is concerned that the influx will strain food resources and is therefore susceptible to doubts voiced by Zhang. (Yu Baochun also has his parallel in Ode to Dragon River, the brigade-leader Li Zhitian, whose narrow concern

for his own jurisdiction blinds him to broader issues.)

Zhong Weihua's supporters, the secondary heroes in the struggle for the hearts of the weaker urban youths and the deluded brigade leader, are the Party Secretary Li Dejiang and the members of the idealised peasant Guan family. Li Dejiang, as a political rather than production cadre, is more conscious that Yu Baochun of such issues as class struggle and political education, and dedicates himself to speeding the acclimatisation of the newcomers. The Guans are the novel's "typical" peasant family. (Astonishingly, in a novel of some 737 pages set in the countryside, virtually no other peasant characters appear.) From the first mention of Old Grandpa Guan, it is clear we are dealing with a model poor peasant:

A youthful smile appearing on his earnest face, Zhong Weihua asked, "Party Secretary, who is Old Grandpa Guan?". A smile filled Li Dejiang's weathered face as he arched his thick black eyebrows and spoke respectfully and emotionally: "It's a long story. He's an old poor peasant from our brigade, in the family of an army martyr, the head of the senior peasants' association, and the first Party Secretary after land reform. His folks used to till the land by the sixty-four villages east [on the Russian side] of the [Black Dragon] River, before the old Tsars killed eleven of the twelve members of his family. He alone managed to swim the river, and he's tilled the land and fished on the islands on this side of the river for almost seventy years since then. He's eighty-three years old now." 15

Not surprisingly, Grandpa Guan is also a treasure-house of memories of past bitterness, and has an immediate affinity with Zhong Weihua. The most important of his family

members is his daughter-in-law Aunt Guan, the widow of his soldier son recently killed by marauding Soviet troops. She takes a motherly interest in the welfare and security of newcomers whose ages match those of her sons.

With the battle-lines thus drawn between Zhong Weihua, Li Dejiang and the Guans on one side and Zhang Shan on the other, the novel unfolds in a series of action-packed incidents, as hero and villain vie for the hearts of the waverers. The objects of Zhang's attempts at enticement among the urban youths are Zhang Dawei, Tao Abao and Wan Lili. He takes advantage of Zhang Dawei's aspirations to dramatic horsemanship by lending him a pregnant mare already exhausted after a long journey. The mare is narrowly prevented from aborting her foal by Aunt Guan's prompt medication. When the thoughtless Tao Abao catches the Guan's beloved dog in his deer-trap, Zhang persuades him to cover up his blunder, by saying Tao will be sent back to Shanghai if the corpse is discovered, a prospect that horrifies the youngster. He further induces the two lads to drink alcohol (which they had foresworn on Zhong Weihua's ordinance) while they are billeted with him. Zhang encourages Wan Lili's homesickness and dissatisfaction with the countryside by acting as the conduit for correspondence and gifts from her mother, and being the only one in the village to sympathise with her adjustment problems. There is implicit sexual intent in his designs on her, though he is prevented from consummating his desires.

Zhong Weihua, meanwhile, reveals himself to be both a thinker and a man of action. His thinking is of the most orthodox and simplistic kind; clearly the author felt that extensive introspection was not beneficial to urban youth, and has his young hero arrive at predictable conclusions:

Zhong Weihua, a young fellow skilled at considering problems ... made a leap ahead in his thinking. He recognised profoundly the urgency and necessity of receiving re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants -- that if educated people do not come together with the worker and peasant masses, then they can achieve nothing. Furthermore he came to the realisation that every time you followed Chairman Mao's teaching and took a step forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, you invariably proved the correctness and greatness of Mao Zedong thought16

Zhong Weihua's perception of the whole of life is in terms of battle, which leads to a preponderance of military cliches in his language; witness an early speech volunteering himself and his young colleagues to harvest a crop of beans buried under an unexpected snowfall:

Zhong Weihua sprang to his feet and spoke in ringing tones: "I declare on behalf of the whole youth platoon that we will respond resolutely to the call of the brigade Party branch, and that in this battle to reap the crops we will temper hands of steel, refine red hearts, as we put Mao Zedong thought in command, venerate the poor and lower-middle peasants as our teachers and take the poor and lower-middle peasants as our models! We will resolve to overcome all difficulties and win a magnificent victory!" 17

Indeed, Zhong's exploits throughout the novel are just such a procession of magnificent victories. After the harvesting of the

bean crop, Zhong distinguishes himself, as militia chief, by capturing the former landlord The Grizzly, as the latter returns as a Soviet agent after an absence of two decades. (The love of the poor peasants for this scion of the Shanghai proletariat is shown as Aunt Guan presses Zhong's frostbitten feet to her bared breast to warm them after he has stayed overlong in the cold to catch The Grizzly.) Further heroics ensue as Zhong leads the cleaning of brush on an island in the Black Dragon River. Zhang Shan persuades Yu Chunbao to set fire to the brush by telling him that the youngsters are clear of the area. Zhang hopes to see Zhong die in the flames, but Zhong directs the firefighting and the situation is saved. Next, Zhang Shan incites the gullible Zhang Dawei to pick a fight with urban youths in another brigade over the use of a rowing-boat. Life and equipment are saved only by the quick thinking and strong swimming of Zhong Weihua. In all of these incidents, Zhang Shan is able to gull all but the hero, whose interventions save the unity of peasant and proletarian and vindicate the rustication policy.

The conflict between Zhong Weihua and Zhang Shan intensifies when both are chosen for a work party to build a highway across a mountain and over a river. Zhong's abiding suspicion of Zhang Shan is confirmed by another member of the work party who recognises Zhang as a former henchman of the Japanese army. Zhang, realising he is under suspicion tries his last desperate moves, which are worthy of the blackest villain in the pulp

literature of any culture: first he blackmails The Grizzly's cousin and orders him to pick up a cache of money, arms and radio equipment and shoot Li Dejiang; then Zhang himself gives Yu Chunbao poisoned liquor, leaves a time-bomb under Zhong Weihua's pillow, abducts Wan Lili and prepares to rendezvous with The Grizzly's cousin and make his getaway to Russia. In all of his unlikely schemes he is outthought by Zhong Weihua, who becomes, by the novel's conclusion, the virtual leader of Pine Tree Brigade. Zhang Shan is captured after a tense chase and ambush scene, and Zhong Weihua draws the moral of the whole story, which is predictably on the need to be alert to class struggle.

A final act of heroism allows Zhong Weihua to prove his valour, win the praise of all and state the credo of the exemplary rusticated youth. It comes as members of the highway construction gang are driving stakes into the riverbed to secure the bridge. As a flash flood threatens, Zhong sends his colleagues away and returns to the task alone. Yu Chunbao protests:

"Young Zhong, how can you be so stubborn? You're pounding earth from morning to night, isn't that enough for you? With such a powerful flood on the way, you should come up now, one slip, and your life is in danger".

"My life belongs to the Party. [Zhong replies] For the interests of the people, to wipe out imperialism, revisionism and counter-revolution, I can sacrifice everything ... a revolutionary youth must devote every minute of his life to battle, battle!" 18

The bridge is saved; Zhong Weihua is swept away by the

flood-water but survives to hear the ultimate accolade, that his application for Party membership has been approved.

Thus the target audience of the novel, those youths still in the cities, were shown in Zhong Weihua a youth, aged only twenty at the novel's end, who, by following absolutely the dictates of Chairman Mao, wins the adulation of his peers, the admiration of the peasantry and admission to the Party. Zhong Weihua was a standard to which ambitious young readers could aspire. The lesser characters among the novel's urban youths show the possibility for redemption for those of lesser mettle provided they learn to quash the wayward aspects of their character and conform to the role model. Even Wan Lili, who serves throughout the novel as a model of how a young urbanite should not conduct herself in the village, sees the error of her ways after a catharsis of abduction and liberation, and is welcomed back to the fold as Zhong Weihua invites her to perform a song at a mass meeting of peasants and youths.

Two simple concepts contribute to the successful transformation of Zhong Weihua and his friends from urbanite to villager: Mao and his thought as talisman, and class struggle as the key to human relationships.

Mao's rustication directive is, of course, the force that propels the youngsters into the harsh Manchurian winter. Narrator and hero return constantly to Mao's quotations for elucidation and inspiration at crucial points; and "long live

Chairman Mao" is the slogan to which all others lead in moments of excitement, for example at the conclusions of Mama Zhong's oral autobiography and Zhong Weihua's summary of rural class struggle. Even Mao's portrait has mystical potency (as it did in the opening sequence of History of Battles at Hongnan): it is instrumental in the rescue of a drowning red guard in a dramatic flashback which establishes Zhong Weihua's heroic credentials early in the novel. Here is the incident as recalled by Zhang Dawei:

At this moment, he [Zhang] saw a lad in a faded army cap, who, having just rescued one student, turned and swam back towards a girl. She'd managed to struggle out of her heavy back-pack, but hung on for dear life to her portrait of Chairman Mao. The lad in the army cap [Zhong Weihua] cleaved the billows as he surged swiftly towards her, grasped the arm that held aloft the portrait of Chairman Mao, and with assured strokes, kept their heads above water, so that the girl's life was saved. 19

Most influential among Mao's teachings in turning a teenaged newcomer into the effective leader of a rural brigade is the doctrine of class struggle. Zhong, who believes that "intimacy is divided along class lines" (qinbuqin, jieji fen)²⁰ is the catalyst that brings to a head tensions between opposing classes and philosophies that have lain dormant for decades, leading to the capture of the former landlord, the exposure of the class enemy and the enlightenment of the production-oriented brigade chief.

The novel's picture of rural life is "revolutionary romanticism" as adventure fantasy. The hero and the secondary heroes among the villagers (the Party secretary, the Guan

family) are rooted in a propaganda ideal derived from the Red Letters Home (and similar pieces) and the Model Opera Ode to Dragon River. The novel's plot becomes more fantastic as it goes on, with its finale of poisoned wine, a timebomb, a cache of money and munitions, and a sled/horse/jeep/motor-cycle chase; it is more designed to appeal to an adolescent desire for thrills than to provide a realistic picture. The author sets out to undermine prevalent objections to the rustication policy by placing them in the minds of unsympathetic characters: it is Yu Baochun who believes that the urban youths will be a drain on resources, and it is Wan Lili who finds her new life dispiriting and wants to go back home to Shanghai (ideas of which both are disabused).

Where individuality appears (Tao Abao's sense of fun, Wan Lili's artistic temperament) it is as an obstacle to behaviour that will win acceptance and approval. As the dramatic realisation of an unpopular policy in glorious and heroic terms, The Journey is a truly "social" novel.

III. The Path of Life

By contrast, the focus of The Path of Life is the the novel's tragic heroine Tan Juanjuan. The first two titles proposed by the author (but rejected by her publisher) both reflected her concentration on the central character: The Lost Soul (Siqu de linghun), and Juanjuan, a, Juanjuan. The novel was one of many works of "exposure" fiction published in

the late 1970's which concentrated on showing the hardship suffered by those who failed to conform to the requirements of the radical years. The author's purpose in writing was both to unburden herself of her experiences and represent the reality of what she had seen, as an antidote to the buoying propaganda of The Journey and similar works. Though not designed as such, Zhu Lin's novel can be read as a refutation of Guo Xianhong's work, an ironic reversal of his view of the peasantry and educated youth, of political activism and revolution.

The novel begins in the Spring of 1976 with the return to Hushan (Tiger Mountain) Brigade of Zhang Liang, nicknamed Liangzi. Liangzi's parents had left the region when he was a child, but he had chosen to relocate (huanxiang) in the mass rustication of 1968, bringing with him his girlfriend Juanjuan. After four years, he left the village and Juanjuan to attend agricultural college, and it is from there that he returns, a young man with a mission both altruistic (to use his new skills to develop the area) and personal (to be reunited with Juanjuan).

Liangzi returns to find the brigade racked by calamity and factionalism. Heavy rains have collapsed a dam, part of a recently completed irrigation system, flooding crops and houses. The brigade's Party Secretary, Cui Haiying, a "horned and thorned" radical, has wasted no time in pinning the blame on his predecessor, Cui Fuchang, interpreting the collapse of

the dam as an indictment of the old Party Secretary's tendency to "walk the capitalist road." Liangzi instinctively sides with the upright Cui Fuchang and against Cui Haiying. There ensues the familiar struggle between altruist and opportunist for the souls of the masses that provides the dramatic framework of so much Chinese communist fiction. In this case however, the standpoints of the antagonists are the reverse of those that we have seen in The Journey and other Cultural Revolution novels. Here it is Cai Fuchang, the cadre condemned as a "capitalist-roader" for his pursuit of improved production and a better livelihood for the villagers (like Yu Baochun of The Journey) who wins the support of the young hero Liangzi. The cadre more alert to politics is, (by contrast with Li Dejiang, the hero's backer in The Journey) a shameless hypocrite.

In The Path of Life, the revolutionary politics glorified in Cultural Revolution fiction are the refuge of scoundrels. To Cui Haiying, political rhetoric and class struggle are weapons in his battle to subjugate the brigade's peasants as thoroughly as he has trodden down his wife. He soliloquizes:

There may well be perils in political struggle -- if you don't rely on trickery and intrigue, how can you secure the power you long for daily? Aren't relations between people simply men bullying men, men cheating men, men oppressing men, every one for himself? This class struggle, to put it bluntly, is doing people in. 21

As far as Cui is concerned, the only criterion for gauging correctness is effect: "if I'm in power, then I'm the

revolutionary."²² He views Liangzi's return simply as a threat to his own tenure of power (which it certainly is), and uses all available means to discredit him. Liangzi does indeed endanger Cui's position by discovering the real cause of the dam's collapse: it was material that was the important factor, defective cement and not defective politics, an ironic reversal of the primacy of the political in Cultural Revolution literature. Liangzi immerses himself whole-heartedly and selflessly in the battle for the survival of the brigade and its members, something that Cui Haiying had signally failed to do.

Caught between the inflexible righteousness of Liangzi and the Machiavellian opportunism of Cui Haiying is Tan Juanjuan. The daughter of a Shanghai professor condemned as a supposed counter-revolutionary, she had come with Liangzi to Hushan as his girlfriend/fiancée and total emotional dependent, only to have him leave for agricultural college. Bereft of his support, and desperately unhappy with her life in the countryside, she is trapped by Cui Haiying's power to provide her with the thing she most craves: a letter of recommendation for university, and thus a chance both to fulfill her intellectual aspirations and escape from Hushan. The price Cui exacts is that Juanjuan compose (from spurious facts invented by himself) the allegations that lead to the Old Party Secretary's condemnation as a "capitalist-roader." Juanjuan's denunciations of the Old Party Secretary lead to the loss of her only peasant friend, as her room-mate Xiao Lizi furiously moves back to her

mother's house. Cui increases his hold over Juanjuan by having her (as brigade accountant) go to town to take delivery of cement for the dam; while she is away picking up university application forms, Cui has lower-grade cement substituted for the product ordered, pocketing the difference and causing the eventual collapse of the dam.

Juanjuan had longed for Liangzi's return, in the hope that he would care for her, rescue her from the trap into which she had fallen and take her away from the countryside. She has misunderstood him. Liangzi, like the heroes of Cultural Revolution fiction (Gao Daquan, Zhong Weihua) has returned determined to dedicate himself to the needs of the peasantry, even if this means sacrificing those he loves. Liangzi is more sensual than the earlier heroes, but at the crucial moment, his sense of duty, symbolised by a tree planted in memory of a childhood playmate who died in abject poverty, still wins out over his love for Juanjuan:

... after a while, her lip trembling, she asked softly: "Xiao Liang, honestly, why have you come back?"

"What do you think?" Smiling at her, Liangzi countered the question.

"I ... I asked you", said Juanjuan, her head bowed.

"There are two reasons, and one of them is you," said Liangzi sincerely, gazing at her. Even as he spoke, a flush of red flew to Juanjuan's cheeks. The words she had longed for day and night had finally come to her from the mouth of the man she loved, and her maidenly feelings blossomed like a fresh flower under the poetic light of the moon. Like a young animal craving protection, she slowly leaned against Liangzi's body.

A feeling of girlish tenderness overcame Liangzi, and a hot surge moved in his heart, that swelled throughout his whole body so that in a moment his blood was rushing, his breast was burning with a fantastic yearning and affection. He saw Juanjuan's flashing eyes, her flushed cheeks, her full breasts, all alive with passion and desire. He understood that at that moment he had only to stretch his arms, and it would be as right and natural as plucking a ripe fruit. But at that moment, even as he raised his head, he caught sight of the towering poplar in front of him not far away. The poplar was straight and lofty, its trunk glowing white, its dense leaves casting a dark shadow. The leaves rustled in the wind. This was the tree he had planted himself on Xiao Fuzi's grave fifteen years before. The grave mound had levelled out now, but the tree grew ever more luxuriant, loyally standing guard over Xiao Fuzi's body, calling to mind the harshness of life. 23

For Liangzi, the force of duty, as represented by the poplar tree, is the stronger; his mission to save the brigade leaves him without the time or the inclination to understand the complexity of Juanjuan's position or the confusion in her heart. Though their relationship continues, it is doomed from this point. Juanjuan sees that Liangzi's antipathy for Cui Haiying and his probing for the truth about the collapse of the dam will lead to her humiliation by the man she loves. She is thus forced by Liangzi into the clutches of Cui Haiying, the only one who appears willing to help her. As ever, there is a price to be paid; Cui rapes her as his reward for the letter of introduction to university authorities that will enable her to escape the village.

An alternative match is offered to Liangzi on the failure of his romance with Juanjuan. The simple peasant girl Lizi

offers him an unquestioning devotion that contrasts with Juanjuan's need to be understood and loved. Lizi has no wish to leave Hushan, and she is prepared to follow wholeheartedly the path on which Liangzi has embarked in the countryside. Her devotion is expressed in her sensual delight in menial service as she washes Liangzi's clothes:

From within the shirt came the particular smell of Liangzi's sweat. This aroused Lizi, and the feelings of love she bore the wearer of the shirt swept like a sweet and joyous breeze through the meadows of her mind. Happily she bent down to wash the shirt, rejoicing in her labour. 24

That Lizi will be Liangzi's eventual choice is not in doubt; like Gao Daquan of The Golden Road, Liangzi can only have a wife who shares his vision and accepts unquestioningly the sacrifices it entails, for herself as well as him.

Where The Path of Life differs from its predecessors is that Liangzi's choice is implicitly condemned by the author, as it is condemned by Juanjuan, in the argument that confirms the gulf that divides them. Liangzi will accept Juanjuan only on his own terms: if she resolves to stay in the brigade and ceases to make emotional demands on him. As if talking to a petulant child, he urges her: "Don't cry, be strong, brace up, face reality, keep up the struggle"²⁵ When she realises that he will never consider her entreaties to take her away from Hushan, she sees his true feelings:

Enough, I can fool myself no longer. Life has taught me that all those who sing in the fine strains of politics are actually stamping on the heads of others as they scramble to the top.

They are the most selfish! selfish! selfish!
To use my love to keep me here to be a sacrificial
object in your struggle for power is the most
selfish of all! 26

In a Cultural Revolution novel, author sympathy would be with Liangzi, the altruist battling corruption and poverty; here it with the victim of the exemplary sacrifices. Liangzi's personal responsibilities to Juanjuan are, in the terms of the novel, as important as his social responsibilities to the peasants of Hushan Brigade. His failure to support her contributes to her tragedy. Humiliated by her rape, and then refused admission to university, her spirit is completely destroyed. She writes a final letter to Liangzi giving him the information about the cement that he had been too impatient to extract from her, and then commits suicide by throwing herself into the river which he had crossed in the opening chapter to return to Hushan.

With the death of Juanjuan, the tragedy is complete. The final chapters serve the function of the "bright tail" (guangming weiba) or optimistic ending characteristic of even the grimmest fiction of the late 1970's. When Juanjuan's corpse is discovered and it is found that she was pregnant, Cui Haiying incarcerates Liangzi and accuses him of raping the girl and thus causing her death (for which he himself is responsible). The peasants, in this case, Lizi and her stalwart friend and luckless admirer Dagan, unmask Cui Haiying, and the meeting Cui has called to denounce Liangzi swings the other way. As the novel ends, Cui's connections with the Gang of Four faction

still leave him in a strong position, but the reader knows that the Gang will last only a few weeks and can presume that Cui will not survive them long. The optimism of the final chapters, in which Liangzi appears as a dramatic saviour of a stature similar to the heroes of Cultural Revolution literature, lack the emotional force of the tragedy that centres around Juanjuan, and are an unsettling, if politically expedient, conclusion to the novel.

Its "bright tail" notwithstanding, the novel is a bleak one, a sharp reversal of the optimism that characterises the Cultural Revolution "revolutionary romanticism." While the symbolic roads travelled by the heroes of the earlier novels (Gao Daquan's "golden road," Zhong Weihua's "journey") lead to a glorious tomorrow, Juanjuan's path of life leads in the opposite direction, to humiliation, despair and death. In Zhu Lin's novel, revolutionary altruism is selfishness, political activism is corruption: and, in a stunning denial of one of the principal articles of faith in all communist fiction, the destiny of the peasantry is not a constant improvement in living standards but perennial deprivation.

Two parallel stories, one set in the "three bad years" of the early 1960's and one at the time of the novel proper, illustrate this bitter continuity of peasant life. The first concerns Liangzi's childhood playmate Fuzi, whose family is forced to sell its pig to buy food. The emaciated animal dies before it can get to market, and only with the charity

of others can Fuzi's father Dalu buy the boy the fried sweetmeat he had promised. Fuzi is delighted at the gift, half of which he keeps for Liangzi. On the way home, Dalu's anguish over his poverty erupts into fury at the boy's glee at his treat, and he hits him, knocking him from their cart to his death on the road. In the second story, set in the time of the novel, the daughter of the peasant Louwa is drowned trying to glean the remnants of a wheat harvest submerged beneath flood-waters. In both stories, the children die clutching a paltry scrap of food, their tenacious quest for which brought about their deaths. The parallelism of the following descriptions emphasises what the author sees as the unchanging nature of the peasant's fate:

By the time Dalu sprang forward (pushang qian) to pick him [Fuzi] up, blood was streaming from his mouth and nose, and there was no breath left. Yet his hand still tightly grasped (shouli hai jinjinde zhuanzhe) half a fried sweetmeat ... 27

And, fifteen years later,

Louwa sprang forward (pushang qian) with great strides, and saw his daughter Shuhai draped face-down over an ox's back, her body arched into a bow. Her dark head hung lifelessly down, and her hand still tightly clasped (shouli hai jinjinde niezhe) a sodden clump of wheat ... her nose was stuffed with sludge, her lips were purple, and white froth oozed from her mouth. 28

If there is a representative peasant family in The Path of Life, it must be the dispirited Louwa, his sickly wife and their malnourished children. They are a far cry from the robust and militant Guan family of The Journey. Their equivalent in the

novels considered above it is the Liu Xiang family of The Golden Road. Liu Xiang is rescued from bankruptcy and shame by the collectivisation of the early 1950's, yet, a quarter of a century later, Louwa still finds himself languishing in the humiliating poverty that characterised the pre-liberation peasant lot in other communist fiction.

Juanjuan's reaction to the sufferings of the peasantry sets her apart from Liangzi, from Zhong Weihua and his colleagues in The Journey, and from all but the most unsympathetic characters in modern Chinese literature. The others express their faith that, with enlightened leadership, conditions can be swiftly improved, and dedicate themselves to the task. Juanjuan, though touched by the peasants' anguish and impressed by their stoicism, nevertheless feels that, as an urbanite and intellectual, she belongs elsewhere. In a passionate internal monologue, she rejects Liangzi's selfless dedication to society:

She felt that the life of the countryside had always been thus, poor and primitive. Sure enough, peasants are human too, they also seek a happy life, and deserve the right to achieve it. But when will they ever change the poor and primitive nature of the countryside ...? Year after year they are doomed to carry huge burdens, to plod barefoot through wind and rain, and their only reward will be fewer sweet potatoes and gaoliang than they need to subsist on. So how can you realise your nebulous ideals? Can you transform [the peasant's lot] to provide them with rice, refined flour, milk, cake? No, no way! we aren't saviours of the world, we can't save anyone else, we'd do better to save ourselves! 29

The defeatism and desire for self-preservation thus expressed,

the opposite of the utopianism of Party loyalist heroes like Liangzi and Zhong Weihua, was clearly representative of the feelings of the hundreds of thousands of urban youths who fled back to the towns.

By comparison with the adventure and bouyancy of The Journey, The Path of Life and its heroine often seem mawkish and self-indulgent, lacking any faith in humanity. Yet novel and heroine struck a chord with its readership. The author was deluged with letters of support (and even offers of marriage), from those who had undergone, or were still undergoing, similar experiences in the countryside. While official critics writing about the novel accentuated the positive social role of the "typical" Liangzi,³⁰ the readership responded to the tragedy of the individual Juanjuan.

Thus the thrust of The Path of Life was away from the propagandistic "social" role of The Journey and similar novels, towards the introspective and pessimistic "self-oriented" writing which had been dominant in the May Fourth period. Instead of the "romantic" view of the countryside as the ground for heroic endeavour and splendid victory, the author presents a more "realistic" picture of an unbroken, and possibly unbreakable, cycle of deprivation and grief. (The author insisted, however, in an interview on the eve of publication, that she had greatly understated the horrors she had seen, both because many readers would have been unable to comprehend them, and because a truly realistic account could never have been published.) Zhu Lin, in

a postscript (houji) to the novel, disclaimed typicality, in a manner reminiscent of Mao Dun's defence of Eclipse; because of her limited experience, she writes:

the things I reflect may be [a partial view]like
[that of the frog] sitting in the well and viewing
the sky, so my composition cannot generalise on
anything, nor is this my intention. 31

If a brief comparative digression may be permitted: it is impossible to ignore similarities between this novel and Thomas Hardy's masterpiece Tess of the D'Urbervilles. Juanjuan is, like Tess, an exceptional and refined girl in a lowly setting. Both girls attract two men, a strait-laced idealist (Liangzi/Angel Clare) and a hypocrite posing as a zealot (Cui Haiying/Alec D'Urberville). Their defiling by the latter makes love for the former impossible, and they are helpless before the fate which destroys them. Yet Juanjuan, though forced into compromise and deceit, is still a heroine, like Tess in Hardy's controversial subtitle, "a pure woman."³² Hardy speaks for Zhu Lin when he declares that favourable reader response "would seem to prove that the plan of laying down a story on the lines of tacit opinion, instead of making it to square with the vocal formulae of society, is not altogether a wrong one."³³

IV. The Spoiled Brat and the Tragic Heroine

Comparison of the portrayal of one character in each of the two novels The Journey and The Path of Life will demonstrate the polar extremes of concentration on "society" and the "self" within Chinese literature since 1949, and thus highlight the

"social" orientation of Cultural Revolution literature. The two characters in question are Wan Lili and Tan Juanjuan, urban misfits in the countryside.

Wan Lili and Tan Juanjuan are girls with similar backgrounds, in that both are the daughters of men whose professions, respectively factory manager and university professor, expose them to criticism in the early years of the Cultural Revolution. Both seek to redeem themselves by rejecting their families and volunteering for rustication. Both intend that the years in the countryside will end with a return to the city and further education, to pursue their intellectual and aesthetic interests, Lili in music and Juanjuan in literature. Finally, both are forced by the puritanism of the central male peer-group figures to choose as their confidants and soul-mates the worst possible men, thus laying themselves open to deception and exploitation. They differ in their eventual fates, and in their authors' perceptions of them, as conditioned by the conventions that governed Cultural Revolution literature and their inversion in the "Wounds" era.

Until her catharsis at novel's end, Wan Lili represents the antithesis of The Journey's socially-oriented hero Zhong Weihua. She is suspect from her first appearance, almost missing the departure of the group for Manchuria after lining up to buy a violin. Her "artistic talent" (yishu tiancai) is the object of much narratorial sarcasm, as idle frippery in a stern world. She is accepted grudgingly by her colleagues on the

basis that "we are very much in need of real artists prepared to serve the working class."³⁴ Lili's qualification for this role, as the daughter of a capitalist, who takes with her to Manchuria three pedicab-loads of luggage and the return fare to Shanghai, is very much in doubt. Sure enough, the hapless girl reveals traits that betray her class origins and consequently disgraces herself. She cannot get through her wotou (cornmeal bun), prefers woollen socks to the dried grass that Li Dejiang provides to insulate her shoes for the first route-march, and carries hot-water bottles which freeze solid in the cold temperatures. Thus she is frost-bitten and exhausted in mid-march, where she is roundly criticised by Zhong Weihua for "bringing her bourgeois life-style to Heilongjiang."³⁵

Lili's inept attempts at physical labour also attract the mockery of her peers. Her soft hands stick to a frozen well handle; her technique with a sickle when harvesting is more theatrical than agricultural; she cannot get the hang of working a machine which strips soy-bean pods from their stems. Not only is she an ineffective worker -- she is also anxious to protect her hands and throat (by wearing gloves and two face-masks) for her future musical career, and thus indicates her intention to leave the countryside where her colleagues have sworn to remain indefinitely. She is looked down upon as a "delicate damsel" (jiao xiaojie) and consigned to work in the piggery with the former landlord's daughter. Here she lays herself open to more criticism by revealing a penchant for

sentimentality over militance, playing on her violin the proscribed "Butterfly Lovers" concerto. Her adolescent playfulness exposes her to further jeering as she weaves garlands of flowers for her friends and herself and ends up with her garland tangled in the coil of hair on her head:

Yu Yingtian had a ready tongue, she ran her fingers down her cheek and giggled: "Take a look, quick, we've got a bride here!"

"Ha,ha,ha!"

Everyone on the cart, male and female, except Zhong Weihua, Fang Ming and Zhang Dawei, burst out laughing. Zhang Dawei looked sneeringly back at Wan Lili, curled his lips and said, "New bride, old bride, looks more to me like the white-bone demon's nanny."

"Ha,ha,ha!"

Another gale of laughter, which made the laughing stomachs ache, caused the usually composed Wan Lili to blush purple, and even her neck turned red.

Before the laughter had died down, Wan Lili had already torn the garland from her head. 36

Given the scorn of her peers, it is no surprise that Lili's desire to return to Shanghai intensifies. Zhang Shan becomes both her confidant, as the one person apparently sympathetic to her artistic temperament, and her link with the outside world. Zhang bears (and reads) the letter to Lili's mother expressing the longing to flee to "Swan Lake," and reminds her of it as he attempts to abduct her to the land of Tchaikovsky.

Lili's rescue by Zhong Weihua brings about her transformation (she is, in Model Opera terms, a "turnabout character"). Seeing what has happened, she "hated her mother for harming her, hated Zhang Shan for tricking her, hated herself for letting the side down, for failing Zhong Weihua..."³⁷

Catharsis engenders engagement, which in its turn brings about acceptance. Lili's last appearance is as she sings to entertain her colleagues a song dedicating them all, as "Chairman Mao's revolutionary youth" to the long struggle ahead of them in the countryside.

Before her transformation, Wan Lili's waywardness, need for affection and failure to conform make her, in the eyes of her colleagues and the novel's narrator, a spoilt bourgeois brat, whose selfish desire for intellectual, professional and emotional fulfillment must be abandoned before she can meet her social duties. Artistic talent, in the context of the novel, is a liability if it is not harnessed in the service of social goals laid down by the Communist Party. Only when Lili follows the role model of the selfless hero can she be redeemed and made worthwhile.

Tan Juanjuan is a more reserved and self-disciplined young woman than Lili. Though her initial delight at the beauty of her new home has long faded, she avoids the criticism that expressing the desire to leave the brigade would certainly bring:

For the past eight years, she had never uttered a word of discontent with the countryside. In speeches at meetings, she held forth effusively on her desire to strike roots in the village and carry on the revolution all her life. 38

She has also spared herself the sexual mockery aimed at the garlanded Wan Lili by dressing as plainly as possible, "the more rustic the better," saving this aspect of self-expression for her

future return to the city. For all her apparent conformity, however, there is no escape from the fact that as a city girl, and an intellectual, she is different from her friend Lizi:

Juanjuan liked Lizi for her warm heart, her honest simplicity. But she felt that her own mind was more complex and mature than Lizi's, her perspective broader and her burden greater. 39

For the simple country girl, there are no grey areas between her loyalty to Liangzi and the Old Party Secretary on the one hand and her loathing of Cui Haiying on the other. Lizi cannot comprehend either the complexity of Juanjuan's character or the impossibility of her situation.

Like Wan Lili, Juanjuan craves affection and understanding. These she appears to have found with Liangzi prior to his departure, but has lacked in the four intervening years. Yet Juanjuan also needs intellectual stimulation and companionship that the village cannot provide (and which would be perceived in a Cultural Revolution novel as bourgeois affectation). Her loneliness for Liangzi only intensifies the desire Juanjuan has secretly nurtured, to get to university by any means. Cui Haiying is able to tempt her with the forbidden fruit of proscribed literature by lending her books like Stendhal's Le Rouge and Le Noir (whose central figure Julien Sorel is, like Juanjuan, a brilliant and ambitious misfit), and with the lure of escape if she compromises her integrity on his behalf. Were her dilemma presented in the terms of The Journey, Juanjuan would have clearly defined moral options: succumb to evil (Cui Haiying), or

"turn about," gain redemption (confess all to Liangzi, set aside her emotions and ambition, and resolve to stay forever in the countryside). In The Path of Life, either course is psychologically impossible. Juanjuan is too much in love with Liangzi to join battle against him; at the same time she cannot betray all she longs for by resigning herself to Hushan Brigade. Besides, the society which Liangzi is so determined to serve is not as unambiguously laudable as is the society to which Zhong Weihua dedicates himself in The Journey. Juanjuan concludes of a society where the altruistic Old Party Secretary is outcast and the ruthless Cui Haiying is the vanguard of the revolution that "obviously if you want to fit in to society, you have no choice but to do things that go against your conscience from time to time."⁴⁰ When starving peasants are cynically advised by the Party branch secretary to go out "begging to uphold the revolution"⁴¹ and the hallowed expedient of a personal appeal to Chairman Mao simply brings grief to the sender's family,⁴² Liangzi's absolute faith in the Party and the system seems foolish and simplistic. Juanjuan's understanding of the web of human relations that surrounds her makes any course but flight impossible, and when failure to enter university closes that door, suicide is the only road that remains.

The qualities that make Wan Lili a spoiled brat in the terms of The Journey contribute to making Juanjuan a tragic heroine. Her aesthetic sensibilities, her frustrated yearning for love and

emotional support, her admission of failure to adapt to the new life forced upon her, make her a deeply sympathetic and profoundly tragic figure. That she sees conventional social goals not as ideal but as corrupt denies her the comforting transformation open to Wan Lili at the end of The Journey.

That Juanjuan's personal dilemma, and the impossibility of resolving it, is at the heart of The Path of Life is an indication of the extent to which the "wounds" and "exposure" literature of the late 1970's abandoned the "social" orientation of the Cultural Revolution fiction that has been the focus of this study and swung back, however briefly, towards the realm of the "self".

CONCLUSION

With a rhetorical flourish worthy of the gnomic utterances of Mao's declining years, his biographer Ross Terrill offers this view of the decade under review in this study:

Was the Cultural Revolution the culmination of Maoism? By no means. It was a charade in a hothouse. 1

His glib assessment echoes that of a group of Communist Party leaders anxious to present their years of authority (before the Cultural Revolution and after the death of Mao) as periods of enlightened rule, in sharp contrast to the perceived ultra-leftism of 1966-76. The same distinction was made by a reinstated Zhou Yang for the arts in his 1979 review of the cultural history of the first thirty years of the People's Republic. Zhou portrayed a "flourishing development"² in the first seventeen years, an "unprecedented disaster"³ in the next ten, and a "great liberation"⁴ in the final three. By implication, the art of the Cultural Revolution was beneath contempt, an unfit subject for study; and lest scholars be tempted to reconsider works of the period, analysis of it was banned by the authorities.⁵

The victims of the purges of the late 1950's have not been willing to accept the notion of a sudden change from flourishing to collapse taking place in 1966. General Huang Kecheng, whose fall accompanied Peng Dehuai's in 1959, suggests that Mao Zedong was "overwrought"⁶ in the last twenty years of his life and thus prone to grave errors of judgment. The literary "rightists"

reinstated in 1978 similarly date the witch-hunting from 1957 rather than 1966. Yet even they appear to concur in a view of the early 1950's as halcyon days of unity and idealism untainted by the repression that was to come.⁷

In literary terms at least (and, I believe, politically as well, though that is beyond the scope of this enquiry⁸), the Cultural Revolution was not a deviation from, but, in many ways, the realisation of, Mao's ideology as propounded at Yan'an, which in turn had its antecedents in the writings of literary theoreticians in the Communist Party's early years. What we have called "social" literature, giving as examples the Model Operas and the novels which followed their lead, had been anticipated and advocated by Qian Xingcun fully forty years before their production. And, given an increasing trend towards "social" writing, it was inevitable that in times of internecine feuding at the head of the Communist Party, the "society" served by loyalist authors would decline into factionalism, as was the case in the final months of the Cultural Revolution.

Thus the literature reviewed in the preceding chapters cannot simply be dismissed as a distasteful irrelevance; it should be viewed as an indication of what "social" writing can, and may again, become. At its best, "social" writing can combine humanity with didacticism and produce a novel like The Golden Road; at its worst, it may descend to the nagging pedagogy of History of Battles at Hongnan or the factional propaganda of Hundred Blossom Valley.

Though the Cultural Revolution literary theory and practice of Yao Wenyan and Jiang Qing has been roundly condemned, in the poet He Qifang's memorable phrase, as "idealism, metaphysics, counter-revolutionary rubbish, stinking dogshit, cudgel, drivel, lies and falsehood,"⁹ elements have persisted even in the second "Hundred Flowers" period, which is seen to date from 1979. In the course of the post-Mao "ideological liberation," there have been several intimations of vexation among the influential with the burgeoning of the literature of the "self,"¹⁰ for example, the "cold wind" of Spring 1979,¹¹ the attacks on Bai Hua in 1981, and the campaign against "spiritual pollution" of 1983-4. The literary skirmishing of the late 1970's and early 1980's has, mercifully, been verbal rather than physical; but there are echoes of Yao Wenyan's "anti-revisionism" and Jiang Qing's "eight black theories" in Deng Xiaoping's scolding of "some young and middle-aged authors" for their "bad tendencies,"¹² and in official admonitions against "alienation," "abstract humanism," "extreme individualism and anarchism," "pessimism and religious conversion" and "improper sexual relations" as they appear in contemporary Chinese writing.¹³

Their renewed "social" rhetoric notwithstanding, it is unlikely that the post-Mao leaders will attempt the close direction and surveillance of selected authors, and the harassment of perceived deviants, as practised by Jiang Qing. This is both because they have no wish to be seen as the scourge of intellectuals, and because they lack Jiang Qing's high (or

over-) estimation of the role of literature in transforming consciousness. They place their priorities on material rather than ideological incentives. It is to be hoped that the influence of the "self" may yet balance that of "society," allowing some at least of China's writers to hold up their readers a whole and undistorting mirror.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. See: Raymond F. Wylie, The Emergence of Maoism: Mao Tse-tung, Chen Po-ta and the Search for Chinese Theory 1935-1945 (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1980).

2. I have introduced this literature elsewhere. See: Richard King, "'Wounds' and 'Exposure': Chinese Literature after the Gang of Four," Pacific Affairs vol. 54 #1 (Spring 1981), pp. 82-99.

3. Zhou Zuoren, Zhongguo xin wenxue de yuanliu (Beiping: Renwen chubanshe, 1932). See also: D. E. Pollard, A Chinese Look at Literature: The Literary Values of Chou Tso-jen in Relation to the Tradition (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973).

4. Pollard's translation is "poetry expressing the heart's desire;" for his account of shi yan zhi historically, see A Chinese Look at Literature, pp. 4-13. For a translation of and commentary on the preface to the Mao edition of the Shijing, see: Wong Siu-kit, Early Chinese Literary Criticism (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1983).

5. See: Robert E. Hegel, The Novel in Seventeenth Century China (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1981), p. 38 and p. 276n. Also: Pollard, A Chinese Look at Literature, p. 12.

6. Zhou Zuoren, Zhongguo xin wenxue, p. 10. Pollard points out that shi yan zhi, at least in Zhou's reading, resembles Wordsworth's definition of the nature of poetry (in his preface to Lyrical Ballads) as "the spontaneous outflow of powerful feelings." A Chinese Look at Literature, p. 12.

7. Ibid., p. 29.

8. Ibid., p. 3.

9. Kai-yu Hsu, The Chinese Literary Scene (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 134.

10. Rudolf Wagner, "The Cog and the Scout. Functional Concepts of Literature in Socialist Political Culture: the Chinese Debate in the Mid-Fifties," in Wolfgang Kubin and Rudolf Wagner eds., Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism (Bochum, W. Germany: Brockmeyer, 1982), pp. 334-400.

11. V. I. Lenin, "Party Organisation and Party Literature," (essay of 1905), in Collected Works (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960), vol. 10, pp. 44-9.

12. C. T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1961 revised edition, 1971), p. 480. Hsia's text has "Mao Tse-tung."

13. Ibid., p. 473.

14. C. T. Hsia, "Residual Femininity: Women in Chinese Communist Fiction," China Quarterly #13 (Jan.-Mar. 1963), pp. 158-179, qt. p. 159.

15. Merle Goldman, Literary Dissent in Communist China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967; reprinted: New York: Atheneum, 1971).

16. Wenyi lilun jiaoyanzu, Wenxi sixiang zhanxian sanshi nian (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue zhongwenxi, 1976). Publication date in this, the only edition, is misprinted as 1975.

17. Merle Goldman, China's Intellectuals: Advise and Dissent (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981).

18. Raymond Williams, Keywords (Glasgow: Fontana, 1979), pp. 216-220, qt. p. 217.

19. René Wellek, Concepts of Criticism (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1963; ninth printing, 1976), p. 228.

20. "Engels to Margaret Harkness in London," letter dated beginning of April 1888, in Marx, Engels on Literature and Art (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978, pp. 89-92, qt. p. 90.

21. Georg Lukács, "The Ideology of Modernism," Realism in Our Time: Literature and the Class Struggle (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 17-46, qt. p. 34.

22. Jaroslav Průšek, "Reality and Art in Chinese Literature," Archiv Orientalní #32 (1964), pp. 605-18; repr. in Leo Ou-fan Lee ed., The Lyrical and the Epic (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 86-101, qt. p. 93.

23. See: Bonnie S. McDougall, The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into China 1919-25 (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1971), p. 147 ff.

24. The term appears to have been coined by Qishi niandai editor Li Yi. See his introduction to Zhongguo xin xieshizhuyi

wenyi zuopin xuan (Hong Kong: Qishi niandai, 1980), pp. 2-9.

25. See: Howard Boorman, "The Literary World of Mao Tse-tung," in Cyril Birch ed., Chinese Communist Literature (New York: Praeger, 1963), pp. 15-38, esp. pp. 16-18.

26. "Lin Biao tongzhi weituo Jiang Qing tongzhi zhaokai de budui wenyi gongzuo zuotanhui jiyao," hereafter "Jiyao," Jiefangjun wenyi #8-9 (Sept. 1967), pp. 3-9.

27. Williams, Keywords, pp. 230-2.

28. McDougall, The Introduction, pp. 85-146.

29. Wellek, Concepts of Criticism, p. 161.

30. Lü Lin, "Guanyu 'liang jiehe' chuanguo fangfa de kexuexing wenti," Wenxue pinglun #4 (July 1982), pp. 68-82.

31. Mao Zedong, "Da Li Shuyi," poem dated May 11, 1957, reprinted in Mao Zhuxi shici (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1976). Zhang Guangnian, in an article celebrating Mao's poem in Wenyibao #7 (Apr. 1958), uses the combination term (p. 4).

32. Qt. in Lü Lin, "Guanyu 'Liang jiehe'," p. 69.

33. Ibid., p. 69.

34. Makesizhuyi wenyi lilun jiben wenti (Shenyang: Dongbei diqu ba yuan xiao, 1973), p. 231.

35. See the comparison of Liu Qing's History of Setting Up and the collectively-written History of Battles at Hongnan in chapter 4 below.

36. See entry "Feng Meng-lung," in Průšek, general ed., Zbigniew Slupski, volume ed., Dictionary of Oriental Literatures: East Asia (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 36-7. Feng's death is dated 1645 or 1646.

37. C. T. Hsia, "Society and Self in the Chinese Short Story," appendix to The Classic Chinese Novel (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 299-321, qt. p. 307.

38. Ibid., p. 301.

39. Ibid., p. 302.

40. Feng Menglong, "Jiang Xingge chonghui zhenzhushan," Quanxiang gu-jin xiaoshuo (New edition: Fuzhou: Fujian renmin

chubanshe, 1980), pp. 1-32.

41. C. T. Hsia, "Society and Self," p. 320.

42. See, for example, the summary of Erich Auerbach's Mimesis in Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), p. 229.

43. See, for example, in chapter 5 below, the contrasting fates of the brothers Liu Xiang (who follows the "golden road" of collectivisation), and Liu Wan (whose hesitation brings disaster on his family), in The Golden Road.

44. See: Northrop Frye, The Educated Imagination (Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1963; eighteenth printing, 1983), p. 15.

45. Patrick Hanan, "The Making of 'The Pearl-sewn Shirt' and 'The Courtesan's Jewel-box'," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies #33 (1973), pp. 124-53, qt. p. 135.

46. The Path of Life (see chapter 7) is one such. We may also cite in this context the situation that obtains at the outset of another popular, and even more lachrymose, novel, The Price (Chen Guokai, Daijia (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980).): A brilliant scientist is jailed as a counter-revolutionary in the early years of the Cultural Revolution on the fabricated evidence of a jealous rival, who thereby siezes power in their work unit. The scientist's wife is blackmailed into divorcing her husband and marrying the villain to save the former from execution, his research from destruction, and their son from jail. (Her sacrifice is "the price" of the title.) The family is scattered: the eldest daughter becomes a prostitute, the son is rusticated to a distant village, and the youngest child is left to fend for herself. Ignorant of the price paid, the children despise their mother. The action of the novel begins with the release of the scientist from jail.

47. Wang Meng, "Womende zeren," Wenyibao #11-12 (Dec. 1979), pp. 47-50.

48. Bonnie S. McDougall, Introduction, Bei Dao, Notes from the City of the Sun, trans. and ed. McDougall (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asian Papers #34, 1983), p. 16.

49. Hao Ran, Jinguang dadao (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, vol. I 1972, vol. II 1974).

50. See, for example, the "six even mores" (liu geng) passage in Mao's "Talks" quoted in chapter 1. For Western equivalents, see Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature

(Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 95-100.

51. Lenin's assessment of Tolstoy is quoted in two recent articles on reflection theory, both concentrating on the writings of Liu Binyan (who might thus be called the mirror of China under socialism). See: Luosun (alias Kong Luosun), "Wenxue shi women shidai de jingzi," Wenyi yanjiu #1 (May 1979), pp. 15-8; and Wang Nan, "Guanyu 'wenxue shi yimian jingzi' de lunbian," Wenyi yanjiu #5 (Oct. 1981), pp. 43-5.

52. Sima Guang, Zizhi tongjian. A modern edition is: (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuaguan, 1966).

53. Lu Xun, "Kuangren riji," Nahan (first published 1918; new edition: Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), pp. 7-19. The author described his motivation for writing the story as follows: "Through a casual reading of the Universal Mirror, I realised that the Chinese are still a race of cannibals, so I wrote this piece." "Zhi Xu Shouchang," letter of Aug. 20, 1918, Lu Xun shuxin ji (new edition: Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1976), vol. I, pp. 18-9, qt. p. 18. For analysis of the tension within Lu Xun between "totalistic iconoclasm" and respect for the Chinese tradition, see: Lin Yü-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti-traditionalism in the May Fourth Era (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1979), pp. 104-151.

54. Hegel, The Chinese Novel, pp. 84-103.

55. Wu Han, Hai Rui ba guan, first published 1961, reprinted in Da ducao juji (Hong Kong: Chinese Cultural Centre, 1967), pp. 1-67. See chapter 2 below.

56. See: Colin MacKerras, The Performing Arts in Contemporary China (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981). pp. 74-106.

57. George Orwell, Nineteen Eighty-four (first edition: New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949; new edition: Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), p. 31.

58. Ceng Bairong, "'Wen yi zai dao' bian," Xin wenxue luncong #3 (Dec. 1980), pp. 34-7, qt. p. 35. The final sentence of the passage quoted above resembles Stendhal's defence of his own literary mirror: "Is it the fault of the mirror that ugly people have passed in front of it? On whose side is the mirror?" Quoted in Wellek, Concepts of Criticism, p. 249.

59. Cao Xueqin, Honglou meng (new edition: Shanghai: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), vol. I, pp. 140-2.

60. Yao Wenyuan, "Zai tan jiaotiao yu yuanze - yu Liu Shaotang deng bianlun," Lun wenxue shang de xiuzhengzhuyi sichao, hereafter Sichao (Shanghai: Xin wenyi chubanshe, 1958), pp. 24-49, qt. pp. 35-6.

61. Liu Binyan, "Qingting renmin de shengyin," Renmin ribao (Nov. 26, 1979). This quotation is from a translation by Kyna Rubin as "Listen Carefully to the Voice of the People," included in Perry Link ed., People or Monsters? and Other Stories and Reportage from China after Mao (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1984), p. 5.

62. See: Richard King, "Chinese Film Controversy," Index on Censorship #5 (Oct. 1981), pp. 36-7.

63. Bai Hua, "Yige bixu huida de wenti," Wenhui cengkan #1 (Jan. 1980), pp. 7-8. I have not seen the original text and quote from an unpublished translation supplied by Kyna Rubin.

64. Bei Dao, Notes, p. 87. The translation is McDougall's, p. 36.

65. See, for example, the reminiscences in: Ding Ling, Ba Jin et al., Zuojia de huainian (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1979); "Interview with the Playwright Cao Yu," China Now #89 (Mar/Apr. 1980), p. 19; Ba Jin, "Huainian Xiao Shan," Suixiang lu vol. I (Hong Kong: Sanlian 1979), pp. 14-32; Yang Jiang, Ganxiao liu ji, translated by Howard Goldblatt as "Six Chapters from My Life 'Downunder'," Renditions #16 (Autumn 1981), pp. 6-43; Bai Jieming (Geremie Barmé), "Ding Ling manhua ershinian zaoji," Qishi niandai #8 (Aug. 1979), pp. 90-3.

66. Among the histories and eye-witness accounts of the Cultural Revolution referred to in the preparation of this study are:

i) Jacques Guillermaz, The Chinese Communist Party in Power (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976);

ii) James Pinckney Harrison, The Long March to Power (New York: Praeger, 1972);

iii) Jean Daubier, A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (New York: Vintage Books, 1974);

iv) Livio Maitan, Party, Army and Masses in China (London: New Left Books, 1976);

v) D. W. Fokkema, Report from Peking (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1972);

vi) A. Zhelokhovtsev, The "Cultural Revolution": a Close-up (Moscow: Prospect Press, 1975);

vii) Neale Hunter, Shanghai Journal (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

67. Of literary journals, only the English language Chinese

Literature was published throughout the Cultural Revolution; otherwise the shortest hiatus was for Jiefangjun wenyi, from May 25th 1968 (#215) to May 1st 1972 (#216). Most regional literary magazines, suspended after 1966, resumed publication in 1973, and nationally distributed journals (Renmin wenxue, Shikan, Renmin dianying, Renmin xiju) reappeared in 1976.

68. D. E. Pollard, "The Short Story in the Cultural Revolution," China Quarterly #73 (Jan.-Mar. 1978), pp. 99-121.

69. Distinguished exceptions to this are the articles by Milena Dolezelova-Velingerova and Wong Kam-ming in Kubin and Wagner eds, Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism.

70. Shanghai Xian Hongnan zuozhan shi xiezu zu, Hongnan zuozhan shi (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1972).

71. Hao Ran, Baihuachuan (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe, 1976).

72. It is so judged in Joe C. Huang, "Haoran the Peasant Novelist," Modern China (July 1976), pp. 369-396; the novel's translators, in a preface to the English edition, call it "the most significant Chinese novel to emerge in the last fifteen years." Hao Ran, The Golden Road, trans. Carma Hinton and Chris Gilmartin (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980), p. i.

73. Guo Xianhong, Zhengtu 2 vols. (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1973)

74. Zhu Lin, Shenghuo de lu (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1979).

CHAPTER 1

1. Mao Zedong, "Zai Yan'an wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua," hereafter "Jianghua," Mao Zedong xuanji (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1953; simplified character edition, 1966) vol. III, pp. 804-835. For the earlier (1943) text, see: Mao Zedong ji, (Tokyo: Hokubosha, 1971), vol. VIII, pp. 111-148. This latter text is the one translated in Bonnie S. McDougall, Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary (Ann Arbor: Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies #39, 1980).
2. See: Jaroslav Průšek, "Subjectivism and Individualism in Modern Chinese Literature," Archiv Orientalní #25 (1957), pp. 261-283; reprinted in The Lyrical and the Epic, pp. 1-28, esp. p. 6.
3. For an account of factions among May Fourth writers, see: Amitendranath Tagore, Literary Debates in Modern China 1918-1937 (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Studies, 1967), esp. chapter 3, "Debates over Revolutionary Literature," pp. 80-118.
4. See: Jacques Guillermaz, A History of the Chinese Communist Party 1921-1949 (London: Methuen, 1972), chapters 10-12, pp. 112-165.
5. Qian Xingcun, "Siqule de A Q shidai," Xiandai Zhongguo wenxue (Shanghai: Taidong, 1929), vol. I, pp. 1-53.
6. Mao Dun, Shi (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980).
7. Mao Dun, "Cong Guling dao Dongjing," published in October 1928. The quotation is taken from the translation by Yu-shih Chen, "From Guling to Tokyo," in John Berninghausen and Ted Hutters eds., Revolutionary Literature in China: An Anthology (White Plains, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1976), pp. 37-43, qt. p. 39.
8. Marian Galík, "Studies in Modern Chinese Literature III: Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un and the Theory of Proletarian Realism," Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), vol. V (1969), pp. 49-70, qt. p. 55.
9. Ibid., qt. p. 57; see also Qian Xingcun, "Cong Dongjing dao Wuhan," article of 1929, reprinted in Mao Dun pinglun zhuan (Hong Kong: Nandao, 1958), pp. 255-314; and Qian Xingcun, "Mao Dun yu xianshi," in Xiandai zhongguo wenxue zuojia (Shanghai: Taidong, 1929), vol. II, pp. 113-72.
10. Lu Xun did not join the Communist Party. Mao Dun

relinquished his membership in 1927 and had it reinstated posthumously after a deathbed application fifty-four years later.

11. See: C. T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, p. 125 ff.

12. Tagore, Literary Debates in Modern China, chapters V and VI cover the debates in Shanghai of 1935-6. See also T. A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the Dissolution of the League of Left-wing Writers," The Gate of Darkness - Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 101-145.

13. Lu Xun, "Da Xu Maoyong bing guanyu kang-Ri tongyi zhanxian wenti," article of 1936, reprinted in Lu Xun xuanji (new edition: Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), vol. VI, pp. 529-46. Quotation is from translation "Reply to Hsu Mao-yung and on the Question of the United Front Against Japanese Aggression," Chinese Literature (Mar. 1977), pp. 66-80, qt. p. 77. Translation has "Chou Chi-ying."

14. See: Paul G. Pickowicz, Marxist Literary Thought in China: The Influence of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1981), pp. 192-209; Ellen R. Judd, A Study in Directed Change in Chinese Literature and Art, (Doctoral diss., Univ. of British Columbia, 1981.)

15. Qu Qiubai, "Dazhong wenyi de wenti," trans. by Paul G. Pickowicz as "The Question of Popular Literature and Art," Revolutionary Literature in China, pp. 47-51.

16. "Hong jun disijun silingbu bugao," Mao Zedong ji vol. II, pp. 71-2.

17. For example, Qu Qiubai's associate Li Bozhao, who was born in 1911, studied and worked in the Soviet Union from 1925-31, and was head of the Arts Department of the Ministry of Education in the Jiangxi Soviet from 1933. Pickowicz, The Influence of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, p. 203; entry on Li Bozhao in Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1979), pp. 204-6.

18. Pickowicz, The Influence of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, pp. 208-9.

19. Guillermaz, A History of the Chinese Communist Party, pp. 361-71.

20. See: Raymond F. Wylie, "Mao Tse-tung, Chen Po-ta and the Sinification of Marxism," China Quarterly #79 (July-Sept. 1979), pp. 447-80.

21. Mao Zedong, "Shijian lun," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. I, pp. 259-73.

22. The term is from the title of Boorman, "The Literary World of Mao Tse-tung."

23. Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 115.

24. McDougall, Mao Zedong's "Talks", pp. 60-1.

25. Mao Zedong, "Xue," poem written Feb. 1936; reprinted in Mao Zhuxi shici, pp. 22-3. The final lines of the poems, as translated by Jerome Ch'en and Michael Bullock, read: "The great emperors of Ch'in and Han/Lacking literary brilliance,/Those of T'ang and Sung/Having but few romantic inclinations,/And the prodigious Ghengis Khan/Knowing only how to bend his bow and shoot at vultures./All are past and gone!/For men of vision/We must seek among the present generation." "Thirty-seven poems of Mao Tse-tung," in Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), qt. pp. 340-1.

26. For this reading of Lenin's essay, see: Vladimir Shcherbina, Lenin and Problems of Literature (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974), p. 106 ff. It is contested in D. W. Fokkema, Literary Doctrine and Soviet Influence in China 1956-60 (The Hague: Moulton and Co., 1965), p. 9.

27. John King Fairbank, "Self Expression in China," in Ross Terrill ed., The China Difference (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 83-98, qt. p. 89.

28. James J. Y. Liu, Chinese Theories of Literature (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 106.

29. Mao Zedong, "Xin minzhuzhuyi lun," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. III, p. 658.

30. Pickowicz, The Influence of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, p. 225. Pickowicz has "Ch'u."

31. Gregor Benton, "The Yen'an Literary Opposition," New Left Review #92 (July-Aug. 1975), pp. 93-106.

32. See: Kyna Rubin, Literary Problems During the War of Resistance as Viewed from Yan'an: A Study of the Literature Page of Liberation Daily, May 16th 1941 - August 31st 1942 (MA diss., Univ. of British Columbia, 1979).

33. Ai Qing, "Liaojie zuojia, zunzhong zuojia," Jiefang

ribao (Yan'an) (Mar. 11, 1942), reprinted in Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang douzheng shi xuexi cankao ziliao, 2 vols. (n.p.: n.p., 1976) vol. II, pp. 493-6.

34. Wang Shiwei, "Zhengzhijia yishujia," Guyu, vol 1 #4 (Feb. 17 1942), reprinted in Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang, vol. II, pp. 467-71.

35. Ibid., p. 470.

36. Ai Qing, "Liaojie," p. 495.

37. Ding Ling, "Women xuyao zawen," Jiefang ribao (Yan'an) (Oct. 23, 1941); Luo Feng, "Haishi zawen de shidai," Jiefang ribao (Yan'an), (Mar. 12, 1942).

38. McDougall, Introduction, Mao Zedong's "Talks". Other summaries available include; C. T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, pp. 308-13; Fokkema, Literary Doctrine, pp. 3-11; Jaroslav Průšek, Die Literatur des Befreiten China und Ihre Volkstraditionen (Prague: Artia, 1955), pp. 29-40.

39. Mao Zedong, "Jianghua," p. 810. The xuanji text is used for quotations from the "Talks" because of its influence in the People's Republic.

40. See David Holm, "The Literary Rectification in Yan'an," Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism, pp. 272-308.

41. Mao Zedong, "Jianghua," pp. 833-4. See also: Merle Goldman, "The Political Use of Lu Xun," China Quarterly #91 (Sept. 1982), pp. 446-61.

42. Mao Zedong, "Jianghua," p. 818.

43. Boyd Compton, Mao's China: Party Reform Documents 1942-44 (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1952), pp. 6-7 lists 22 documents prescribed for cadre study.

44. Mao Zedong, "Jianghua," p. 831.

45. Ding Ling, "Shafei nüshi riji," Xiaoshuo yuebao (Feb. 1928), reprinted in Ding Ling duanpian xiaoshuo xuan, 2 vols. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), vol. I, pp. 43-82.

46. C. T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, p. 303.

47. T. A. Hsia, "Twenty Years After the Yen'an Forum," The Gate of Darkness, pp. 234-54.

48. "Proletarian realism" (wuchanjieji xianshizhuyi) in the earlier text was revised in the post-1949 editions to "socialist realism" (shehuizhuyi de xianshizhuyi). Mao Zedong ji, vol. VIII, p. 136; Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. III, p. 824.

49. Mao Zedong, "Zhongguo gongchandang zai minzu zhanzheng zhong de diwei," Mao Zedong xuanji, pp. 485-501. Minzu xingshi are mentioned on p. 500.

50. See: Paul G. Pickowicz, Marxist Literary Thought and China: a Conceptual Framework (Berkeley: Centre for East Asian Studies, Studies in Chinese Terminology #18, 1980), p. 17.

51. See: McDougall, The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into China, passim.

52. Xiao Jun, Bayue de xiangcun (Shanghai: n.p., 1935; repr. Shanghai: Zuoja chubanshe, 1948). See also: Rudolf Wagner, "Xiao Jun's Novel 'Countryside in August' and the Tradition of 'Proletarian Literature'" (Paper presented to conference on La Littérature Chinoise au Temps de la Guerre de Résistance contre le Japon (de 1937 a 1945), Paris, 1980).

53. A. Fadeyev, The Rout (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.).

54. Mao Zedong, "Jianghua," p. 833. Xiao Jun, a member of the "literary opposition," was a target of rectification at Yan'an. Mao had responded to Xiao Jun's criticisms in August 1941 by urging him to "attend to faults on your own part, not to be absolute in your view of problems, to have patience..." Mao Zedong, "Gei Xiao Jun de xin," Wenyibao #6 (June 1982), p. 4. Mao's position against Xiao Jun hardened between his writing of this letter and the Yan'an Forum.

55. Zhou Libo, Baofeng zhouyu (n.p.: Dongbei shudian, 1948; new edition: Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1977).

56. One example of a novel strongly influenced by a Soviet work is the autobiographical Gao Yubao, inspired by Ostrovsky's How the Steel was Tempered, a novel known in China by the name of its hero, Pavel Korchagin.

57. Zhou Yang, "Wenxue yu shenghuo mantan," Jiefang ribao (Yan'an) (July 17-19, 1941), trans. in Rubin, Literary Problems, pp. 192-208.

58. Wylie, The Emergence of Maoism, passim.

59. Holm, "The Literary Rectification," pp. 290 ff.
60. Průšek, Die Literatur, passim.
61. Cyril Birch, "Fiction of the Yen'an Period," China Quarterly #4 (Oct.-Dec. 1960), pp. 1-11; Birch, "Chinese Communist Literature: The Persistence of Traditional Forms," China Quarterly #13 (Jan.-Mar. 1963), pp. 74-91; Robert E. Hegel, "Making the Past Serve the Present: Observations on Elements of Traditional Narratives in Contemporary Chinese Fiction," Paper presented at Harvard Workshop on Contemporary Chinese Literature and Performing Arts, 1979.
62. Průšek, Die Literatur," pp. 359-73. See also: David Holm, introduction to and translation of Ma Ke "Fu qi shizi" (Man and Wife Learn to Read), Revolutionary Literature in China, pp. 71-8.
63. "Bishang Liangshan," Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang, vol. II, pp. 499-570. (The story of Lin Chong's forced flight is spread through Shuihu zhuan chapters 6-10.)
64. Mao Zedong, "Kanle Bishang Liangshan yihou xiegei Yan'an pingju yuan de xin," *ibid.*, p. 498.
65. He Jingzhi, Ding Yi, Baimao nü (n.p.: Shandong xinhua shudian, 1947).
66. Jack Belden, China Shakes the World (first edition 1949, new edition: New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 209-11.
67. Zhao Shuli, "Li Youcai banhua," story of 1943, reprinted in Zhao Shuli xiaoshuo xuan (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1980), pp. 17-60.
68. Yuan Jing, Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan (Shanghai: Haiyan chubanshe, 1949; reprinted Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978).
69. Ma Feng, Luliang yingxiong zhuan (n.p.: Dongbei shudian, 1948; reprinted Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1952). See: Prusek, Die Literatur, pp. 183-213, and Birch, "Fiction of the Yen'an Period."
70. Birch, "Fiction of the Yen'an Period," p. 7.
71. See, for example, Hegel's discussion of Qu Bo, Linhai xueyuan in "Making the Past Serve the Present," and the analysis of Ouyang Shan, Sanjia xiang in Joe C. Huang, Heroes and Villains in Communist China (New York: Pica Press, 1971), pp. 1-24.

72. See: Goldman, Literary Dissent.
73. See: Huang, Heroes and Villains.
74. See: Mark Seldon, The Yen-an Way in Revolutionary China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971).
75. See, for example: Wenyi sixiang zhanxian sanshi nian, pp. 64-360.
76. Mao Zedong, "Yingdang zhongshi dianying Wu Xun zhuan de taolun," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. V (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1977), pp. 46-7.
77. Mao Zedong, "Guanyu Hu Feng fangeming jituan de cailiao de xuyan he anyu," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. V, pp. 160-7. for more on the campaign against Hu Feng, see: Goldman, Literary Dissent, pp. 129-157; Fokkema, Literary Doctrine, pp. 49-55; and Donald A. Gibbs ed., Dissonant Voices in Chinese Literature: Hu Feng (White Plains, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, Chinese Studies in Literature #1, 1979).
78. "Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers," in Stuart Schram ed., Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974) pp. 84-90, qt. p. 87.
79. Mao Zedong, "Guanyu zhengque chuli renmin neibu maodun de wenti," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol V, pp. 363-402, qt. p. 393.
80. Zhou Yang, "Wenyi zhanxian shang de yichang da bianlun," Wenyibao #5 (May 1958), pp. 2-15.
81. Wenyi sixiang zhanxian sanshi nian, pp. 307-9.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1

1. Shi Nai'an, Luo Guanzhong, Shuihu quan zhuan (new edition: Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1973), pp. 65-9.
2. Wu Cheng'en, Xiyou ji (new edition: Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), pp. 250-2.
3. Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan, pp. 187-93.
4. "Sparks Amid the Reeds," Chinese Literature #9 (Sept. 1964), pp. 3-63.
5. "Shajiabang," Geming yangbanxi juban huibian, hereafter Huibian (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1974), pp. 137-200.
6. Hao Ran, Yanyang tian, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1964, repr. 1974) vol. I, pp. 396-402.

CHAPTER 2

1. Yao Wenyuan, "Ping xibian lishiju Hai Rui ba guan," Wenhuibao (Nov. 10, 1965), reprinted in Yao Wenyuan wenji, (Hong Kong: Lishi ziliaochubanshe, 1971), pp. 1-32. For Yao and Jiang Qing's account of the writing of the essay, see: Roxanne Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), p. 276.

2. Following 1968, the first vehicle for Yao's views was the Shanghai Writing Group for Revolutionary Mass Criticism. Thereafter, the principal writing teams dealing with the arts were the Beijing-based Chu Lan and the Shanghai-based Fang Yun. Yao Wenyuan published one more article in his own name, though not on the arts. This was "Lun Lin Biao fandong jituan de shehui jichu," Hongqi #3 (Mar. 1975), pp. 20-9.

3. For Yao's pre-Cultural Revolution career, see: Lars Ragvald, Yao Wenyuan as a Literary Critic: the Emergence of Chinese Zhdanovism (Stockholm: Gotab, 1978).

4. Yao Wenyuan, Sichao, p. iii. An updated and revised version of Sichao is Wenyi sixiang lunzheng ji, hereafter Lunzheng ji (Shanghai: Zuo jia chubanshe, 1965).

5. Yao Wenyuan, "Wenxue shang de xiuzhengzhuyi sichao de chuanguozuo qingxiang," Sichao, pp. 195-246, esp. pp. 195-6.

6. For the stories, see: Chongfang de xianhua (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1979). Liu Binyan's story "Benbao neibu xiaoxi" is on pp. 64-99, Wang Meng's "Zuzhibu xinlaide qingnian ren" on pp. 162-200. In Liu's story, the craven editor who suppresses the initiatives of the heroine is Ma Wenyuan, his given name identical to Yao's. The coincidence of names is almost certainly deliberate.

7. Yao Wenyuan, "Wenxue shang de xiuzhengzhuyi sichao," pp. 202-219.

8. Yao Wenyuan, "Shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi shi wuchan jieji geming shidai de wenxue -- tong He Zhi, Zhou Bo bianlun," Sichao, pp. 50-94. He Zhi was the pseudonym under which Qin Zhaoyang wrote "Xianshizhuyi -- guangkuo de daolu," Renmin wenxue #9 (Sept. 1956), pp. 1-13.

9. Yao Wenyuan, "Pipan Ba Ren de 'renxing lun'," Lunzheng ji pp. 334-56. Ba Ren went insane during the Cultural Revolution persecution resulting from Yao's accusations, which were first published in the January 1960 issue of Wenyibao.

10. Yao Wenyuan, "Lun Ba Jin Miewang zhong de wuzhengfuzhu yi sixiang," Zhongguo qingnian #19 (Oct. 1958).

-----, "Lun Ba Jin xiaoshuo Jia zai lishishang de jiji zuoyong he tade xiaoji zuoyong," Zhongguo qingnian #22 (Nov. 1958).

-----, "Ba Jin zuopin taolun -- fenqi de shizhi zai nali?" Dushu #2 (Feb. 1959).

For an account of Yao Wenyuan's feud with Ba Jin see: Chen Danchen, Ba Jin, chapter 13, excerpted in Dangdai wenxue yanjiu congkan #1 (Dec. 1980), pp. 61-73. Chen's work is the source of the three references given above.

11. Wang Jiren, "Yao Wenyuan de 'zuo' ji qi jiaoxun," Shanghai wenyi #2 (Feb. 1979), pp. 90-3.

12. Ragvald, Yao Wenyuan, p. 32.

13. Yao Wenyuan, "Zai tan jiaotiao he yuanze -- yu Liu Shaotang deng bianlun," Sichao, pp. 24-49, esp. pp. 31-2.

14. Yao Wenyuan, "Jiaotiao he yuanze -- yu Yao Xueyin xiansheng taolun," Sichao, pp. 3-11, esp. p. 7.

15. See: Ragvald, Yao Wenyuan, p. 149-50.

16. Qt. in Katherine Hunter Blair, A Review of Soviet Literature (London: Ampersand, 1966), p. 68. See also: Walter N. Vickery, "Zhdanovism (1946-53)," in Max Hayward and Leopold Labetz eds., Literature and Revolution in Soviet Russia 1917-62 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 74-98.

17. Merle Goldman, "The Unique Blooming and Contending of 1961-2," China Quarterly #37 (Jan.-Mar. 1969), pp. 54-83.

18. Goldman, China's Intellectuals, pp. 42-3.

19. Ma Nancun (Deng Tuo), Yanshan yehua (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1961) is an anthology of Deng's column.

20. Wu Nanxing (Wu Han, Deng Tuo, Liao Mosha), Sanjiacun zhaji (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1979) is an anthology of the "Three-Family Village" column.

21. Yao Wenyuan, "Ping 'San jia cun'," Jiefang ribao (Shanghai) (May 10, 1966), reprinted in Yao Wenyuan wenji, pp. 33-71.

22. See: Huang, Heroes and Villains, chapter 10, "Men in the Middle," pp. 266-291.

23. See: Goldman, China's Intellectuals, pp. 101-7.

24. The campaign against Wu Han is a crucial one, and has been the subject of much analysis in the West. See, for example: Clive Ansley, The Heresy of Wu Han (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1971); D. W. Y. Kwok, "Wu Han: The Case of the Mulberry and the Ash," introduction to C. C. Huang trans., Hai Rui Dismissed from Office (Honolulu: Univ. Press of Hawaii, 1972); Hong Yong Lee, The Politics of the Cultural Revolution (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1978), pp. 11-25; Goldman, China's Intellectuals, pp. 118-24.

25. For the Lushan Plenum see Harrison, The Long March to Power, pp. 479-80.

26. It was not the first opera to feature Hai Rui, however. In Shanghai, Zhou Xinfang appeared in the title role of Hai Rui shang shu (Hai Rui Submits a Memorial) before Wu Han's drama was staged in Beijing by Ma Lianliang's troupe.

27. Qt. in Wenyi zhanxian shang liangtiao luxian douzheng ziliao ji (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue zhongwenxi, 1971), vol. II, p. 457.

28. See: Stephen Uhalley Jr., "The Cultural Revolution and the Attack on the 'Three Family Village'," China Quarterly #27 (July-Sept. 1966), pp. 149-61.

29. A brief literary biography of Deng Tuo is Pierre Ryckmans, "Teng T'o," in Kai-yu Hsu ed., Literature of the People's Republic of China (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 762-3, followed by a translation of Deng's article "Duoxue shaoping," pp. 763-5.

30. Deng Tuo, "Aihu laodongli de xueshuo," Yanshan yehua, pp. 60-3, qt. p. 61.

31. Deng Tuo, "Yige jidan de jiadang," *ibid.*, pp. 80-2, qt. p. 81.

32. The penname Wu Nanxing was a composite of Wu Han, Ma Nancun (Deng Tuo) and Fanxing (sobriquet of Liao Mosha).

33. This parodies Mao's slogan "The East Wind overcomes the West Wind" (dongfeng ya xifeng), coined in 1957 to summarise of the historical trend started by the October Revolution forty years before.

34. Wu Nanxing, "Da kong hua," Sanjiacun zhaji, Qianxian #26

(Nov. 10, 1961).

35. Yao Wen yuan wen ji, pp. 51-2. This translation is slightly adapted from the official translation: "A Criticism of the 'Three Family Village'," Chinese Literature #7 (July 1966), pp. 29-64, qt. p. 46. Yao infers from the contention that Marxism is a science that all Mao's utterances are scientific, and therefore infallible.

36. Liao was jailed for eight years and internally exiled for three. His testimony is included, with other notes on the trial, in Guangming ribao (Dec. 13, 1980), p. 3.

37. Yao Wen yuan, "Ping fangeming liangmianpai Zhou Yang," Hongqi #1 (Jan. 1967), pp. 14-36, reprinted in Yao Wen yuan wen ji, pp. 88-140.

38. Goldman, Literary Dissent, passim.

39. Merle Goldman, "The Fall of Chou Yang," China Quarterly #27, pp. 132-48, qt. p. 143.

40. Goldman, China's Intellectuals, p. 140.

41. Yao Wen yuan wen ji, pp. 136-7. The quotation is taken from the official translation, "On the Counter-revolutionary Double-dealer Chou Yang," Chinese Literature #3 (Mar. 1967), pp. 24-71, qt. p. 69.

42. As Fokkema suggests: "it is conceivable that, as a result of his great knowledge of Marxism, he [Zhou Yang] in fact was too much of a realist to be absorbed in Maoist romanticism." Report from Peking, p. 82.

43. See, for example, Zhou Enlai, "Zai wen yi gong zuo zuo tan hui he gu shi pian chuang zuo hui yi shang de jiang hua," a 1961 speech reprinted in Wen yibao #2 (Feb. 1979), pp. 2-13.

44. Yao Wen yuan, "Jinian Lu Xun, geming daodi," Hongqi #14 (Nov. 1966), pp. 4-10.

45. Yao Wen yuan, "'Zai Yan'an wen yi zuo tan hui shang de jiang hua' shi wu chan jie ji wen hua da geming de geming gang ling," Hongqi #9 (May 1967), pp. 29-35, qt. p. 29-35.

46. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 27.

47. As reported in Han Suyin, My House Has Two Doors (New York: Putnam, 1980), p. 589.

48. "Chiang Ching's quick flashes back and forth from the Yanan Forum to the Cultural Revolution were automatic to her thought because Mao's treatise on the former served as the sole ideological justification for her work in the latter." Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 187.

49. "At the time the Chairman gave his talk at the Yan'an Forum, that was only a skirmish in the cultural realm, because I was not engaged in cultural work." "Jiang Qing tongzhi zai Beijing wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua," Jiang Qing tongzhi jianghua xuanbian 1966.2 -- 1968.9 (n.p.: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1969) pp. 70-7, qt. p. 71.

50. Roxanne Witke, "Her Fortunes Change but Jiang Does Not," Far Eastern Economic Review (Feb. 20, 1981), pp. 42-3.

51. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 380.

52. Ibid., p. 413.

53. Jiang Qing, "Tan Jingju geming," speech delivered July 1964, first printed in Hongqi #6 (May 1967), pp. 25-7.

54. Peng Zhen, "Zai Jingju xiandaihua guanmo yanchu dahui shang de jianghua," Hongqi #14 (July 1964), pp. 18-24; Lu Dingyi, "For More and Finer Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes," Peking Review (June 12, 1964), pp. 7-9.

55. Ke Qingshi, "Dali fazhan he fanrong shehuizhuyi xiju, genghaode wei shehuizhuyi de jingji jichu fuwu," Hongqi #15 (Aug. 1964), pp. 3-22. Emulation of "the spirit of Dragon River" was practised in the Cultural Revolution, with tragic results in one case reported in Simon Leys, Broken Images (London: Allison and Busby, 1979), p. 108. According to Leys' informant, a hundred young people were drowned trying to protect a dike from a tidal wave near Swatow.

56. Jiang Qing, "Tan Jingju geming," p. 25.

57. Jin Jingmai, Ouyang Hai zhi ge (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1966). D. W. Fokkema, "Chinese Literature under the Cultural Revolution," Literature East and West #13 (1969), pp. 347-58, discusses the creative process behind the novel (pp. 347-56).

58. Jiang Qing, "Tan Jingju geming," p. 26.

59. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 313.

60. For Peng Zhen's statement, see: "Wenhua geming wu ren

xiaozu guanyu dangqian xueshu lunzheng de huibao tigang," document of Feb. 7, 1966, reprinted in Chinese Communist Party Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 1966-67 (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1968), pp. 3-6 (Chinese text), 7-12 (English translation).

61. "Jiyao," p. 4.

62. "Wenhua geming wu ren xiaozu," p. 4.

63. In preparing this brief outline of the "eight black theories," I was greatly helped by Qin Zhaoyang, perpetrator of one of them, (R.K. interview with Qin Zhaoyang, Beijing, April 5, 1981). Jiang Qing's criticisms are amplified in Xiuzhengzhuyi wenyi luxian daibiaoxing lundian pipan (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1976).

64. For Hu Feng's views on realism, see: Fokkema, Literary Doctrine, pp. 49-55; and Goldman, Literary Dissent, pp. 272-84.

65. Shao Quanlin's advocacy of "deepening realism" and "middle characters" is reviled at length in Wenxi sixiang zhanxian, pp. 272-84.

66. See: Luo Xiaozhou, "'Ticai jue ding' lun yu yinmou wenyi," Renmin wenxue #2 (Feb. 1982), pp. 18-22.

67. Mao Zedong, "Maodun lun," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. I, pp. 274-312.

68. Goldman, China's Intellectuals, pp. 69-70; Wenxi sixiang zhanxian, pp. 322-5.

69. "Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction." "Tongzhi," Hongqi #7 (May 1967), pp. 1-7, qt. p. 4. Translated as "The May 16 Circular," in Daubier, A History, pp. 289-95, qt. p. 292.

70. For the etymology of yangbanxi, see: Hua-yuan Li Mowry, Yang-pan Hsi -- New Theater in China (Berkeley: Studies in Chinese Communist Terminology #15, Univ. of California Center for East Asian Studies, 1973).

71. "Jiang Qing tongzhi zai wenyijie dahui shang de jianghua," Jiang Qing tongzhi jianghua xuanbian, pp. 18-28.

72. "Besides the official version of her speech, there is a non-official version, obtainable only many years after, in which she reviled some old cadres by name, referred to attacks against herself, and started weeping. 'Some people try to harm me, gather

black material against me,' she said." Han Suyin, My House Has Two Doors, p. 469.

73. Fokkema, Report from Peking, p. 48.

74. Jiang Qing told Roxanne Witke she had outlined the "three prominences" to Ke Qingshi "during the prelude to the Cultural Revolution." Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 420.

75. I have not seen the first occurrence of this quotation, though it is repeated regularly in articles after 1968. The date of Yu Huiyong's article in "a Shanghai publication" is given as May 23, 1968 in: Wenhua bu pipanzu, "Ping 'san tuchu'," Renmin ribao (May 18, 1977).

76. Mao Tun, "On Creative Writing," Chinese Literature #12 (Dec. 1978), pp. 86-91. This is a partial translation of a larger article of which I have not seen the original text.

CHAPTER 3

1. The first five Model Operas were The Red Lantern, Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, Shajiabang, On the Docks, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment. The remaining three 1966 Model Works were the ballet versions of The Red Detachment of Women and The White-haired Girl and the symphonic music for Shajiabang. The eight Model Works of 1966 are the basis for the popular misnomer about "eight model operas" being the only cultural fare in the Cultural Revolution.

2. The 1971 operas were: Azalea Mountain, Fighting on the Plain, Ode to Dragon River, The Red Detachment of Women. A tenth full-length opera was in fact produced in the final year of the Cultural Revolution. This was "Panshiwan," Renmin wenxue #1 (Jan. 1976), pp. 12-44. It is described as a yangbanxi in Xiuzhengzhuyi luxian, p. 150. The opera was released too late to have any influence on literary writing, and so has not been included for analysis of the common features of the works. It also differs from the existing models in several respects: it was credited to a single author, Ajian (penname of Culture Minister Yu Huiyong); it has no Mao quotations; its hero is a married man; and Jiang Qing is not credited with any part of its creation.

3. See: Mowry, Yang-pan Hsi; also: Daniel Shih-peng Yang, The Traditional Theater of China in its Contemporary Setting: An Examination of Change within the Peking Opera since 1949 (Doctoral diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1968), pp. 183-229.

4. They are listed here in the order their libretti appear in Huibian. The collection also includes the ballet script for The Red Detachment of Women.

5. Mei Lanfeng produced five operas on modern themes, three of them in contemporary costume. See: Chang Keng, "A Great Artist of Our Times," Chinese Literature #11 (Nov. 1962), p. 88.

6. "Yu Huiyong tongzhi de jianghua," Hongqi #8 (May 1967), pp. 46-8, qt. p. 47. Qian Haoliang, star of The Red Lantern said much the same to Roxanne Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 414.

7. "Jiang Qing shi qishi taoming de zhengzhi bashou," Renmin ribao (Nov. 22, 1976); reprinted in Chedi jiefa pipan 'sirenbang' (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1977), pp. 113-20; also: Wan Kung, "How our Revolutionary Operas were Produced," Chinese Literature #5-6 (June 1977), pp. 66-72.

8. See Ragvald, p. 177n. Ragvald calls these works

"pilotbooks."

9. Mowry, Yang-pan Hsi, pp. 10-28.

10. See: Ye Ziming, "Guanyu wu-si yilai sanshi nian de xiandai wenxue de jiben gujia wenti -- pipan 'sirenbang' mohei xiandai wenxue de fandong miulun," Wenyi luncong #3 (1978), pp. 1-28, qt. p. 7. Original quotation unverifiable.

11. Ibid., p. 3. Quotation said to date from May 19, 1968; also unverifiable.

12. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 423.

13. Huibian, p. 374.

14. Ibid., p. 503.

15. Stuart R. Schram, The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung (New York: Praeger, revised ed. 1969), p. 9.

16. Mao Zhuxi yulu (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1967), p. 1.

17. Ibid., p. 152; "Jinian Baiqiu'en," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. II, pp. 620-2.

18. "Longjiang song," scene 6; Huibian, pp. 375-81.

19. Huibian, p. 380.

20. Ibid., p. 124 (for the death of Li Yuhe in Hongdeng ji), p. 461 (for the death of Hong Changqing in Hongse niangzi jun).

21. Fang Yun, Geming yangbanxi xuexi zhaji (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1974), pp. 21-6.

22. Kirk A. Denton, The Revision of the Model Drama Zhi-qu Wei Hu shan -- the Formation of a Myth (M.A. diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1983).

23. Qu Bo, Lin hai xueyuan (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1957; new ed., 1977). The Tiger Mountain episode is spread between chapters 13 and 21, pp. 170-304.

24. Shanghai jingjutuan Zhiqu Weihushan juzu, "Nuli suzao wuchan jieji yingxiong renwu de guangrong xingxiang -- dui suzao Yang Zirong yingxiong xingxiang de yixie tihui," Hongqi #11 (Nov. 1969), pp. 62-71. repr. in Jingju geming shinian (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), pp. 61-73, qt. p. 64. Quotation is from "Strive to Create the Brilliant Images of Proletarian Heroes --

Impressions on the Creation of the Heroic Image of Yang Tzu-jung," Peking Review #51-2 (Dec. 26, 1969), pp. 34-9, qt. p. 36.

25. Qu Bo, Lin hai xueyuan, p. 178.

26. Huibian, pp. 30-1. An earlier version of the opera has Yang loyal to the Party and people (not the Party and Mao); implicit reference to Sun Wukong is omitted, and Shao Jianbo's criticism of Yang Zirong remains.

27. Mao Zedong, "Yugong yishan," Mao Zedong xuanji vol. III, pp. 1001-1004. The original story is from Liezi. The other two of the lao san pian are "Wei renmin fuwu," *ibid.*, pp. 905-7 and "Jinian Baiqiu'en."

28. Shanghai jingjutuan Zhiqu weihushan juzu, "Nuli suzao," p. 63.

29. See also: Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, pp. 410-6; Mowry, Yang-pan Hsi, pp. 60-3.

30. See: "Critique of the Film Naturally There Will Be Successors," Chinese Literature #7 (July 1973), pp. 78-87.

31. See: "Hongdeng ji shi gongren jieji de yingxiong songge," Jiefangjun wenyi #7 (July 1967), pp. 65-6.

32. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 410.

33. Qian Haoliang, "Suzao gaoda de wuchan jieji yingxiong xingxiang," Hongqi #8 (May 1967), pp. 66-70, qt. p. 68.

34. Makesizhuyi wenyi lilun jiben wenti, pp. 154-5.

35. See: Yang, The Traditional Theater, pp. 196-203; Mowry, Yang-pan Hsi, pp. 64-7; also "Hong taiyang zhaole Shajiabang," Jiefangjun wenyi #7 (July 1967), pp. 66-7.

36. Summarised from the translation of Lutang huozhong, "Sparks Amid the Reeds."

37. See: Fang Yun, Geming yangbanxi xuexi zhaji, pp. 42-6.

38. Interview with Shajiabang librettist Li Muliang in Kai-yu Hsu, The Chinese Literary Scene, p. 60.

39. Interview with Jiang Qing in Han Suyin, My House Has Two Doors, pp. 516-9.

40. Zhiqu weihushan (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1971). The

notebook and pencil are property illustrations 52 and 53 respectively; the illustrated pages are not numbered.

41. William Dolby, A History of Chinese Drama (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1981), pp. 140-1.

42. Makesizhuyi wenyi lilun jiben wenti, p. 150.

43. Huibian, pp. 376-7.

44. Qt. in Wenhua bu pipanzu, "Ping 'san tuchu'," Renmin ribao (May 18, 1975); repr. in Sirenbang fandong wenyi sixiang pipan (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1978), pp. 147-58, qt. p. 152.

45. See, for example, the translation of the drama Silang tan mu, as "Si Lang Visits his Mother," in A.C. Scott, Traditional Chinese Plays, vol. I (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

46. Huibian, p. 492.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

48. Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), p. 47.

49. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 409.

50. Huibian, p. 104-5.

51. For a description of Lei Feng and his posthumous role, see Andrew Watson, Living in China (London: Batsford, 1975), pp. 23-6.

52. "Yizhi changdao gongchanzhuyi," in Yizhi changdao gongchanzhuyi -- gong-nong-bing puji geming yangbanxi diaocha baogao (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), pp. 1-23, qt. p. 15.

53. Zhu Sui, "E'sha geming wenyi de jiaosuo," Renmin wenxue #3 (Mar. 1979), pp. 86-8, qt. p. 88.

CHAPTER 4

1. See: Liushi nian wenyi dashi ji 1919-79, literary chronology presented to delegates at the Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists (Beijing: Wenhua bu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan lilun zhengci yanjiushi, 1979), p. 235.

2. R.K. interview with junior member of the creation-team, Shanghai, May 1981.

3. Qt. in Wang Hongbin, Zhang Jingchao, "Ping 'sirenbang' de 'san jiehe chuanguo'," Shanghai wenyi #5 (May 1978), pp. 80-4, qt. p. 80.

4. Witke, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, p. 392.

5. For example, the ostracised "rightist" Qin Zhaoyang served as advisor for Wei Renmin, Chuan yun shan (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 1977). See: Richard King, "'Rightist' in the Wilderness: Qin Zhaoyang's Memories of his Twenty Years of Ostracism" Modern Chinese Literature Newsletter, vol. 6 #2 (Fall 1980, actually released Spring 1983), pp. 11-20.

6. "Jihuizhuyi de xieqi kuaxialai, shehuizhuyi de zhengqi shengshanglai," Zhongguo nongcun de shehuizhuyi gaochao (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1956), vol. III, pp. 729-34. Mao's comment (anyu) is included in Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. V, pp. 232-3.

7. R.K. interview, Shanghai, May 1981.

8. See: Fokkema, "Chinese Literature Under the Cultural Revolution."

9. Hongnan zuo zhan shi, p. 15.

10. William Hinton, Fanshen (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 609.

11. See: William Hinton, Shenfan (New York: Random House, 1983), pp. 68-86.

12. See: Jack Gray, "The Two Roads: Alternative Strategies of Social Change and Economic Growth in China," Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 109-57.

13. See also: Selden, The Yen'an Way. Conflict between these "two lines" is the focus of Bill Brugger, Contemporary China (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1977).

14. Zhao Shuli, Sanliwan (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1958).
15. Zhou Libo, Shanxiang jubian (Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1958).
16. Liu Qing, Chuangye shi (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1960).
17. Huang, Heroes and Villains, pp. 237-91 for novels on agricultural collectivisation. See also: Zhongguo dangdai wenxue shi chugao (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980), pp. 282-90, 321-7, 308-15.
18. Hongnan zuozhan shi, p. 440.
19. Ibid., p. 440.
20. Ibid., pp. 522-3.
21. Mao Zedong, "Zhongguo shehui ge jieji fenxi," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. I, pp. 3-11.
22. Hongnan zuozhan shi, p. 571.
23. Ibid., p. 229.
24. Ibid., p. 350.
25. Ibid., p. 121.
26. Ibid., p. 339.
27. Ibid., p. 30.
28. Mao Zedong, "Zuzhi qilai," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. III, pp. 882-90.
29. Mao Zedong, "Guanyu nongye hezuohua wenti," Mao Zedong xuanji, vol. V, pp. 168-91.
30. Zhongguo nongcun de shehuizhuyi gaochao, vol. II, p 730. The translation is from Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1957), pp. 159-67, qt. p. 161.
31. Hongnan zuozhan shi, p. 508.
32. Ibid., p. 13.

33. Ibid., p. 3.
34. Ibid., p. 48.
35. Ibid., pp. 121-2.
36. Ibid., p. 502.
37. Huang Heroes and Villains, pp. 316-9.
38. Orwell, Nineteen Eighty-four, Penguin ed., p. 107.
39. Gao Susheng, Wu Wenbian, "Ping Hongnan zuozhan shi, de suowei 'xin changshi'," Shanghai wenyi #5 (May 1978), pp. 85-6, qt. p. 85.

CHAPTER 5

1. Volumes III and IV were written between 1974-6. Printer's galleys remain in the possession of the author, awaiting a propitious future publishing date. Some extracts of volume III have been published; these include: "Hongtao qu," Renmin wenxue #6 (Sept. 1976), pp. 18-51 (various chapters); "Feng chui cao dong," Beijing wenyi #1 (Jan. 1977), pp. 64-8 (chapter 30); "Ma dao chenggong," Beijing wenyi #2 (Feb. 1977), pp. 44-65 (chapter 33). Beijing wenyi carried an instalment in the Sept. 1976 issue, which was withdrawn from circulation following the arrest of the Gang of Four.
2. Many such speeches are collected in an untitled anthology of Hao Ran's essays and addresses circulated internally at Fudan University in 1975. It is referred to hereafter as Fudan Materials.
3. Hao Ran, "Mantan suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong renwu de jige wenti," Speech to Amateur Writers, Sept. 19, 1972, Chuban tongxun #3 (1973), repr. in Fudan Materials, pp. 19-36, qt. p. 22.
4. Ibid., p. 21.
5. Mao Zedong, "Zuzhi qilai," qt. p. 884.
6. For example, there are only three quotations in the 688 pages of the second volume.
7. The "quan" of his name, "spring," is homophonous with "complete".
8. For the story/legend of Wang Guofu, see "La geming che bu song tao, yizhi la dao gongchanzhuyi -- ji wuchanjieji youxiu zhanshi Wang Guofu," Renmin ribao (Jan. 20, 1970); repr. in Xiandai wenzhang xuandu (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1976), pp. 77-100.
9. "Mantan suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong renwu de jige wenti," esp. pp. 33-4.
10. Wong Kam-ming, "A Study of Hao Ran's Two Novels: Art and Politics in Bright Sunny Skies and The Road of Golden Light," in Kubin and Wagner eds., Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism, pp. 117-49.
11. Hao Ran, "Pangwan," a 1959 story first appearing in the collection Zhenzhu, repr. in Huaduo ji (Chongqing: Sichuan renmin

chubanshe, 1980), pp. 17-29.

12. In the passage translated in Kai-yu Hsu, The Chinese Literary Scene, pp. 99-114.

13. R.K. interview with Hao Ran, Beijing, Apr. 20-1, 1981.

14. R.K. interview with Wang Yongsheng, Shanghai, May 6, 1981. Professor Wang, of Fudan University's Chinese Department, was the author of the allegedly collectively written Jinguang dadao pingxi (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975). The other elements of the "three-in-one" team were Party authorities and "worker-peasant-soldier students" whose responsibility was to supervise Wang's writing.

15. Hao Ran, Yanyang tian (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, vol. I, 1964; vols. II & III, 1966; repr. 1974).

16. Jia Ling (Ye Jiaying), "Yanyang tian zhong Xiao Changchun yu Jiao Shuhong de aiqing gushi," (copy of article passed to me by the author, no publication details).

17. Jinguang dadao, vol. I, p. 114.

18. Hao Ran, "Caixia," Renmin wenxue #10 (Oct. 1961), reprinted in Hao Ran, Chunge ji (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe, 1973), pp. 337-49.

19. Jinguang dadao, vol. I, p. 63.

20. The exception is Zhao Yu'e, wife of Qin Wenji, who defies the Qin family over the Liu Xiang land sale, in vol. II, pp. 180-5.

21. Jinguang dadao, vol. I, p. 102.

22. Ibid., vol. I, p. 245.

23. Ibid., vol. II, p. 12.

24. "Hao Ran tan xiaoshuo changzuo," Qishi niandai (part I, Aug. 1976, pp. 68-72; part II, Sept. 1976, pp. 66-71), qt. part II, p. 71; R.K. interview with Hao Ran.

25. "Zhongguo shehui ge jieji fenxi," Mao Zedong xuanji, p. 5.

26. Jinguang dadao, vol. I, p. 213.

27. Ibid., vol. I, p. 327.

28. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 328-9.
29. Ibid., vol. I, p. 219.
30. Ibid., vol. II, p. 599.
31. Ibid., vol. II, p. 211. Lupiyong is a puppet theatre indigenous to Hebei. See: Roger Howard, Contemporary Chinese Theatre (Hong Kong: Heinemann, 1978), p. 28.
32. Jinguang dadao, vol. I, p. 308.
33. Ibid., vol. I, p. 75.
34. See: Yuan-tsung Chen, The Dragon's Village (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).
35. Jinguang dadao, vol. II, p. 230.
36. Ibid., vol. II, p. 447.
37. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 49-50.
38. Ibid., vol. II, p. 502.
39. Ibid., vol. I, p. 74.
40. Ibid., vol. II, p. 63.
41. Hao Ran, "Guanyu Jinguang dadao de tongxun," Beijing yuetan (Jan. 31, 1975), reprinted in Fudan Materials, pp. 224-8, qt. p. 225.
42. Jinguang dadao, vol. I, p. 46.
43. Ibid., vol. I, p. 436.
44. William Hinton, Shenfan, parts I and II, pp. 5-166.
45. See: Cyril Birch, "Change and Continuity in Chinese Fiction," in Merle Goldman ed., Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 385-404, esp. pp. 394-402.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

1. Sources for the literary biography of Hao Ran, in addition to those mentioned already:

i) Chia Ching, "Introducing the Writer Hao Jan, Chinese Literature #4 (Apr. 1974), pp. 95-101.

ii) "Hao Ran jianjie," Hao Ran zuopin yanjiu ziliao (Nanjing: Nanjing shifan xueyuan, 1974), pp. 1-7.

iii) Jia Ling (Ye Jiaying), "Hao Ran fangwen ji," Dousou (Mar. 1978), pp. 28-40.

iv) -----, "Yu Hao Ran tan chuanguo yu sirenbang," Taisheng (part I, May 1978, pp. 32-40; part II, June 1978, p. 54-9 and 62).

v) Lin Manshu et al., Zhongguo zuojia jianjie (Hong Kong: n.p., n.d.), pp. 219-20.

2. "Hao Ran tan xiaoshuo chuanguo," part I, p. 68.

3. For a full bibliography of the author's work to August 1973, see: Hao Ran zuopin yanjiu ziliao, pp. 271-308.

4. Ye Shengtao, "Xin nongcun de xin mianmao - du Xique deng zhi," Dushu #14 (1958), reprinted in Hao ran zuopin yanjiu ziliao, pp. 109-20.

5. Yao Wenyan, "Shengqi-bobo de nongcun tuhua - tan Hao Ran jinnian lai de duanpian xiaoshuo," in Yao Wenyan, Zai qianjin de daolu shang (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1965), pp. 226-39. The article is dated 1962, with footnotes that postdate it.

6. W. H. F. Jenner, "Class Struggle in a Chinese Village -- a Novelist's View," Modern Chinese Studies, vol. I, #2 (1967), pp. 191-206.

7. See: Chu Lan, "Zai maodun chongtu zhong suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong dianxing -- ping changpian xiaoshuo Yanyang tian," Renmin ribao (May 5, 1974); and Zhongguo dangdai wenxue shi chugao vol. I (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980), pp. 192-6.

8. "Hao Ran tan xiaoshuo chuanguo," part I, p. 71.

9. Hao Ran, Xisha ernu (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2 vols. 1974). See also: Zhang Yongmei, "Xisha zhi zhan," Guangming ribao (Mar. 15, 1974).

10. See: Li Bingzhi, "Ping Hao Ran de Xisha ernü," Guangdong wenyi #11 (Nov. 1977), reprinted in Renmin wenxue #3 (Mar. 1979),

pp. 80-5.

11. Hao Ran's Cultural Revolution output, apart from works already mentioned, includes:

a) Short Stories:

- i) Lao zhishu de chuanwen (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1973), revised version of 1966 collection;
- ii) Yangliu feng (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1973);
- iii) Chunge ji (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe, 1973) -- an anthology of pre-1966 stories, some revised;

b) Children's fiction:

- i) Youmiao ji (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1973) -- an anthology of earlier stories;
- ii) Qiyue huai hua xiang (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe, 1973);
- iii) Huanle de hai (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe, 1974);

c) Reportage:

- i) Huohong de zhanqi (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1975);
- ii) Dadi de chibang (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1976).

12. Hao Ran, Shanshui qing (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1980). The novel was serialised in two issues of the magazine Changcheng in 1979 as Nan hun nu jia; the title was subsequently changed to avoid confusion with another novel of the same name. Other post-1976 fiction includes the short novel "Fouyun," Xinyuan #2 (1980), pp. 4-61; a volume of reissued love stories Huaduo ji (Chongqing: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1980); new short stories for children, Didi bianchengle xiao bai tu (n.p.: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1980); and, reissued children's stories, Hao Ran ertong gushi xuan (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1980).

CHAPTER 6

1. See: Li Bingzhi, "Guanyu Baihuchuan de liangge banben," Guangdong wenyi #2 (Feb. 1978), pp. 59-61.

2. Hao Ran, "Yao yonggande qianjin," speech of Sept. 10, 1974 at a forum of amateur writers in Tianjin, Fudan Materials, pp. 88-102, qt. p. 99. The speech is discussed in Li Bingzhi, "Ping Hao Ran de 'xin' daolu," Guangdong wenyi #12 (1977) reprinted in Renmin wenxue #4 (Apr. 1978), pp. 85-9.

3. R.K. interview with Hao Ran.

4. The term was first officially used in Hua Guofeng, "Zai Zhongguo Gongchandang dishiyi ci quanguo daibiao dahui shang de zhengzhi baogao," Hongqi #9 (Sept. 1977), pp. 3-31, qt. p. 14. For analysis of "conspiratorial literature," see: Shen Keding, "'Yinmou wenyi' pipan," Shanghai wenyi #1 (Oct 1977), pp. 87-94 and 101; Jiang Bin, "Lun 'yinmou wenyi'," Guangming ribao (Sept. 3, 1977); and Yang Zhijie, Liu Zaifu, Hengmei ji (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1977).

5. Thirty-three issues of the monthly Zhaoxia appeared. The first anthology (congkan), titled Zhaoxia, came out in May 1973. The supplements had different names and were not numbered. At least ten were published.

6. Cui Hongrui (Duan Duixia), "Yipian jie maodun de baogao," Zhaoxia #4 (Apr. 1974), pp. 8-17.

7. See: Du Huazhang, "Reqing gesong zhua geming cu shengchan de mofan renwu -- ping 'Yipian jie maodun de baogao'," Zhaoxia #7 (July 1974), pp. 62-4; and, Ren Xu, "Lun Ren Shuying xingxiang de dianxingxing," Zhaoxia #2 (Feb. 1975), pp. 66-9.

8. Sang Cheng, "Ping 'sirenbang' de bangkan Zhaoxia," Shanghai wenyi #1, pp. 80-6, esp. p. 82.

9. See: "Chi yinmou wenyi," and "yinmou wenyi shimo," in Hengmei ji, pp. 1-22.

10. For description and analysis of the January Revolution, see: Hunter, Shanghai Journal, pp. 197-267; Andrew G. Walder, Chang Chun-ch'iao and Shanghai's January Revolution (Ann Arbor: Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies #32, 1977); Parris Chang, "Shanghai and Chinese Politics: Before and After the Cultural Revolution," in Christopher Howe ed., Shanghai (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 66-90.

11. Qing Ming, "Chuchun de zaochen," Zhaoxia (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1973), pp. 175-210. The story is summarised in Pollard, "The Short Story in the Cultural Revolution;" Pollard judges it to be "a superior specimen of its kind" (p. 110). For "conspiratorial" aspects, see: Wang Yigang, "Cong 'Chuchen de zaochen' dao 'Shengda de jieri'," Wenyi luncong #1 (1977), pp. 112-141.

12. Wang Hongwen, "Guanyu xiugai dangzhang de baogao," Hongqi #9 (Sept. 1973), pp. 22-3.

13. Cui Hongrui, "Yipian jie maodun de baogao," p. 10.

14. The struggle with "capitalist-readers" in fictional works intensified to a point where in 1976, hardly any other conflicts appeared. Such as emphasis is defended in Xin Wentong, "Yao zhongshi fanying wuchan jieji tong zouzipai de douzheng," Renmin wenxue #2 (Mar. 1976), pp. 119-22.

15. Hao Ran, Baihuachuan (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1976), p. 131.

16. Jingguang dadao, vol. I, p. 61.

17. Baihuachuan, pp. 24-5.

18. "Three freedoms and one contract" (san zi yi bao) was a policy introduced by Liu Shaoqi in an attempt to revitalise agriculture after the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the three bad years of 1959-62. The "three freedoms" were free (i.e.- private) plots, free markets and free (i.e.- small-scale) enterprise; the "one contract" was between the family and the collective for the supply of produce. The policy was attacked as incipient capitalism during the campaign against Liu Shaoqi, and effectively reintroduced as the responsibility system in the early 1980's.

19. See: Liu Binyan, "Ren yao zhi jian," Renmin wenxue #9 (Sept. 1979), pp. 83-102.

20. Li Bingzhi, "Ping Hao Ran de Baihuachuan," Guangdong wenyi #1 (Jan. 1978), pp. 9-13.

21. Ru Zhijuan, "Jianji cuole de gushi," Renmin wenxue #2 (Feb. 1979), pp. 65-76.

22. Baihuachuan, p. 61.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

24. Ibid., p. 112.

25. Ibid., p. 11.

26. Ibid., p. 33.

27. Ibid., p. 196.

28. Ibid., pp. 206-7.

29. Ibid., p. 45.

30. Ibid., p. 195.

31. Ibid., p. 216.

32. Ibid., p. 151.

33. Ibid., p. 220.

34. Wang Yigang, "Cong 'Chuchun de zaochen' dao 'Shengda he jieri'," cites several cases, including the two works mentioned in the title of the article.

35. R.K. interview with Hao Ran.

36. Baihuachuan, pp. 217-8.

CHAPTER 7

1. The demonstrations were those of May 4, 1919 and April 5, 1976. See: Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China (first edition, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1960; paperback edition, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 84-116; and "Tiananmen shijian zhenxiang," Renmin ribao (Nov. 21 & 22, 1978); also Bing Xin, "Cong 'wu-si' dao 'si-wu'," Wenyi yanjiu #1 (May 1979), pp. 23-36.

2. See entry on Guo Xianhong in Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1979), pp. 468-9.

3. R.K. interview with Zhu Lin, Shanghai, Sept. 31, 1979.

4. Qt. in Brugger, Contemporary China, p. 290.

5. See, for example: Ken Ling The Revenge of Heaven (New York: Ballantine, 1972), pp. 9-11.

6. R.K. interviews with former red guards returned from rustication, Shanghai, Mar.-June 1981.

7. Thomas P. Bernstein, Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages: The Transfer of Youth from Urban to Rural China (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1977) p. 156. (Bernstein's text has hsien.) See also: B. Michael Frolic, Mao's People (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 52-3.

8. Hongse jiaxin (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1973).

9. Hua Tong, "Yan'an de zhongzi," Wenhuibao (Apr. 28, 1972), repr. in Shanghai duanpian xiaoshuo xuan 1971.1-1973.12 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1974), pp. 116-29.

10. Ibid., p. 116.

11. Lu Xinhua, "Shanghen," Wenhuibao (Aug. 11, 1978); included in numerous anthologies, including Duanpian xiaoshuo xuan 1977-1978.9 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978), pp. 505-19.

12. "It is necessary for young people to go to the villages to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. We must persuade cadres and others in the cities to send their sons and daughters down to the countryside when they graduate from lower- or upper- middle school or university, and bring about a mass-mobilisation. Comrades in the villages everywhere should welcome them." Qt. in Zhengtu, p. 2.

13. In fact, this recounting is highly reminiscent of a celebrated work of reportage by an author in disgrace at the time of the novel's writing. See: Xia Yan, "Baoshen gong," (written Apr. 1936), Xia Yan xuanji (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980), vol. II, pp. 785-801.

14. Zhengtu, p. 159.

15. Ibid., p. 141.

16. Ibid., pp. 145-6.

17. Ibid., p. 212.

18. Ibid., p. 710.

19. Ibid., p. 12.

20. Ibid., p. 23.

21. Shenghuo de lu, p. 143.

22. Ibid., p. 215.

23. Ibid., pp. 106-7.

24. Ibid., p. 345.

25. Ibid., p. 191.

26. Ibid., p. 194.

27. Ibid., p. 22.

28. Ibid., pp. 153-4.

29. Ibid., pp. 112-3.

30. See: Wei Junyi, "Cong chuban shenghuo de lu suo xiangdao de," Guangming ribao (Oct. 3, 1979).

31. Shenghuo de lu, p. 382.

32. Thomas Hardy, Tess of the D'Urbervilles (first published, 1891; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978).

33. Author's preface to the fifth and later editions, dated July 1882; Tess (Penguin ed.), p. 37.

34. Zhengtu, p. 19.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 548-9.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 671.
38. Shenghuo de lu, p. 82.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

42. In this case, the grandson of the Old Party Secretary Cui Fuchang writes to the highest authority to protest the treatment of his grandfather. The letter is intercepted by one of Cui Haiying's henchmen and used against the boy's family. The fictional incident parodies celebrated tales like "Chairman Mao's Letter to Li," recounted in Frolic, Mao's People, pp. 42-57.

CONCLUSION

1. Ross Terrill, Mao: A Biography (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).
2. Zhou Yang, "Jiawang kailai, fanrong shehuizhuyi xin shiqi de wenyi," Wenyibao #11-12 (Dec. 1979), pp. 8-26, qt. p. 12.
3. Ibid., p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 14.
5. Professor Wang Yongsheng, in my interview with him in May 1981, told me that he planned to write more on The Golden Road, concentrating on the middle-peasant Qin family, but was forbidden to do so by the Party authorities at Fudan University.
6. Huang Kecheng, "How to Assess Mao and Mao Zedong Thought," Beijing Review #17 (Apr. 27, 1981), pp. 15-23, qt. p. 22. Chinese text in Jiefangjun bao (Apr. 10, 1981).
7. See, for example, Wang Meng's 1979 story "Youyou cun cao xin," Shanghai wenxue #9 (Sept. 1979), pp. 4-16, in which a barbershop serves as a microcosm for the nation. "During the first seven or eight years after Liberation [writes the barber narrator, the barbershop] was heavenly bright." (p. 4). In the story, the atmosphere deteriorates in the late 1950's.
8. One extra-literary example of a Cultural Revolution phenomenon with its roots in Yan'an is the personality cult of Mao. As Maurice Meisner points out, its chief victim Liu Shaoqi was one of its architects in the 1940's. Meisner, "The Cult of Mao Tse-tung," in Marxism, Maoism and Utopianism (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1979), pp. 155-83.
9. He Qifang, "Mao Zedong sixiang zhaoyaozhe women," Wenyi luncong #1 (Sept. 1977), pp. 1-31, qt. p. 4.
10. For further examples of Party admonitions following the Fourth National Conference of Writers and Artists in Nov. 1979, see Howard Goldblatt, Introduction, Chinese Literature for the 1980's: The Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1982), p. xiv.
11. The term "cold wind" was coined in Wang Ruowang, "Chuntian li de yige leng feng -- ping 'ge de' yu 'que de'," Guangming ribao (July 20, 1979). See also: Kyna Rubin, "Interview with Mr. Wang Ruowang," China Quarterly #83 (Sept. 1981), pp. 501-17.

12. See: He Xing'an, "Weizhe canlan de shehuizhuyi wenxue shiye," Wenxue pinglun #6 (Dec. 1983), pp. 3-11, qt. p. 11.

13. These manifestations of "spiritual pollution" are listed in "Qingchu jingshen wuran shi wenxue gongzuozhe de zhongyao renwu," Wenxue pinglun #1 (Jan. 1984), pp. 3-5, qt. p. 4.

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND TERMS

INTRODUCTION

Bai Hua 白桦

baoying 报应

Bei Dao 北岛

Cao Cao 曹操

dangxing 党性

fanying 反映

Feng Menglong 冯梦龙

fengyue baojian 风月宝鉴

geming xianshizhuyi he geming langmanzhuyi xiang jiehe

革命现实主义和革命浪漫主义相结合

gong-nong-bing 工农兵

Guo Moruo 郭沫若

Guo Xianhong 郭先红

Han Yu 韩愈

Hao Ran 浩然

jian 鉴

jingzi 镜子

Jiang Qing 江青

langmanzhuyi 浪漫主义

Lin Biao 林彪

Liu Binyan 刘宾雁

liu geng 六更

Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇

Lu Xun 鲁迅

Mao Dun 茅盾

Mao Zedong 毛泽东

menglong 朦胧

Peng Dehuai 彭德怀

Qian Xingcun 钱杏邨

Shen Congwen 沈从文

shi yan zhi 诗言志

shuangge 双革

Sima Guang 司马光

sirenbang 四人帮

Sui Yangdi 隋炀帝

Wang Meng 王蒙

Wang Xifeng 王熙凤

Wu Han 吴晗

Xiahou Yuan 夏侯渊

xianshizhuyi 现实主义

xin xieshizhuyi 新写实主义

yangbanxi 样板戏

Yao Wen yuan 姚文元

yishi liu 意识流

Zhang Yu 张裕

Zhou Yang 周扬

Zhou Zuoren 周作人

Zhu Lin 竹林

CHAPTER 1

Ai Qing 艾青

minzu xingshi 民族形式

Aying 阿英

pishi 批示

baihua 白话

puji 普及

baihua qifang, baijia zhengming

百花齐放, 百家争鸣

baolu 暴露

putonghua 普通话

Chen Boda 陈伯达

qiangkou xiang wai 枪口向外

chuangzao she 创造社

Qin Shihuang 秦始皇

Ding Ling 丁玲

Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白

ducao 毒草

Taiyangshe 太阳社

fengliu renwu 风流人物

Tang Taizong 唐太宗

gesong 歌颂

tigao 提高

guofang wenxue 国防文学

Wang Ming 王明

hei'an 黑暗

Wang Shiwei 王实味

Hu Feng 胡风

wenyi gongzuozhe 文艺工作者

Luo Feng 罗烽

Xia Yan 夏衍

mengya zhuangtai de wenyi 萌芽状态的文艺

xianghua 杏花

Zhou Libo 周立波

Xiao Jun 萧军

Zhou Qiyong 周起应

yangge 秧歌

Zhu De 朱德

yishujia 艺术家

zuo jia 作家

zawen 杂文

zuolian 左联

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1

Aqing's wife 阿庆嫂

Ma Liben 马立本

haohan 好汉

Niu Xiaoshui 牛小水

Jiao Shuhong 焦淑红

Sun Wukong 孙悟空

Lu Zhishen 鲁智深

Zhubajie 猪八戒

CHAPTER 2

afei wu 阿飞舞

Ba Jin 巴金

Ba Ren 巴人

bu po bu li 不破不立

caizi jiarren 才子佳人

chuangzuo zu 创作组

Deng Tuo 邓拓

di fu fan you huai 地富反右坏

di wang jiang xiang 帝王将相

Du Pengcheng 杜鹏程

Empress Lü 吕后

gaige 改革

geming 革命

gunzi 棍子

Hai Rui 海瑞

Hu Wanchun 胡万春

heibalun 黑八论

hua ju 话剧

Jiaqing 嘉靖

Kang Sheng 康生

Ke Qingshi 柯庆施

Li Huiniang 李慧娘

Liao Mosha 廖沫沙

Liu Shaotang 刘绍棠

Lu Dingyi 陆定一

Meng Chao 孟昭

minzhu jizhong zhi 民主集中制

neihang 内行

Peng Zhen 彭真

ping yuanyu 评冤狱

Qin Zhaoyang 秦兆阳

qingguan 清官

ren 人

san jiehe, san heyi 三结合
三合一

san peichen 三陪衬

san tuchu 三突出

Shao Quanlin 邵荃麟

Tian Han 田汉

tui chen chu xin 推陈出新

tui tian 退田

wairen guren 外人古人

Wu Nanxing 吴南星

Xie Yaohuan 谢瑶环

Xu Jie 徐阶

yang wei zhong yong 洋为中用

Yang Zirong 杨子荣

yangban 样板

Yao Xueyin 姚雪垠

yeshoupai 野兽派

zhongjian renwu 中间人物

Zhou Gucheng 周谷城

CHAPTER 3

Alian 阿莲

bao 报

bangyang 榜样

biaoben 标本

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹

Chang Bao 常宝

chou 丑

chongtu 冲突

Cui Daniang 催大娘

cunzai 存在

dianxing 典型

dianxinghua 典型化

Dushedan 毒蛇胆

Fang Haizhen 方海珍

geming xiandai jingju

革命现代京剧

gexing 个性

gongren jieji 工人阶级

gongxing 共性

Granny Du 杜奶奶

Granny Li 李奶奶

Guo Jianguang 郭建光

Han Xiaochang 韩小强

Hong Changqing 洪常青

Huang Guozhong 黄国忠

jiandaoban 尘刀班

Jiang Shuiying 江水英

jiejue 解决

jihua 激化

Ke Xiang 柯湘

kuangkuang 框框

laodan 老旦

lao san pian 老三篇

Lei Feng 雷锋

Lei Gang 雷刚

Li Sheng 李胜

Li Tiemei 李铁梅

Li Yu 李渔

Li Yuhe 李王和

Li Zhitian 李志田

Lin Mohan 林默涵

Longjiang fengge 龙江风格

Luo Guanzhong 罗贯中

Mei Lanfang 梅兰芳

Ouyang Hai 欧阳海

puji 普及

Qian Shouwei 钱守维

qingyi 青衣

Qu Bo 曲波

shinian mo yi xi 十年磨一戏

Uncle Ajian 阿坚伯

Wen Qijiu 温其久

wuchanjieji 无产阶级

wudan 武旦

wusheng 武生

xi 戏

xue zhai 血债

Yan Weicai 严伟才

Zhang Chunqiao 张春桥

Zhao Yonggang 赵勇刚

zhi dou 智斗

zhong jingang 众金刚

zhongdian shu 重点书

zhuanbian renwu 转变人物

zhuanhua 转化

CHAPTER 4

An Keming	安克明	Niu Husheng	牛虎生
<u>chuying</u>	雏鹰	Pu Chunhua	浦春华
<u>fanshen</u>	翻身	<u>shuo shi chi, nei shi kuai</u>	说时迟,那时快
Gaffer Liang III	梁三老汉		
Gao Quwen	高曲文	<u>xiezi</u>	楔子
<u>gong-si ronghua lun</u>	公私溶化论	Xu Tugen	徐土根
Hong Leisheng	洪雷生	<u>yinzi</u>	引子
Jiang Yexian	姜耶仙	<u>zaju</u>	杂剧
Jin Jingmai	金敬迈	Zhang Baozhen	张宝珍
<u>kanlai</u>	看来	<u>zhengzhi laoshi</u>	政治老师
Lai Fucai	赖富财	<u>zhijian</u>	只见
Liang Shengbao	梁生宝	Zhou Tian	周田
Liu Qing	柳青	<u>zhuanyan zhijian</u>	转眼之间
Mama Hong	洪妈妈	Zhuge Liang	诸葛亮
<u>maoshou maojiao de xiao haizi</u>	毛手毛脚的小孩子		

CHAPTER 5

aiqing shenghuo 爱情生活

lupiyi 驴皮影

Caixia 彩霞

mantou 馒头

Dayu 大禹

nongmin yishi 农民意识

Deng Jiukuan 邓久宽

Qian Caifeng 钱彩凤

fajia zhifu 发家致富

Qin Fu 秦富

fangeming 反革命

Qin Kai 秦恺

Fan Keming 范克明

Qin Wenji 秦文吉

Feng Shaohuai 冯少怀

Qin Wenqing 秦文庆

Gao Daquan 高大泉

pingshu 评书

Gao Erlin 高二林

shuanghuang 双簧

gao yu shenghuo 高于生活

shuang pangrenjia 双姓旁人家

kang 炕

Third Granny Deng 邓三奶奶

Liang Haishan 梁海山

Tian Yu 田雨

Liu Wan 刘万

Waizuzu 歪咀子

Liu Xiang 刘祥

Wang Guofu 王国富

Lü Ruifen 吕瑞芬

Wang Yongsheng 王永生

Xiao Changchun 萧长春

xiao suanpan 小算盘

Xu Meng 徐萌

yuan yu shenghuo 源于生活

zao banle, zao shengxin

早办了,早省心

Zhang Fei 张飞

Zhang Jinfa 张金发

Zhang Jinshou 张金寿

Zhao Yu'e 赵玉娥

Zhou Liping 周丽平

Zhou Zhong 周忠

Zhu Tiehan 朱铁汉

Zhu Zhankui 朱占奎

zigeng nong 自耕农

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

Liang Jinguang 梁金广

pingxi 评戏

sanwen 散文

Ye Shengtao 叶圣陶

Zhang Yongmei 张永枚

CHAPTER 6

baobei 宝贝

Chang Wu 常武

Chang Zide 常自得

Chen Cheng 陈成

Deng Xiaoping 邓小平

fan chaoliu jingshen
反潮流精神

gaoliang 高粱

Hu Zhengmin 胡政民

huoshao pigu yiyang
火烧屁股一样

Liu Gui'an 刘贵安

Liu Yuan 刘元

Old Chang II 常老二

qunzhong 群众

Ren Shuying 任树英

Ru Zhijuan 茹志鹃

san zi yi bao 三自一包

sheyuanmen 社员们

Tian Dajiang 田大江

toushang zhang jiao, shenshang
zhang ci

头上长角, 身上长刺

Wang Hongwen 王洪文

Xiaoling 小岭

xinguan shangren sanba huo
新官上任三把火

Xiulian 秀莲

Yang Guozhen 杨国珍

Zhou Enlai 周恩来

zhouwei de ren 周围的人

CHAPTER 7

Aunt Guan 关 婶

baolu wenxue 暴 露

Cui Fuchang 崔 富昌

Cui Haiying 崔 海赢

Dagan 大 熬

Dalu 大 禄

Fang Ming 方 明

geming chuanlian 革 命 串 联

Grandpa Guan 关 爷爷

Grandpa Tian 田 大爷

guangming weiba 光 明 尾 巴

houji 后 记

huanxiang 还 乡

Ji Yanfeng 纪 延 风

jiao xiaojie 娇 小 姐

Li Dejiang 李 德 江

Louwa 楼 娃

Lu Xinhua 卢 新 华

Maxiong 马 熊

pushang qian 扑 上 前

qinbuqin, jieji fen 亲 不 亲, 阶 级 分

shanghen wenxue 伤 痕 文 学

shangshan xiaxiang 上 山 下 乡

shouli hai jinjinde niezhe

手 里 还 紧 紧 地 捏 着

shouli hai jinjinde zhuanzhe

手 里 还 紧 紧 地 攥 着

Shuhai 淑 孩

Tan Juanjuan 谭 娟 娟

Tao Abao 陶 阿 宝

Wan Lili 万 莉 莉

Wang Xiaohua 王 晓 华

wotou 窝头

xian 县

Xiao Fuzi 小福子

Xiao Lizi 小李子

yiku sitian 忆苦思甜

yishu tiancai 艺术天才

Yu Baochun 于春保

Yu Yingtian 于英田

Zhang Dawei 张大为

Zhang Liang (Liangzi) 张梁(梁子)

Zhang Shan 张山

Zhong Weihua 钟卫华

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE JOURNALS CITED

Beijing wenyi	北京文艺
Changcheng	长城
Chuban tongxun	出版通讯
Dangdai wenxue yanjiu congkan	当代文学研究丛刊
Dousou	抖擞
Dushu	读书
Guangdong wenyi	广东文艺
Guangming ribao	光明日报
Guyu	谷雨
Hangzhou wenyi	杭州文艺
Hongqi	红旗
Jiefang ribao (Shanghai)	解放日报 (上海)
Jiefang ribao (Yan'an)	解放日报 (延安)
Jiefangjun wenyi	解放军文艺
Liaoning ribao	辽宁日报
Lishi yanjiu	历史研究

Qishi niandai	七十年代
Qianxian	前线
Renmin ribao	人民日报
Renmin wenxue	人民文学
Renmin xiju	人民戏剧
Shanghai wenxue	上海文学
Shanghai wenyi	上海文艺
Shiyue	十月
Wenhuibao	文汇报
Wenhui cengkan	文汇报增刊
Wenxue pinglun	文学评论
Wenyibao	文艺报
Wenyi luncong	文艺论丛
Xiaoshuo yuebao	小说月报
Xin wenxue luncong	新文学论丛
Xinyuan	新苑

Xuexi yu pipan 学习与批判

Zhaoxia 朝霞

Zhong-gong yanjiu 中共研究

Zhongguo qingnian 中国青年

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Beijing jingjutuan Dujuanshan juzu. 北京京剧团《杜鹃山》剧组

"Jifeng zhi jing cao, liehuo jian zhen jin -- suzao wuchan-
jieji yingxiong Ke Xiang de tihui."

疾风知劲草,烈火见真金——

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