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Revolution in Pain(t): A Semiotic Reading of Chinese Cultural  
Revolution Propaganda Posters and Female Motivated  
Violence (1966-1968)

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## Signed Declaration

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

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Date 18/02/2020

## Abstract

This thesis focuses on visual imagery and culture from Maoist China by exploring new methods for interpreting the propaganda posters from the Chinese Cultural Revolution (CR) through a linguistic-based methodology. In addition, this methodology is used to examine the previously understudied phenomenon of female perpetrated violence during the CR and the motivation and encouragement of women to participate within the realm of violence and factional infighting. Because propaganda poster images can be 'read' like any other text through distinct visual grammatical rules, these grammar rules aid in the exploration of the posters beyond the mere descriptive levels. In order to examine the imagery and the inherent communicative functions of the posters, this research combines propaganda theories, visual grammar, and semiotics to consider more closely the posters as a communication tool. The components adapted from linguistics that apply to visual analysis rely on identification of common meaningful elements and regularities which can be formally described. This work specifically focuses on iconographic symbols, semantic metaphors, and pragmatic deixis to analyse the different elements of the imagery to build a comprehensive analytical tool. Following the in-depth deconstruction of the posters and their internal meaning mechanisms, key components are identified and classed into the three types of grammar. By applying the visual grammar rules and methods developed for the propaganda posters, the female violence incitement imagery and their role within the violent posters is explored. Through the use of this new methodology for breaking down the posters and analysing them as communication devices that both give information and reflect contemporary society, this thesis takes a closer look at the role of women during the first few years of the CR. It establishes that despite the public participation in violent episodes chronicled in memoirs and historical accounts, the portrayal of female initiated and perpetrated violence within the propaganda poster art of the time does not reflect this trend.

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# Timeline of the Initial Years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

1966

- 2-20 February: The Symposium on the Works of Literature and the Arts in the Armed Forces (later published as part of Jiang Qing's 'the Summary')
- May 16 Notification available to select Politburo members
- Cultural Revolution Small Group headed by Jiang Qing replaces the Cultural Revolution Group
- 25 May: Nie Yuanzi posts first big character poster
- 1 June: Nie's big character poster contents broadcast on radio, giving it legitimacy
- Sweep Away all Monsters and Demons article published in the People's Day
- 28 July: Resolution on Withdrawal of the Working Groups from Colleges and Middle Schools
- 1 August: Chairman Mao official first usage of the term 'Red Guard' in open letter
- 5 August: Mao writes famous big character poster calling on the masses to 'Bombard the Headquarters'
- 5 August: CCP Central Committee issue statement in support of violence against teachers
- 5 August: Beijing Teacher's University attached middle school brutally beat several teachers—killing their first vice-principal, Bian Zhongyun
- 8 August: the Sixteen Points are published, starting the Four Olds Campaign
- 18 August: Mao meets Red Guards at Tiananmen Square to celebrate CR. Mao is presented with armband by student Song Binbin, following an exchange about her name she changes her name from Binbin (refined and courteous) to Yaowu (be violent).
- 22 August: Regulations on Strictly Restraining from Sending out the Police to Suppress the Revolutionary Student Movement
- In the following months, Mao reviews over 10 million Red Guards at Tiananmen Square
- Conference on PLA literature and art headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing
- Literary journals stop publication
- Selected Works of Mao Zedong published

1967

- Eight model operas officially supported
- 19 March three supports, two militaries campaign. PLA intervenes in the CR violence
- First Movement to Ferret Out May Sixteenth Elements

1968

- By mid-1968 32% of Politburo members, 66% of Central Committee members and 80% of provincial Party secretaries have been purged
- Officials forced to perform manual labour in 7<sup>th</sup> May cadre schools
- 28 July: Mao meets Red Guard leaders at Qinghua University
- 30 July: Mao Zedong Propaganda team enters Qinghua University
- August: Start of Movement to Purify Class Ranks
- August: Students ordered to return to classes
- December: Up to the mountains, down to the valleys campaign begins

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*Art represents the thoughts of a period and the ideas of the nation. In other words, it is the outlook of a nation's spirit. If the spirit changes direction then art will follow the change as well.*

- Lu Xun (1881-1936) personal letter quoted in Minick & Ping, 1990: 26

Lu Xun is considered one of the greatest writers of modern China. He remained a symbol and icon for the representation of social change in literature and art throughout the Maoist period; Mao Zedong even naming him the 'chief commander of China's cultural revolution' (Peking Review, Vol. 9, #45, Nov. 4, 1966: 8-10). According to Minick & Ping (1990) Lu Xun considered art as a measure of the nation's consciousness and that his philosophies on the modernisation of Chinese art led to a 'strong national artistic identity' (26). Wagner (2009) adds that he was a 'particularly enthusiastic supporter of woodblock prints which depicted the intense sufferings of the Chinese people to show the desperate need for a revolution' (Wagner, 2009). Though Lu Xun died before the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949, his convictions that art and the nation's spirit are intrinsically connected remains a key part of the Chinese art realm to this day (Minick & Ping, 1990).

Because of this fundamental interconnection between the state and art, and particularly as Lu Xun stated, the role of art as the 'outlook of a nation's spirit', this thesis investigates the role of art as the motivation and representation of political turmoil during the violent period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (CR, 1966-1968). Though the effect of propaganda on public opinion is thought to have a strong influence on the audience's psyche, 'it is not possible to establish with certainty how various groups in the population "read" visual material' (Bonnell, 1999: 11). Political images and propaganda posters that are intended to convey certain messages may also contain subliminal or unintentional communicative properties such as ideas on cultural and societal identification or gender relations. Similar to Bonnell's approach to Soviet propaganda posters, this study will attempt to use contemporary references and secondary literature in order to suggest possible interpretations of the material. One of the key ways of entering the audience perception is to look at what was 'encompassed by the discursive field and what was off limits' i.e. what was permissible to show in the imagery and what was lacking (Bonnell, 1999: 14).

During the CR, the two slogans, 'Women hold up half the sky' and 'Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too'<sup>1</sup> defined a new era of female equality. However, the period was defined by masculinisation of the female form in art and societal roles. As a result, the CR was the first public movement outside of a military campaign where women directly took part in the violence; documentation from the early years of the movement records female involvement in the violence of the era. Through the use of linguistic style methodology for breaking down the posters and analysing them as communication devices that both give information and reflect contemporary society, this thesis takes a closer look at the role of women during the first few years of the CR. It will establish that despite the public participation in violent episodes chronicled in memoirs and historical accounts, the portrayal of female initiated and perpetrated violence within the propaganda poster art of the time does not reflect this trend.

While this study will focus on a linguistic style interpretation of the imagery, it also incorporates theoretical underpinnings and key terms from several interrelated fields that are pertinent to the study of visual iconography. Among these are propaganda theory, art history, sociology of culture, and cultural history. Propaganda theory aids in the contextualisation of the role of propaganda in the PRC and more specifically the CR, while art history aids in identifying the role art may have played within the communicative function of *political* art. The idea of iconography is a concept adapted from art history and relies on 'a particular range or system of types of image used by an artist or artists to convey particular meanings' (Tate.org). The sociology of culture and cultural history aid in the experiential and historical context of the imagery and the possible interpretations of their contents. 'Images mean nothing by themselves, taken in isolation from their historical context' (Bonnell, 1999: 19).

Propaganda studies are an important starting point for looking at how the Chinese used this form of communication to interact with the masses and place the study of the posters into a theoretical context. Within the Chinese sphere of propaganda, many political, historical,

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<sup>1</sup> Women hold up half the sky, 妇女能顶半边天, *funü neng ding banbian tian*; Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too, 时代不同了, 男女都一样。男同志能办到的事情, 女同志也能办得到, *shidai butong le, nannü dou yiyang. Nan tongzhi neng bandao de shiqing, nü tongzhi ye neng bandedao.*

and art history based studies have recorded the political situation, catalogued documentation, analysed rhetoric and discourse of Chinese movements, and provided broad based descriptions of the propaganda art and propaganda posters of the PRC. Propaganda through its various forms, including the written word, films and theatre, speeches, and art, is one of the main communication methods of governments to the people.

Many studies have looked at the origins of propaganda and the key characteristics that define its motivational and persuasive factors (Lasswell, 1927; Ellul, 1965; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992; O'Shaughnessy, 2012; Prenderghast & Prenderghast, 2013). Going beyond the basic properties and definitions of propaganda, Taithe & Thornton (1999) look more closely at the use of rhetoric and persuasion within propaganda and the potential misapplication of these terms. Markova (2008) adds the importance of delineation between what is considered 'propaganda' and what is simply persuasion, noting that manipulation is an important differentiation between the two. Other studies look at specific methods of propaganda through ritual (Bajomi-Lazar, & Corvinus, 2013), mass media (Classen, 2007), nationalism and charismatic leadership (Eatwell, 2006a & 2006b), metaphor (Ivie, 1982; Musolff, 2007), manufactured hatred (Robertson, 2014) and government wartime posters (McCann, 2009). Each of these characteristics aids in the identification and use of propaganda and the poster art components. Most of these characteristics can be seen in the use of Chinese propaganda and aid in understanding how the propaganda would have functioned in society.

While the main studies on propaganda theory are based on Western conception, some studies explore the use of propaganda from a Chinese perspective. These are important as propaganda is generally seen as a more positive and educational form of communication in China. Though some scholars purport that Chinese mass communication techniques are fundamentally based in Confucian and other ancient philosophies (Heisey, 2000; Jia, 2000; Miike, 2009; Xiao & Chen, 2009), this assertion disregards the modern Chinese approaches to propaganda and the characteristics that make it uniquely 'Chinese'. Lu (2000) and Lin (2017) analyse the idea of propaganda based on the Chinese term 宣传 *xuanchuan* and the purposeful dissemination of information. Several scholars including Lin (2017) further add a key differentiation between the characteristics of Western propaganda theory and Chinese

theory is in the educational value associated with the term. Because of the influence of the Soviet Union and the Western education of many of the artists and officials of the Maoist period, the idea that Chinese propaganda and Western propaganda are seen as two different conceptions is tenuous and there is the potential for convergences of techniques within the propaganda of the period. Therefore, it is important to not look at the propaganda from one sphere or the other, but to look at the characteristics from both and combine them into a holistic theory of Maoist propaganda.

In addition to theoretical approach, one of the important ways to look at propaganda is through the lens of a regional or episodic use. Though these tend to focus on the use of propaganda within short periods of time or specific countries, they can refine how the characteristics of propaganda are used and identify new persuasive or manipulative elements used by specific regimes that can then be adapted to look at other situations. For example, many studies have looked at the use of propaganda and propaganda poster art in World War II in Germany (Delia, 1971; Perry, 1983; Kershaw, 1987 & 1993, Welch, 1993; Musolff, 2007) that identify key methods of mass manipulation such as the definition of reality, the creation of in and out groups, and demonization or zoomorphism. Other important region-specific studies look at Soviet propaganda and art (White, 1988; Bonnell, 1997) both through their historical context and through visual studies. Approaches to Soviet art are a helpful method of dissecting Chinese posters as there are many parallels of artistic methods and political influences. Bonnell's work is particularly important to this study as she uses some elements of visual grammar to look at different aspects of Soviet posters, including leadership, political transition, and women.

Modern China is another region that has had much scholarship on its propaganda usage. Propaganda of the PRC has been chronologically recorded as part of the Maoist communication system by historians and political scientists. Judd (1985) traces the Maoist approach to propaganda and art through the 'Yanan Talks' and identifies several problems in transforming the literati class of China. She also pinpoints several of the key transformative elements of the Talks in changing how the PRC looked at literature and art's role in society. Macfarquhar & Schoenhals (2006) trace the history of the PRC and describe the events, crucial documents, and methods of communication used by the government to connect with the masses, while Schoenhals (1996) assembles key big character posters 大

字报 *dazibao*, newspaper articles, and official documents placing them in context in order to further survey the interaction of the government with the masses during the CR. These help not only to contextualise the documents of the PRC, but also to look at how Mao and his government defined communication and their responsibility to the masses. In addition, Schoenhals' collection also looks at another important component of the communication landscape: several of the pieces he collected are written by citizens and Red Guards in response to the CR. This helps to identify how the masses were reacting and interacting with the propaganda of the leadership.

Other scholars detail key terms and gloss important phrases that came to influence communication, discourse, art and slogans (Li, 1995; Lu, 1999; He, 2016). These key terms and slogans provide the buzzwords of each movement, allowing for a more complete picture of the historical landscape of Maoist China and the individual movements. Through the development of these short phrases, the political transitions and communication shifts can not only be traced, but also can be used to look at the rhetorical language and discourse of the PRC and CR. These short catchphrases or slogans of the movements are also often used as the basis for the artwork of the PRC and are reflected in both the captions of the images as well as the content.

Within the PRC and the CR in particular, several important studies look at the rhetorical language and formulaic parsing that defined the era. First, Apter & Saich (1994) in their seminal work on Maoist discourse, *Revolutionary Discourse in Mao's Republic*, start the documentation of defining rhetoric of the PRC and looking more closely at how Mao defined reality during his reign. Heisey (2000) combines documentation and rhetoric theory to look at how Chinese view communication and propaganda. Going beyond the use of rhetorical theory, Yuan, Kuiper, & Shu (1990) explore how language and revolution are interconnected and how the formulaic method of communication helped to delimit the ways that people communicated with each other. This is particularly important for looking at both self-censorship and how the limitations of language translate into limitations of thought. Like the metaphorical use of 'newspeak' in *1984* by George Orwell, the restrictions on acceptable forms of interaction affects how the people of that era related to reality. This idea of limitation extends beyond language and influences most forms of propaganda and communication within the CR era. Art forms were limited to the politically correct forms

and messages, and this aids in reading the posters. Knowing that there are specific formulaic methods of communication means that the posters can be broken down into mechanical patterns through statistical relevance. This is reinforced by Leese (2011) who looks at Mao cult rhetoric and confirms the idea that formulaic language of the PRC means that statistical analysis of common meaningful elements can be used to look at the propaganda of the period.

Huang (1996, 2000, & 2002) expands on the idea of rhetoric in China to delve deeper into specific elements of CR propaganda and slogans and unpack the leadership's ability to move the masses. He focuses particularly on the early years of the CR (1966-1969) and utilises both rhetorical theory and the importance of language in order to look more closely at how Mao not only controlled the masses, but also how he used political slogans as leverage in conflict. While Huang looks at a more broad-based use of rhetoric and conflict, Perry & Li (1993) consider the use of rude language by Red Guards during the CR and how this was an important method of self-communication by the youth of that period. Furthermore, Wasserstrom and Wong (1996) explore how animal epithets and the use of negative associations and cursing are used during political conflict in the PRC. Particularly important are the uses of zoomorphism and cursing that dehumanise the enemy and make it easier to use violence against those deemed less than human. In addition, Schoenhals (1994 & 2007) also examines demonising language and the juxtaposition of in and out groups during the PRC in order to identify the primary discourse of Mao's movement in the PRC. This connects with Perry (1983)'s study of WWII Germany and the use of infestation metaphors to dehumanise the out group. This suggests that the dehumanisation of the enemy is an important avenue of expression and communication in order to motivate people during conflict.

In addition to the verbal and printed forms of propaganda, cinematic and theatrical propaganda forms are an important avenue for not only looking at mass communication, but also for the transitioning of the verbal and written word into visual and performative meaning components. According to Landsberger (2016) and Wang (2011) the model opera 样板戏 *yangbanxi* style of profile dominant imagery, exaggerated body language, and the use of the artistic styles such as the three prominences were all important transitions of stage style to printed art. In addition to research looking into the adaptation of artistic

modelling of the propaganda, Donald (2014) connects this performative propaganda with the use of visual art in order to look at the intermediality of the Chinese cinema after 1949. This is an important piece in that it connects the two different types of propaganda, cinematic and poster art, and explores how the inclusion or exclusion of key images helps to reinforce the messages of the film. This idea of looking for crossover imagery between two different media is not only important for showing the prevalence of propaganda throughout the visual world of the people at that time, but also as a reinforcing element to the metapicture and discourse deictic elements of grammatical basis of the posters.

Political art and propaganda posters are another form of information exchange that scholars look at in order to understand the both the communication of the era as well as a reflection of the historical events. There are several facets of political art that are explored in pre-existing scholarship. First, is the interaction between art and politics. While Andreas (2002) looks at the art's function within political and cultural power dynamics, Chiu & Zheng (2008) explore the relationship between art and China's revolution, and Henriot (2012) looks at how visualisation within China is an important tool to understanding its history and as a reflection of different periods. Because of the use of the visual as a communication device within Chinese history, there are also several dictionaries that help to read traditional imagery as well as transition some of the more important symbols into modern contexts (Eberhard 1986; Bartholomew, 2006; Williams, 2006; Welch 2008). Despite these comprehensive overviews of visual jargon, little scholarship has written about the same types of motifs in modern Chinese art. Studies that look into this kind of internal meaning tend to focus on specific symbols, colours, or characters (Murck, 2007; Feng, Dong & Li, 2008; Lu, Li, & Li, 2012) and do not give more information on how this could be used in a more broad based or even diagnostic method.

In addition to the political and historical aspects of political art, posters specifically are a valuable avenue of study. Landsberger (1995, 1998, 2015 & 2016) records posters by movement and uses them as a reflection of the period they correspond to, to delve deeper into the history of the PRC and the campaigns that defined Maoist China. Cushing & Tompkins (2007), Yang & Gentz (2014), and Yang (2016) provide catalogues of the posters by period and detail some of the most important meaningful elements present in the posters, though these are just highlights of some of distinct features. Yang (2016) offers an introduction to the posters based on his own recollection of the period and his first-hand

experience collecting the posters that provides further insight into the personal interaction with the propaganda source. These sources provide large collections of posters that allow for a general overview of the material as well as a way to conduct a brief comparative survey of the meaningful elements to see if these elements are unique to a period or to a genre. In addition, the information provided by the authors helps to base the meaningful elements extracted from the posters in two ways. First, the previously analysed components can be justified through this literature. Second, the fact that they are identifying some of these types of discrete signifiers allows for the extension of this idea to identify more nodes for study.

Following this idea of discrete nodes of information within the posters, several studies look at specific elements and artistic devices that are well known as meaningful components of the posters. Murck (2007)'s study looks at the use of the mango as a symbol for Mao and details how the symbol manifested itself not only in posters, but on various household wares and even were part of exhibitions. Evans (1999), Wang (2011), Lu, Li, & Li (2012) use gender as a lens to look at the posters, looking at the way women are portrayed. Though all three use the category differently and come to different conclusions on the role women played in the artwork and as a reflection of the period, the studies tend to focus on the overall parts the female character played within the discourse. Evans (1999) especially focuses on the departures or consistencies from previous posters as indicators of shifting roles within the CR. Cao (2008) picks three specific forms of 'tension' 张力 *zhangli* within the CR posters to understand how the images were built and made meaningful.

Another common avenue for study of the posters is looking at artistic devices that were common during the CR. Dal Lago (2009) looks at metapictures and metatext within the posters as a way to reconfirm ideas presented in other propaganda. This idea is similar to Donald (2014)'s study on the intermediality of the posters in cinematic use. The repetitiveness and incorporation of the images within images of Dal Lago (2009)'s study helps to identify a method of communication that went beyond a single poster's meaning by showing how the CCP was able to condone specific messages even more strongly. In addition, several studies point out the use of 'tall, big' and complete' 高大全 *gaodaquan*, 'red, bright and shining' 红光亮 *hongguangliang*, and the 'three prominences' 三突出 *santuchu* (Mittler, 2003; Dal Lago, 2009; Andrews, 2010; Zhang, 2011; Mittler, 2012; Pang,

2012; Henriot & Yeh, 2012; Landberger, 2016; Yang, 2016). In reflecting on his own work during the CR, Shen Jiawei recollects how his creative process was carefully orchestrated to comply with the political messages of the period. Despite his compliance to the standards set out by the Party, his work was still retouched to reflect the artistic devices of the period and he notes how the faces were changed and the overall colour tones were reddened to conform to the red, bright, and shining criterion.

Although there is a great deal of study into the propaganda theoretical background, the use of propaganda art both overall and in China, and specific period studies of CR propaganda posters, there is a significant gap in the research that overlooks a scientific and methodical method for unpacking the imagery. Several scholars have started to use the ideas of visual grammar and linguistic style breakdown of images to systematically itemise and categorise internal components of the imagery and posters. While the use of visual analysis of posters can be traced back to linguists such as Roland Barthes, his approach presents a limited view of visual grammar identification and interpretation of overall meaning from the sum of its parts. Sturken & Cartwright (2001), Kress & van Leeuwen (2002, 2006), and Crow (2010) look at the general idea of visual grammar and the way that an image can parallel a sentence-like structure in order to be 'read' by the audience. They identify several ways that artists use imagery to denote meaning, including directionality, perspective, colour, common symbols, and many others. In order to more precisely investigate these specific nodes of meaning, Hermeren (1969) pinpoints methods for visual iconographic symbol identification. Scott (2010) adds to this type of analysis by taking French posters and looking at specific grammar type elements within them such as metaphor, rebus, and metonymy.

While the idea of visual grammar and using linguistic style readings of posters is relatively new, several studies have utilised this type of analysis to gain further insight into the construction of posters and how they convey meaning. Forceville (1994) uses the idea of pictorial metaphor to look more closely at advertisements, while Sifaki & Papadopoulou (2015) use semiotics to analyse posters used as communications devices about the Turner Prize award. Marsh & White (2003) look at the taxonomical relationship between images and texts. Bonnell (1999) utilises visual grammar to investigate Bolshevik imagery and even uses similar terminology to this research looking at the internal components expressed 'visual syntax' and 'visual lexicon'. Despite this shift in posters studies, there is little

comparable research performed on Chinese posters in general or CR posters specifically. Lu Xing-hua (2005)'s study purportedly uses semiotics of posters to look more closely at political semiotics of libidinal economy; however, the research lacks a clear methodology and appears to be more descriptive and speculative than analytical and provides little evidence to support their claims. Mittler (2008) briefly refers to the 'semiotics' of visual posters of China referring to the 'semiotic competition for the interpretative power of propaganda' (482), though this reference to 'semiotics' looks at the effects of propaganda rather than a method for dissecting the posters' imagistic meaning. Sun (2019) investigates the use of symbols and iconography of the recent China Dream campaign and focusses the study on intertextuality and intervisuality (similar to the idea of metapictures and metatext done by Dal Lago, 2009).

Despite the extensive scholarship on propaganda and posters detailed, work on CR propaganda posters tends to focus either on broad historical contextualisation and documentation of the artwork or hone in on specific individual elements and symbols within the posters. This apparent lack of detailed study of the internal meaning components prompts a closer look at the construction of CR posters and their meaningful components. Therefore, this thesis attempts to bridge this gap by building a method for looking at the meaningful elements of the posters together in a systematic and precise method to assess their utility and communicative roles. In doing so, the underlying structure and meaning components of the imagery as part of an elaborate and complex communication device between the leader and the led can not only be analysed individually, but can be expanded into a comparative analysis between categories of posters.

This thesis proposes a new and innovative way to analyse the Chinese propaganda posters of the Cultural Revolution utilising linguistic and visual grammar systems to breakdown the consistent meaningful elements within the propaganda posters and builds a cohesive method for looking at the internal communication of the imagery. This thesis asserts that through this new methodology the posters can then be examined and compared in a scientifically rigorous manner that allows for a deeper understanding of their construction and communicative efficacy. With the aim of building this framework for examining the internal mechanisms of propaganda posters, this thesis isolated the following research question:

Research Question #1: What are the posters' internal mechanisms that communicate information to the audience?

In order to narrow and assess the value of this form of linguistic scientific breakdown of the posters, two thematic categories were selected to use as a test case.

Within the narrative of the CR propaganda posters, violence and gender identity are seen as two of the important subcategories listed by several sources (Landsberger, 2001; Cushing & Tompkins, 2007; Landsberger, Min, & Duo, 2015). There is also increased documented incidence of female perpetrated violence during this period (Wang, 2001b; Smith, 2017). Through the use of a methodical analysis of the propaganda posters of the period, this methodology can be a potential tool to understand the government level motivation to this phenomenon and simultaneously explore how women and violence were portrayed in the early years of the CR. In order to examine the female image within propaganda posters of the 1966-1968 period and determine the ways in which women were motivated to commit violence, this thesis identifies two additional research questions:

Research Question #2: (a) How are the messages of the propaganda poster communicated based on violent messages?

(b) Within these messages, are there specifically gendered messages pertaining to violence motivation, and if so, what?

Research Question #3: How do these gender-based messages fit into the larger picture of female violence during the early years of the CR?

With the purpose of answering these three questions, this research starts from the broad range of communication elements and narrows the field first to violence and then to female violence. First, an overview of the CR as part of the historical contextualisation of the period will be provided. It will particularly focus on the violent so-called 'Red Years' from 1966-1968, the connection between women and violence, and memoirs of that time period. It will then introduce the linguistic and visual grammar elements of reading pictorial images of the CR. This is especially important as the basis for the propaganda poster analysis because the posters are recognised communication devices, and the visual grammar provides a consistent technique for evaluating the internal meaning components. Next, the study design, definition of codes, and the selection and adaptation of Sign-Based Construction Grammar style maps are explicated in the methodology section. Then the connection between reading the posters through visual grammar and the role of the posters in Maoist China will be presented. This section will set the propaganda posters and

art within the larger framework and function of propaganda in Maoist China. The perspectives of propaganda will be explored from both Western and Chinese theories of propaganda as well as the Maoist views on art and the art of the Cultural Revolution.

The posters' internal mechanisms that communicate information to the audience are identified through quantitative analysis of all posters (violent and non-violent) within the sample. This thesis utilises visual grammar and linguistics to break down the posters into their component meaningful elements. The visual grammar framework is based on the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) who claim that a visual image is similar to a textual based message when consistent elements that can be formally described are present. While Kress and van Leeuwen's work is the basis for the basic strategy of this analysis, the analytical format, characteristics, coding, and mapping strategies are new. This project design created a methodology for using multiple grammatical and linguistic based characteristics for visual analysis; however, applying them all is beyond the scope of this work. Therefore, this study proposes three visual grammar items to describe the posters:

- Symbols, common form of visual meaning that is easily accessible
- Metaphors, a relatively common item in visual imagery that is at a higher-level complexity than symbols in that it requires the audience to make logical connection from the source to the target
- Deixis, this aids in the contextual and indexical elements of the image, items that are being pointed out through background information of the imagery that lends to the overall meaning

Through general coding, the common meaningful elements and regularities which can be formally described within the visual lexicon of the CR poster are identified. Symbols and metaphors in general have been studied or catalogued in books such as Eberhard (1986)'s, but have not been given a grammatical treatment in the literature. Deixis, however, has not previously been applied to visual imagery and will consequently merit further explanation than the other two elements. Following the broad statistical analysis of the components, the sample is narrowed to the violence related imagery. The transition of the characteristics from the general posters to the violence specific posters are formally described and the frequencies of the meaningful components are used to establish how the information is encoded in the posters.

After looking at the more general use of violence within the posters, the gendered elements of the posters are analysed. This is accomplished in four steps. First, the violence

specific posters are separated into gender specific groups: male only, female only, mixed gender, and indeterminate gender images. Each category is coded for the internal meaning components obtained from general coding. In order to ease the process of comparison, each of the sets are mapped using a method informed by Sign-Based Construction Grammar. Each map represents that subgroup of imagery and the symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements that are found in that cluster. The characteristics are then compared between the male only, female only images, the mixed gender, and indeterminate gender to pinpoint the similarities and differences in portrayals between the categories.

The maps are then assessed for disparities in meaningful elements and the methods of communication that apply to female motivational violence will be discussed. At this point, it is especially important to differentiate the motivational factors in the imagery that are targeted at men, women, and the mixed gender group based on the mapped information. Finally, the violence motivational posters will be considered in the complete picture of female violence, locating the motivation and representation to violence with the history and memories presented in memoirs from the CR. Because of the high illiteracy rates, 57 percent in 1964, in China (China's Fifth National Census, 2000, quoted in Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 10), this thesis will only be looking at the visual imagery of the posters with only occasional references to the captions/subtitles on the posters. In this way, the analysis will be focussing on the messages that reached the highest number of the population and appealed to everyone, literate and illiterate alike.

## Chapter 2: Background

*Reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away. Unless it is swept away, no new culture of any kind can be built up. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming, and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle.*

- Mao Zedong, *On New Democracy* 1940

This chapter introduces the historical background to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, including the lead up to the movement and the key events during the 1966-1968 period. After the initial overview, a more detailed look at the documentation surrounding violence, and particularly female violence is explored. While there are some records of female perpetrated violence, most of the information on the phenomenon can only be gleaned from close reading of memoirs. Therefore, the final section of the background information provided here will present some of the recollections people have presented in memoirs. Most of these recollections are from female participants of the movement, though some are male writers, and a few are from the victim's point of view.

The Red Years (1966-1968)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 无产阶级文化大革命 *wuchan jieji wenhua da geming*, often referred to simply as the Cultural Revolution 文革 *wenge* (CR), was a socio-political movement initiated by Chairman Mao Zedong in 1966 that officially lasted until his death in 1976. Prior to the CR was the Great Leap Forward 大跃进 *dayuejin* (GLF, 1958-1960)<sup>2</sup> that resulted in countrywide famine and starvation. Subsequently, Mao stepped down as Chairman, but continued to be the symbolic head of the Party. After his removal from the day to day workings of the Party, Chinese Communist Party 共产党 *gongchandang* (CCP) leaders started to eliminate Maoist thought from the party rhetoric

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<sup>2</sup> The Great Leap Forward was 'an ambitious five-year plan to modernize China, boost its gross national product, and increase the pace of Chinese socialist transformation. The CCP's policies called for a massive restructuring of localized collectives, with major efforts to increase output in agriculture, iron smelting and steel refining, coal production, and water control projects. However, natural disasters coincided with poor planning and the abrupt withdrawal of Soviet aid and technical advisors, which contributed to widespread famines that resulted in major setbacks and a huge death toll' (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 4)

(Spence, 1999: 152-3) favouring the Liu-Deng<sup>3</sup> pragmatic approach over the fundamentalist approach of Mao (Schoppa, 2006: 347; Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 4). In response to his increasing exclusion, Mao became agitated 'about any challenges to his own ideological authority' (Spence, 1999: 141) and worried about his legacy and standing in world history (Dikötter, 2016: 13). According to Dikötter (2016) Mao felt that his marginalisation in Party decisions was a direct parallel to the de-Stalinisation that was taking place in the Soviet Union and he felt personally threatened by the turn of events. Mao believed that only with a new revolution, one aimed at destroying the final remnants of the old culture could China finally be transformed. As the first evolution from capitalism to socialism was won through a revolution, so too would the evolution from socialism to true communism be won through revolution (Dikötter, 2016: 12). Thus, a cultural revolution was required.

MacFarquhar & Schoenhals (2006) establish the May 16 Notification 五一六通知 *wuyiliu tongzhi*, a document published on 16 May 1966 directly under Mao's direct guidance, as the first official document to introduce the CR. When it was first issued, the notification was only available to select members of the Politburo and it was not made available to the public until 1967. Eventually when the document was published for the public in the *People's Daily*, it was lauded as the 'mighty beginning' of the CR (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 40-41). Along with criticism of Peng Zhen<sup>4</sup>, the document outlines the primary targets of the CR, namely the bourgeoisie elements and counter-revolutionary revisionists who were hiding within the Party infrastructure. The document notes that members of the Party committees should all ensure vigilance against these threats from the inside (*Central Committee of the CCP, May 16 1966*). At the same time, the Cultural Revolution group was dissolved and replaced with the Cultural Revolution Small Group headed by Jiang Qing<sup>5</sup> (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 5).

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<sup>3</sup> Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping

<sup>4</sup> Peng Zhen was a veteran of the 1949 Chinese Communist Revolution and a founding member of the CCP. His many roles during his political career included: a 'powerful member the CCP Central Secretariat, mayor of Beijing, first secretary of the Beijing municipal party committee, and the head of the CCP center's ad hoc group of five in charge of culture' (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 472). Peng was one of the first high ranking officials to be purged during the CR as part of the 'Peng-Luo-Lu-Yang' clique. He spent the entirety of the CR in prison, and only returned to power after Mao's death in 1976 (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 472).

<sup>5</sup> Jiang Qing (1914-1991) was the wife of Chairman Mao. During the CR she was the head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and promoted to the Politburo after the First Plenum on the ninth CCP Central Committee. Her most famous act during the CR was the promotion of the Model Operas,

On 25 May 1966 Nie Yuanzi<sup>6</sup> and her colleagues at Beijing University posted the initial big-character poster 大字报 *dazibao*, denouncing the university's Party secretary, Lu Ping, and two municipal Party committee officials, Song Shuo and Peng Peiyun, for obstructing the progression of the CR at Beijing University and the discussion of the Wu Han debate<sup>7</sup> (Walder, 2006: 1025). Although the poster was removed, on 1 June the contents were broadcast on the radio, effectively giving the message that the poster, its methods of critique, its contents, and the people behind it were officially supported (Murck, 2007: 1). According to Dikötter (2016) on the same day as the radio broadcast, 'an incendiary editorial in the *People's Daily* exhorted readers to 'Sweep Away all Monsters and Demons'. It was the opening shot of the Cultural Revolution, urging people to denounce those representatives of the bourgeoisie who were trying to lead the country down the road of capitalism' (11). In addition, four of the top Party leaders, Peng Zhen among them, were arrested as revisionists and counter-revolutionaries (Dikötter, 2016: 11).

On 1 August 1966, Chairman Mao issued the first official usage of the term 'Red Guard' in an open letter praising the middle school activists in Beijing and launching the *de facto* beginning of the Red Guard movement. These Red Guards were students from 'red' families whose main task would be to purge capitalist roaders and the remnants of the 'old culture' (Dietrich, 1998: 185). Four days later, on 5 August, Mao wrote his own *dazibao* calling on the masses to 'Bombard the Headquarters,'<sup>8</sup> sanctioning the mass movement (Murck,

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*yangbanxi* and her control of the propaganda output of the Party. After the CR, she was arrested as part of the infamous 'Gang of Four' which also included Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen. (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 468-469)

<sup>6</sup> Nie Yuanzi (1921- ) was a CCP cadre who was part of the university's Party committee. During her tenure at Beijing University she served as the vice-chair of economics (1959-1963) and later she was promoted to general branch secretary of the philosophy department. At the time of the publication of her *dazibao* she was 45 years old (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 472; Walder, 2006: 1025).

<sup>7</sup> Wu Han wrote the much-debated play 'Hai Rui dismissed from Office', which was accused of being a political criticism of Mao's dismissal of Peng Dehuai at Lushan

<sup>8</sup> Original *dazibao* text: 全国第一张马列主义的大字报和人民日报评论员的评论，写得何等好啊！请同志们重读这一张大字报和这个评论。可是在 50 多天里，从中央到地方的某些领导同志，却反其道而行之，站在反动的资产阶级立场上，实行资产阶级专政，将无产阶级轰轰烈烈的文化大革命运动打下去，颠倒是非，混淆黑白，围剿革命派，压制不同意见，实行白色恐怖，自以为得意，长资产阶级的威风，灭无产阶级的志气，又何其毒也！联想到 1962 年的右倾和 1964 年形“左”实右的错误倾向，岂不是可以发人深醒的吗？ 'China's first Marxist-Leninist big character poster and Commentator's article on it in *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and

2007: 2). Cushing & Tompkins (2007) maintain that the slogan referred to criticising the top levels of the CCP for counterrevolutionary activities (5) and Powell (1996) states that this slogan was the rallying cry issued by Mao that initiated the Red Guard movement and set the tone for the following years of violence (8).

The first significant action of the CR was the Four Olds Campaign, first mentioned in the *People's Daily* article 'Sweep Away All Monsters' mentioned above (Peking Review 23, 1966: 5). It was then formalised by the Central Committee in the *Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, later to be labelled 'the Sixteen Points', which clarified the primary objectives of the CR. Published just days after the 'Bombard the Headquarters' *dazibao*, on 8 August, the document sets up the Four Olds Campaign, whose central focus was the destruction of the bourgeoisie's old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits, to be replaced by the proletariat's new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits in order to 'change the mental outlook of the whole of society' (Peking Review, Volume 9, #33, Aug. 12, 1966, pp. 6-11; Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 5). In addition, it expanded the definition of the enemy first outlined in the May 16 Notification, stating that the objective of the CR was:

[...] to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system (Peking Review, Volume 9, #33, Aug. 12, 1966, pp. 6-11).

Despite these strongly worded official documents and *People's Daily* editorials that called on the students to take action, the student leaders were unclear as to Mao's true intentions. The early stages of the CR were overwhelming and muddled, and this led to confusion and anxiety (Zheng, 2006: 38). Because of the ambiguity of the direction of the

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struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was 'Left' in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake? (Mao, 1966a & Mao, 1966b)

CR and the 'disparity between Mao's directive and the actual understanding of it' the tension grew (Zheng, 2006: 43).

Dikötter (2016) states that Mao was focused on youth education seeing them as the 'heirs of the revolution' (14). As part of the setup of the CR pre-propaganda, students studied the works of Chairman Mao and were educated in both class hatred and militaristic training. During the CR, Mao encouraged students to rebel against their teachers, and students began to accuse them of being bourgeois or counter-revolutionary elements (Dikötter, 2016: 14-15). During the CR, formal education, particularly in urban areas, was disrupted or even abandoned (Wang, 1975: 758).

Because of the cancellation of lessons and the freedom of movement afforded to the students by free travel throughout the country (Clark, 2008: 203), participation in the CR and the Four Olds Campaign component increased rapidly. Red Guards participated in a variety of activities including political education, writing and debating *dazibao*, military and physical training, and the arts. In addition, they were part of the efforts to control the education, work, and government units as well as participated in in struggle sessions and public denunciations of suspected enemies (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 5). The first stage of verbal attacks started after the *dazibao* issued by Nie Yuanzi, with students following her example. Teachers were insulted to their faces and accused of being counterrevolutionaries in the copycat *dazibao* that took over campuses. Teachers were categorised in a similar method to the class system of the PRC, rating them on a scale of: 'good, fair, those with serious issues, and anti-party/anti-socialist rightists' (Wang, 2001b: 14). Because of the humiliation and pressure, some teachers committed suicide (Lester, 2005).

The initial years of the CR (1966-1968) were noted for high levels of violence including struggle sessions, torture, imprisonment, forced labour, executions, and factional infighting. In addition to the interpersonal conflicts, many historical, cultural, religious sites were vandalised, and items destroyed as part of the Four Olds Campaign<sup>9</sup>. Even street signs and

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<sup>9</sup> 'In Beijing alone, at least 4,922 of the capital's 6,843 officially classified historical sites were damaged or destroyed from mid-August to September 1966. Valuable classics, paintings, and antique ransacked from 33,695 Beijing households were fed to the flames, and an estimated 1,700 people were beaten to death. Zealots in Shanghai were even more efficient at their handiwork—the fifteen days from August 23 to September 8, 1966, were sufficient for seek-and-destroy attacks on 84,222 households [...] red guards stormed Uighur mosques in Xinjiang and torched Korans, pillaged

shop names were altered to make them sound more 'revolutionary' (Dikötter, 2016: 15). This next stage of the violence escalated to dehumanisation and beatings of those who were deemed 'enemies'. While the work groups at the early stages of the CR officially stated that students should not use physical violence, they encouraged the verbal abuse and planned to send the teachers to labour reform camps (Wang, 2001a: 16). Liu Shaoqi and the work group at Beijing University tried to curb the violence; however, Chairman Mao and his followers counteracted this attempt by issuing a 'Resolution on Withdrawal of the Working Groups from Colleges and Middle Schools'. This act effectively left a power vacuum that the Red Guards soon filled. Violence escalated quickly (Wang, 2001a).

Though violence was visible even in the earliest mass movements, the violence of the CR went above and beyond the violence of previous campaigns. Struggle sessions and parading enemies through the streets were based on movements from the 1920s; Gao (1997) recalls that his Youth League secretary 'suggested we take inspiration from Chairman Mao's report on the peasant movement in Hunan province, written in the 1920s, which described how the peasants had put dunce caps on the heads of local tyrants and evil gentry and paraded them through the streets' (50). House raids were common, with Red Guards from the 'five red types' raiding the 'seven black categories'<sup>10</sup> homes to look for evidence of counterrevolutionaries and capitalist roaders. Usually this involved smashing property and public struggle meetings where the accused were denounced and beaten. The 'enemies' were paraded through the streets, humiliated, and tortured. Some were sent to labour camps, while others died at the hands of their accusers. Relatives of the accused often

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some sixty Buddhist temples on Shanxi Province's Mount Wutai, and trampled on the grave of folk hero Yue Fei in Hangzhou, among other exploits' (Ho, 2006: 64-5).

<sup>10</sup> According to Link (1984) '[d]uring the Cultural Revolution, much of the populace was divided into good ("red") and bad ("black") categories. There was never an authoritative definition of these categories, and popular usage was not uniform. Generally, the "five red categories" were industrial workers, poor peasants, lower middle peasants, revolutionary cadres (those who had joined a communist organization by 1947), and revolutionary soldiers' (340). Red Guards were part of the five red categories, consisting of children of workers, peasants (poor and lower class), cadres, and martyrs (Heaslet, 1971: 1033). Though there is consistency of the *five* red categories, several sources explore the variation in the numbers of the black category members. Link (1984) and Li (1995) both state that the black categories can have a variation of members ranging from four to seven. The four categories included landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and bad elements. The five black categories add rightists to the list and the seven categories add capitalist roaders and reactionary academic authorities (Link, 1984: 340; Li, 1995: 150). Link (2013) states that the five black categories were the norm in the early stages of the CR, but that as the movement progressed two versions of the black categories became the standard: five and seven (66).

became victims by association, many committed suicide to avoid the harsh treatment (Lin, 1991: 5; Lu, 1994-1995: 534-5; Dikötter, 2016: 14-15). The final stage of the violence culminated in brutal factional infighting.

According to Zheng (2006) it was passion and ideological convictions that fuelled the violence of the early stages of the CR. It was this passion, stemming from the worship of Mao and developing into strong and zealous action, 'that led to the first division among students' (61). This became particularly acute during 1967-1968 when the Red Guards turned from beating enemies to fighting each other (Lu, 1994-1995: 536; Dikötter, 2016: 15). In Chongqing, approximately 1,700 people died in the factional battles, fought with military grade munitions (Buckley, 2016). Not only combatants suffered, bystanders were also caught in the crossfire. By 1967 the army started to intervene; however, the various military leaders supported different factions, and the country fell into a bloody civil war (Dikötter, 2016: 15). This period was marked by 'struggle by force' Red Guard battles, murders, theft, demonstrations, riots, fires, hangings, and refugees fleeing high conflict zones. According to Su (2006) systematic execution of unarmed civilians included mass executions and pogroms<sup>11</sup> (96). Beijing also saw increased violence, particularly at Beijing University, Qinghua University, and Qinghua Attached Middle School (Andreas, 2002). In Wuxuan, Guangxi there were even incidents of cannibalism (Kristoff, 1993; Lu, 1994-1995; Sutton, 1995).

The most traditional viewpoint of the factions is the conservatives, favouring the status quo, versus the rebels, favouring revolution (Walder, 2006; Dong & Walder, 2011a, 2011b). In addition, these two factions fell along bloodlines and class lines. Walder (2002) adds that the factionalism and violence were partially due to identity formation, attempts to remain in favour, and avoidance of persecution. He argues that 'the question of student social origins, parentage and political reliability, and the privileges of students from elite background were a consequence of student factional struggles, not their cause' (438). Andreas (2002) splits the Red Guard factions into those for political and against cultural capital, those for cultural and against political, those against both, and those for both

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<sup>11</sup> 27 August to 1 September 1966, 325 class enemies, some as young as 38 days were executed. In Daoxian County, Hunan Province pogroms killed 4,950 civilians in two months. The occurrence of pogroms and mass killings varies between provinces. Of the three provinces studied by Su (2006), Guangxi Province had 66% of their counties experience mass killings, Guangdong 49%, while Hubei only reported 6.5% (Su, 2006: 96-102)

(Andreas, 2002). While Zheng (2006) asserts that the lack of upward mobility along with the shifting university and Youth League admission standards were part of the increasing friction between those students from 'red' class backgrounds and 'middle' class background (31). The picture of factionalism grew even more complicated when taken to the countryside. Some areas saw little or no violence, others a ritualised form of the struggle session, and still others experienced violent outbursts like in the cities. According to Unger (1998), there were four specific catalysts for inciting violence in villages: local student agitation, spill-over turmoil from counties and communes, protests by sent-down youths, and finally as the legacy of the Four Olds campaign. Some of the conflicts were due to family or village feuds, rather than actual political goals (90).

Several attempts were made to curb the violence, including sending out work teams and appeals to Mao himself. However, Mao disbanded the work teams and dismissed any effort to subdue the violence (Pan, 2008: 95); rather, he encouraged much of the violent behaviour, believing that 'political power is obtained from the barrel of a gun' (Spence, 1999: 74). While Mao and his associates never gave an official order to kill, they encouraged, promoted, and condoned the Red Guard actions in speeches, articles, and mass rallies. As a result, estimates place the death toll between 400,000 and 1.6 million people killed between 1966 and 1968 (Schoppa, 2006: 355; Pan, 2008: 84; Buckley, 2016) and 22 to 30 million people as victims of political persecution and violence (Walder, 2014: 513).

#### Women and Violence in the CR

Within Chinese traditional stories and mythology, women warriors played significant and extensive roles. Women warriors permeated folklore and this convention continued through to the CR era. Famous early examples include Hua Mulan, Qin Liangyu, Liang Hongyu, the Yang Family Generals, and the thirteenth sister, all of whom went to war to protect their families and country (Li, 1994; Edwards, 1995). According to Li (2010) these stories of 'ancient heroic women warriors' were frequent tropes, appearing in everything from common folk tales to orthodox history and whose narratives reflect both a time-honoured heroic tradition and political inspiration for modern Chinese women (450). During the Chinese civil war between the CCP and the Nationalist Party 国民党

*Guomindang* (KMT), female soldiers were described as equal to their male counterparts in bravery and heroism, though they did not generally participate in the fighting. Even in the Anti-Japanese War the idea of female models persisted<sup>12</sup>. The CCP built on this type of strong female role model, first during the Yan'an period with 'labour heroines' (Bailey, 2012: 98) and later the idea transformed yet again within the CR rhetoric to embody model workers and iron girls (Jin, 2006). These women are generally selfless, sacrificing all for the good of the state. It is important to note that despite the emphasis on female models, the stress is placed on economic standards rather than participation in wartime action.

'Women hold up half the sky' was a pervasive slogan throughout the CR to indicate a new turn towards gender equality (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 67). However, the overtones were of gender ignoring and neutrality, while undertones of gender bias remained intact (Bailey, 2012: 115). According to Yang and Yan (2017):

state rhetoric appropriated a discourse of women's equality to silence women and depoliticize gender as a political category. For urban sent-down youth, gender inequality was absent from public discourse, and conflict between the sexes was concealed by a state discourse that constructed class struggle as paramount. Gender as a category was credited with solely political and pragmatic meaning and was utilized as a means for the communist government to achieve its own political and cultural utopia (63).

Even with the elevation of Jiang Qing to an integral member of Mao's coterie and a member of the propaganda team responsible for film and culture, Schoppa (2006) notes that traditional stances on female leadership made it impossible for Mao to consider preparing her as his successor (359).

While women started to take part in military activities and the other movements of the CCP from the very beginning (Li, 1994; Hershatter, 2002; Dryburgh & Dauncey, 2013); their participation in military actions and violence was limited. Women's groups and divisions would push themselves with strict discipline and high standards (Dryburgh & Dauncey, 2013: 148). Any violent participation that the women had at this point was sanctioned by

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<sup>12</sup> For example, Zhao Yiman (1905-1936) was considered 'a fearless female commander who led a guerrilla troop fighting the Japanese in occupied Northeast China, [and] was regarded as an exemplary patriot' (Li, 2010: 451).

the Party as either part of the civil war pre-1949, or as a limited part of an official movement post-1949.

Women and girls participated in CR violence with ‘some of the most vicious classroom cruelty [...] perpetrated by girls at elite middle schools’ (Perry, 2002: 122). One of the most famous incidences was early in the CR, on 5 August 1966, at the Beijing Teacher’s University attached middle school, an all-girls school. Students insulted, humiliated, and finally brutally beat several teachers—killing their first vice-principal, Bian Zhongyun (Lorenz, 2007). Wang Youqin<sup>13</sup>, remembers the incident:

They just poured ink on the [vice] principal’s head,” recalls Wang. But over the course of the afternoon, she watched as students at the girls’ middle school attached to Beijing Teachers University traded in the ink for boiling water and took up clubs spiked with nails. When the administrator fell unconscious, students threw her body into a garbage cart (Smith, 2017).

Bian Zhongyun’s widower recalls that she was beaten so badly that her face was completely black from bruising (Kuhn, 2014). Others suffered broken bones and other severe injuries (Wang, 2001: 6).

Wang Youqin has dedicated her life to documenting the violence that took place during this time, putting special emphasis on remembering the victims of the brutality. Many incidents that she documents come from interviews with both victims and former Red Guards. Often the perpetrators are just described as ‘students’ or ‘Red Guards’ without any identification as to the gender of the participants; however, Wang (2001) asserts that both boys and girls participated in the violence. According to one of her interviews, in a co-ed group, the males would be fiercer than the females; however, the interviewee notes that there were numerous girls who would brutally beat and torture their teachers (28).

In Wang (2001)’s lists, she includes other Beijing all-girls schools’ victims: Sha Ping, the principal of the Beijing Third Girls Middle School, Liang Guangqi, the head of Beijing Fifteenth Girls Middle school, and Sun Di, a teacher of Beijing Tenth Girls Middle School (8-

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<sup>13</sup> Wang Youqin, a senior lecturer at the University of Chicago was 13 years old when she witnessed the death of Bian Zhongyun, her middle school’s vice principal. Wang has made it her mission to gather the stories of the victims of the CR. In 2004 she published a book that listed the details of 659 deaths during the movement. In addition, she maintains a website that continuously updates and adds more victims as she finds them (Smith, 2017). Her website can be found at: <http://www.chinese-memorial.org/>

9). As Wang's documentation focuses on the victims, other schools documented may include female perpetrators, but they are not listed as primary participants. Wang observes that colleges, universities, primary schools, and even kindergarten teachers were attacked. Beyond simple beatings, the violence included brutality and harsh treatment that often resulted in crippling aftermath, death, and suicide. Many people were imprisoned in 'cow sheds'<sup>14</sup> and deprived of basic necessities, such as food, water, and sanitation. Victims were beaten with belts, whips, poles, clubs, feet, and fists. They had boiling water poured over them, their heads were shaved in ragged yin-yang hairstyles, they were forced to crawl through cinders, and swallow polluted water or nails (Wang, 2001: 8-11).

The effects of the Beijing violence rippled out, following both news as well as the free travel permitted to the Red Guards. In Shanghai teachers were arrested, humiliated, and paraded through the streets. Again, the teachers were tortured and beaten. One of Wang's interviewees, a former Shanghai Red Guard remembers:

Red Guards from Beijing in army uniforms with leather belts put on grand airs. They asked us: "How come you are still so refined? There is no revolutionary atmosphere here at all." I couldn't understand what "revolutionary atmosphere" meant. *Then a female Red Guard member from Beijing took off her leather belt and started demonstrating how to whip.* This was the earliest image I have of the Red Guards from Beijing (Wang, 2001: 19, emphasis added).

Shanghai Third Girls Middle School's principal, Xue Zheng, 'was forced to eat excrement while cleaning toilets, and some students used thumbtacks to fix a "big-character poster" on her back' (Wang, 2001: 12). Tianjin, Changsha, Sichuan, Fujian, Guangzhou, Xi'an, Nanjing and many other places are all listed as locations where teachers and other administrative staff were beaten, tortured, killed, and driven to suicide (Wang, 2001: 13).

While teachers were the main targets of the students' rebellion against authority, they soon began to target each other (Lester, 2005: 102). A pervasive slogan at the time defined

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<sup>14</sup> Cow shed, 牛棚 *niupeng*. A place where enemies of the CR, including prosecuted cadres and intellectuals were imprisoned. The term did not refer to an actual cowshed, but as a degrading title that referred to the name for targeted enemies of 'cow monsters and snake demons'. It could be a locked classroom, storehouse, darkened room, temple or a stable. This prison was a result of the anarchy and chaos of the CR, people deemed enemies could be locked away at any time with no legal procedures necessary and no defensible position. The persons detained were 'subjected to humiliation, maltreatment, and extortion. Many died because they could not withstand torture'. Even high-level enemies such as Liu Shaoqi and Peng Dehuai were detained in this way (Li, 1995: 293)

a key demarcation between those who were in favour (bloodline theory) and those who were enemies: 'the son of the heroic father is a warrior; the son of the reactionary father is a rotten egg'. According to Wang (2001) Red Guard students verbally and physically assaulted students from 'bad families' and 'black categories'. At the Girls Middle School attached to Beijing Teachers University, the same school that beat Bian Zhongyun to death, struggle sessions were held against ten students where they were both verbally and physically abused. Just like the teachers, students were beaten with belts, fists, and other implements the Red Guards had on hand. Some were driven to suicide, others became mentally ill and never recovered.

These verbal and physical beatings went on for the first two years of the CR, the intensity depending on the circumstances of the students and the status of the factional infighting. In this time, many teachers and students were imprisoned for months, and some for years on end. Others were sent to labour camps and the countryside. In addition, the violence spread beyond the confines of the schools and other people deemed 'enemies' were attacked (Lester, 2005). Perry (2002) maintains that '[e]ven more than in previous instances of mass mobilization, the Cultural Revolution relied on emotional transformation as a catalyst for carrying out these cruel acts', and it was the propaganda, in its various forms, that triggered the 'emotion work' of the masses (122).

## Memoirs

Since the end of the CR, over 7,000 publications have been written about the movement (Mortenson, 2011). According to Schoenhals (1989), the contents of publications on the CR were originally shaped solely by political considerations, but more and more, economic interests began to influence the field (564). In the ten years following the CR, few items were officially published and those that were, were heavily censored. Personal involvement by government officials such as Deng Xiaoping or Deng Yingchao<sup>15</sup> put considerable pressure on publishing houses to limit certain narratives. In addition, many unofficial histories were published in illegal publishing houses or abroad in Hong Kong

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<sup>15</sup> Widow of Zhou Enlai

and Taiwan (Schoenhals, 1989: 564-566). As early as 1979 the CCP Propaganda Department legislated instructions about the publication of commemorative writings on the CR:

some [commemorative] articles frequently devote far too much space to descriptions of how those who executed the line of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" persecuted the dead person. This has to be given some thought. When readers in China and abroad read such things and get to know all the concrete details of the merciless struggles we waged internally during the "Great Cultural Revolution," it will have adverse consequences. Some people who from the outset had their doubts about our party and about our socialist system will become even more discontented. Very many people may possibly end up feeling extreme resentment toward the people who committed errors, and this may make those people panic-stricken and weary. When the editorial boards of journals and newspapers are confronted with articles like these, they should make a point of subjecting the relatives and comrades concerned to ideological work and convince them of the need to make the necessary textual revisions. (*Zhonggong Zhongyang Xuanchuanbu* 1981:35-36, quoted in Schoenhals, 1989: 566).

Schoenhals (1989) maintains that these regulations illustrate how sensitive the issue was in the 1970s and early 1980s. While this is still a quite early example, he goes on to explain that later censorial authorities were still guarded about items that concentrated too much on the CR violence (567). The CCP's Central Party History Research Office, Central Documentary Research Office, and Central Party School are the main bodies responsible for publishing official histories. In addition, several early conferences outlined the Party's official viewpoints on the CR and the histories published generally conformed to the official narrative presented there (568).

Within these writings, memoirs take a prominent role as a method for relating personal stories and catharsis for the horrors inflicted on the victims and guilt-ridden Red Guards. In addition, they serve to delve deeper into the officially undocumented consequences of the CR, revealing brutality and violence on the part of Red Guards and others. Though this type of material can be useful as an aid to understanding that period of history, it is important to keep in mind that these are reflections and therefore, must be approached with reservation. In addition, these narratives do not have access to official documents and rely solely on personal experiences or other people's diaries and newspaper stories (Schoenhals, 1989). Zarrow (1999) explores how the idea that memoirs such as these, born out of tragedy and violence, take on a special role within global society:

Among other things, Cultural Revolution memoirs are commodities mediating traumatic experiences into the putatively universal languages of the social sciences and psychology. But as representations of violence and pain, the memoirs also make a compelling moral argument, demanding a response to political repression and pain and promising to teach us something. Further, they possess moral authority as self-representations of complicated histories (167).

Despite this role, there is an element of fallibility as a primary source of information, particularly for a traumatic period such as the CR. Most of the memoirs sit as isolated narratives without providing much background information of the author or the circumstances within which they found themselves. The readers must keep in mind that all memoir narratives have a frame and aim from which the author is describing their experiences. Gao (1995) notes how important CR memoirs are as a contributing piece to PRC history, but also is wary of how the picture they paint may not be entirely reliable. In Gao's critique of memoirs as an information source, he is especially cautious of the fact that more stories depicted in the memoirs conform to the official narrative due to publication regulations and self-censorship<sup>16</sup>. It is only those people who are well-educated, articulate, and free from possible political backlash that are going to be able to relate their stories via the written word. The second problem Gao (1995) points out is there is no reason to take a narrative at face value and assume the author is being completely honest (50). The level of honesty is not necessarily an attempt to mislead, although that can also happen. From such a tumultuous time, things can be misremembered, attributed wrongly, or glossed over. In addition, as a reflection and not a piece written at the time, a new discourse or mode of interacting with what happened may have influenced the author. Westernisation, time, and

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<sup>16</sup> The official narrative of the CCP government was published in the 'Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China' and was adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 27, 1981. According to the resolution, the ten years of the CR (May 1966-October 1976) constituted 'the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state, and the people since the founding of the People's Republic'. The resolution posits that the primary theoretical underpinning of the CR relied on the erroneous 'Left theses' described as the 'theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat'. As result of being guided by this flawed theory, the country was thrown into a confused and disordered time that ultimately was summed up in the following way: 'History has shown that the "cultural revolution", initiated by a leader labouring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counter-revolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the Party, the state and the whole people'. The resolution acknowledges that the CR was caused by Mao Zedong, though they distance the negativity from the Chairman as an 'error of a great proletarian revolutionary' (Resolution, 1981).

the official government condemnation of the movement all have an influence on how people will present their stories.

Furthermore, with such memoir recollections there tends to be a phenomenon of 'collective memories' (Li, 2011). The narratives presented in the novels and other stories, while each reflecting a personal account, tend to present a singular experience of the CR. According to Li (2011) and Gao (1995) one of the reasons for this is that people need to use the discourse of the time to express themselves. Events, modes of expression, political interpretations, and even genre can depend on what contemporaries are writing at the time. It is a cycle that reinforces the collective memory—the more stories that are presented in such a way, the more people tend to reflect on their own experiences within this framework. Li (2011) outlines the transformation of the collective memory presented within CR novels, tracing it from tragic stories, to satirical comedies, and finally to a mere background element of the story.

While '[i]t is to be expected that personal experiences do not cover every aspect of an involved history...[and] memoirists are not able to take into consideration all the social and political complexities in their recollections' (Gao, 1995: 57), memoirs are useful as a reinforcing medium to delve deeper into the emotions and personal stories of people from that period. This research will therefore utilise a critical reading of the memoirs in order to examine the texts at a deeper level. This is especially important to identify potential opacities or errors within the texts and to keep in mind that the story presented is framed within a specific politically correct discourse. In addition, the dramatization for the audience is an important factor to critically consider when approaching the memoirs.

According to several memoirs, the teenage girls that participated in the movement felt completely equal to their male counterparts and there is an indication that many of the girls either participated themselves or knew girls that participated in the violence (Yang, 1997; Zhong, Zheng, & Di, 2001; Li, 2008; Zhang, 2014). Vivid accounts from Red Guards looking back on their time during the CR portray conflicted images of violence and mental resistance. Some grew more accustomed to the violence and began to take part whole heartedly, others claim they went through the motions in order to not be marked as an enemy themselves. Rae Yang (1997) recalls the experience both as a witness and a participant. As an observer, she recalls old men and women deemed 'snake demons and

cow ghosts' being expelled from the city. On the train out of the city, the Red Guards started to hit the enemy passengers. One particular enemy, a heavy woman with bound feet, had blood running down from her head and 'a female Red Guard about my age was still thrashing her on the head with an iron-buckled army belt' (133). Later in the book, she relates her experience of beating another student, Zhang Heihe. At first, she feels discomfort, but upon deeper reflection she is thrilled by the violence. She expresses these feelings in the following sensationalised passage:

Torture, death, agony, ecstasy, orgasm...In the past, I had dreamed about these. I was obsessed. Then I had a chance to carry them out and whatever I did was justified. The wildfire in my heart had a good name: class hatred. The stronger, the better. In its name, torture and kill the class enemies. Drink their blood. Bite the flesh off their bodies. Smash their bones. All for the good of human kind... (Yang, 1997: 231).

Witnesses to the Red Guard movement give a different sense of the movement than those who participated in the action. Some of the memoirists are youths who did not want to participate in the violence, others were excluded from the Red Guard movement due to class, some were too young, and still others were victims both young and old. Naihua Zhang (2001) came from a 'bad class origin' and was therefore excluded from most of the activities of the Red Guards. She remembers,

One scene that sticks in my mind is a group of young female students storming through the corridors of our classroom building—in green army uniforms with their sleeves rolled up, Sam Browne belts over their jackets—the stomping of their bare feet (a sign of rebellious spirit) on the cement floor resounding through the halls as they passed. They were among the more radical and violent of the Red Guards. They did not show any greater tenderness or mercy than their male counterparts in their beating of the "hooligans" (people caught off the street who were allegedly engaged in indecent behaviour) and their cruelty toward our principals accused of being roaders (3).

Moying Li (2008)'s memoir details her story as a witness to female violence. During a struggle session, an older girl, Lan, who had once acted like an older sister to the author, takes charge and forces the denounced man's daughter to hit him on the head with a stick (60). Wang Zheng (2001) stopped going to school after witnessing two boys beating a teacher (45).

Victims of the CR are a witness of a different kind. Nien Cheng (1995), goes into great detail about her experiences during the CR as a class enemy and her long incarceration and brutal

treatment. Throughout the lengthy memoirs, Cheng supplies multiple examples of female crudeness and brutality towards her. While some of the details may be exaggerated or conflated, her recollections provide an insight into the results of the Four Olds Campaign as well as lives of people imprisoned in the cow sheds. The first raid of her home, during the Four Olds campaign, included both boys and girls acting violently towards her and her servants, spitting, shaking fists, kicking, shouting, and handcuffing her while they searched and smashed her belongings (65-118). Later, when Cheng is arrested and detained, she notes several female guards on their brutality and maliciousness. One in particular she calls the 'militant female guard'. This guard throws her things on the floor, roughly handles, threatens, pushes, slaps, and kicks her. Sometimes she is deprived food and water, healthcare, and even put into solitary confinement. Throughout her time in the prison, guards and interrogators tried to get her to 'confess' to crimes she had not committed and to denounce others. At one point she is being taken to solitary confinement:

Two women held my arms, straining them forward to push me on, so that the handcuffs cut into my wrists painfully. They were behaving in an exaggeratedly militant manner as women trying to appear revolutionary often did in China (230).

She later nearly lost the movement of her hands because they left the handcuffs on for days without any breaks. In the end, she is finally released with major health problems and discovers that her daughter has been killed (through suicide or killed is not clear).

While the descriptions of the cruelty are important as anecdotal evidence of female perpetrated violence, it is not the only crucial information detailed. In addition to the violent descriptions are reflections on the way the authors interacted with the propaganda at the time. Within the memoirs, the writers give both direct and indirect mentions of propaganda and their influence. This can be seen in mentions of the propaganda as well as the authors reflecting on their time during the CR and talk about the influence propaganda had in their lives. Ranging from memorable films and operas to remarkable stories and posters, the visual images and propaganda of the time still create a vivid memory.

Zheng (2001) states that films are an integral part of her childhood memories, with four theatres within a close distance to her home (32). Another author who mentions the influence of films is Jin (2001), who compares the behaviour of a neighbour to the

revolutionary women in movies (113). Wang (2001a) remembers Sister Jiang's<sup>17</sup> influence in a dual way. On the one hand, she was a strong revolutionary woman devoted to China and society whose life did not depend on nor revolve around a man. On the other hand, she also looked to her for her beauty and style, wearing a red scarf and qipao dress made her a different kind of hero to young Wang (122-123). Even childhood games were based on revolutionary movies (Zhen, 2001: 164). Zhen (2001) credits the genderless heroines' as the inspiration for standing up to and defending themselves against some boys who were harassing them (171). Zheng (2001) recalls 'I wanted to be like the many heroes and heroines in the movies and novels' and she romanticised underground revolutionary work as an ideal future, taking her into the dangerous depths of enemy territory (34). Furthermore, Zheng indicates how certain occupations were glamorized by the propaganda of the time, and that the recruitment propaganda was 'very effective' (37). Chen (2001) remembers that she 'truly believed' the state propaganda at the beginning of the CR, and that it was the stories of the time that influenced her. She saw these stories as no different from other moral tales, adventure stories, or fables and it was these stories that formed her imagination and interaction with the world (93). Zhong (2001) states how her continued desire to gain an education seemed to be at odds with the ideal of the 'iron girls' promoted at the time (149).

Many of the authors write about their reactions to films, stories, operas, and songs while ignoring the presence of visual imagery such as the posters. According to Landsberger (2012) images and posters' seeming lack of coverage in the memoirs may be attributed to a general unawareness of the images; they formed a backdrop to the more chaotic goings on of the time. However, it is also possible that they were so frequently seen, and their messages reiterated and reflected other more active forms of propaganda, that they blurred into the memories of those who saw them (394). Anchee Min (1993) recalls how she 'grew up with the opera. They became my cells. I decorated the porch with posters of my favourite opera heroines' (22). In addition, Anchee Min in another publication (2015)

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<sup>17</sup> Sister Jiang (Jiang Zhujun, 1920-1949) was a member of the Communist underground in Chongqing and was responsible for the circulation of an underground journal. After her husband's death, she decided to become his successor as a leader of his guerrilla band and left her baby in the care of her husband's first wife to go and join the guerrillas. However, she was betrayed by a fellow underground worker captured by the KMT. Imprisoned and tortured, Sister Jiang never revealed the identities of her comrades. The KMT executed her just days before the PLA liberation of Chongqing. Her life was later dramatized by Xia Yan in *Eternity in Flames* (1965) (Wang, 2016: 196-7)

states that she wanted to be the girl in the poster, she dressed in the same style and plaited her hair in two short pigtails. She claims that the posters had a large impact on her life, teaching her selflessness as well as loyalty to Mao and the Communist cause (Taschen, 2015: 5). Xiaomei Chen (1999) remembers how the posters 'constructed and reconstructed who I was' and how she wanted to grow up just like Deng Xiumei,<sup>18</sup> a girl featured in the posters (105).

While most of the memoirs reflect on the propaganda as a Red Guard or youth audience, Cheng (1995), describes how the propaganda of the CR 'was supposed to create a suitable atmosphere of tension and to mobilize the public. Often careful reading of those articles, written by activists selected by Party officials, yielded hints as to the purpose of the movement and its possible victims...the violent language used in the propaganda articles made me uneasy' (4). She later attributes the brutish and violent behaviour of the Red Guards sacking her house to the propaganda they had grown up with (66).

This chapter introduced the historical background of the CR, tracing the rhetorical pushes and political impetus of the movement. It then described the outbreak of factional infighting and the descent into *de facto* civil war. Following this, the occurrence of female violence during this movement was presented. This sudden public participation in the violence of the movement signified a break from previous roles of women in CCP activities that restricted women to participation in military as more traditionally based roles, not as fighters. The brutality of women during this period has been documented by historians; however, the occurrence of specifically female perpetrated violence as an unusual phenomenon is best described in various memoir recollections of the period. Therefore, this chapter presented a selection of these memories as well as the potential drawbacks of relying too heavily on memoir-based information.

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<sup>18</sup> Deng Xiumei, protagonist in *Great Changes in a Mountain Village* (1961) by Zhou Libo. In the novel, Deng's goal was to simultaneously mobilise the mass and reform the local Party branch (Yang, 1998: 35&40). According to Cai (2016) the subtext of the plot is revealed as not only this mobilisation of the masses, 'but also to mobilize and transform those who constitute part of the lowest-level organization of the CCP' (Chapter 2)

## Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

*To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy.*

*Mao Zedong, Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art  
1942*

### Semiotic Theory

Semiotic theory, as a method for looking at imagery, stems from Roland Barthes' (1977) use of advertisements to explicate the use of meaningful imagery as a rhetorical device. He claims that 'the signification of the [advertisement] image is undoubtedly intentional' (33) and that the image must therefore contain fundamental and intrinsic communicative properties that are meant to be understood by the audience. Despite his early attention to what he calls the images' connotations and denotations, his ideas for reading imagery are dependent more on informal interpretation and are more exploratory of the theoretical underpinnings than a basis for a concrete methodological approach. Several scholars have taken the purely language-based interpretations of signs and signifiers, and transitioned them into reading visual images and iconography, basing the idea of deconstructing the meaning of the visual image as a parallel to the construction of language (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Crow, 2010). Therefore, pictorial signifiers are seen in such visual elements as colour, perspective and line, relative distance of the image to the reader, eyeline of the depicted character, symbols, metaphors and so on (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 6). The similarities between language grammar and visual grammar is in the 'fundamental systems of meaning that constitute our cultures' (19). Therefore, the components adapted from linguistics that apply to visual analysis rely on identification of common meaningful elements and regularities which can be formally described.

Bonnell (1999) utilises this type of common meaningful elements to investigate and analyse propaganda posters of Bolshevik Russia, using what she calls a 'visual syntax' and 'visual lexicon'. The former explores the use of key figures and their roles in the imagery paying special attention to distinctive attributes such as appearance, physiognomy, clothing, activities, gestures, and emotions. The latter takes into consideration the 'positioning of

figures, and objects in relation to each other and the environment' (10). According to Donald (2014) typical CR style marks the protagonists and antagonists through construction and directionality, colour, and physicality. The example she uses to explicate this is 'The Great Victory of Langfang' (1975) by Dai Ze picturing the Boxer Rebellion. The whole image is a left-to-right downward diagonal with the enemy in the lower right-hand corner, cowering. The heroes are wearing red and have red skin tones with square and muscular bodies. The enemy wears white (symbolising death and imperialism), and are shown as small, thin and weak. These physical attributes, according to Donald, mark Japanese and Nationalist troops in varying propaganda forms and are therefore conventionally known markers of the inimical form (663). She also points to the foregrounding and emphasising of the main characters, highly symbolic composition, historical and revolutionary allusion, idealisation of the body, and the juxtaposition of the metapicture as typical of the CR period's imagery. Many of the violent images of the early years of the CR share these predictable and formulaic characteristics.

According to Leese (2011), the propaganda of the CCP uses highly formalised language that enables the researcher to utilise quantitative methods to dissect the construction of the 'semantic web'. Furthermore, he points out the CR 'official media acquired a uniformity and formalization of expression that exceeded all previous periods' (21). The fear and terror instilled in the populace to not transgress these rhetorical rules were a major contributing factor to this type of patterned communication (Leese, 2011: 21). Ji (2004) coined the term 'linguistic engineering' to explain the strategic and conscious use of language to transform ideas of reality by shifting the values of meaning components even down to the smallest of these, the single word or character. This can be accomplished through the placement or usage in unusual contexts, where the meaning is clear from the surrounding language. Leese (2011) adds that the 'undermining of formal meanings and hidden allusions by way of using homophonous characters, metaphors, or allegories had a long tradition in Chinese history', but that these were usually employed as a means of resistance to the state, not employed by the state itself (182). This formulaic rhetoric can be extended to the visual medium of communication looked at here. By looking at the ideas of formalised visual language, the idea of consistent meaning components helps to form the basis for analysing the messages in the imagery of the CR.

In order to methodically unpack the images and their connection to the violent outbreaks from the Red Years of the CR, this thesis proposes to combine the principles of Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) that just like in language, visual images contain grammatical, syntactical, and pragmatic elements that are combined into meaningful 'texts' (1) with the quantitative construction of the semantic web proposed by Leese (2011). Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) maintain that reading visual images comes down to a form of linguistic-style sign, and the messages promoted as sign-making. Because of the conscious use of meaning components designed from the linguistic engineering and the simplicity of the imagery and the stark politicisation of art during the Maoist period, there are several key semiotic elements of the posters that lend to the internal components that can be 'read'. For the purposes of this research, three grammatical structures have been chosen to explicate the internal meaning of the posters; there are others that have not been assessed here and would be useful components for further study. This section will introduce the three grammar structures that will be used for analysis: symbol, metaphor, and deixis. The attributes of each of these three semiotic grammar points are also informed by Bonnell's approach of visual syntax and lexicon and many of the key characteristics of her two visual linguistic concepts have been integrated into the three semiotic grammar structures. Because this approach diverges from previous methods of analysis, each of the three grammar points and how they relate to and are extracted from the imagery will be explained in detail below. Finally, the study design, definition of the coding system, as well as a description of the grammar maps used to aid in comparative assessment will be explicated.

Iconography: Symbols within the posters

This section will introduce the definition of the iconographic symbol in both general and Chinese specific terms. Following this, the methods for identifying and substantiating what is and what is not a symbol will be explained. The special importance of class differentiation during the CR will be highlighted as an especially important trend during the period. Finally, the definition of symbols during the violent period will be outlined including the types of symbol observed within the violent subset.

Iconography is the most basic of the three semiotic structures, focusing on symbols in both the linguistic and figurative sense of the term. Symbols and symbolic manipulation are key features of propaganda both within Western and Chinese propaganda techniques (Lasswell,

1927; Delia, 1971; Murck, 2007; Duara, 2008). Symbol as a linguistic concept originates with the motivation between sign and signifier, an open-ended representation, and as a sign component of what it represents. Therefore, the symbol is 'used to designate a conventional sign' and is a 'sign rich in significance' (Colapietro, 190-1). From a more established frame of the average use of the term, Jung (1964) approaches the use of a symbol within a text, whether that be verbal or pictorial, as a sign that 'contains more than can be grasped at first glance' (quoted in Eberhard, 1986: 8).

From this comes the idea of the symbol representing a conventional meaning that is culturally relevant and is apparent to those viewing it at a glance. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state the symbols are 'the relation between a carrier (e.g. a medieval knight) and a *symbolic* attribute (e.g. the colour of his arms) in which the attribute establishes the meaning or identity of the carrier' (105-6). The 'iconographical symbol' and its counterpart of 'iconographical significance' use these types of symbol as well as the idea that they stand for something else (Hermeren, 1969: 77-8). According to Hermeren (1969) and van Leeuwen (2011) there are a number of traits that characterise a symbol which can be split into artistic depiction and cultural significance. The former is seen in the conspicuousness of the would-be symbol, such as being an unnatural or unrealistic object within a scene or designated by either being pointed to or held. The latter considers the background knowledge of the viewers (i.e. whether the audience would know what it symbolises), what it symbolises for the artist, and that it is not necessarily a literal depiction of a physical article.

According to Hermeren (1969) there are three types of symbol within the 'iconographical symbol': the conventional, the natural, and the semi-conventional. The conventional symbol uses common cultural, historic, traditional, or allegorical convention to form its meaning from a purposeful connection of significance. The natural symbol takes its meaning from a 'natural' relation between what is shown and the inherent value, i.e. a resemblance or a causal link. The semi-conventional symbol can exhibit characteristics of either conventional or natural symbols, or sometimes even both simultaneously (Hermeren, 1969; van Leeuwen, 2011).

Hermeren (1969) proposes several basic techniques for determining whether an object or motif within an image is an iconographical symbol and what significance this symbol may

have. First, one must look at internal arguments. If the object in question is known within a particular narrative, this is the most obvious form of internal argument; however, there are other methods of deducing importance of an object as a symbolic meaning representative. If there is an item that is given particular prominence, detail, conspicuousness, pointed at, or is somehow acting against the laws of nature this could lead one to take extra meaning from the motif (Hermeren, 1969: 83). The second technique is that of external arguments. This method relies on background knowledge of the artist, such as whether this motif has been previously used by the same artist, if it written about by the artist as a particularly important meaning component for them, and whether it has been interpreted as a symbol by contemporary readers (Hermeren, 1969: 85). Third is whether the symbol is a commonly used meaning component within the imagery of that period. For example, after the mangoes gifted to Mao were then distributed to various work groups and the mango took on an almost sacred symbol status, many depictions used the image of the fruit<sup>19</sup> (Murck, 2007). Beyond these basic techniques lie the more advanced and subtle methods of reference, allusion, and suggestion. Hermeren (1969) here makes an important distinction between what an image *means* and what it *suggests*.

Symbols within the Chinese art context are relatively realistic depictions that indirectly express meaning that cannot be outright indicated. In the Chinese art world, a picture can be taken as an aesthetic whole purely to elicit pleasure or as a messenger of somewhat cryptic information (Eberhard, 1986: 8-9). According to Eberhard (1986), when pictorial symbols' meanings are examined, there are hierarchical levels of meaning to be considered. The highest level is a human-centric level, looking at both physical presence as well as social status. After humans, animals and then plants follow in descending order, with wild animals appearing more often than domestic ones in traditional Chinese art. Plants, however, seem to be equally important as material sustenance. Weather phenomena follow the flora and fauna. The final category that Eberhard explores is the idea of 'qualitative symbols' which grasp the smell, touch, and taste qualities of the object portrayed. In addition, qualities

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<sup>19</sup> The mangoes gained symbolic importance at the end of the Red Years, in August 1968, when Chairman Mao was presented with a basket of mangoes from the Pakistani foreign minister. Mao then re-gifted the fruit to seven Worker-Peasant Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams. The mangoes took on two important messages. Officially, the media reported that the gift was an anniversary of the Bombard the Headquarters dazibao; however, the more realistic message was the growing support of the work teams over the Red Guards and the end of the violent portion of the CR (Landsberger, 2016).

such as strength or weakness fall into this qualitative symbol category (Eberhard, 1986: 12-13).

From the beginning of the PRC, the propaganda department put strong emphasis on the use of symbols as an important method of communication. For example, the formulation of slogans and the 'arrangements of public imagery' were a crucial part of the PRC's central documents 中法 *zhongfa* about how to portray leaders. There were directions on whose portrait was to appear on which holiday, the orientation of the faces, and the relative heights of the different portraits<sup>20</sup> (Leese, 2011: 38). There are a large number of symbols within the CR propaganda posters from 1966-1968. Within the iconography of the CR, there are both traditional symbols as well as symbols that were created by the CCP. Traditional symbols are long standing icons, signs, and puns and are often homophonic Chinese words in image form. For example, the image of a bat symbolises good luck since the word for 'bat' 蝠 *fu* in Chinese is pronounced the same as the word for fortune or luck 福 *fu*.

While there are traditional symbols being used during the 1966-1968 period, the number of symbols and their appearance is low due to the rejection of feudal society which was emphasised by the Four Olds campaign. However, there are still some important traditional symbols that appear in the 1966-1968 posters. One example of the traditional symbol being used within the context of the CR is the use of the double happiness 双喜 *shuangxi* character. Double happiness is a conventional symbol that is made up of two twinned character '喜' *xi* which means happiness into the character '囍' *xi*. This new character is a traditional sign used during celebratory events, to mark a happy occasion, to entreat happiness, and symbolise a long and happy marriage (Bartholomew, 2006: 57). According to Welch (2008) and Williams (2006) the symbol is used exclusively in connection with marriage. This, however, cannot be the case as the character can be seen over and over again in the posters. As Hermeren (1969) indicated, if there is an unusual placement or particular prominence of an item within an image, the internal argument can be made that the conspicuousness of the item points to added meaning beyond the obvious. From 1966

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<sup>20</sup> [All localities] should use the picture that has been published in the newspapers on 1 August, [showing Mao] looking leftward. The picture is already being manufactured in large quantities by the Xinhua bookstores. Portraits that have previously been used in different localities showing [Mao] open-mouthed or looking downward are all to be done away with and not displayed again. (CCP Center Regulation Concerning the Arrangement of National Day, 8 September 1950, quoted in Leese, 2001: 39)

through 1968, the character only appears in images with Mao, in a celebratory parade, or as part of a reverential image. The unusual placement of the double happiness character therefore suggests additional weight being given to the idea that the people are bursting with joy, and happiness when anything concerns the great leader. In addition, the symbol suggests an appropriation of feelings of commitment, loyalty, love, duty, and happiness which are transferred onto Mao.

The CCP utilised both symbols and sacred symbols within their propaganda. Each new campaign in the PRC led to its own new rhetorical layer and with it came new symbols that could be connected to the movement. For example, the imagery during the GLF were filled with over-abundant harvest and crops to the point of a surreal optimistic point of view (Yang & Gentz, 2014; Landsberger, 2016). One of the particularly important symbols for exploring the violence motivation posters of the 1966 through 1968 period of the CR are those symbols that define class struggle and class identification.

As part of the definition of 'correct class standpoint' Lin Biao, in a speech made in May 1966 at the Enlarged Meeting of the Central Committee Politburo, narrowed the parameters of class designation down to the 'adherence to and propagation of Mao Zedong Thought' (Leese, 2011: 126). Anyone who did not show an ample amount of support for Mao and his works or even was just critical of any of his writing was at risk to be cast into the black categories. As Leese (2011) puts it: '[t]o indulge in performances of loyalty or revolutionary integrity thus became necessary if one did not want to find oneself being excluded from the rank of the people' (127).

Symbols within the CR posters will be defined as people, physicality, or items that are distinguished from the image through artistic depiction and/or cultural significance. These three types of symbols were selected based on the use of the conventional, the natural, and the semi-conventional symbol from Hermeren (1969) discussed above. Most CR symbols are either conventional (using cultural, historical, traditional, and allegorical means to define the iconographic signifier) or semi-conventional (combining the conventional and the natural). In order to define a component part as a symbol, the internal and external argument system was used. Particularly important for this study are the prominence of elements, background knowledge of the motifs, and whether that subject was a commonly used meaning component within the time period. These are assessed through both a

literature review of the symbols of the period as well as the statistical analysis defining frequency of pictorial components. In addition, the hierarchy of symbols within the Chinese art as outlined by Eberhard (1986) was considered when identifying the symbols, hence the use of people, their physical attributes and then the items contained within the imagery. The posters from the 1966-1968 period that contain violence do not generally contain animals or plants, so these steps of the hierarchy were removed. These symbols are categorised into the binary red and black class distinction that was prevalent during this period.

Semantics: Metaphors within the posters

This section outlines the definition of the metaphor in the linguistic sense, followed by its adaptation to the visual analogous meaning transfer. It will then describe the five characteristics of the metaphor; at least one of these characteristics needs to be present in order to declare an image 'metaphorical'. An example of a typical visual metaphor will then be presented. Finally, the section will give a summary of the characteristics and use of metaphor that will be applied to the violent imagery.

At its most basic, a metaphor is 'a figure of speech in which a word or expression is transferred from its customary domain to an unusual one' (Colapietro, 1993: 144) or 'seeing, experiencing, or talking about something in terms of something else' (Ritchie, 2013: 8). This shift takes the *target*, the object or described item, and places it in juxtaposition with the *source*, therefore applying the source domain's characteristics onto the target domain (Saeed, 2009: 359; Ritchie, 2013: 10). According to Saeed (2009) a metaphor is an inherent part of language communication and an important part of the way people experience the world, aiding in understanding both the literal and figurative of our daily lives (Saeed, 2009: 359-360). Metaphor is the use of analogical, comparative, and interactive language. Furthermore, metaphor is an important component of propaganda theory, and it is therefore imperative to use it as one of the key parts of the visual poster analysis.

Art not only contains metaphors within the visual language but can also be a metaphor in and of itself (Feinstein, 1982). While the idea of analogy as the basis for the construction of a metaphors is universal, the transfer of what will be compared to what is culturally based

(van Leeuwen, 2011: 57). Because metaphor is one of the key ways of interpreting reality, this form of thought processing lends itself to artistic expression (Ivie, 1982; Musolff, 2007). The visual metaphor, therefore, parallels the language metaphor characteristics and potentially could be considered an even more approachable means to convey thought. It is a common instrument for communication in advertisements, political cartoons, and editorial drawings (Ritchie, 2013: 16) as well as political propaganda.

Propaganda posters that tap into this primal interpretation technique are thus made even more effective. In this way, they simultaneously communicate political messages and the analogical methods of approaching these subjects. The CCP used many metaphors within their official propaganda posters, many of which were repeated within the regionalised or locally produced posters that were made by students and other art groups outside of the central propaganda department. Metaphors within the posters vary from direct metaphor where target and source are clear to more subtle variants, leaving the connection to the audience. Many of the compositionally subtle metaphors are enhanced with other pictorial elements, such as colour, symbols, or deictic accentuations.

There are five characteristic and systematic features that are used to identify and justify metaphors within the propaganda poster images: conventionality, parts of speech, systematicity, asymmetry, and abstraction are used (Saeed, 2009: 361; Ritchie, 2013: 13). The first characteristic, conventionality of the metaphor, is defined by the novelty of the comparison, how readily the metaphor can be understood, and the level of lexicalisation (Saeed, 2009: 361; Ritchie, 2013: 13). Metaphor's use of parts of speech applies to placement of the comparative term. It can be based in the noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and arguably the preposition of the sentence and still contain a comparative meaning (Ritchie, 2013: 13-4). The third, that of systematicity, arranges the comparative meaning of the metaphor so that it can be extended beyond a single point of reference. The metaphorical comparison has an internal logic that can be extended to disparate ideas, but still be immediately understandable. Systematicity also encompasses the coining of new terms that rely on analogical metaphors to make them understandable (Levinson, 1983; Saeed, 2009: 362). Asymmetric metaphors are directional comparisons, applying a source to a target and not the other way around. Therefore, the metaphor cannot be reversed without changing the meaning of the comparison. Finally, abstraction is where a more concrete source is used to describe a more abstract target. While this is not a necessary

component of the metaphor, the source and target can be equally abstract or concrete depending on the metaphor, it is a common feature (Saeed, 2009: 364). Visual metaphor regularly utilises conventionality, systematicity, asymmetry, and abstraction. The parts of speech characteristic is less common.

One example of a metaphor within the violence motivation imagery is the use of proportions of the individuals within the posters. The protagonists of the imagery, the worker-peasant-soldier and educated youth, are accentuated by 'their strong and healthy bodies [which] functioned as metaphors for the strong and healthy productive classes the State wanted to propagate' (Landsberger, 2016). Strength in the posters is shown as a physically exaggerated form of large muscles, features, and stature. This strength signifies a commitment to revolution, hard-work, mental fortitude, and unity. Furthermore, size not only represented in physique but also in scale lends to the metaphor of strength and power. Size follows a strict hierarchy within the posters: Mao is taller than everyone else in an image. Models are imaginatively shown as encompassing whole swathes of the image, and the central worker-peasant-soldiers and Red Guards are bigger than the surrounding masses. In addition, the enemy is never shown as a full-scale enemy at equal proportions to the hero, but rather in a diminutive and cowering stance or sometimes even only implied. This undersized enemy can be extended into two different metaphors, a lacking in the physical sense and a lacking in the nonphysical sense. The former can be interpreted as a deficit of strength, numbers, and a general feeling of diminutive threat, i.e. the People will prevail. The latter refers to the enemy's lack of probity, socialist ethic, or any redeeming moral quality. For instance, the characters such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, are often shown with physically weak physiques, small arms, and protruding ribs.

Metaphor for the CR posters is defined as a visual form of transferring meaning through the application of source domain characteristics onto target domains. As an analogical, comparative, and interactive *visual* component this will aid in analysing the more figurative and abstract meaning components of the imagery. The metaphorical visual language of the posters was identified through the five characteristics discussed above (conventionality, parts of speech, systematicity, asymmetry, and abstraction) as well as the ideas of internal and external arguments from the symbol identification. The primary metaphorical imagery of the CR violent posters relies on the war narrative, and more specifically the internal war

narrative. The specific characteristics of the internal war narrative will be explicated in chapter five. Similar to the symbol classification, this section also looks at the use of the metaphor through the red and black class system.

Pragmatics: Deixis within the posters

Of the three forms of visual grammar utilised to unpack the propaganda poster of the CR, deixis is the least well known. Therefore, this section will go into greater detail explaining what deixis is and what it can be used to explain. First, the basic definitions and types of deixis are explained. After this, the transition to a visual form of indexical expression will be given. The explanation provided gives the ways in which the person, place, time, discourse, and social deictic markers can be seen within the sample set. Each characteristic is discussed and exemplars of visual deictic modes are presented. For instance, the methods for relating to audience where the image is taking place without it being a central part of the image. Finally, the definition and use of deixis is summed up in order to give a clear focus of use.

Deixis comes from the Greek word meaning 'to point' or 'pointing' (Lyons, 1977: 636) and 'concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance' (Levinson, 1983). In other words, a deictic expression is a linguistic tool that 'points' to something or defines a context that is not necessarily verbally expressed. Also known as an indexical expression, the meaning is context dependent and the 'speaker' and 'listener' must share the same context.

There are five kinds of deixis: person, time, place, discourse, and social (Levinson, 1983; Colapietro, 1993; Saeed, 2009). Person deixis revolves around the centre of the speech act, called the deictic centre and switches from person to person as the centre of attention moves. It is a predominantly egocentric method of categorisation and expression, where the speaker is the centre of the utterance and everything is directed from his or her viewpoint (Lyons, 1977: 638). This deictic category also looks at third party participants, dividing them into recipient, target, and bystanders. Time deixis uses the deictic centre and participant roles to define its parameters through both calendrical and non-calendrical

time. 'Place or spatial deixis concerns the specification of locations relative to anchorage points in the speech event' (Levinson, 1983: 78). These can be specifically named or used as a relative location marker. Discourse deixis are referential statements that are used to refer to another portion of that discourse that contains that utterance. Finally, social deixis uses language to construct and encode the structure of social identities or the social hierarchies between participants. These can either be relational or absolute. The relational aspect refers to honorifics and social status between speakers (Levinson, 1983).

All five of these forms of deixis can be used to look at the messages contained within a visual image. Person deixis is present within the context of the poster through the publisher as the 'speaker' as well as the internally portrayed speakers and third-party recipients. It creates a deictic centre around the publishers of the information first, and the pictured speaker second. The audience or reader of the poster will know who is speaking to them through the imagery and the publication information. This is made stronger by the fact that even within unofficial or amateur propaganda there is still strong societal and self-censorship, even if it lacks official governmental censorship, that prohibits any extraneous messages. These amateur productions often mimic official propaganda or use it as a guide and do not stray from the official message unless it is to intensify the information. The first form of contextual speaker is the propagandist themselves, speaking to the masses and trying to impart specific information to the audience. They may or may not be actively portrayed within the image, but they are the underlying 'person' speaking within these posters. This speaker can be seen in a few ways within the poster. First, the audience that sees the posters will usually be well versed in the culture of the time and *know* who publishes the posters. Second, most posters have a logo, emblem, publication name, or some other indication of who produced the image. Some will even name the speaker outright. Third, many posters will use a metonymical image that uses a single figure or leader to stand for the entire governmental or other body that is speaking to the audience.

In the CR, the branding of the posters can be seen in the publication information, located on the bottom right corner of the poster in small print identifying the publisher and other printing information. In local prints, there is often a larger emblem stating which group is responsible for the page. The metonymical speaker, shown in *figures 1* and *2*, is depicted with the leader of the country as the speaker for that message. In the example images, and image of Chairman Mao, a quotation from his writings, and a signature all



Figure 1 Culture must serve workers, peasants and soldiers, must serve proletarian politics!  
 文艺为工农兵服务为无产阶级政治服务! Wenyi wei gongnongbing fuwu wei wuchan jieji zhengzhi fuwu!  
 Full Page Image, Designer unknown (佚名) 1967, May Call nr.: PC-1967-007 (Private collection)



Figure 2 [Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine, as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.  
 要使文艺很好地成为整个革命机械的一个组成部分，作为团结人民、教育人民、打击敌人、消灭敌人的有力武器，帮助人民同心同德地和敌人作斗争  
 Yao shi wenyi hen haodi chengwei zhengge geming jixiede yige zucheng bufen, zuowei tuanjie renmin , jiaoyu renmin, daji diren, xiaomie dirende youlide wuqi, bangzhu renmin tongxin tongdedi he diren zuo douzheng  
 Designer: Jinggangshan Commune of the Beijing Film Academy (北京电影学院井冈山公社) 1967, March  
 Full page image, Call nr.: PC-1967-019 (Private collection)

portray Mao as the speaker of the poster. This type of speaking from authority marks the message as coming from the leader and can be extended from the pictured leader and their quotation to just the quotation with or without the signature to identify the speaker as the leader.

The second form of person deixis is the fictitious speaker that is appealing to the viewers. This person embodies strong emotional personages ranging in societal roles from a comrade-in-arms, a model citizen, a hero, a generic soldier, children, or a friend. The speaker inspires the audience to identify with the moralist message and behavioural demands of the character. The person deixis dictates that the deictic centre is the imaginary speaker. This fictitious speaker often looks at the audience, making eye-contact and the frame of the picture shows an intimate view of the speaker (as opposed to a long shot view). It is the angle and closeness of talking to another person. The Chinese CR images use imaginary speakers that represent the model, worker-peasant-soldier class, and the Red Guards of that era. These speakers either directly engage with the audience or directly engage with the promoted activity. They are at the same time relatable and an aspiration. In addition, the character still inhabits the deictic centre as the speaker to the audience, but in an educational capacity. *Figures 3-5* exemplify the fictitious speaker modelling proper behaviour for the audience to emulate.



*Figure 3 Fully criticize the Chinese Khrushchev from a political, ideological and theoretical perspective  
从政治上思想上理论上彻底批倒批臭中国的赫鲁晓夫 Cong zhengzhishang sixiangshang lilunshang chedi  
pidao pixiu Zhongguode Heluxiaofu  
Full Page Image, Designer unknown (佚名) Call number: BG E3/763 (IISH collection) 1967, November*



Figure 4 Resolutely smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of Peng, Lu, Luo and Yang  
 彻底粉碎彭、陆、罗、杨反革命修正主义集团! Chedi fensui Peng, Lu, Luo, Yang fan geming xiuzheng zhuyi jitian!

Full page image, Designer: Propaganda Group of the Preparatory Office of the Oath-taking Rally to Struggle Against the Peng, Lu, Luo, Yang Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Clique (斗争彭、陆、罗、杨反革命修正主义集团誓师大会筹备处宣传组) 1966, December Call nr.: PC-1966-002 (Private collection)



Figure 5 Resolutely support the communique of the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress, warmly welcome a new great victory of Mao Zedong Thought

坚决拥护党的八届十一中全会公报热烈欢呼毛泽东思想新的伟大胜利 Jianjue yonghu dangde bajie shiyi zhong quanhui gongbao relie huanhu Mao Zedong sixiang xinde weida shengli

Full page image, Designer: People's Fine Arts Publishing House Creative Group collective work (人民美术出版社创作组集体创作) 1966, August Call nr.: PC-1966-006 (Private collection)

Spatial deixis can define a specific contextual location, portraying a precise place such as Beijing, Yan'an, or Tiananmen Square. It can also depict a more general location such as a city, factory, battlefield or countryside and define whether the space presented is public or private. Though this form of deixis is not in every image, it can be an important indicator both as an anchoring place as well as a way of relating it to the audience and giving them a more concrete location for the information. Within the CR period a large portion of posters feature blank backgrounds or no setting for the image. This lack a spatial deixis setting makes the posters more generalised and relatable to a larger audience.

Specific place deixis, locating the image within a well-known easily identifiable setting has a variety of potential meanings. It can be a place metonymical indicator of the speaker, designating the source of the information. Specific locations can also be used within an image to allude to cultural relevant background information or folk stories that hold particular meaning to the audience. For example, a Chinese propaganda poster with the horizon of Yan'an and its quintessential pagoda in the skyline holds special meaning to the Communist Party as a part of the origins of the party and the cradle of revolution. It can be shown to indicate Party approval, a connection to the place and therefore the Party, or some other allusion to the *place*.

This deictic reference to a specific place can be portrayed in a few different ways. First, as can be seen in *figure 6*, the place deixis can be shown in the background of the image. It is similar to a story taking place in a certain location, it is part of the background knowledge of the story, but not necessarily a front and centre element. In CR posters, place deixis grounds images within a context of specific pre-propaganda narratives or important political locations. In *figure 6*, the people are happily parading in a carnival-esque performance with a backdrop of the Forbidden City serving a dual purpose of metonymical representative of the government while also serving as a place deixis of location and authority. The second image chosen to illustrate place deixis here is *Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan (figure 7)*. The place deixis anchors the image in a recognisable space that is rooted in the Party's origin narrative. *Figure 8* depicts Mao at his famous swim in the Yangtze River, all the elements within the image help to point to a specific episode and place within the collective narrative.



Figure 6 Warmly hail the formation of the revolutionary committee of Beijing, (film poster)  
 热烈欢呼北京市革命委员会诞生 Relie huanhu Beijingshi geming weiyuanhui dansheng  
 Full Page Image, Designer unknown (佚名)1966-1967? Call nr.: BG E13/761 (Landsberger collection)

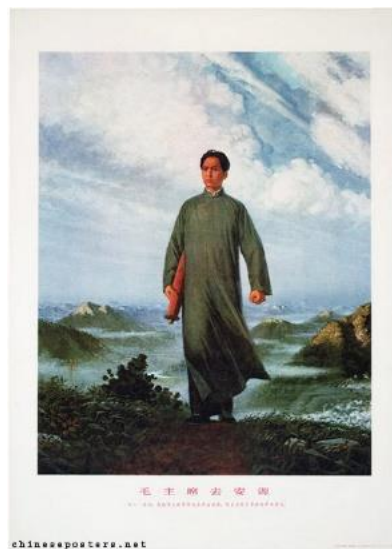


Figure 7 Chairman Mao goes to Anyuan  
 毛主席去安源 Mao zhuxi qu Anyuan  
 Full page image, Designer: Liu Chunhua (刘春华) 1968, July  
 Call number: BG E12/703 (IISH collection)



Figure 8 Commemorate the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's swim over the Yangtze - Follow Chairman Mao in moving forward in wind and waves!

纪念毛主席畅游长江一周年-跟着毛主席在大风大浪中前进! Jinian Mao zhuxi changyou Changjiang yi zhounian - Genzhe Mao zhuxide zai dafeng dalang zhong qianjin!

Full page image, Designer: Henan 27 Communes (河南二七公社) 1967 Call nr.: BG E15/975 (Landsberger collection)



Figure 9 Everything must be the best, quality first, thoroughly carry out science and competition, catch up with other countries, help those in need, exceed and move the masses

好字当头 质量第一 深入开展比学赶帮超群众运动 Hao zi dang tou, zhiliang di yi, shenru kaizhan bi xue gan bang chao qunzhong yundong

Full page image, Designer: Xu Weibao 1966 Call nr.: BG E39/183 (IISH collection)



Figure 10 We also have a pair of hands, we do not need to eat the spare food in the cities!  
 我们也有两只手,不在城市里吃闲饭! Women ye you liangzhi shou, bu zai chengshili chi xianfan!  
 Designer: Revolutionary Committee of the Sichuan Art Academy (四川美术学院革命委员会供稿) Ca. 1967  
 Call nr.: PC-196b-016 (Private collection)



Figure 11 Enthusiastically develop the production of reed to safeguard the supply of the raw materials needed to publish the writings of Chairman Mao  
 积极发展芦苇生产保证出版毛主席著作作用纸原料供应 Jiji fazhan luwei shengchan baozheng chuban Mao zhuxi zhuzuo yongzhi yuanliao gongying  
 Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名) Ca. 1968  
 Call nr.: PC-1968-I-006 (Private collection)

A more general location provides context and meaning. Images located in a city or on a farm can make an image more or less relatable to the audience depending on where they are coming from and what the message is wanting them to do. During the CR, general place deixis allows the images to appear within a generic factory, city, or a farm or field. This reflects the bifurcated ideology that emphasised both an urban-factory mass line and elevated the countryside-peasant mass line. In *figure 9*, a group of women work together in a textile factory. There is no specific information within the image as to the exact location of the factory, making it an easily relatable and wide use image within the urban factory centres. *Figure 10* shows proper behaviour of visitors in a city and *figure 11* is placed within the countryside supporting reed production.

The third type of place deixis positions the message as a public or private behavioural modifier. By locating the image in a public space, this occupies the role of public engagement and how the reader is to behave when they are in this location. Placed in a private space, such as in the home, these images speak to the audience on a more personal level and can be describing the ideal conduct even when nobody is watching. The public/private differentiation can also be aimed at more traditional barriers, such as breaking or reinforcing gender stereotypes or class definition. For example, showing women working in the factories breaks a previously held public-private divide of male and female work roles. The CR posters from 1966-1968 that contain place deictic markers are almost exclusively public spaces.

The fourth place deictic marker is not placing an image within a location, specific or otherwise, but actually a distinct lack of place. Characters situated on a blank background, an unfurled flag, or a group of people behind can all remove the main speaker from a specific place and put them into a non-place that is at once relatable to anywhere. The lack of place deixis heightens the message of the image as a general speech act, and the audience can take its message wherever they are. This type of non-place deixis is particularly prevalent in the most violent period of the CR, from 1966-1969. Many of the images are similar to *figure 4*, depicting a woodblock image of men and women worker-peasant-soldier or Red Guards with no discernible place or time. This lends to a feeling of general applicability and means that the posters can apply to everyone and anyone within the social and person deixis that are portrayed without needing to connect it to a location

in space-time. In addition, it emphasises the focus of the image more directly onto the deictic centre actor and their actions.

Elements of time are an important contextual component to visualisation of messages as well as a motivational factor. Time deixis can have elements from the past, present or future, signifying the oppressive society before liberation, instructional and educational imagery for the current campaign, or the utopic future of the predictive conditional. Past time markers can compare bygone eras with the present situation, drawing a parallel that is negative or positive. On the negative side, they can signify an oppressive and dark society that contrasts with an idealised and positive present; on the positive side they portray an idealised and nostalgic recollection of a past that one strives to emulate. Present tense changes the context of the image from a reflection or comparison to a call for action or a declarative statement asserting 'this is the way things are'. Future tense posters reflect the predictive conditional, showing an image of an idealised or utopic future that is attainable if the audience does as the poster instructs. Neutral time, not located in any specific period, appeals to a generalisation of messages making the poster's propagandistic genre widely applicable to any time.

Other time deictic elements signify a season, a time of day, and sometimes a calendrical time. For instance, the poster could depict spring time, as can be seen by the growth of the crops or the activities of the main characters. A clear blue sky, sunrise, or sunset can indicate the time of day. Sometimes if the poster is a frame from a private space, calendrical time can also be indicated by a calendar on the desk or hung on the wall. These deictic markers help cement a narrative and define reality by showing tangible examples of behaviour.

While some of the CR posters contain past, present, and future deictic markers, they focus on the present and future. The main use of the past tense within the CR posters is a referential type of image that contains allusions to the creation of the CCP and the struggles during the civil war pre-1949 or the anniversary of an important etiological event. An example of this is given in *figure 12*. Within the violent imagery of the CR, time deictic markers are either present tense or not part of the image. The use of the present tense points to the violence of the imagery taking place at the time of the viewing of the

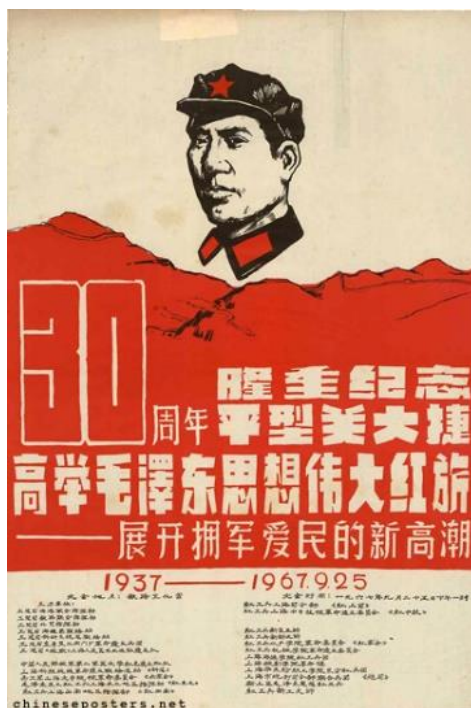


Figure 12 Solemnly remember the victory of Pingxingguan, hold the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought high  
隆重纪念平型关大捷高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗 Longzhong jinian Pingxingguan dajie, gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang  
weida hongqi  
Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名) 1967 Call nr.: BG E39/889 (IISH collection)



Figure 13 To go on a thousand 'li' march to temper a red heart  
千里野营炼红心 Qianli yeying lian hongxin.  
Full Page Image, Designer: Shanghai No. 3 glass household utensil factory rev. committee pol. prop. group,  
Xuhui district residential building and repair company No. 3 construction brigade rev. committee pol. prop.  
group collective work (上海玻璃器皿三厂, 徐汇区房屋修建公司第三工程队革委会政宣组供稿) 1971,  
January Call number: BG E13/708 (Landsberger collection)

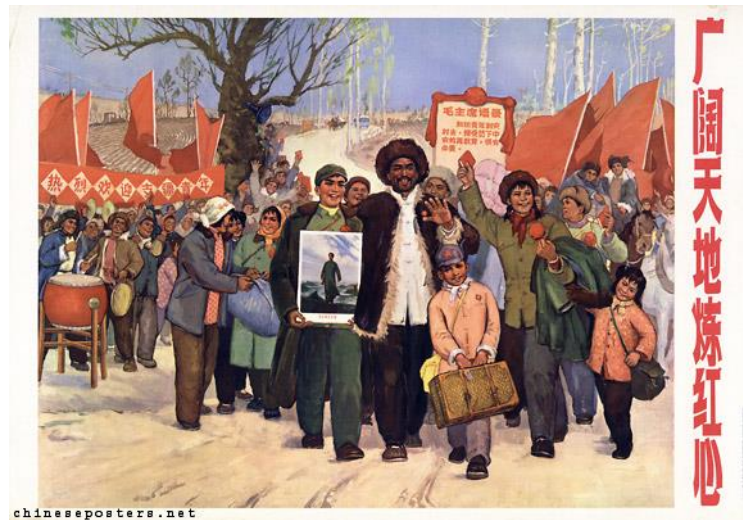


Figure 14 Tempering red hearts in the vast world  
 广阔天地炼红心 Guangkuo tiandi lian hong xin

Full page image, Designer: Art and Revolution Group of the Second Company of the Fifth Battalion of the Shanghai Cultural System (上海文化系统五营二连美术革命组) 1970, March Call nr.: BG E15/327 (Landsberger collection)

poster; while the posters that contain no time markers at all are similar to the images with no spatial deixis, allowing a generality of applicability of the message and a focus on action.

Visual discourse deixis covers a broad range of referential imagery, particularly those that are self-referential or internally consistent visual communication. For instance, the metapicture, an image within an image, such as a well-known previously seen poster, a piece of artwork, or any other image that can be seen within the frame of another. Two examples are shown in *figure 13* and *14*, where characters hold a small version of ‘Chairman Mao goes to Anyuan’ that places the famous painting within the context of the image. Another form of discourse deixis is that of referring to an event or story that has happened within the time-period of the propaganda. This is a self-referential deixis that reaches beyond the scope of a single medium to include references to other propaganda forms including speeches, other events taking places, models, and films. One example of this from the CR period are the eight model operas (*yangbanxi*) that were promoted by Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing, during the CR. From various characters appearing in the backgrounds, the masses, or as central characters, the deictic marker remains as a discourse connector, tying the promoted and praised content the theatrical storylines to that of the messages in the posters. In addition, various items from the *yangbanxi* appear in posters to symbolise a connection between the actions portrayed and the leadership’s

approval as well show the audience that this is a proper way to extend the metaphors of the plays. An example of the use of the *yangbanxi* in an image can be seen in *figure 15*.

Finally, social deixis can define social hierarchies such as class, behaviour, in- and out-groups, as well as natural and supernatural. It also is used as an identifying marker, designating titles or honorifics to specific groups or people. Within propaganda posters, this form of deixis uses both the relative hierarchical method of social definition as well as the authoritative honorifics. Social titles and honorifics present within the posters include terms such as Comrade, Chairman, Helmsman, and President. The social hierarchies often follow the artistic prescripts of Jiang Qing's three prominences. An example of the three prominences as social deictic markers can be seen in *figure 16*. In the poster, the model is emphasised through height in the image, colour, and size. The next level of the image features the worker-peasant-soldier combination as the middle level of the three prominences. The final layer depicted is the more general masses, these people are not featured in the image, but rather stand smaller and to background of the image.

Deixis within the CR posters is defined as contextual referential elements within the images that aid in defining the person, place, time, discourse, and social elements inherent within the posters. These are identified based on the basic definition of deixis and looking at overall patterns presented in the statistical coding of the posters. The deictic elements within the posters supports the internal narrative of the image by defining the who, where, and when as well as the hierarchical social stratification within the classes that was particularly important to the classist red and black form of inimical setup in the imagery. For the subset of violent imagery, the primary depictions are person, discourse, and social forms of deixis; however, the apparent lack of place and time deixis will be explained as to its identification and significance within the context of the imagery.



Figure 15 Long live the victory of the revolutionary literature and art road of Chairman Mao!  
 毛主席的革命文藝路線勝利萬歲! Mao zhuxi de geming wenyi luxian shengli wan sui!  
 Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名) Ca. 1968 Call nr.: BG D85/262 (IISH collection)



Figure 16 Study Wang Jie, all one's heart for the revolution, everything for the revolution  
 學習王杰一心為革命一切為革命 Xuexi Wang Jie yixin wei geming yiqie wei geming  
 Full Page Image, Designer: Peng Zhaomin (彭召民) 1966, March Call number: PC-1966-003 (Private collection)

## Methodology

### Study Design

This study utilises a mixed method design for data analysis that combines both quantitative data collection as well as qualitative content analysis. This combination allows for a more holistic interpretative framework than simply statistical analysis of the components or a broader descriptive analysis of the posters. In this way, the patterns and underlying meaningful components can be quantified as frequent or significant parts of the posters, but the qualitative analysis allows an in-depth look into the potential meaning within the relationships of the distinct elements of the posters.

The first stage of data collection was a broad canvass of online archives of CR propaganda posters to gain a familiarity with the materials' styles, messages, and characteristics. This initial survey used the images posted to the International Institute of Social History (IISH), University of Victoria, and University of San Diego websites. These posters were selected for the entire 1966 through 1976 period and the presence of female main characters. Posters were uploaded to the NVIVO software and each component of the poster was identified and tagged. This survey served as a departure point for classifying key visual grammar points as well as the basis for the final coding system.

Following this wider survey, the primary source material was narrowed by two methods. The first, was to limit the dates of the posters analysed to the 1966 through 1968 period which roughly corresponds to the start and end dates of the CR violent period. The second was to select archives for the primary source material that allowed for the greatest possible set of early (1966-1968) posters. Of the three initial online archives, only the IISH collection was maintained as part of the study because the other two archives did not contain sufficient material from the 1966 through 1968 period. Therefore, a second source of posters was located and obtained from the Propaganda Poster Art Centre (PPAC) in Shanghai China. These posters were collected by museum curator Yang Peiming and are preserved in both the display at the museum and in his personal warehouse. He allowed me access to these materials a total of six times over the course of a month, where I was able to have hands on access to the materials, photograph the posters, and purchase several catalogues of the images.

The sample of posters selected for study relied on the convenience sampling system. Many posters from the 1966 through 1968 period were printed on fragile materials and did not survive long after the movement or were destroyed following the end of the CR (Yang, 2016). Therefore, the sample collected for research was inclusive of all examples that were available. The collection of posters from the IISH archive was simply to download the images from the main website that were labelled with the dates 1966, 1967, and 1968. In total the IISH archive provided 201 posters from 1966-1968. The PPAC posters were obtained through the purchase of two museum catalogues as well as photographing several folders of posters provided by the museum curator during a research trip to Shanghai. There are a total of 131 posters from the catalogue of woodcut posters and 66 from the general catalogue that correspond to the time period examined.

The posters provided from Yang Peiming's personal warehouse have a certain element of randomness as they are categorised mostly by location, size, and/or style rather than content. Of the photographed material there are 64 posters and 96 newspapers. In addition, the PPAC images are most often whole pages with many smaller images filling each page (a total of 1562 sub-images and 774 *lianhuanhua* panels). An example of this kind of poster is given in *figure 17* below. There are a few examples of this multi-panel poster from the IISH archive; however, most of their posters are whole page images. This leads to an interesting perspective of multiple propaganda messages and images within a single page. In addition, because of the different narratives presented in each of the styles, it is important to look at the two different styles and keep in mind that the posters are more direct and simple in their approach while *lianhuanhua* story panels can be satirical or ironic.<sup>21</sup> There are a total of 558 posters collected between the two archives.

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<sup>21</sup> According to Lent and Xu (2017) the CR *lianhuanhua* were used to either criticise or praise their main subjects. The illustrated and cartoon versions were used to criticise the main characters, such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. Li (2010) confirms the use of comic serials as a method to satirise reactionaries. Bonnell (1999) points out that that use of satire and caricature were consistent methods of enemy representation in the USSR (9) and were potentially adopted as part of the integration of the Soviet Realist style in Chinese propaganda. The other form of *lianhuanhua* are illustrated or photographic styled artwork that feature heroes, Red Guards and *yangbanxi* characters (94). Both of these types are used in the primary documents collected for this research; however, it is the cartoon style of *lianhuanhua* that highlights the attacking of the enemy and a ridiculous enemy.

In order to identify common meaningful elements and overarching artistic meaning the entire collection of posters was coded in the first stages of coding. Later, the violent images were concentrated on for a more detailed level of coding and analysis. In this way, the larger picture of which visual grammar elements were most frequently used within the posters could be assessed. In addition, each subpanel was looked at as an individual image as well as part of the whole page.



Figure 17 An example of the single page poster with multiple sub-images

红画兵 山东省大中学校红代会 红 14 号 1967. 12. 15

Honghuabing Shandongsheng dazhong xuexiao hongdahui Volume 14  
From PPAC Collection

#### Definition of Codes and Variables and Coding Protocol

Unlike the initial survey of posters, the 558 posters collected were hand-coded. This is for two reasons. First, many of the images are physical copies or photographs and not downloaded from a website. It is therefore more accessible to code them all in the same method rather than coding the online images in the NVIVO software and the physical copies by hand. Second, the program cannot handle that many posters at one time. Even with only half of the images uploaded to the program, the platform was overloaded and continuously crashed or froze.

The posters were coded in several stages that corresponded with both directed and summative content analysis techniques. According to Hsieh & Shannon (2005) '[t]he goal of

a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory' and starts by 'identifying key concepts or variables as initial coding categories' (1281). By using the existing theories of visual grammar by Kress & van Leeuwen (2002, 2006) as well as prior works on the CR propaganda posters themselves, this directed approach helped to focus the coding system and identify basic elements to seek during the initial coding phase. As such, the primary grammar elements of the posters were assessed, and the general images were coded for the three grammar elements described above as well as other visual commonalities such as art style and directionality. After the general coding of commonly used elements within the posters, the images were arranged by presence or lack of female characters. They were broken down into the following categories: female only violence, male only violence, mixed gender violence, indeterminate gender violence (images where the violence is conducted by a disembodied hand, weapon, foot, etc) and no violence present. In the final coding of the violent imagery, the non-violent images were not considered except to corroborate the frequency of an element to justify the importance of the item.

After the directed approach, the summative content analysis was used. The summative approach builds on the other form of content analysis by identifying and quantifying certain images and visual components within the visual text 'with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content' (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1285). Through the use of latent content analysis, a method of decrypting or interpreting deeper symbolic meanings, the analysis of content and the underlying meaning of the image components can be explored (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1285). The images were systematically coded, counting individual occurrences of items within the posters. The frequencies of appearances are available in the appendix. According to Stambor (2005) it is imperative to look at both the format of the image as well as the content contained therein. Therefore, the images that contained multiple sub-panels were assessed one at a time by sketching the layout of the page and numbering the images that contained a violence or power dominance message. Each numbered sub-image was then sketched individually to look at the theme, construction, physical composition of the image, gender makeup, directionality, and the roles of each character (i.e. what class each person was from). In addition, the form of the panels was noted as either propaganda posters style or *lianhuanhua* style. Next, the individual people were coded for specific named characters, gender, physical

characteristics, facial expressions, clothing, placement in the group (i.e. most foregrounded, behind another character etc), what weapons were used and how, eyeline, LRB presence and placement, interaction with surrounding characters, proximity to the character (i.e. closeup, long shot), art style, colour, background, and other items present such as a flag or character like double happiness. Following this coding, each item was counted and entered into a spreadsheet. Images that do not contain multiple panels were coded in a similar method to single subpanels, but it was noted that it was a whole page image. This sort of counting is used to identify patterns in the posters and contextualise the codes.

#### Sign-Based Construction Grammar: Maps

The final step of the coding system was to categorically classify which characteristics can be associated with which gender subcategory. In order to illustrate the female motivational posters at the grammatical level clearly and methodically, this thesis utilises a method inspired by Sign-Based Construction Grammar (SBCG). SBCG is part of cognitive linguistics whose primary aim is to create a formalised framework that allows for more precise empirical prediction, enhanced comparability as well as general theoretical clarity (Boas & Sag, 2012: 3). The SBCG mode of analysis utilises a taxonomic organisation style that relies on 'constraint inheritance [...] modulated by the hierarchy of types. Grammatical objects of all kinds, including phrase types, are analyzed as feature structures, and these feature structures are organized by the hierarchy of types specified in the grammar's signature. One can therefore determine what constraints are shared by what constructs by consulting particular constructions together with the type hierarchy' (Boas & Sag, 2012: 45). In other words, SBCG utilises grammar trees or maps that visually show the components of the language structure in a hierarchical form.

Visually similar to a family tree diagram, these maps are useful for comparing these grammar signatures and the inherent hierarchical feature structures that will be adapted to give a formalised framework to the comparison and analysis of the female motivational posters. The use of SBCG informed maps will primarily adapt the organisation and functional aspects of the grammar maps. The maps will chart each of the four gender categories to create this visual framework for comparison. For each gender category, one to two maps of the general characteristics, three maps for the symbols (people, physical, and items), one map for metaphors (internal war), and three to four maps for deixis

(people, place, discourse, and social) were diagrammed. There are no time elements present in *any* of the violence related maps, and therefore this was excluded from the diagrams, however, the absence will be included in the discussion of posters. The reason for multiple maps for a single grammatical type are for visual clarity due to the large size of the maps. Each type of map will be demarcated by colour in order to show that they are intended as connected singular maps; 'general characteristic' is green, 'symbol' is blue, 'metaphor' is grey, and 'deixis' is yellow. Ideally these would all be shown on single maps, but the information is so difficult to read they have been broken up. Each map descends from the categorical heading down to the most detailed level of specific characteristics, items, and elements.

The map of general characteristics includes the gender category at the top as the highest point and label of the map. Following this, the map is split into the descriptive subcategories of the posters. Included in these descriptive qualities of the posters are several items listed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2002, 2006) such as directionality or colour as well as constructions of the image. A construction is adapted from SBCG and dictates the grammatical mode that the poster takes; this includes directed motion, resultative, active, passive, interrogative, predictive conditional, comparative, and instructional forms. These construction forms dictate the grammatical mode of communication present within the poster; this is similar to if a sentence is written in active or passive voice. More than one of these constructions can apply to a single poster. Within the violence only imagery, the constructions are exclusively active and/or directed motion. This means that the grammatical mode for the posters comply with the active voice with a clear subject performing an action on a direct object and indicate a precise directionality of action along specific vectoral lines.

Below is a generic example of the general characteristics map to illustrate how the SBCG maps are adapted to be used in this research. For the purposes of this thesis, all general characteristic maps are presented in green gradient with the darkest colour representing the highest level of the map and each tonal lightening of the colour representing the next descending node. From left to right the general characteristics of the posters are the descriptive qualities of the images: the theme, art style, relative distance of the characters and action of the image as perceived by the audience, the eyeline of the main characters of the image, the directionality of the drawn items, the colour palette used by the artists, the

SBCG style construction of the images, and the number of main characters present in the poster. Each descriptive characteristic's descending nodes are then the observed and coded representations of these items per gender category. Therefore, if only one type of colour scheme is present in a category, there will only be a single descending node. However, if there are two or more options, they will all be listed under the appropriate descriptive quality as a possibility for that gender category.

The theme throughout the sample is consistently enemy themed since it is the predominantly violent theme, this is denoted by the term 'Enemy' in the node below theme. Next, as can be seen in *table 1*, there are three forms of art style seen in the poster sample. The first is the traditional woodblock or woodcut technique (woodcut), the second is line art or drawing (line drawn), and the third is full colour gouache or oil painting (gouache/oil). The distance of the image refers to the relative perceived distance between the viewers and the main characters of the image. Close distance implies a personal mode of communication between the addressee and the character as the distance is perceived as more intimate. This is usually ascertained as a 'shoulders and head' shot of the character. Middle distance is a semi-personal mode where the audience and the character are 'interacting' at a conventionally social distance. This is viewed from the waist and hips up. Finally, long or far distance implies observation only and is observed with the whole form of the character visible (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). The relative distance is written in the maps simply as 'close', 'middle', and 'far'. Eyeline describes the viewing target of the main characters. Generally, this characteristic directs the gaze of the main characters towards the audience (at audience), towards their task or at the targeted enemy (at task/enemy), or out into the distance (out of frame) and aids in ascertaining the directed motion and directionality of the image. Directionality is defined by the vectoral angles established by the body position, perspective lines, tools, and other items that form clear places that draw your eyes around the image (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The directionality of the posters can be top down or bottom up (vertical), centre out or centre back (centre focus), left to right or right to left (horizontal), or a combination of the above. Often, the directionality guides the eye from the main actor i.e. the deictic central character to the (deictic) target. Each of these is simplified within the maps as vertical, horizontal, or centre focus. Finally, the colour characteristic can be classified as black and white, black, white and red, black, white, and other highlight colour, or full colour. The final point on the general

characteristics map is the number of main gendered characters in the image. If it is important to note whether they are in a full-page or sub-image this can also be recorded here. These nodes on the map were assembled from the coding of the images and the statistically significant items were included in the general maps. Each map is then narrowed depending on which characteristics pertain to that gender category; this allows for a comparison between what is contained within the discursive field by gender and what is excluded (Bonnell, 1999).

Gender Category									
General Characteristics									
Descriptive Qualities									
Theme	Art Style			Distance			Eyeline		
Enemy	Gouache/Oil	Woodcut	Line Drawn	Close	Middle	Far	At Audience	Out of Frame	At Task/Enemy

Gender Category											
General Characteristics											
Descriptive Qualities											
Directional			Colour				Construction		Number of Main Characters		
Horizontal	Vertical	Centre focus	Red, Black, White	Black, White, Highlight	Black, White	Full Colour	Directed Motion	Active	Single	Pair	Group

Table 1 General Characteristics Map

The next set of maps chart the three kinds of symbols found in the sample. Each map describes one of the three overarching types of symbol found in the violent imagery: people, physical, and items. All symbol maps are colour coded using a blue with the darkest colour representing the highest level of the map and each tonal lightening of the colour representing the next descending node. Each of these categories is broken down into either red category or black category people, i.e. protagonist or antagonist symbolic representation through the classes, physical properties, and items carried by the main pictured characters. Within the 'people' node the possible sub-nodes or daughter nodes for the red classes are Mao Zedong, Jiang Qing, worker, peasant, soldier, *yangbanxi* character, Red Guard and in the case of the indeterminate gender category disembodied limbs. The black classes are represented by 'present' or 'not present'.

Following the basic identification of the person or class of person, the types of people present in the red class gender grouping are then subsequently itemised by the clothing markers that confirm their class. Mao and Jiang Qing are the only 'people' nodes that are detailed through the type of image shown as a recognisable person. Mao is noted in the map as 'bust' since it is a truncated bust that is shown most frequently within the imagery (for example in *figure 1*) and Jiang Qing has a single sub-node of old army uniform. Both Mao and Jiang Qing are recognisable beyond the clothing they wear, so the symbolic value is through the indexical signification of their portraits; it is an exact one to one signification. The other categories of people are dependent on their clothing for class identification. The worker's clothing nodes can include overalls, button shirt, hat, towel (around the neck for wiping sweat), and rolled sleeves. The peasant nodes are shirt (describing a simple pullover top rather than the button-down shirt of the worker), head scarf, towel (same as for worker), and rolled sleeves. The soldier clothing items are simpler and represented by 'army uniform' and 'bayonet' nodes. The reason that bayonet is considered a clothing item here rather than an item held is that it is slung over the shoulder as part of the ensemble and not used within the imagery. In addition, the Red Guards also wear military style uniforms, but a key differentiator is whether or not they have the bayonet. Soldiers carry them, Red Guards do not. If it is used, it becomes a part of the weaponry category within the metaphor map. Red Guards are identified by 'old army uniforms' and 'rolled sleeves' daughter nodes. Finally, *yangbanxi* characters wear character dependent clothing and the node uses the code 'character dependent'. This means that if the pictured character is the

main character from *White-Haired Girl*, her clothing will conform to the stereotypical representation from the play. The clothing is generally not gendered and male and female characters wear comparable clothing. Similar to the nodes for Mao and Jiang Qing, the black classes are usually represented by recognisable characters and this part of the map is broken down by whether the enemy is present or not and who they are.

The 'physical' node represents the physical characteristics of the people represented. Again, this symbolic category is first bifurcated into red or black classes. The red classes are split into male or female as their physical characteristics are the most important category for identifying gender within the imagery. The male physical symbol node includes 'heavy set eyebrows', close 'cropped hair', 'large limbs' (especially arms), 'strong (square) jawlines', 'thick waists and necks', and an 'overly muscular' physique. The female physical characteristics are more difficult to describe as is noted in the literature on the female form during the CR by (Wang, 2011), though the general female form is masculinised during this period away from previously highly feminine imagery it is still recognisable as female (Evans, 1999).

Therefore, the main method of identifying the female character is to look at the female form in comparison with the male characters and note the subtle differences between the two; despite this general 'masculinisation' there are still several ways to differentiate the female from the male. The first is that they tend to have smaller facial features than the male. While this departs from the 'delicate' facial features of the past, the features still appear to be more delicate than the male. Consequently, the node is labelled as 'delicate features'. The second physical trait is the hairstyles of the female characters. Generally the women and girls of the posters are shown with short hair roughly chin length or in pig tails. This node is marked as 'short hair', though this can mean any form of hairstyle that is not plaits or long hair. In addition, though the female physique is no longer overtly feminine, the silhouettes hint at a curvier body by cinched waists and/or a hint of a bust. This node is represented in the maps by the term 'cinched waist'. The female characters in the posters have rounder faces and jawlines than the strongly square jaws of the male characters and this is denoted as 'round face' within the map. Finally, the female character is shown as relatively smaller than their male counterparts. While this can be difficult to see in the female only imagery, the mixed gender imagery makes this differentiation clear. The black class categories are again significantly fewer than the protagonists of the imagery. The

enemy characters generally are caricatures of real people, so their physical and facial features are character dependent. In addition, they are commonly shown as weak or malnourished and in distress and overall drawn in dark colours.

The final symbol map represents the items interacted with within the posters. The symbolic items are also split into red and black categories as the items utilised are role specific, i.e. the red classes use items that the black classes cannot and vice versa. The characters can either be interacting directly with these items, be placed in close proximity to them, or are wearing them. The red classes have a large range of items they use, including (musical) 'instruments', 'flags and banners', 'messenger bags', 'megaphones', 'signs' (square boards on a stick) as well as Mao cult specific items of the 'LRB', 'armbands', and 'Mao badges'. The Mao cult items of armbands and Mao badges are categorised here as items rather than clothing since they do not help to determine which class the pictured person is, but rather as red or black class markers. They are items that any red class character can wear and are not really 'clothing' items. The black classes also have a large variety of items that they are pictured with, though the majority of these items are pictured within the indeterminate gender violence category. The items are broken down into sub-nodes of 'writings' or 'bourgeoisie and Four Olds'. The former includes scattered 'papers', 'pens', and copies of Liu Shaoqi's book *How to Be a Good Communist*. The latter contains sub-nodes of 'jewellery', 'records' (music), old style 'coins', 'Buddha statues', 'money', 'film strips', 'bombs', and various 'broken' items. Generic maps of these three symbol categories are pictured below in *tables 2-4*.

Gender Category																
Symbol: People																
Red Classes																
Mao	Jiang Qing	Worker						Peasant				Soldier		Red Guard		Yangbanxi
Bust	Old Army Uniform	Overalls	Button Shirt	Hat	Rolled Sleeves	Towel	Hat	Shirt	Head Scarf	Rolled Sleeves	Towel	Army Uniform	Bayonet	Rolled Sleeves	Old Army Uniform	Character Dependent

Gender Category							
Symbol: People							
Black Classes							
Present				Not Present			
Single		Pair		Group	Out of frame	Referential	
Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other/Anonymous		Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping	Liu Shaoqi and Others	-	-

Table 2 Symbol: People Map

Gender Category										
Symbol: Physical										
Red Classes										
Female					Male					
Delicate Features	Short Hair	Cinched Waist	Round Face	Relatively Smaller than Male	Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist and Neck	Overly Muscular

Gender Category					
Symbol: Physical					
Black Classes					
Male					
Weak/Malnourished	Dark Coloured	Distressed	No shoes	Characteristics by Legend	Ugly

Table 3 Symbol: Physical Map

Gender Category							
Symbol: Items							
Red Classes							
Mao Cult			Messenger Bag	Instruments	Megaphone	Signs	Flags/Banners
LRB	Armband	Mao Badge	-	-	-	-	-

Gender Category											
Symbol: Items											
Black Classes											
Writings				Bourgeoisie and Four Olds							
Pens	Papers	How to be a Good Communist	Books	Jewellery	Records	Coins	Buddha Statue	Money	Film Strip	Bombs	Broken

Table 4 Symbol: Items Map

All metaphor maps are colour coded using grey with the darkest colour representing the highest level of the map and each tonal lightening of the colour representing the next descending node. The map is first categorised by the internal war metaphor, since this is the only metaphorical information that pertains to the violent imagery of the posters. Like the symbols, this is then split into metaphors associated with either red or black classes. The red class metaphors are categorised as 'weapons', 'sun', and 'size and scale'. The weapons category is further broken into a further four sub-nodes. The first is the 'words as weapons' category which indicates when the figurative use of words is used to attack an enemy rather than a literal physical attack. These include attacking with big character posters or notices 大字报 *dazibao* or 通知 *tongzhi* (noted as 'dazibao/tongzhi'), the LRB, general books (those without specific identifying information) the oversized brush or pen, stamps, and documents or signs. The second weapon category are work tools, which consist of the nodes hammer, broom shovel, wrench, sickle, or callipers. Conventional weaponry refers to weapons that are generally considered to be used for literal attacks on a person and the labels are: 'gun', 'sword', and 'spear'. The final category 'other' refers to hands, feet, lightning, train (locomotive), and/or the use of a flag like a spear. Many of these are gender restricted or portrayed differently when used by a male or female character. If these are within the mixed gender category it is noted which gender is associated with the metaphorical use, otherwise they appear within their appropriate gender category map. The sun metaphor is the use of 'Mao is the red sun' performative utterance set phrase within the visual lexicon. This is shown through a variety of styles that will be discussed further in chapter five. The node on the map is simply labelled 'sun'.

The metaphors of size and scale for the protagonists of the image relate to the amount of the image they take up as well as the overall strong appearance shown through musculature and physical fitness. This is also measured and assessed in relation to the enemy character. This category is therefore listed in both the red and black class categories as it is an important comparative metaphor. The protagonist greatly outsizes the antagonist and the implications of this will be discussed in the metaphor section of chapter five. The red class node of size/scale is split into 'large' and 'overly muscular' while the black class node is broken down into 'small' and 'caricatured'. In addition to the size and scale metaphor in the black class category there is also the metaphor of zoomorphism. Within this category are the nodes: 'various animals', 'demonic/monster', and 'weeds'. Though

there is a strong association with the metaphor of 'death, decay, and rot' these are shown in images that contain the enemy only and while it creates the inimical figure, it does not generally present itself in images that also contain a red class character. It is therefore noted in the metaphors section but not in the maps. The general metaphor maps are pictured below in *table 5*.

Gender Category										
Metaphor: Internal War										
Red Classes										
Weapon										
Words As Weapons						Work Tools				
Stamp	Documents/Signs	<i>Dazibao/Tongzhi</i>	LRB	General Books	Oversized Brush/Pen	Wrench	Sickle	Hammer	Callipers	Shovel

Red Classes (Continued)										
Weapon						Size and Scale			Sun	
Conventional			Other				Large	Overly Muscular		-
Gun	Spear	Sword	Hands	Feet	Flag	Train	Lightning	-	-	

Gender Category										
Metaphor: Internal War										
Black Classes										
Size and Scale					Zoomorphism					
Small		Caricatured			Various Animals		Demonic/Monster		Weeds	

Table 5 Metaphor: Internal War Map

The final set of maps cover the four forms of deixis present in the violent posters. All deixis maps are colour coded using yellow with the darkest colour representing the highest level of the map and each tonal lightening of the colour representing the next descending node. All gender categories contain person, discourse, and social maps while place is occasionally present. Person deixis is split into the deictic centre (main character) and the deictic target (enemy character). The deictic centres of the images are all fictitious apart for two exceptional images of Jiang Qing. The fictitious central characters are then identified based on their class category of 'worker', 'peasant', 'soldier', 'Red Guard', 'yangbanxi' or simply as 'attacker' (for the indeterminate gender violence imagery). The deictic targets are 'anonymous', 'real', or 'unseen'. Anonymous enemies are generic figures that cannot be easily identified as any specific person but are still seen as markers of the inimical figure. The real enemies are generally metonymical forms of Liu Shaoqi or Deng Xiaoping, but occasionally there is another infamous figure pictured. Unseen refers to the posters where the enemy is clearly being attacked, but exist outside frame of the image. Place deixis is rare in the images, and is therefore limited to identifying well-known or famous symbols of places in the background of the image or more general urban or rural places. Even within these categories, the place deixis only occurs a handful of times. There are only two places identified in the imagery: 'Yan'an' and 'Beijing'. Otherwise, the place deictic marker is lacking.

The discourse deixis map is broken down into two sub-nodes, 'writings' and 'visual'. The writings consist of publications that were important during the CR and include both Mao or Party based publications or Enemy publications. These can either be metatexts or references to writings of the Party. The the 'Mao or Party' sub-nodes are the 'LRB', the '16 Points', 'Mao quotations' and 'slogans'; the enemy writings is formed of a single sub-node referring to '*How to be a Good Communist*'. The visual discourse deictic markers are split into metapictures and pictured characters. The former consists of the nodes 'posters', 'newspapers', and 'dazibao' and the latter 'yangbanxi' characters, and images of 'Mao'. The final deictic marker, social, is divided into the hierarchical levels of the classes ranging from the highest point (Mao) to the lowest (the enemy). In between are the various classes as the main characters and then the masses. This conforms to the three prominences and can be identified through clear 'levels' in the image. It is important to note that in a mixed gender setting, the male is visually ranked higher than the female and this is shown in the

map. However, in a male only or female only image, they are placed in comparable rankings.

This type of mapping is useful for all three of the basic grammatical features identified in the theoretical framework section and will aid in identifying and comparing specific meaning components that are associated with discrete signifiers. Symbols as signs are the clearest parallel between linguistic grammar and the visual grammar, and therefore are clearly extended into the SBCG style map. Boas & Sag (2012) maintain metaphors can be analysed by this type of SBCG framework as whole sign for a signifier (21) and this will be extended to the deictic elements as they are both 'conventionalized pairing[s] of form and meaning' (15). In addition, the combinatoric constructions which are the rules for combining sequences of signs into larger units and are used to describe constructs and signs 'that are built from one or more distinct signs' (39). Furthermore, junk features are items present in the poster that do not contribute to any significant meaning component but are potentially present as simply an artistic supplement or stylistic element. These items will not be mapped as there is no meaningful sign-signifier relationship between them.

Gender Category								
Deixis: Person								
Deictic Centre								
Fictitious Male				Fictitious Female			Fictitious (Anon)	Real
Worker	Peasant	Soldier	Red Guard	Peasant	Red Guard	<i>Yangbanxi</i>	Attacker	Jiang Qing

Gender Category					
Deixis: Person					
Deictic Target					
Present				Not Present	
Real			Unspecified	Out of Frame	Referential
Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other	-	-	-

Table 6 Deixis: Person Map

Gender Category				
Deixis: Place				
Specific Location		Generic Location		None
Beijing	Yan'an	Urban	Rural	-

Table 7 Deixis: Place Map

Gender Category									
Deixis: Discourse									
Writings					Visual				
Mao or Party				Liu Shaoqi	Metapictures			Pictured Characters	
LRB	16 Points	Mao Quotations	Slogans	How to be a Good Communist	Posters	Newspapers	<i>Dazibao</i>	Mao	<i>Yangbanxi</i>

Table 8 Deixis: Discourse Map

Gender Category														
Deixis: Social														
Hierarchy														
First (Highest)		Second				Third				Fourth	Fifth (Lowest)			
Leadership		Male Worker	Male Peasant	Male Soldier	Male Red Guard	Female Peasant	Female Red Guard	Female Worker (rare)	Female <i>Yangbanxi</i>	Masses	Enemy			
Mao	Jiang Qing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Red Detachment	White-haired girl	Various	Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other

Table 9 Deixis: Social Map

To illustrate the use of the maps as a comparative tool, two individual posters will be used to explicate the foundational methods for using the diagrams to read the visual grammar. The two posters selected to demonstrate the comparative utility of the posters are visually similar, but contain certain key differences that will be used to explain the way the maps aid in assessment. Both posters used as examples come from the violent images from the 1966-1968 period and show the main figures attacking an enemy.

The first example is a poster entitled 'When the army and the people form one heart, let's see who in the world can match them (1967)', 军民团结一条心试看天下谁能敌 *Junmin tuanjie yitiao xin shikan tianxia shei neng di* (figure 18). It shows two male characters attacking the enemy. The maps for figure 18 are shown below in tables 10-17. The general characteristics are male only and enemy theme. The construction of the image is directed motion and active because there is a clear sense of downward action through the punching of the enemies. For the descriptive qualities, the art style is gouache or oil, the distance is middle (hip/waist up), eyeline is at the reader/audience, direction is top-down (vertical), and it is a full colour image. The distance and eyeline directly involve the audience by implying that the two main characters are at a social interactive distance and speaking to the onlookers by maintaining eye contact. While the directionality leads the eye of the reader from the eye contact made by the characters down the vectors make by their arms to the targeted enemy. This is a full-page image containing two main male characters.



Figure 18 When the army and the people form one heart, let's see who in the world can match them (1967)  
*军民团结一条心试看天下谁能敌 Junmin tuanjie yitiao xin shikan tianxia shei neng di*  
Full Page Image, Call nr.: BG E12/600 (IISH collection)

The symbols maps start with people. First, the red classes are identified as a soldier and a worker. The soldier wears an army uniform and carries a bayonet swung over his shoulder as markers of his class. The worker has overalls and a button shirt that are typical of the depictions of his class at in CR imagery. Both characters have their sleeves rolled to the elbows. There are two enemy characters present. The physical characteristics of the two male characters are heavy set eyebrows, cropped hair, large limbs, strong jaws, thick waists and necks, and overall muscular physiques. The enemies on the other hand are weak and distressed, and easily identified through the dark colouration. The symbolic items in the poster are the red flags in the background representing the masses, the LRBs held at chest height, and the worker has a hint of an armband present on his left arm. The internal war metaphors that are present in this image for the red classes are the use of the characters' fists as weapons and the overwhelming size and scale of the muscular characters. On the other side of the internal war metaphor, the enemies are tiny and caricatured, dehumanised and completely engulfed by the two red class characters.

The deictic elements of the poster use the composition and arrangement of the characters to differentiate the fictitious deictic central characters of the soldier and the worker and the deictic target characters are the enemy. The deictic 'speakers' of the image are centred, occupy the largest portion of the image, connect to the audience through their eyeline, and are the main actors of the poster. The deictic target characters are the enemies, receiving the action (attack) from the main characters. There is no place or time markers in the image. The discourse deixis markers are the LRB referring to the teachings of Mao. Finally, the social deictic markers place the red classes as the highest in the social hierarchy and the enemy as the lowest. This is accomplished through the other grammatical markers making the red classes clearly superior to the enemy classes as well as using the vertical ordering of the elements of the image.

Male Only								
General Characteristics								
Descriptive Qualities								
Theme	Art Style	Distance	Eyeline	Directional	Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters
Enemy	Gouache/ Oil	Middle	At Audience	Vertical	Full Colour	Directed Motion	Active	Pair

Table 10 General Characteristics Map for figure 18

Male Only					
Symbol: People					
Red Classes					Black Classes
Worker			Soldier		Present
Overalls	Buttons Shirt	Rolled Sleeves	Army Uniform	Bayonet	Pair
-	-	-	-	-	Liu Shaoqi/ Deng Xiaoping

Table 11 Symbol: People Map for figure 18

Male Only								
Symbol: Physical								
Red Classes					Black Classes			
Male					Male			
Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist/ Neck	Overly Muscular	Weak/ Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed

Table 12 Symbol: Physical Map for figure 18

Male Only		
Symbol: Items		
Red Classes		
Flags/Banners	Mao Cult	
-	Little Red Book	Armband

Table 13 Symbol: Items Map for figure 18

Male Only					
Metaphor: Internal War					
Red Classes				Black Classes	
Weapon		Size and Scale			
Words As Weapons	Other	Large	Overly Muscular	Small	Caricatured
LRB	Hands	-	-	-	-

Table 14 Metaphor: Internal War Map for figure 18

Male Only			
Deixis: Person			
Deictic Centre		Deictic Target	
Fictitious		Present	
Worker	Soldier	Real	
-	-	Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping

Table 15 Deixis: Person Map for figure 18

Male Only
Deixis: Discourse
Writings
Mao or Party
LRB

Table 16 Deixis: Discourse Map for figure 18

Male Only		
Deixis: Social		
Hierarchy		
First (Highest)*	Second	Third (Lowest)
Worker	Soldier	Masses
		Enemy

\*Indicated through centring, size, and directed action

Table 17 Deixis: Social Map for figure 18

The second of the posters chosen as an example of a mixed gender pair poster entitled 'Exhibition to expose the evil deed of China's Khrushchev to sabotage the publication of Chairman Mao's writings' (1968) 揭发中国赫鲁晓夫破坏毛主席著作出版发行罪行展览 *Jiefa Zhongguo Heluxiaofu pohuai Mao zhuxi zhuzuo chuban faxing zuixing zhanlan* (figure 19). The maps for *figure 19* are shown in *tables 18-26*. *Figure 19* is also enemy theme, and it is a mixed gender pair. The construction is directed motion and active. The art style is woodblock, the distance is middle, the eyeline is at the enemy being attacked, the directionality is top down and right to left, and the colour is black, white, and red. The distance is again the social distance, but rather than directly engaging with the audience through eye contact, the eyeline directs the viewer to the task of attacking the enemy and aids in the directionality of the image. The directionality is further achieved through the strong vectors presented by the body positions of the main characters as well as the spear. The colouring is typical of the woodblock style of the period. It is a full-page image and the main characters are presented in a pair.



*Figure 19 Exhibition to expose the evil deed of China's Khrushchev to sabotage the publication of Chairman Mao's writings (1968)*  
 揭发中国赫鲁晓夫破坏毛主席著作出版发行罪行展览 *Jiefa Zhongguo Heluxiaofu pohuai Mao zhuxi zhuzuo chuban faxing zuixing zhanlan*  
 Full Page Image, Designer: Beijing Exhibition Office (北京展出办公室)  
 Call number: PC-1968-007 (Private Collection)

The symbols for the poster represent the people as one male and one female character. The male character is foregrounded and is a worker which is marked by the overalls, button shirt and hat. He also has rolled sleeves. The female is behind him and is a Red Guard, evidenced through her clothing of an old army uniform with the hat and belt. She does not have rolled up sleeves. The single enemy is present in the bottom left-hand corner of the image and through stereotypical facial features as well as the caption of the image can be identified as Liu Shaoqi. The male worker's physique is marked by the same features as the two in *figure 18*, i.e. heavy-set eyebrows, cropped hair, large limbs, strong jaws, thick waists and necks, and overall muscular physiques. The female character is differentiated by her a smaller frame relative to the male character, her cinched waist and bust, short hair, more delicate features than the male, and round face. The image of Liu Shaoqi is marked by a weak body and hunched/distressed figure. Both main actors wear red highlighted Mao badges on their left breast, and the female character holds the LRB high above her head. In addition, the moniker used to designate Liu Shaoqi, 'China's Khrushchev' is crossed through with a red X.

The internal war metaphors in the image include the sun shining from the LRB onto the actions of the two characters, using Mao's words to condone the attack, the conventional weapon of a spear which is a traditionally male weapon (only female use is by *yangbanxi* characters), and the use of overwhelming size for the protagonists versus the enemy. While the female character greatly outsizes the enemy, she is less substantial and muscular than her male counterpart. The image of Liu Shaoqi is diminutive and caricatured.

The deictic markers in this image marks the male character as the deictic centre with the female behind him as a support role to his action. They are both fictitious characters that are performing the main action of the image and telling the audience the message of the poster, however, the male character takes a slightly more active role in the image. Liu Shaoqi is the deictic target of the action. Again, there is no place or time markers in the image. The only discourse deictic marker of the image is the LRB, referring to Mao's writings. The hierarchy of the image marks the social deixis as Mao (represented through the LRB) as the highest point and therefore first in the social ranking, followed by the foregrounded male and then the backgrounded female who are on *nearly* the same level, finally the enemy, Liu Shaoqi, confined to a tiny bottom corner of the image.

Mixed Gender									
General Characteristics									
Descriptive Qualities									
Theme	Art Style	Distance	Eyeline	Directional	Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters	
Enemy	Woodcut	Middle	At Task/ Enemy	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Directed Motion	Active	Pair	Group

Table 18 General Characteristics Map for figure 19

Mixed Gender					
Symbol: People					
Red Classes					Black Classes
Worker (Male)				Red Guard (Female)	
Overalls	Buttons Shirt	Hat	Rolled Sleeves	Old Army Uniform	
-	-	-	-	-	
					Liu Shaoqi

Table 19 Symbol: People Map for figure 19

Mixed Gender										
Symbol: Physical										
Red Classes										
Male						Female				
Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist/ Neck	Overly Muscular	Delicate Features	Short Hair	Cinched Waist	Round Face	Relatively Smaller than Male

Table 20 Symbol: Physical Map Red Classes for figure 19

Mixed Gender		
Symbol: Physical		
Male		
Weak/Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed

Table 21 Symbol: Physical Map Black Classes for figure 19

Mixed Gender	
Symbol: Items	
Red Classes	
Mao Cult	
LRB	Mao Badge

Table 22 Symbol: Items Map for figure 19

Mixed Gender								
Metaphor: Internal War								
Red Classes						Black Classes		
Sun	Weapon		Size and Scale				Size and Scale	
-	Words As Weapons	Conventional	Male		Female		Small	Caricatured
	Female	Male	Large	Overly Muscular	Muscular	Larger than Enemy	-	-
	LRB	Spear	N/A	N/A	Less than Male			

Table 23 Metaphor: Internal War Map for figure 19

Mixed Gender		
Deixis: Person		
Deictic Centre		Deictic Target
Fictitious Male	Fictitious Female	Present
Worker	Red Guard	Real
-	-	Liu Shaoqi

Table 24 Deixis: Person Map for figure 19

Mixed Gender
Deixis: Discourse
Writings
Mao or Party
LRB

Table 25 Deixis: Discourse Map for figure 19

Mixed Gender		
Deixis: Social		
Hierarchy		
First (Highest)*	Second**	Third (Lowest)***
Male Worker	Female Red Guard	Enemy

\* Indicated by foregrounding, centring, and attention through details

\*\*Indicated through lesser status, backgrounding, and no weaponry held or direct attack

\*\*\*Indicated through size, placement, and targeting

Table 26 Deixis: Social Map for figure 19

When comparing the two images, the characteristics shown in the maps help to narrow down the exact building blocks to be examined and to identify key components in the images. The maps do not show frequencies of item occurrence, but rather generalised information about the image itself. In this way, they can highlight what is the same in an image and what is different simply by looking at the categories present or absent from the map. The diagram below (*figure 20*) shows the 'Symbol: People' maps for the two examples (*figures 18 and 19*) and how the comparison of the two maps highlights the similarities between the two images. The red boxes outline the overlapping category, therefore the two images' similarity in the People category is that they both contain a worker with the same class distinctive markers (minus the hat in the mixed gender image). The key difference in this category is highlighted by the map as the soldier and the female Red Guard. This intersection of the maps is the main method for isolating how the gender categories relay important information and what is contained (or not) within their discursive fields. This type of map correspondence can then be expanded into the larger category maps of male only, female only, mixed gender, and indeterminate gender.

In *figure 21* the larger gender category maps of the same Symbol: People nodes are shown. This diagram explicates how the single image maps are converted into the larger categorical maps. By combining the observed characteristics across a category, the gender sets can be compared. In *figure 21*, the overlapping nodes show that the Female Only and Male Only Symbol: People categories both contain Red Guards and Peasants as daughter nodes. However, the Female Only map also has a specific named person (Jiang Qing) as well as explicit uses of *yangbanxi* characters, a feature that is not present in the Male Only map. The Male Only map also includes discrete nodes, the worker and the soldier. These key differences highlight the types of People in the imagery that can be shown as male or female.

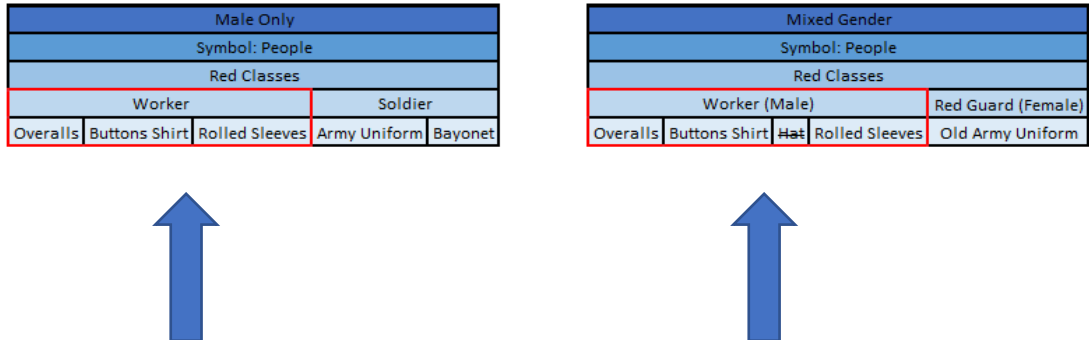


Figure 20 Map comparison diagram

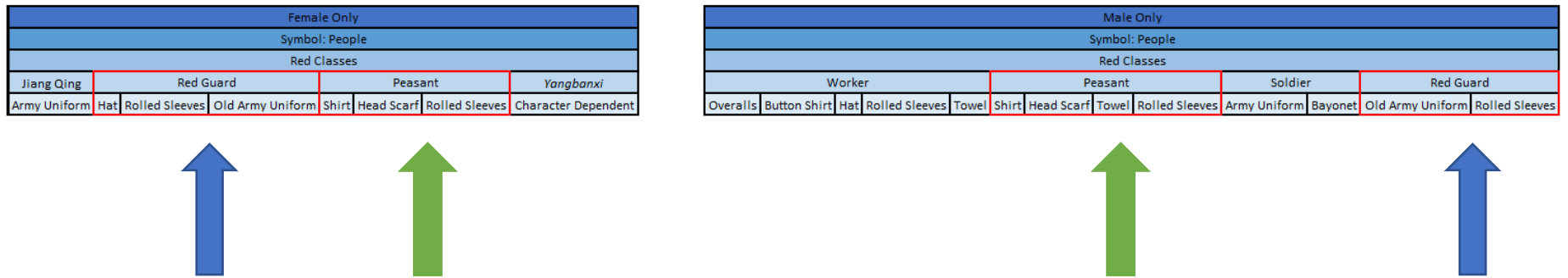


Figure 21 Female Only versus Male Only category diagram

By using the maps, the two posters in the example images can be analysed through the intersections of the nodes. Therefore, while the two posters presented here as an example have many similarities, there are several key differences that are highlighted by the use of the maps. On the surface, both images are enemy themed, directed motion and active construction, and top down directionality while the gender makeup, art styles, colours and eyeline used are different. The symbols used barely differ, the two male workers are depicted almost identically, and the soldier has very similar features to the male workers. The female Red Guard is distinguished through a slightly more feminine physique and facial features; however, the female character is backgrounded to the male character. The enemies in both images are depicted comparably. Another key difference is the inequality in physical appearance and participation in action. In the internal war metaphor, the two male characters are identical in size and both overly muscular while only the male character in *figure 18* shows this type of physique. The female character, while larger than the enemy by a large proportion is not as large as the male character. Also, *figure 18's* main male characters are shown using the same exact weapon and motion to attack the enemy, while in *figure 19* only the male character attacks while the female character stands behind highlighting *him* with the sun rays emanating from the LRB in her hands. She is not an active member of the antagonistic setup.

The deictic markers also differ between the two images. The deictic centre of the image of *figure 18* are equally shared by the two male characters who are evenly foregrounded and matched in action while the male character take priority in *figure 19* from the foregrounding of his character and his direct interaction with the deictic target. The discourse deictic markers are virtually the same, both use the LRB as the main discourse marker. The two male characters in *figure 18* are the highest point of the hierarchy, the flags representing the masses are shown in the middle of the image and are therefore the middle level within the social hierarchy, and the enemy is at the lowest point of the image. The primary difference in the social ranking of *figure 19* is again in the foregrounding of the male character. While this characteristic may seem incidental to the artistic composition, the foregrounding of the male and the backgrounding of the female is a consistent trend within the posters.

The comparison between the gender categories relies on these kinds of maps to describe the overall characteristics of the entire sample of that gender's images. Therefore, selecting

any poster that complies to that gender category can be described by the map. Several of the nodes within the maps are an 'either/or' type of branch or most of the nodes are applicable. For example, the symbol map of the female character has four nodes that describe their physical characteristics and most of the items will be present in the image but may be lacking one or two for that particular image. However, as the maps reflect the entire sample of that gender subcategory all possibilities were included.

## Chapter 4: Propaganda Theory, Maoist Art, and General Poster Characteristics

*In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.*

- *Mao Zedong, Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art 1942*

### Propaganda

In order to understand the role of the posters within the PRC and more specifically the CR time period, this thesis will also take into consideration the role of propaganda and political art during the Maoist period. This is an important element to the overall interpretation of the posters through the semiotic lens because of the importance placed on the imagery as a key communication apparatus. By looking at the CR propaganda posters through this dualistic lens of propaganda theories for the role of the art and the adapted visual semiotic theory for the functionality of the imagery, a more holistic interpretation of the motivational factors to violence can be ascertained. In other words, the propaganda theories provide the framework for how the posters functioned in society while the linguistic framework delves deeper in the what was communicated by extricating the meaning components within the posters.

This section combines several propaganda theories to look more comprehensively at how the CR propaganda posters were used as a communication tool for the government as well as how they were interacted with by the public. A combination of Western propaganda theory, Chinese propaganda theory, and Maoism, particularly Maoist principles of artistic transmission, are used to explain propaganda posters' role in the PRC, especially during the CR. In addition, the general characteristics and themes of the poster sample and the results of the broad-based quantitative coding of the violent and non-violent posters will be presented.

## Western Theories

Propaganda is not simple. As a communication tool, it combines both the aspirations and directives of the leaders as well as appealing to *something* for the audience—be it pride, nationalism, fear, hope, or anger. The term ‘propaganda’ is a relatively new term, first appearing in a papal bull issued by Pope Gregory XV in 1622 establishing the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Taithe & Thornton, 1999: 1; Prendergast & Prendergast, 2013: 20; Jason, 2013: 216). At that time the word only had neutral and religious connotations. It was not until World War I that that meaning began to change; World War II usage cemented the negative connotations that pervade Western discourse on propaganda today (Fellows, 1959: 185).

Propaganda studies and theories are a twentieth-century phenomenon. Lasswell (1927) was one of the first authors to dissect the modern usage of propaganda. Propaganda, according to Lasswell, relies heavily on the manipulation of symbols spread through oral, written, visual, or musical methods. The symbols used are generally culturally significant, and are used to convey, endorse, or redefine people’s attitudes (631). Another key component was the manipulation of images during wartime to define enemy, ally, and neutral elements as well as control public opinion. The definition of propaganda over the next several decades transforms from this more or less neutral definition, to an overtly negative term. The main characteristics now include psychological manipulations, powerful persuasion, and deliberate attempts to influence opinion against individual will (Ellul, 1965). Propaganda and rhetorical persuasion have overlapping qualities, but cannot be used interchangeably. This is because propaganda is also a political process and institution within the political system; it seeks to shape and transform heterogeneous individuals’ diverse opinions within the political sphere into a homogenous unit (Markova, 2008: 41). Another key difference is who benefits—propaganda aims to influence the audience in such a way that is of further benefit to the propagandist while persuasion’s goal is primarily geared towards mutual benefit for both the originator and the audience (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1992: 1). Jowett & O’Donnell (1992) provide a comprehensive definition that takes into account these important differences as well as the negative connotations that seem inherent in modern Western propaganda theory: ‘a form of coercion without the appearance of coercion; its purpose is the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape

perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist' (4).

Mass political communication therefore utilises this type of deliberate manipulation to mould the truth and define society (Classen, 2007; Markova, 2008; McCrann, 2009). Propaganda uses symbols, language, and images in order to shape perceptions through cognitive manipulations and behaviour management (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 5-6). It can either introduce new ideas, or more effectively confirm, reinforce, or expand pre-existing inclinations and beliefs (Ellul, 1965: vii; Kershaw, 1987: 4; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 153; Welch, 1993: 5; Bajomi-Lazar & Corvinus, 2013: 221; Marlin, 2013: 351) through pre-propaganda (Ellul, 1965) also called sub-propaganda (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992). Pre-propaganda introduces new or unfamiliar ideas over time to build a frame of mind among the population, direct them towards acceptance (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 15) and 'read[y] the masses to be triggered by active propaganda (Ellul, 1965: 33). Most commonly, pre-propaganda is achieved by preparing conditioned reflexes, building guiding myths, and mass education. Once pre-propaganda has taken hold, the propagandist can build upon it to further their cause (Marlin, 2013: 352).

Similar to pre-propaganda, Hobsbawm (1978) coined the term 'invented tradition' which is 'a set of practices...which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies a continuity with the past (quoted in Bonnell, 1999: 1). The invented tradition serves three functions within the propaganda sphere. First, it creates a social cohesion or in-group dynamic through real and/or artificial means. This is an important component of heroization of the proletariat and the repositioning of the working class as the positive collective identity (2). This also aids in the defining of the concept of 'class' and the class differentiation as a social status rather than simply an economic state. Second, the invented tradition is used to legitimise key institutions and the societal relations to authority. This includes both a redefining of the authority figures in post-revolutionary societies as well as the restructuring of hierarchical societies. For instance, the landlord-peasant relationship in China shifted as a result of the CCP takeover and invented traditions helped to redefine which group was in command. This is a key part of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Third, the invented tradition aids in the 'socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior' (2). According to

Bonnell (1999), the Bolsheviks used this type of invented tradition to create specific symbols, transmit party ideas, new rituals, and resourceful innovative methods of propaganda including posters, sculpture, books, newspapers, journals, and film (2-3). Visual iconography can be seen as a system of signs that adheres to this form of invented tradition as 'consistent and incessantly repeated' imagery (Bonnell, 1999: 8).

There are four distinct, dichotomous categories of propaganda: political/sociological, agitation/integration, vertical/horizontal, and irrational/rational (Ellul, 1965; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992; Welch, 1993; Marlin, 2013). Political propaganda is chiefly utilised by governments, states, parties, or other top-down administrative powers with strategic, deliberate and calculated aims and political ends (Ellul, 1965: 62), while sociological is a subtle and diffuse method that relies heavily on cultural indoctrination to disseminate a unifying ideology that takes hold gradually and whose influence often goes unnoticed (Ellul, 1965: 62; Marlin, 2013: 352). Agitation or explicit propaganda is a more visible and widespread form, and aims to provoke a reaction from its audience, often 'lead[ing] men from mere resentment to rebellion' (Ellul, 1965: vi). It is the easiest to initiate, even with little or no pre-propaganda because it engages the simplest and most violent tendencies of society; it is most commonly used to provoke and mobilise its audience to violence or war (Ellul, 1965: 71; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 8; O'Shaughnessy, 2012: 29). In addition, the less well educated the audience, the easier it is to convince them of the propaganda's message (Ellul, 1965: 74). One downside to this form of propaganda is that it is difficult to maintain and needs frequent reinforcements to prolong the behaviour. Integration propaganda on the other hand, aims to build a unified, passive, and accepting population (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 8). This type is easier maintain over extended periods of time because it 'aims at making them adjust themselves to desired patterns' (Ellul, 1965: vi). By its very design, integration propaganda attempts to promote conformity through both implicit as well as culturally bound means (O'Shaughnessy, 2012: 29). The final difference between agitation and integration propaganda is that integration is based more on establishing pre-propaganda and waiting for the ideas to take root in society; hatred is the only underlying theme that can be acted upon almost immediately.

Vertical, or top-down propaganda, is instigated by the authoritative power and directed at the masses (Ellul, 1965: 79-80; Bajomi-Lazar & Corvinus, 2012: 225). It is designed to

transform the individual into a passive member of a homogenous crowd that reacts from a conditioned reflex rather than critically assessing the information (Marlin, 2013: 356).

Markova (2008) maintains that vertical propaganda is a one-way, monological communication from the top directed towards the audience. This monological form is part of propaganda, while dialogical two-way negotiation, belongs to persuasion (49). Horizontal propaganda is perpetuated at the mass level. Starting in small homogenous groups, the individual within the system participates in their own instruction (Marlin, 2013: 357). Within China, this usually took the form of what Apter & Saich (1994) called 'exegetical bonding'.

Welch (1993) states that effective use of both rational and irrational propaganda is the most powerful form of influence (8). Irrational propaganda uses pre-established traditionally grounded myths, emotions, cultural norms, and societal stereotypes in concert with any pre-propaganda myths and counts on emotional responses. For propagandists, the myth is more than a traditional story; it encompasses extracted attitudes, behaviour and societal norms. Barthes used the word myth as a form of connotative cultural belief systems that make up the underlying rules and conventions within the reality of societal groups and are generally universal within homogenous cultural spheres (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001: 19). They are the patterns of life, exemplifying common behaviours, beliefs, and perceptions. Such myths are extremely valuable to harness practical affairs with an overarching paradigm (Liu, 2000: 88). Both helpful and harmful, myths help define self and other, the role of the individual, and morals. Once a myth has taken hold of society, it is often difficult to remove. Rational propaganda relies heavily facts, figures, statistics and other outwardly credible information to influence public opinion. This can include misleading polls or statistical framing that bends the information to suit the propagandist's purpose (Marlin, 2013: 357-8).

Whether speaking to the public from a rational or irrational point of view, propaganda seeks define societal truth and is always ideologically driven (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 15). At one end of the spectrum, white propaganda is the closest to the truth, the information is correctly attributed and contents are generally accurate. On the other end, black propaganda often obscures the source, relates false or deceptive information, and uses any type of deceit to gain the desired ends. Grey propaganda lies between these two extremes;

the source may or may not be disclosed, and the truth level fluctuates (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 8-10). No matter the level of truth, the information presented to the audience always uses a frame that is favourable to the propagandist. The propagandist generally monopolises the truth to maintain ownership over the way the information is disseminated (Bajomi-Lazar & Corvinus, 2013: 222) by defining the frame, strategically timing releases, withholding, distorting, manufacturing, and/or contrasting information. The most frequent means to control information is either by controlling the media outlets or by disseminating information from a seemingly credible source, controlled by the propagandist (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 32).

In addition, the charismatic leader plays an important role in propaganda. They are the ideal vertical propaganda credible source. They occupy a role of both the identifiable comrade and the deific model, inspiring followers from a position of authority and constructing a personal bond with the masses (Ellul, 1965: 8; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992: 183; Markova, 2008: 41). This 'charismatic bond' takes on a near religious feel that produces a 'compulsive, inexplicable emotional tie linking a group of followers together in adulation of their leader' (Eatwell, 2006b: 142).

Rhetorical manipulation of symbols, shared experiences, facts, and metaphor encourage participation and acceptance. Additionally, terror, violence, and coercion are also common valuable propaganda methods that attract, repel, or encourage silence among the population (Delia, 1971: 143), or at least be regarded as a reinforcing agent (Welch, 1993: 15). All propaganda forms including speeches, writings, mass meetings, art, and films are rhetorical in nature. Symbols are particularly important because they make it easier for people to identify with each other and with the symbol (Delia, 1971: 139). Propaganda relies heavily on symbolic manipulation (Lasswell, 1927) and they generally are culturally significant, provoking a strong emotive and nostalgic response and can be evoked through verbal cues or non-verbal visuals, images, and gestures. The charismatic leader plays on shared experiences to create unity among the masses. (Ellul, 1965: 23).

As part of the rhetorical manipulation, the metaphor is a commonly used method to express a "“meaning transfer” based on tacit comparison' (Musolff, 2007: 23) and is generally expressed through language and thought (Forceville, 1994: 1); visual metaphors are common in propaganda. Visual metaphors are especially powerful because they are one

of the essential features of discourse as well as an integral way in which people interact with reality (Ivie, 1982). The propagandist creates the metaphor, and in creating the metaphor they create the mental reality for the masses. The reality of the 'us' of the united masses or the 'other' of the vilified enemy becomes a rhetorical definition. Figurative imagery is particularly influential because of the ability to contain multiple meanings within a single entity. Berelson *et al.* (1954) maintain that ambiguity in propaganda strengthens its efficacy and appeal because the interpretation is left to audience, but still confined within the propaganda's main paradigm (217). Finally, repetition helps reinforce the message and raise the salience of the issue. Multi-modal propaganda techniques spread the message across a wide range of media and is especially effective. If the message is not continuous, the propaganda weakens (Ellul, 1965: 17). All forms of rhetorical persuasion in propaganda use double standards, substitution of names, lies, enemy definition, authority, censorship, assertion, and stereotypes to communicate ideology (Bajomi-Lazar & Corvinus, 2013: 223).

#### Chinese Theories

Propaganda in China, especially since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, uses a combination of these propaganda characteristics and its own unique set of traits to influence its citizens. Some authors trace these unique Chinese communication techniques and propaganda properties back to Confucianism and ancient Chinese philosophy (Heisey, 2000; Jia, 2000; Miike, 2009; Xiao & Chen, 2009); involving rhetorical persuasion in disputation (Kroll, 1985-1987), symbolic performances (Lu, 2000), analogies and pattern manipulation (Xiao & Chen, 2009), experiential symbolism (Cheng, 1987), and the creation of political symbols (Murck, 2007: 7), it is argued that these techniques helped to build the modern day persuasion in China. However, modern Chinese propaganda and rhetorical persuasion are not necessarily based solely within Confucian or traditional realms. According to Cushman & Kincaid (1987) symbol, ritual, reflective imagination, metaphor, and myth are all part of the Chinese methods of propaganda that use symbolic mediation to displace individualism and focus on unification of man with nature (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987: 9).

In China, the term commonly used for propaganda 宣传 *xuanchuan* literally means to disseminate (purposeful) information and is generally associated in a cultural and folkloristic way to good deeds and action (Lin, 2017: 451). Lu (2000) defines this type of

communication as an 'action' form, which entails an information transfer to the masses. The individual characters broken down mean disseminate/propagate and transmit respectively. According the *Modern Chinese Dictionary* there are a variety of meanings associated with the Chinese term *xuanchuan* including 'explaining to and educating the people' and Cao (1987) defines the usage during imperial times as a 'communication from the ruler to the ruled'. The term is used to refer to government dissemination of political ideas, policies, or laws. It is also used to promote and manage a mass campaign, usually by means of posters, pamphlets, meetings, newspapers, radio, and television (Lu, 2000: 60). It generally does not contain the same negative connotations present in the Western sense of the term; propaganda is a useful method for education, communication, and mobilisation.

Lin (2017) identifies four basic characteristics of *xuanchuan* that differentiate it from the Western connotative term of propaganda: social integration, education, human mobility, and social networking (455). The first, social integration refers to the goal of 'integrat[ing] people into an intended society, for better or worse, under a certain set of ideologies' and was an important part of governing and social harmony (455). This type of social integration parallels Ellul (1965)'s ideas of integration propaganda discussed earlier; however, Lin (2017) maintains that the integral relationship of agitation and integration propaganda of Ellul's definition is different in the Chinese context. Lin argues that agitation propaganda is a technique while the integrative side of propaganda is the primary function—and most importantly, they are not mutually exclusive. The second characteristic, education, relates to the Chinese concept of 教化 *jiaohua* which Lin defines as a combination of politics, morals, and education (456). In addition, education is seen as a major avenue to propagandise. Third, mass mobility, is connected to the movement of people through better transportation and propaganda through word of mouth more than through publication capabilities (456). The fourth characteristic, social networking, refers to human agency as an integral element of *xuanchuan*, which can be seen in the use of the CCP cadres as mass propagandists as vertical propagandists. Just like the western theories, there is also a horizontal feature of *xuanchuan* which utilises family, friends, and close acquaintances as part of the propaganda machine (Lin, 2017: 456-458).

As a hierarchical society with strict ideas about interpersonal relations, the structured interaction of the leader and the led aids in the maintenance of authority. This authority

has a legitimacy of power that set a precedent for unequal distribution of power and wealth to be considered natural (Huang, Wu, & Cheng, 2015: 203). Obedience was key (Ng, 2000: 46-7). This submission to authority was the best way to promote institutional harmony and societal unity, a main goal of communication (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987: 9). However, the leader was also responsible to care for their followers (Ng, 2000: 46-7). According to Cushman & Kincaid (1987), the authority providing the methods for correct interpretation for the patterns of reality is what defines a successful communication practice within the Chinese sphere. In addition, Leese (2011) points out that the CCP paid 'enormous attention' to the use of single words and that this practice hints at the 'interrelation of language and power'. He further continues, '[b]y defining the angle of how to approach and judge reality, party discourse turned words into tangible objects that governed people's everyday lives and determined the fate of those marginalized by revolutionary rhetoric' (180). In this way, the leaders could not only use their power to lead, but also to define the parameters for interpretation of conventions and symbolic patterns.

One method for maintaining this hierarchy and societal unity was collectivism. Lu (1998) differentiates between vertical and horizontal collectivism. The former is connected with individual and group dynamics, such as in a family, organisation, community, or society, while the latter dictates the relationships within an in-group community (92). There is an underlying moral attribute that calls for total devotion and sacrifice of self for the whole (93). Cushman & Kincaid (1987) maintain that the Chinese narrative tends to use and control communication in such a way as to focus individual's collective participation within the institutional structure (9). Jia (2000) adds that the collectivist framework that focuses on the positive and affective communication styles, unity, and collective values only apply to in-group dynamics, or 'situational particularism' (148-9).

The Maoist period integrated the Western propaganda techniques and Chinese propaganda views. Mao believed that if one first had proper and correct thoughts, this would lead to proper and correct behaviour (Yu, 1964) and that this mentality could be achieved through 'ideological work' (Wang & Wu, 1997-8). He (2006) maintains that 'the communist blueprint for a new and modern country, moral transformation was central to the reconstruction of Chinese society' (He, 2006: 125). This combinatory approach was utilised as the Party's

chief dissemination and education tools that were employed to control the mental reality of the Chinese masses and dictate the politics of the state.

The CCP used many of the typically Western propaganda characteristics discussed above, particularly pre-propaganda, definition of enemy/ally/neutral, myths, metaphor, symbol manipulation, political, sociological, agitation, integration propaganda, and charismatic leader. Much of the pre-propaganda revolved around the Long March, the Yan'an Model, and the civil war between the CCP and the Nationalists 国民党 *Guomindang* (KMT). It established several key characteristics of Chinese internal and external relations that took hold of the mass psyche and allowed for further development when politically desirable.

One of the first pre-propaganda myths was built on the animosity between the CCP and the KMT. The CCP utilised the true civil war animosity to demonise the enemy and define 'non-People' (Schoenhals, 2007: 466). Even in conflicts that had nothing to do with the KMT, terms like 'White Terror'<sup>22</sup> were used to bring out the conditioned reflex against any enemy (Huang, 1996). Another pre-propaganda message was the consolidation of the 'People'<sup>23</sup>. Class consciousness and the idea of the 'People' were essential to the integration propaganda (Yu, 1964: 11; Schoenhals, 2007: 466). According to He (2006) this categorisation of people was an integral component of communist morality which put heavy emphasis on treatment of people based on their class category rather than the traditional emphasis on interpersonal relationships (126). Thus, traditional relationships such as the interactions between landlords and rich peasants with the rest of the poor proletariat, which could be either positive or negative depending on the situation, was transformed into an inherently negative relationship of exploitation that needed to be purged. 'Only after poor peasants struggled with their landlords, under the direction of the party, could a new social order be established. During land reform, the antagonism

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<sup>22</sup> The White Terror refers to the ruthless rule of Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kaishek) and his policy to 'eradicat[e] all of his opponents by instilling fear into his enemies' (Li, 2012: 492). After the collapse of the first United Front, on 12 April 1927, Jiang decided to eradicate the CCP from China. In what was later to be called the 'Shanghai Massacre of 1927' nearly 5,000 people, mostly workers were killed, with another 12,000 Communists killed in the following weeks. This purge of the Communists reduced their numbers from 60,000 to a mere 10,000 (Li, 2012: 492).

<sup>23</sup> Note that 'the People' with the capital 'P' is the translation of 人民(大众) *renmin (dazhong)*. Schoenhals (2007) used to differentiate the idea of the proletarian classes also known as the red classes, as the 'in-group' within Chinese Maoist society as opposed to people with a lower case 'p' that is used as a general reference to human beings.

between peasants and “evil” landlords was highlighted’ (He, 2006: 131). In order to accomplish this, the CCP attached class labels to people, elevating or demoting key categories in society. The party would then emphasise these antagonisms to build a ‘sharp distinction between “the people” and “the enemies of the people” in communist ideology’ (He, 2006: 151).

In addition to the conventional propaganda practises, the CCP used several distinctive techniques to add to the effectiveness of their message. The first was the use of the ‘model’. The CCP used its own unique methods of design and control of the models within the country’s campaigns to implement ideological control, participation of the masses, and emulation of the characteristics deemed superior (Zhang, 2000: 68). Using models was therefore a key method of rhetorical persuasion and communication that enabled the leaders to dictate behaviour, citizen development, and civic participation. According to Zhang (2000) the CR was the last identifiable time period that this type of socialist role model was an effective propaganda tool. Mao identified three functions of the model: the initiator, the backbone, and the link. As the initiator, the model surpasses what is asked of them, raising the standard of engagement and inspiring others to do the same. The backbone serves as the nucleus for the masses. Finally, the link is the link between the leader and the led, crossing the communication gap and allowing reciprocal information flow (Cushman, 1987: 70).

The main violent actors during the CR were the Red Guards. These youths were brought up post-1949 with stories of martyrs and heroes/heroines that were the epitome of the communist ideal citizen. They wanted to emulate them even though most of these models were *war* heroes. Li (2010) describes the atmosphere of growing up in the PRC and its effects on the youths’ psyche:

For the new generation who grew up in socialist China, this discourse, conveyed in an endless stream of images and scenes in revolutionary films, theaters, children’s books, and posters, in inescapable sounds of revolutionary songs played over loudspeakers, in numerous revolution stories and quotations in the textbooks, was not simply political doctrine and propaganda that one can choose to live without, but an omnipresence, and an inescapable aesthetic experience that was so frequently repeated, rehearsed, and re-enacted that it “can enlist the unconscious drives of the individual psyche as its most powerful driving force” (Wang 1997: 207). Under these circumstances, the individual was so overwhelmed by

unconscious currents that one could only strive to identify with the sublime characters who imprinted in their minds a romantic and artistic way of living (450).

By imitating their models' behaviour outside of the war context and applying it to a time of relative peace, superimposed a violent paradigm on an otherwise non-militaristic activity. These models were used to educate citizens about what the government expected from them, and as a behaviour modifier.

Another distinctive technique was the method for utilising the symbols, metaphors, and analogies used to impart information and doctrine to the masses. The CCP utilised a combination of manipulation of culturally relevant symbols and emphasis on the 'sacred' symbol. Symbols are given an elevated status and treated as a sacred object that 'transforms an individual's subjective interpretations into the sacred institutional interpretations of a disciplined spiritual experience' (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987: 6). Markers such as the colours used in art and worn by actors in the *yangbanxi*, haircuts, various flowers, and so on were used to indicate specific meanings within the propaganda. Perhaps the most famous sacred symbol was the *Little Red Book* (LRB), although there were others, such as the previously mentioned mangoes re-gifted to work teams by Mao (Murck, 2007). These everyday items became part of highly ritualised practices and when depicted in propaganda signified both worship and sacredness. Furthermore, by using the *LRB* for individual or collective readings the symbol became ingrained in the revolutionary history (Duara, 2008: 58). Those people in the images either holding the sacred symbols or in close proximity to them were given extra importance.

A third component of the CCP techniques was the People versus non-People paradigm. While many propaganda regimes use defining the enemy, 'othering', and marking of outsiders as a key method for influencing people's opinions, Maoist propaganda took this form to an extreme. By the time that the CR started, the ideas of individualism had been deemed selfish and were frowned upon by propaganda. Artists and writers all attempted to follow the mass line in their works through a 'collective voice' rather than a singular or individualistic voice (Li, 2010). This led to a polarisation of the population: those who were trying to remain as part of the collective and those who were considered selfish being relegated to the 'enemy' status. Furthermore, class became more than an economic status, it was transformed through rhetoric into an important identity marker. Those who were

'worker, peasant, soldier' were part of the collective identity and anyone outside of these identities were the Other, out-group, the enemy. These enemies included former landlords, bourgeoisie, counter-revolutionaries, capitalist roaders, and whoever else the propaganda targeted. They transformed into non-People (Schoenhals, 2007: 469-475). The CCP demonised the enemy, using dehumanising terms such as snake demon and ox monster in an attempt to create a vilified enemy. As a result, the 'value of non-People's lives was miniscule' (Schoenhals, 2007: 469). Heroisation led to the model while the vilification led to the reviled enemy, both of which went beyond metaphor and helped to define the psychological reality of the common people (Schoenhals, 2007: 469-475). A consequence of this polarisation of hero and enemy partially led to the factionalism of the CR. Identity formation and trying to remain in favour were identified as potential important contributors to the factionalisation. Furthermore, purity became an important symbol, and by extension the bloodline/classline distinction (Schoenhals, 2007: 475). Donald (2014) adds that '[b]y 1967, posters provided their viewers with starkly delineated "pro" and "anti" positions encouraging correct thinking and behaviour and denouncing incorrect thinking and behaviours' (669).

Mao Zedong was also a highly valuable propaganda commodity in and of himself. Established within the pre-propaganda and Party mythology, the life and works of Mao transformed him from mere man to deity. Just like other charismatic leaders, he led a dual existence, appealing to people as a comrade and a hero. He possessed the 'charismatic bond' and many of the Chinese people were zealously dutiful. The symbol of Mao became an idol-like image in the CR, with Mao worship a common practice. His picture was hung in many homes, often replacing the altars where ancestor and household gods used to be (Mittler, 2012). Mao's many works were read and quoted constantly, and were even used to argue from authority. There were also slogans based on his writings (Powers, 1997-8: 153-5). Besides the LRB, many of his writings and anecdotes were absorbed into everyday culture and life lessons (Lynteris, 2011; Mittler, 2012).

The origins of the Mao cult can be traced back to the 1930's and the Long March, developing Mao's image as a competing image to Chiang Kaishek as the only legitimate leader of a united China (White, 1994; Leese, 2011). According to Landsberger (2016), Mao was a regular central character within early CCP propaganda posters. However,

Landsberger (2016) notes that ‘the intensity of his portrayal in the second half of the 1960s [...] was unparalleled’. Through the efforts of Marshal Lin Biao, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) was used to foster the growing Mao cult of personality. Because of Lin Biao’s encouragement and leadership of these efforts as well as the PLA’s transformation into ‘a great school of Mao Zedong Thought’, the army became agent and driving force behind the Mao cult (Landsberger, 2016). In addition to Lin Biao’s efforts, ‘Mao consciously employed the cult in the mid-1960s to mobilize the masses against the party bureaucracy’ (Leese, 2011: 87).

While previously Mao was revered and idolised, the manifestations of his image were still within the realm of human-hero-comrade. In fact, Mao rejected the idea of being used as a deific symbol on multiple occasions; however, he later started to relent to the idea as a method of unification and propaganda, ultimately using his image to take over the guidance and manoeuvring of the country (Leese, 2011). Lu (2000) adds that the Mao cult utilised rhetorical devices to consolidate and legitimise his power through ‘the narration of his own deeds and those of the Communist Party’ as well as ‘the moral justification of Communist ideology’. By using this rhetoric as part of the propaganda machine, Mao ‘was elevated to the status of a living god of the Chinese people’ (8).

With the beginning of the CR, Mao’s image was transformed into an idealised version of supreme leadership headed by an infallible deity-like figure. While the Mao cult in the form of flattery and rituals of worship was short-lived, during its height, ‘the physical presence of Mao icons, including statues, badges, and images, now grew indomitable’ (Leese, 2011: 149). Donald (2014) maintains that the Mao images of the late 1960s and early 1970s were ‘fetishized and subject to rules that underlines the neurotic version of revolutionary correctness in aesthetics of Jiang Qing’s period of ascendancy’ (662). According to Landsberger (2015) strict rules were followed in the placement and quality of the image. The display of Mao’s image in one’s home was an important symbol of one’s dedication to both Mao’s policies and the man himself, and a lack of the portrait was a dangerous marker of a ‘counter-revolutionary outlook’ (20).

During the CR, control of the meaning and usage of this sacred symbol became difficult. Rival factions, the army, the government and other contending propaganda producers all used the image of Mao. As a result of vague official guidelines for the movement and a lack

of direct instructions from Mao himself, Party leaders, cadres, and the People had to take interpretation into their own hands. For a short time, the Party itself lost its monopoly on the interpretation of Mao, his works, and his directives (Leese, 2011). In order to wrest control back into an authoritative body, the PLA stepped in and tried to re-establish some form of discipline through the 'three supports, two militaries'<sup>24</sup> directive. However, the results of this campaign were mixed, and attacks by local people on military targets to acquire weapons and munitions became more and more common. The image of Mao was co-opted by the various factions to support their own specific ideology, sometimes local reprints of his works even carrying slogans and accusations that were specific to the regional situation (Leese, 2011: 151-162). As the level of meaning behind Mao's image expanded and transformed, '[t]he symbols of the cult [...] acquired ideological, political, and pecuniary value' (Leese, 2011: 164).

From this combination of propaganda techniques, methods, and theories this thesis proposes that propaganda was used during the CR as a communication tool that serves to inform and guide the People in current political policy with the concurrent aim of defining the way in which the People react and absorb the information. There was an element of control, but it was not seen in the coercive sense that taints the word propaganda in Western discourse. Propaganda in Chinese CR usage was a persuasive and manipulative form of communication that culturally perceived as intended for the good of the country and the people, but more importantly to benefit the leaders. Ultimately, its goal was to educate the People on the right and proper way to behave.

#### Maoist Art Propaganda in the PRC

Traditional Chinese communication practices used the visual arts to 'propagate ideals of correct behavior and thought' (Landsberger, 2016). Landsberger (2016) maintains that this tradition of visual communication continued into the PRC and that propaganda art was a vital method to transmit political policies and impart their vision of the future to the masses. This type of artistic transfer of information bolstered other forms of propaganda

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<sup>24</sup> The three supports, two militaries campaign 三支两军 *sanzhi liangjun* was the PLA's attempt to intervene in the CR. Following a directive issued on 19 March 1967, this campaign was organised to support the left-wing organisations including workers and peasants, helping in industry and agriculture, re-imposing order, and providing military training to students (Leese, 2011: 155; Guo, 2012: 216).

such as print media, films, and radio broadcasts. Landsberger (1998) adds that 'propaganda art continued to be seen as one of the major means to illustrate the 'correct' policies of the moment and the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) visions of the future, especially for those who could not read' (23). According to the China National Census, the illiteracy rate was over 57 percent in 1964. While this shows a significant improvement from the 80 percent in 1949, the limitations of textual communication imposed by this high illiteracy rate lent to the utility of visual propaganda (China's Fifth National Census, 2000, quoted in Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 10). Donald (2014) states that the posters of the Maoist period were the 'first and most accessible visual address from the Party (666) and that the function of the posters was an unrelenting channel of 'information, motivation and advice' that gave the people the dual message of the Party's energy and direction along with a message of how best to serve the Party (659).

Similar to the mass propaganda of the USSR, visual methods of political communication were important because of the low literacy level of the populace and 'strong visual traditions of the Russian people' (Bonnell, 1999: 3). This similarity of approach to the Soviet system of propaganda is significant as it relates to the adoption and assimilation of the Soviet Realist style into the Chinese visual lexicon. Even with an increased rate of literacy, political art was seen as a method to reach all of the population simultaneously. In the USSR this was due to a shared background and exposure to icons and visual culture of the Russian Orthodox Church (Bonnell, 1999: 12). In China, the strong tradition of artistic meaning and visual symbols would have had a parallel effect. According to Donald (2014) the propaganda posters of post-Liberation China 'mediated the relationship between Party propaganda and everyday experience in the People's Republic of China. These "weapons of mass communication" constituted a "red sea", an immersive aesthetic field through which the Party disseminated extraordinarily powerful visual metaphors for the revolution-in-progress' (658). In addition, the propaganda posters simultaneously engage with abstract ideas and educate the People (Landsberger, 2015: 19). There were two key fundamental influences of propaganda art used within the PRC. The first, the Yan'an Talks, laid the foundation for the ideological underpinnings of the role of literature and art within Chinese communist society. The second, the Soviet socialist realist art movement, affected the genre of art and the method of propaganda depiction.

The 1942 Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, whose contents were later published as the *Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yan'an Forum of Literature and Arts* 《毛主席在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》 *Maozhuxi zai Yan'an wenyi zuotanhua shang de jianghua* (short: Yan'an Talks or Talks), became the standard for the politicisation of literature and art in the PRC. According to Judd (1985) the Yan'an Talks were part of the greater rectification movement from 1942-1944 that aimed at creating an CCP-wide ideological unification based on the Sinification of Marxism-Leninism into what would later be called Mao Zedong Thought (378). In addition, the Talks were used to define the theoretical differences between the May Fourth Movement and the Yan'an (Maoist and Socialist) ideals for the role of art. Mao used the Talks to urge artists to reject foreign styles of art that had been introduced in the early part of the century and opt for 'genuine artistic language responsive to China's own condition and people' (Minick & Ping, 1990: 92) and 'laid down authoritative policy on literature and art' (Judd, 1985: 397). King (2010) maintains that the CR leaders adopted the tenets of the Yan'an Talks as part of their policy to provide 'a new proletarian culture true to a radical interpretation of Mao's vision of the arts' (13). In a set of speeches published in the Peking Review on 9 December 1966, the adoption of the Yan'an Talks principles for literature and art was made clear. These speeches were delivered by key officials of the regime, including Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, and Jiang Qing, with all three alluding to or directly referring to the Talks as an important guide for the CR (Peking Review, 1966: 5-12).

In Mao's opening remarks on 2 May 1942, he sets the tone for the forum, stating that their goal is to 'ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work' (Mao, 1967). With the purpose of achieving this development, Mao urges an integration of artists into the masses to modify their class stand, attitude, and work (Mao, 1967; Judd, 1985; Landsberger, 2016). While the aim of the rectification movement was addressed at all intellectuals, technical and ideological alike, Judd (1985) maintains that the subset of ideological intelligentsia consisting of writers, artists, and dramatists were the main targets for change (379). In the Yan'an Talks, Mao states that it is important to improve the way that the writers and artists interact with their audience and integrate the proper theoretical underpinning of Marxism-Leninism into their medium. Throughout the conference the attendees discussed the role of literature and art within the CCP, identifying several key points that needed to be addressed. The most fundamental issue raised concerned the masses and how best to serve

them (Sullivan, 1999: 712). This theme is at the core of the discussion and is integrated into each of the topics raised at the forum. Tan (2012) states that the slogan of ‘art serves the people’ became the guiding principle of art in China for the entirety of Mao’s reign. Judd (1985) adds that the Yan’an Talks, as part of the Yan’an Rectification Movement 延安整风运动 *Yan’an zhengfeng yundong*, was the first time that there were ‘relatively clear and detailed guidelines [...] not only for the creation and propagation of literature and art, but also for the role of intellectuals—including the literary intelligentsia—in the revolution’ (396). According to the edited edition of the Talks, these guidelines were described through several facets surrounding the role of literature and arts were explored, with three of them specifically looking more in-depth at the role of art in the PRC: the role of literature and arts service (文艺服务 *wenyi fuwu*), the literature and art fighting line (文艺战线 *wenyi zhanxian*), and the main struggle (主要斗争 *zhuyao douzheng*) (Mao, 1967).

The role of literature and the arts service is primarily about the intended audience and how to engage with them. The speakers emphasise that this new era of Chinese culture is essentially a proletarian lead culture of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism. In addition, though the new era can inherit old forms of artistic style and expression, it must concentrate on adapting them for the new methods of serving the People. As part of this section, the People (人民大众 *renmin dazhong*) are given a hierarchical categorisation and defined as the majority, ninety percent and above, of the population, primarily consisting of workers, peasants, soldiers, and the petty bourgeoisie. Some of the issues discussed include the inadequacies of the artists to fully integrate into the masses, and the resulting lack of understanding of desired material, topics, styles, and interaction. The representatives emphasise multiple times that art should serve, be created for, and benefit the masses. Only in this way will the artists’ products gain meaning. This section concludes that it is these four types of People that literature and art should primarily serve (Mao, 1967).

The second topic, the literature and art fighting line, looks more deeply into the content of the art. Here the discussants stipulate that art for art’s sake (为艺术的艺术 *wei yishu de yishu*), supra-class art(超阶级的艺术 *chao jieji de yishu*), politically parallel art (政治并行的艺术 *zhengzhi bingxing de yishu*), and mutually independent art (互相独立的艺术 *huxiang duli de yishu*) in fact do not exist. Rather, proletarian art is part of the revolutionary whole,

and that its role is fixed within the revolutionary machinery. Accordingly, literature and art are subordinate to politics, but can also be a great influence on politics. Revolutionary and artistic struggle should obey political struggle (Mao, 1967).

The final topic discussed, the major struggle, focuses on literary and artistic criticism. According to the contributors, this criticism has two primary criteria: political and artistic. In politics, art should benefit the anti-Japanese movement and promote unity, encourage the masses to be united in heart and mind, oppose regression, and stimulate progress. In order to accomplish these goals, the fundamentals of artistic function and content are emphasised as 'politics is first, art is second'. This involves careful deliberation as to the political attitude of the artwork and the artists and that politics and art should unite in both content and form. In addition, only enemies should be criticised through literature and art while the People should be corrected through education and self-criticism (Mao, 1967).

At the close of the Forum, Mao concludes with several remarks that summarise the key points of the Talks. First, he emphasises Marxism's rejection of abstract definitions in favour of objective practise and the necessity to draw the official line, policy, and method from this objectivity. Furthermore, he stresses the need unite with the masses without hesitation, looking forward into the future and not backward. His final sentiments encapsulate the themes discussed above, highlighting the need to learn from the proletariat, serve the masses, and never yield to the enemy (Mao, 1967). According to Minick & Ping (1990) '[t]he aesthetic guidelines to emerge from Mao's Yan'an Forum on Literature and the Arts in 1942 fuelled new attempts to produce a mass revolutionary design style. Initial forays suggested the importance that woodblock and the imported tastes of Soviet Socialist Realism would play' (98).

The second important influence that contributed to the development of the CCP propaganda poster was the Soviet Socialist Realist movement. This movement was formed on 23 April 1932, when the USSR Central Committee formed the Artist's Union, whose task was to implement Socialist Realist art as the only permissible art form (Sixsmith, 2016). Cushing & Tompkins (2007) state that the establishment of Socialist Realist art as the official form of art in the USSR resulted in all artistic production coming under tight Stalinist control (7). Freedom of creativity and abstract art were abolished, and the goal of art transformed into a more pragmatic approach. Art was limited to 'depict[ing] man's struggle

for socialist progress towards a better life. The creative artist must serve the proletariat by being realistic, optimistic and heroic' (Sixsmith, 2016). In this way, art was re-tasked to show the workers and the peasants what they were working towards (Sixsmith, 2016). Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaja, explained the importance of visual propaganda as:

For the present and the near future, a peasant can learn to improve his production only if he is taught by visual example. And in general, the peasant, just like the workers in their mass, think much more in terms of images than abstract formulas; and visual illustration, even when a high level of literacy is reached, will always play a major role for the peasant (quoted in Bonnell, 1999: 5).

In addition, the art must be used to '[call] attention to the wisdom of the Communist Party and its leadership' (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 7). According to Sixsmith (2016) the Socialist Realist art style called for a form of art that was more comprehensible to the masses, therefore, the images became more simplistic, and innovative or original expression was considered useless or even dangerous.

Landsberger (2016) maintains that the Soviet Union was one of the largest political, economic, and social influences on the PRC. On 14 February 1950 the PRC and the Soviet Union completed a thirty-year Treaty of Peace, Security and Friendship. In order to secure financial, material, and technical support from the USSR, China played a secondary role to the Soviet Union, looking to them as the model for ideology and foreign policy. In addition to these more practical aids, the CCP also looked to the USSR as the standard for its development of visual propaganda. One of the main elements adopted from Soviet propaganda was the Socialist Realist form, 'provid[ing] a realistic view of life, represented in the rosy colors of optimism, although largely seen through an urban lens. Socialist Realism focussed on industrial plants, blast furnaces, power stations, construction sites and people at work' (Landsberger, 2016). In the formative years of the PRC, many Chinese artists and painters studied the technique both in Soviet academies as well as with Soviet professors within China (Sullivan, 1999: 712; Yang & Gentz, 2014: 3; Landsberger, 2016). The CCP followed the USSR's example, taking complete control of artists and publishers and as a result 'the CCP was able to force its interpretation of reality and aesthetics on the population' (Landsberger, 2016). According to Sullivan (1999), even after the Sino-Soviet split in 1958-1959, the use of Socialist Realism continued to be used as a 'powerful propaganda tool' (712).

According to Tan (2012) '[t]he Chinese Communist Party endorsed a Socialist Realism that takes in and transforms both the traditional and the realist for propaganda purposes (179). Mao took the influences of Soviet Realism and infused it with some of his own particular propaganda techniques of "revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism" which accentuated visionary imagery of positive and victorious messages (Yang & Gentz, 2014: 3; Yang, 2016: 10). This type of romanticism was expressed through a utopic euphoria with smiling characters, visionary gazes, and rustic imagery and settings reflecting an idealised future (Yang & Gentz, 2014: 3). These propaganda images replaced traditional artwork dominating society even at the basest levels of everyday life and living, being used both for a propaganda purpose as well as for a more decorative function. In this way, the visual images appealed to people as a way to brighten up people's homes and dormitories while the messages contained within the posters were mentally absorbed at an 'almost subconscious level' (Landsberger, 2016). According to Yang & Gentz (2014) the object of the Socialist realist posters was to 'spread Communist political views, call for participation in various political movements and campaigns, and to propagate correct behaviour' (3). Tan (2012) argues that from a stylistic viewpoint, the Yan'an Talks main tenets were integrated into artistic forms through 'colour schemes, composition and iconography from a variety of folk arts [while]... At the same time, it relies heavily on techniques developed by European-Soviet realism. Its main goal is to build a formulaic visual vocabulary that renders the subject matter immediately comprehensible and relatable to the 'working people' (184).

#### Art of the CR

As art was strictly defined as a tool to serve the masses and inherently political, these political restraints were applied to a wide range of art, including written, visual, and performative art. According to Yang Peiming, the director of the Shanghai Propaganda Poster Art Center, there are three stages of propaganda poster art development: the New Year 年画 *nianhua* style of the early PRC period, the Romantic period<sup>25</sup> corresponding roughly to the GLF era, and finally the CR era 'red period' (2016: 9). Each of these periods built on the previous one adding new ideas and techniques to the repertoire of the artists.

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<sup>25</sup> The romantic period refers to the above mentioned transforming of Socialist realist techniques into the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. The GLF period is known for its fantastical images of an economic utopia with happy peasants and workers, abundant crops and political pushes towards collectivisation and communes.

The first period was initially designed to ‘celebrate [...] great transformations’ and were more eclectic and varied than later imagery (10). The GLF adds another layer to the art of the Mao era, moving away from the Soviet style of socialist-realist pictures to a Chinese ‘revolutionary realism’. Sullivan (1999) points out that art in the late 1950s and 1960s was classified into three categories: harmful, not harmful, and good. Harmful art included content such as nudes, abstractions, and expressionist work, while not harmful pieces are landscapes and still lives (as long as the artist did not produce too many examples). The only type of art that was considered ‘good’ was revolutionary art (713).

With the start of the CR ‘[t]he change to the red-art style of the cultural revolution and the violent and militaristic themes is a sudden shift that gives the readers some impression of the mood of the time’ (Yang, 2016: 2). In addition to the more complex oil and paint images, the woodcut style became increasingly popular (Yang, 2017: 1); this was a response to and became an integral part of, the *dazibao* movement and the technique ‘was simple, the process of production fast, the images bold and expressive, and the effects direct and powerful’ (Yang, 2016: 12). According to Cushing & Tompkins (2007) the propaganda posters of the CR were guided by three main political principles: a rejection of both Western and classical Chinese art forms, a development of artwork from previously marginalised social strata and regional areas, and a rejection of art for art’s sake (7). The artists were to create new forms of artwork that excluded foreign, feudal, imperialist influences (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 7), and integrate Western techniques and traditions, converting them into a more Chinese style (Clark, 2008: 202). In November 1966, Jiang Qing spoke to the Red Guards at the Central Academy of Art stressing this principle:

Some people always take some ancient and some foreign works (including famous classical works from the nineteenth century) as their models (*jingdian*), but that’s no good. Those feudal and bourgeois things cannot serve the Chinese revolution. But we cannot use a nihilist attitude: we should use critical eyes to assimilate (*xishou*) those things. (Quoted in Clark, 2008: 203).

In addition, there was increasing emphasis on artwork by amateur worker, peasant, and soldier classes (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 7; Clark, 2008: 203). Adhering to the principles outlined in the Yan’an talks, the role of art serving politics was reinforced (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 7).

During the CR, several publications outlined the artistic principles that dominated the CR art work from 1966-1968. Especially important are the 'Sweep Away all Monsters and Demons' article in the People's Daily, the Sixteen Points, and Jiang Qing's 'The Summary' (Jian, Song, & Zhou, 2006; Landsberger, 2016). The first two articles, mentioned previously as part of the rhetorical instigation of the CR, also contain several guidelines that were used within the CR art. Some of the principles outlined in these articles directly refer to rules for art; however, most only allude to themes and undercurrents of the CR that are later reflected in the artwork.

The first article, published on 1 June 1966, introduced four main ideas that are part of the propaganda art world of the CR. First, the authors state the goal of the CR is primarily to oppose all the exploitative class ideologies. Second, it outlines the goals of the Four Olds Campaign, focussing on the expansion, creation, and formation of new ideas, new culture, new style, and new customs in order to change the prevailing social traditions. The third idea explored by the article is the experience since liberation and how through moving the masses and adopting the mass line society will be able to shed the old and form the new. The final point reinforces some of the ideas from the Yan'an Talks, the 'proletarian ideological revolutionaries serve the people heart and soul with the object of awakening them, and work for the interests of the broadest masses' (Peking Review, Vol. 9, #23, June 3, 1966, pp. 5-8). None of these ideas are directly stated as rules for art, but as guidelines for the CR. As art serves politics, these guidelines and themes become integrated into the posters both as the message as well as art forms.

The second article, the Sixteen Points, more directly discusses artwork stating literature and art is one of the main areas that needs to be transformed and purged of bourgeois ideology<sup>26</sup>. According to the article, the main resistance to the CR are 'those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road' (point 2) and 'the main target of the present movement [... are] those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road' (point 5). In addition, the protagonists of the movement are labelled as 'the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation' (point 2). This contrast helps to identify who is portrayed as the heroes

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<sup>26</sup> The other areas listed education and any other parts of the overall superstructure that do not conform to socialist values (Peking Review, Volume 9, #33, Aug. 12, 1966, pp. 6-11)

and who are the villains within the artwork. The document also reiterates the differentiation and hierarchical nature of the class leaders and cadres in the PRC (point 3, 8), and echoes the Yan'an Talks defining the classes in a descending order. As per the Yan'an Talks, it is the final category of the worst leaders that appear as the frequent enemy in the poster. Those who are good or in the middle are not targets of the CR artwork. In addition, it stresses the need for the masses to educate themselves and learn to distinguish right from wrong. Within the CR artwork, there are clear markers of the right behaviour portrayed in the actions of the protagonists (point 4).

Another key definition presented in the Sixteen Points reflects the CR views on education, and stresses the role of the students in the CR. Not only should lessons be shortened and simplified, they should be focussed on proletarian politics and productive labour.

'Productive labour' is defined as 'industrial work, farming and military affairs, and tak[ing] part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie'. Teachers are pointed to as a key source of bourgeois intellectuals (point 10). Within the posters of the 1966 to 1968 period, the students are often portrayed taking on these roles and tasks. Urban-rural cooperation is advocated (point 13), production and economic results are encouraged (point 14), and the army's role is promoted (point 15). The final point strongly advocates the use of Mao Zedong Thought and the use of proletarian politics as the commanding forces of the movement. This final point can be seen as part of the motivating factor behind the literal images of the People leading the movement with the LRB in hand.

In addition to the guidelines outlined in the Sixteen Points, another key technique adopted by the artists of the CR was to directly extract quotations from the documents and use them either as metatextual elements or as the posters' slogan. The content of the poster is then an illustration of the point referred to. An example of this can be seen in *figure 22*, where the girl is holding up a copy of the Sixteen Points and point six is being quoted 'struggle with words, not with weapons' 要用文斗, 不用武斗 *yaoyong wendou, bu yongwudou*. This image can be seen as an extension of point six, that is making a strict distinction between contradictions among the People and those between the enemy. This idea of using words and not weapons is a principle reserved for debates between contradictions among the People.



Figure 22 Struggle with words, not with weapons  
 要用文斗, 不用武斗. Yao yong wendou, bu yong wudou.  
 Full Page Image, Designer: Sun Jingbo (孙景波) 1967 Call nr.: BG E16/110 (IISH collection)

The final influential document discussed here, Jiang Qing's the Summary, formally the *Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with Which Comrade Lin Biao Entrusted Comrade Jiang Qing*, 林彪同志委托江青同志召开的部队文艺工作座谈会纪要 *Lin Biao tongzhi weituo Jiang Qing tongzhi zhaokai de budui wenyi gongzuo zuotanhui jiyao*, directly discusses art forms in the CR. This summary of the forum was first given to the members of the Standing Committee on 22 March 1966 and later published in the *People's Daily* on 29 May 1967 in the midst of the CR (He, 2001: 191). According to He (2001) the 'vital phrase' within the Summary is the 'dictatorship of a sinister line' to refer to literature and art of the first seventeen years of the PRC as 'under the dictatorship of a sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist line' (191). This sinister line encompassed the following 'sinister literary theories': writing about reality (写真实论 *xie zhenshi lun*), the broad path of realism (现实主义广阔的道路论 *xianshizhuyi guangkuode daolu lun*), the deepening of realism (现实主义深化论 *xianshizhuyi shenhua lun*), opposition to subject-matter as the decisive factor (反题材决定论 *fan ticaì jueding lun*), middle characters (中间人物论 *zhongjian renwu lun*), opposition to the smell of gunpower (反火药味论 *fan huoyao wei lun*), and the spirit of the age as the merging of various trend (时代精神汇合论 *shidai jingshen huihe lun*) (Jiang, 1966; He, 2001: 191). According to Jiang Qing, all of these 'sinister lines' had been criticised by Mao in the past. She points out that in the past seventeen years works that have praised worker-peasant-soldier hero

characters, served the worker-peasant-soldier well, or fundamentally good works have been small in number. The more moderate works were plentiful, and furthermore, there still existed anti-Party and anti-Socialist poisonous works. Jiang Qing emphasises that the process of eradicating this 'black line' within the works will be a long, complicated, and arduous task. This task is a large matter that is directly related to the future of the Chinese revolution, and furthermore, directly related to the world revolution (Jiang, 1966). Though the principle outlined in the Summary are negative, the principles for literature and art can be extrapolated from the non-use of these elements. According to Li (2010) the Summary was an important part of the regulations for artistic methods.

The role of art during the CR became even more limited, directed by Jiang Qing through her role as the head of the film and culture section of the propaganda department and deputy director of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, instituted many new and rigid guidelines to keep art in its place. One of the most important strictures on art was the three prominences 三突出 *santuchu* (Mittler, 2003; Dal Lago, 2009; Andrews, 2010; Mittler, 2012; Landberger, 2016). '[T]he three prominences required that, when depicting figures, artists should emphasize those associated with positive qualities; for positive figures, they should emphasize the heroic; and for heroic characters, they should emphasize the central or most important one' (Andrews, 2010: 54). Two additional methods were used alongside the three prominences, that of red, bright, and shining 红光亮 *hongguangliang* as well as tall, big, and complete 高大全 *gaodaquan* and were used particularly when portraying any depiction of Mao and his face (Pang, 2012; Henriot & Yeh, 2012; Yang, 2016). The styles of art within the CR reflect the strictures of politics, artistic guidelines, and the goals of the movement. According to Cushing & Tompkins (2007) the CR propaganda posters reflect the following features and genres: woodcuts (hand-painted and illustration), watercolours featuring either classical landscapes or graphic outlines, Huxian peasant paintings<sup>27</sup>, large

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<sup>27</sup> Huxian Peasant paintings were amateur artistic works by workers and peasants that gained nationwide attention and fame in the early 1970s. As models of the CCP they were promoted as living representations of proletarian innate genius and talent. The most famous were from Shanghai, Yangquan, Lüda, and Huxian, though it was the final of these four places, Huxian, that gained international recognition and fame. They are noted for their naïve and colourful depictions of everyday scenes, landscapes, and local and national heroes. The paintings display an idyllic scene of rural life with happy people engaging in everyday tasks such as agriculture, political meetings, and study sessions. Despite the claim of 'amateur' artists being the primary painters, it was later revealed that the peasants received a great deal of assistance from professional artists. These assistants were often professionals who were no longer allowed to practice their art because of being labelled class

posters consisting of multiple smaller images or sections, and oil painting. In addition, the overall style of the images featured a variety of artistic styles including but not limited to 'bold, graphically driven imagery', 'abstraction, undeveloped natural landscapes, [and] classical imagery and style' (12).

Another common artistic practice is the use of the metapicture and metatext. This technique features 'pictures about pictures—that is pictures that refer to themselves or to other pictures, pictures that are used to show what a picture is' (Dal Lago, 2009: 167). Many posters from the CR incorporate other images and famous posters within them to not only draw attention to these images, but furthermore, to show the sanctioned audience actions in response. This can also be seen with slogans that appear on banners, reinforcing the internal visual messages (Dal Lago, 2009). This kind of image within an image was a prevalent technique not only within the propaganda posters, but also within the cinematic landscape of the CR. Donald (2014) cites Heath's (1976) work on cinematic works to illustrate how an image within image, i.e. the metapicture, contains 'the excess of meaning beyond' the frame (Donald, 2014: 665). Though this refers specifically to films, the juxtaposition of an image within the frame giving extra meaning to the message is widespread. 'A frame within a frame [or an image within an image] can function to further extend the apparent continuity of narrative space through offering a window of contradiction, or to create further compression through repeating and over-determining the political aspect of the foregrounded main action' (665). It is this second type of meaning transfer that is essential to the propaganda posters of the CR. These types of images work on the micro- and macro-narrative levels of the posters. On the micro-level, the agency of the characters is portrayed 'less on psychological motivation' and more 'on the iconic presence of Party and Leader' (666). The macro-level integrates a grounded meaning through canon, allegory, and correspondence to import that societal, political authority, and social harmony narratives into the imagery (666).

Propaganda slogans were particularly important. Short and to the point, the slogan of the mass movement could be easily exchanged when a new movement started. Slogans in mass campaigns were powerful weapons of guidance, mobilisation, and persuasion, and also

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enemies. Some of the more famous individual painters from that period are Bai Tianxue, Li Fenglan, Liu Zhide and Liu Zhigui. (Feng & Li, 2008; Landsberger, 2016).

critical to symbol making (Li, 2013). They could equate different classes with different qualities and could also reinforce certain behaviours. In addition, slogans could help to emphasise heroes and models as not only people to look up to, but as representations of the ideal. 'Every mass movement produced numerous models and outstanding deeds' (Li, 2013: 167).

The use of metapicture, mentioned earlier, utilises the iconic *Chairman Mao goes to Anyuan* (1967) oil painting by Liu Chunhua which commemorates the contribution of Mao Zedong to the successful non-violent labour strikes of the coal miners of Anyuan in 1922<sup>28</sup>. According to Perry (2008), this painting 'epitomizes the efforts of later generations to rework the Anyuan story for their own purposes' (10) and it is this very goal that is utilised within the metapicture method. This idealised image portrays a romanticised version of a young Mao Zedong in traditional scholar's attire, carrying only an umbrella as he begins his revolutionary venture. This painting gained attention when it was chosen by Jiang Qing as a 'revolutionary masterpiece' in line with the *yangbanxi* and later featured as the central piece of 'The Brilliance of Chairman Mao's Thought Illuminates the Anyuan Labour Movement' special exhibition (Perry, 2008 :11). This painting was used as a political tool not only to augment the role of Mao during the strike, but also to discredit Liu Shaoqi as a contributor to the movement. One of the crucial criticisms of both Liu Shaoqi and Li Lisan<sup>29</sup> was that they promoted the non-violence strike and therefore prevented the workers from truly expressing their inner revolutionary spirit (Perry, 2008: 11). This painting was featured in major newspapers and magazines and reproduced as Mao badges, stamps, and even as

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<sup>28</sup> The coal miners' strike in 1922 was jointly facilitated by Li Lisan, Liu Shaoqi, and Mao Zedong; the actual contributions of each of these key leaders draws considerable attention and can be considered a politically sensitive subject (Perry, 2008: 6). As a result of the five-day strike, Li Lisan and Liu Shaoqi negotiated 'higher wages, better working conditions, and a guarantee of security and financial backing for their labor union' (Perry, :8). Because of the successes of not only the strike, but the peaceful methods used by the leaders of the movement, Anyuan became a symbol and centre for revolutionary activism. In addition to the symbolic power of Anyuan, some of the most influential leaders and worker recruits of the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Communist Red Army were recruited from this area (Perry, 2008: 10). As a result of the importance of Anyuan and its history with the exegetical formation of the CCP, Perry (2008) maintains that 'future generations would vie for the right to claim Anyuan's "revolutionary tradition" as their own' (10).

<sup>29</sup> Li Lisan was one of the three key figures in the Anyuan coal mine strikes of 1922. Li's father held an imperial degree and had insisted that Li Lisan teach in an elementary school in Liling before he went on to further education in Beijing and France. After his return from Lyon in 1921, he was appointed as a schoolmaster in Anyuan. He offered evening classes to the coal miners and day classes to their children. He was later an initiator of the strikes, and along with Liu Shaoqi helped negotiate terms for the miners (Perry, 2008; Perry, 2012; Link, 2013).

patterns for embroidery and pottery. 900 million copies of this image were reproduced as posters, and the underlying meaning of following Mao's example in 'devoting their own lives to the cause of revolution' was paramount (Perry, 2008: 12). As the extension of the original, *figure 13* 'reworks' the meaning of the image to promote the message of the caption: *To go on a thousand 'li' march to temper a red heart*. The metapicture is central to the new poster with the Anyuan poster held at chest height by the middle character.

During the CR, female characters appear both as individual main characters as well as prominent characters in images with multiple actors. While some authors maintain that the featured females have lost all femininity and are copies of their male counterparts in deed and dress (Wang, 2011; Landsberger, 2015), others maintain that the female character still maintains many of the traditionally salient female markers (Evans, 1999; Roberts, 2004; Roberts, 2006).

The propaganda posters of the CR tended to be constructed in a formulaic style to adhere to the propaganda art principles discussed above. According to Cao (2008) political ideology was the assigned topic of the posters and that politics was the 'standard' (30). In language, the propaganda built on old formulae, using, transforming, and adding new forms as necessary. Special vocabulary gained popularity, perpetuated by formulae and mimicry because it was safer to use (Yuan, Kuiper, & Shu, 1990: 66, 73). This pattern can be extended to the propaganda art components, as can be seen through repetitive, formulaic images that copied officially sanctioned styles. Even old images were recycled, airbrushed to fit within the current political field (Sala, 2010). In addition, by using standardised communication techniques, the artists and propagandists were able to use the posters to convey specific messages to the masses. Another element of the strict adherence to the PRC artistic principles was as a safety precaution by the artists themselves, so that they were not later accused of having depicted anything 'anti-Maoist' or Rightist. The production process, from first sketches to printed posters, involved various levels of re-evaluation, censorship, and reworking that drew the artwork into a more standard form. For example, the famous image by Shen Jiawei, *Standing Guard for Our Great Motherland*, was altered after it was sent to the propaganda department despite the adherence to the theme and message conveyed. According to the artist, the colours were reddened and the men's physique was changed, including redder and rounder faces, and taller and more muscular frames (Shen Jiawei, "The Fate of a Painting").

The posters of the CR contain several overarching themes that help to categorise different types of posters, their messages, and their internal meaning components. There is a long list of themes found in the secondary literature that apply to the posters of the Mao era, and are not necessarily exclusively referring to the CR period. However, these themes are useful as a basis from which to narrow and combine topics to look at during the CR as well as categorise the semiotic elements of the posters. The book published by Landsberger, S., Min, A. and D. Duo (2015) lists twenty themes and gives example of images for each of them, they are:

- the Communist Party
- Classes and class struggle
- Socialism and communism
- War and peace
- Dare to struggle, dare to win
- People's war
- Leadership of party committees
- Relations between the army and the people
- Education and training of the troops
- Serving the people
- Patriotism and internationalism
- Revolutionary heroism
- Building our country through diligence and frugality
- Methods of thinking and methods of work
- Investigation and study
- Youth
- Women
- Culture and art
- Study
- New Year (table of contents)

In addition, the Poster Art of Modern China University of Edinburgh Exhibition Catalogue lists several themes that both overlap and add to this list: class struggle, the enemy, minorities, model operas, Red Guards, and Yan'an (Yang & Gentz, 2014: 115-116). The IISH online archive also uses the different campaigns during the CR as their categorisation system, providing the following themes: 'Monsters and Demons, "New Socialist Things", Revolutionary Networking, Shanghai People's Commune, Revolutionary Committees, Seven May Cadre Schools, Up to the mountains, down to the villages, After the Attack, People's air defense common knowledge posters, Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, Criticize Shuihu zhuan Campaign, Study Theory, and Criticize Rightist Deviationism' ([chineseposters.net](http://chineseposters.net)).

These themes served as a starting point for identifying themes within the violence posters studied for this research.

By using a combination of western propaganda theory, Chinese propaganda theory, and how Maoist thought utilised art during the PRC this section introduced a cohesive and multi-dimensional way to approach the propaganda posters of the CR. Through this layered exploration of the posters, this section provided a foundation for the research as a study in both propaganda studies as well as Maoist art that will give a more rounded interpretation of the imagery than a singular view from just one of the theoretical underpinnings.

### General Characteristics of the Posters

This section connects the propaganda theories and the CR propaganda posters, demonstrating how some of the key characteristics from both the western and Chinese theories of propaganda influenced these communication devices. As part of this, it introduces the general characteristics of the poster sample used for this study. First, the themes of the posters will be narrowed from the list of themes described above. Though there are many themes that could be applied to the posters, the topics were reduced to overarching categories and reflect the main content of the posters within the sample. Next, the types of posters and the total number of posters per theme will be presented. This will include an explanation of the two different kinds of posters present in the sample. Following this, the individual characters and motifs will be introduced and quantified. This adheres to the hierarchical categories presented by Eberhard (1986) and will be presented accordingly.

Each of the characters and motifs that are presented here are included from the whole sample and are not necessarily only present in the violent imagery. These items are included here as they conform to the internal and external arguments of Hermeren (1969) and are statistically significant as part of the overall meaningful elements that can be formally described. The characteristics will be further narrowed in the following chapters to reflect the common motifs that only appear in the violent imagery.

Posters as violence motivation during the CR early years were used as part of the overall communicative power of the CCP to interact with the masses and lead them through the new stage of revolution. As a propaganda device, the posters were an effective tool that

utilised many of the propaganda theory techniques from both the western and Chinese conceptions. While the western theories see the propaganda motivation as a purely manipulative form of coercive persuasion, the idea behind '*xuanchuan*' leads to a constructive association of information dissemination and transfer as well as education and communication between the ruler and the ruled. In practice, however, the form that propaganda and their dissemination platforms took, reflected more of a combination to the effect of an 'informational manipulation'. The propaganda of the PRC defined societal truth first through pre-propaganda and the invented tradition and later through the transformation of the People into a homogenous unit. The social integration into the homogenous unit of 'the People' conformed to the displacement of individualism and focus on a certain set of ideologies. Because of the hierarchical nature of Chinese society and its reflection in the propagandist form of communication, the social integration was shaped by leadership responsibility on the one hand and the obedience of the People on the other. This obedience was an important part of the social collectivism that helped to demarcate enemy and ally for the audience. Through the rhetorical manipulation of culturally significant symbols, ritual, reflective imagination, shared experiences, facts, myths, and metaphors as well as double standards, substitution of names, lies, enemy definition, authority, censorship, assertion, and stereotypes the cohesive unit of the People was differentiated from the inimical and 'Other'.

While the western theories outline four dichotomous categories of posters, the Chinese propaganda posters tend to meld the categories together to create politico-sociological, agitation-integration, simultaneous vertical-horizontal, and rational-irrational propaganda. The propaganda of the PRC does not seem to exhibit just one form of each of the pairs that are clearly identifiable and distinct, rather by blending the categories together, they instil a unique transformation of the categories to suit their purposes. The politico-sociological combines the strategic and deliberate use of the posters by the CCP towards a political end goal with the cultural indoctrination and unifying ideology. The agitation and integration grouping within the CR propaganda enables the transformation from simple hatred to active violence and the mobilisation of the population to violence to be fused with the unification of the People and promotion of conformity. This characteristic was particularly prevalent during the CR. The simultaneous vertical and horizontal modes utilise the inbuilt ideals of the top-down educational aspects of the propaganda poster, the human mobility

to transfer the information (through the widely popular woodcut and local posters), and the human agency of social networking on the horizontal level. This is further strengthened by the trend to post the images on communal walls for viewing, and groups of people could look at and interpret the meaning together. The final category, the rational-irrational, utilise a special form of argumentation from logic and authority and irrational fear and hatred of an enemy to garner support. The moral transformation was key to the CCP propaganda machine, and through propaganda and education the CCP aimed to control the mental reality of the Chinese masses and dictate the politics of the state.

Specific characteristics that were particularly important to the PRC propaganda, and by extension the propaganda poster of the CR, as a motivational factor are the use of the pre-propaganda of non-People through the White Terror narrative, class consciousness, and the use of the class category as an identity marker. In addition, the use of the model, the sacred symbol, and Mao as the charismatic leader were prominent features of the CR propaganda posters. Terror, violence, and coercion are also strong in the propaganda, and the fear of becoming an enemy and being on the receiving end of the violence of the CR were strong motivators in and of themselves to conform to the messages of the propaganda.

These propaganda characteristics are distilled into the motivation to violence during the CR. As 'weapons of mass communication' the CCP imagery provided one of the most accessible and easily produced forms of communication for the population. The population's foreknowledge and ability to adapt to the messages in the imagery was a key part to the use of the posters. Both the Yan'an Talks and the Socialist Realist movement restricted the utility of political art down to a very narrow message machine where art serves the people and calls attention to the CCP leadership and their inherent wisdom. The 'Red Art' style highlights violent and militaristic themes, marginalised art styles, politics as paramount, People versus Non-People, hierarchy and class identity, and the importance of students and Mao Zedong thought to the movement. The underlying current that ran throughout all the propaganda was the integration of the People and the establishment of their superiority over the enemy and it was this factor that was key to the motivation of the posters during the CR.

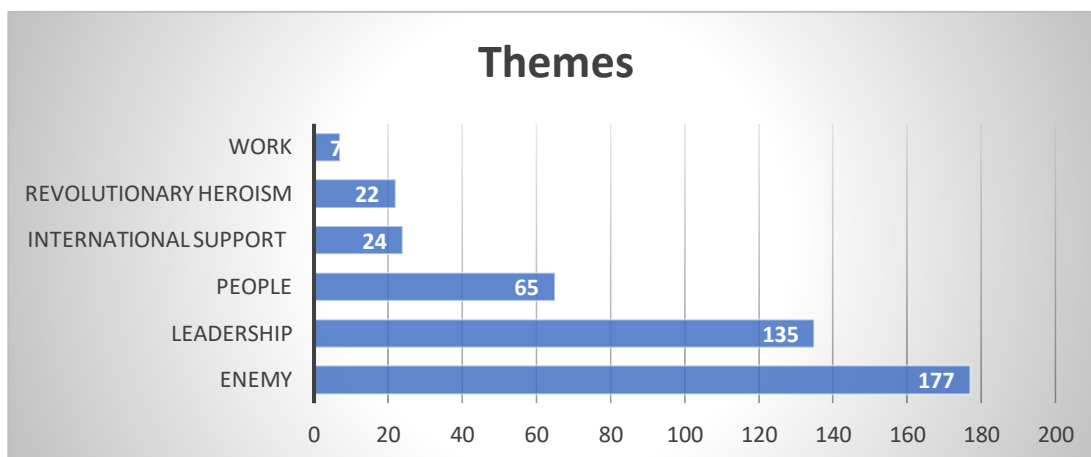


Figure 23 Themes of the posters from the PPAC and IISH sample

Overall, the following themes were adapted from the earlier list of secondary source themes and identified from the coding of the posters: the People—unity and cooperation, the Enemy—enemy definition and class struggle, Leadership—Mao Cult and other leaders, Work—economy, industry and farming, Revolutionary Heroism—hero worship and martyrdom, and International Support—patriotism and internationalism (see *figure 23* for breakdown). Female characters were present in all of these themes. Violence was primarily focused in the Enemy theme. Many of these themes were all present on the same page of the multiple panelled pages. As motivation to violence, the posters represent a clear and instructive method for information dissemination for the CCP and the factions involved in the infighting. Within the sample of posters from the PPAC and IISH, the enemy themed posters represent a significant portion of the imagery. This implies that the visibility and use of the violent imagery was more common than the other themes of the early CR years; the use of violence was more approachable and promoted than some of the other themes such as Work. In addition, the active construction of the enemy themed posters and the stark colouration draws the eye; when part of a wall display, the posters would probably stand out more than other, more docile imagery. An example of the placement of posters can be seen in *figure 24*, where there are a variety of posters all posted together with newspapers and other printed material. Even in the black and white image, the violence imagery clearly stands out from the surrounding material. This supports the idea that not only did they represent a larger number of the posters, but they were also more noticeable.



Figure 24 Photos of poster placement in an 'comic column' from newspaper collected from PPAC

The second and third most prevalent themes, Leadership and People, help to reinforce the politico-sociological, agitation-integration, as well as vertical-horizontal characteristics by disseminating the information as from an authority and promoting the unification of the People against the enemy through agitation propaganda. Because of the elevation of the worker-peasant-soldier groups and the student-led Red Guard factions, the portrayal of these types of characters as the main actors of the imagery aids in the social integration, the hierarchy of classes and the identification of the enemy as the target of the CR. While the red classes are elevated, the black classes are devalued and dehumanised in order to strengthen the agitation propaganda of the posters. Through zoomorphism, size/scale, and caricature the enemy is made an acceptable target and the violence motivation is reinforced. The red classes are shown attacking these barely human entities in the imagery, making the attack a more palatable practice. Attacking a pest or a monster aids in dissociating the human element and empathy that would hinder the movement's goals.

There are two basic types of the propaganda posters. The first is full-page images. These posters contain only one image and one slogan. The themes are predominantly Enemy (177), Leadership (135), and People (65) with a smaller proportion dedicated to International Support (24), Revolutionary Heroism (22), and Work (7). A few of these overlap, especially when there is a figure of Mao supporting the message of the poster. In addition, the full-page images' art style varies including full colour gouache or oil and black/white/red woodblock and line style drawing. There are 122 colour images and 287 woodcut or line images representing 29% and 69% respectively, with only 5 not falling into either category. Full page images represent the largest percentage of the posters collected with 428 of the 558 posters, or just over 75%.

The second type of poster is the sub-image style poster. These pages contain multiple images and slogans per page and can have several themes represented at once. The art style of the sub-image posters is red/black/white woodblock or line drawing only, there are no coloured or gouache style images. There are 130 sub-image posters in the sample and 1816 sub-images. These sub-images can be broken down into two subdivisions: small poster-style images and linked serial comics 连环画 *lianhuanhua*. Sub-image posters can contain a selection of small images only or serial comics and small images. The small images are either mini-poster style images that are small self-contained pictures and corresponding

slogans or singular images grouped together. There are 810 small images within the sample. The second type of sub-image is the serial comic strip. This type of image is framed or unframed panels and has captions detailing the stories represented in the picture. These range from a few interlinked boxes to larger comics taking up most of the page. There are 116 individual serials with 1006 panels. The stories portray both positive protagonist stories and negative antagonist stories. The former includes CCP etiological stories such as Chairman Mao goes to Anyuan (3), *yangbanxi* (8), and inspirational stories of revolutionary heroes and models (20). The latter, representing the larger proportion of story lines, is dedicated to satirical representations of the enemy, particularly Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Wang Guangmei (88). There are a few crossover serials where characters from the *yangbanxi* are attacking enemies such as Liu Shaoqi or Deng Xiaoping.

In addition to the general themes and styles, the posters also can be itemised for individual characters and motifs. The categories follow Eberhard (1986)'s hierarchy of artistic symbolism within the Chinese sphere<sup>30</sup>. The first category, people, are the main actors within the posters. Of all the posters and sub-images, only eight sub-images do not contain a person as part of the message. Of these eight, seven are in a section of papercut style aureole that contain several images expressing loyalty to Mao with Mao's bust in the centre. The images that do not contain a person instead contain the character for loyalty 忠 *zhong*, but otherwise are similar to the Mao aura images. The other image that does not contain any person is a single panel of a *lianhuanhua* that depicts a floating LRB above a sea of red flags. The people featured vary, the protagonist alone, the antagonist alone, or a combination of the two. In order to look at the composition of the people in the posters, they will be broken down in a ranked method based on the three prominences principle outlined in the Maoist Art Propaganda section and the social deictic form of hierarchy. The categories identified are: Chairman Mao, other leaders, models, martyrs and heroes, People, and the enemy.

The first category is the presence of Chairman Mao within the posters. According to Landsberger (2016) Mao's image dominated the early years of the CR, with the Chairman's image taking precedence over the actual message of the poster. Mao is depicted in a

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<sup>30</sup> Namely, people, animals, plants, weather, and 'qualitative symbols' such as the smell, touch, and taste as well as strength or weakness (Eberhard, 1986: 12-13).

variety of roles such as the benevolent father, wise statesman, astute military leader, great teacher, and great helmsman. In addition, the styles in which he was presented within the 1966-1968 period conform to the red, bright, and shining as well as the tall, large, and complete artistic rules, resulting in a deific figure or a super person (Landsberger, 2016). Within the sample, Mao appears a total of 460 times. Of these Mao images, many appear on the same pages in different poses or representing different parts of his life. There are 266 posters that contain at least one image of Mao, a little less than half the sample. Posters that do not contain a physical depiction of the man often still have allusions to him through other symbols such as the LRB.

The second category of other leaders appear significantly less frequently than Mao and are usually pictured either with him or portrayed in such a way as to act as extensions of the Chairman. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing are the two most commonly appearing secondary leaders. Lin Biao appears 29 times and Jiang Qing 19 times. Other leaders such as Kang Sheng<sup>31</sup>, Zhou Enlai<sup>32</sup>, and Chen Boda<sup>33</sup> never appear by themselves and in total only appear 12 times. The third category includes models, heroes, and martyrs. These individuals appear both in the IISH and PPAC collections but are presented in different methods.

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<sup>31</sup> Kang Sheng (1898-1975) was an alternate member of the CCP Politburo and a Central Secretariat member. In May 1966 he was assigned as a leading member of the Central Case Examination Group as well as advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Kang was 5<sup>th</sup> in the CCP hierarchy. Held personally responsible for persecution of hundreds of party cadres during the CR (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 469).

<sup>32</sup> Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) Chinese premier and 3<sup>rd</sup> in the CCP hierarchy and chaired the State Council's inner cabinet, the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and the Central Case Examination Group. According to Macfarquhar & Schoenhals (2006) he was '[i]mplicated in the inquisition and purge of thousands of senior leaders' (476).

<sup>33</sup> Chen Boda (1904-1989) was an alternate member of the CCP Politburo. Also served as the editor of *Red Flag* and as a ghostwriter for Chairman Mao. In May 1966 he was appointed the director of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. He was promoted at the Eleventh Plenum to the Politburo Standing Committee. Chen was 4<sup>th</sup> in the CCP hierarchy and like Zhou Enlai and Kang Sheng was a member of the Central Case Examination Group. He was later accused of being a supporter of Lin Biao and was purged from the party (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 466).

Characters such as Lei Feng<sup>34</sup> and Wang Jie<sup>35</sup> appear in the IISH collection full colour images (11). While more minor or local models', heroes', and martyrs' stories are held up as examples in the serial comics and small image panels in the PPAC collection (21).

After models and heroes, the fourth category—the People—comprised of the worker-peasant-soldiers (both singly and in groups of the three together), Red Guards, and several smaller groups make up the protagonist characters in the propaganda posters. These characters are identified through their clothes and tools. Worker-peasant-soldier groups are in the posters 163 times, with 94 of the appearances featuring a female peasant. No other character is represented as female when presented as part of this three-person set. Male workers appear 558 times total, with 458 of these not as part of the worker-peasant-soldier trio. Female workers appear only 63 times, and only in groups of masses or all female groups. There are 414 peasant images total, 245 male peasants and 169 female peasants. Of these, there are 176 male peasants independent of the worker-peasant-soldier group and 153 instances of female peasants with 43 of these not grouped in the worker-peasant-soldier formation. There are 411 soldiers, all male in the posters; 248 of which are not paired with workers and peasants. In addition, there are 227 people in the posters that are not readily identifiable as a specific class, represented as members of the proletariat by their simple Mao suits<sup>36</sup> and colouring that conforms to the 'red, bright, and shining' formula. Red Guards are the most frequent single group in the posters appearing

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<sup>34</sup> According to Landsberger (2016) '[s]ome doubt exists as to whether Lei Feng (雷锋, 1940-1962) ever really lived. He was born in a family of poor peasants in Wangcheng district, Hunan Province, on 18 December 1940. After the Japanese killed his father, his mother committed suicide as a result of the harassment she received at the hands of the son of her landlord. The Party saved the orphan Lei Feng, fed him and brought him up as a mother would her own child. He joined the People's Liberation Army, became a squad leader and a member of the Party. Diligent study of the works of Chairman Mao taught him how to live a life of extreme frugality, to eschew selfishness and to devote himself body and soul to the revolution and to the people. His greatest desire in life was to be nothing more than "a revolutionary screw that never rusts"'.

<sup>35</sup> 'Wang Jie (王杰, 1942-1965) was a platoon leader of the 1st Company of the Engineering Battalion of an armored unit of the People's Liberation Army. When he helped the Zhanglou Commune in Beixian, Jiangsu Province, to train militia in the use of landmines, an accidental explosion of dynamite occurred. To protect the militiamen and the assembled innocent bystanders, he threw himself into the blast and was killed, saving the lives of twelve people' (Landsberger, 2016).

<sup>36</sup> 'Despite its modern-day name, the roots of the Mao suit can be traced back to Sun Yat-sen and the Nationalist government. In an attempt to find a style of clothing that suited modern sensibilities without completely adopting western styles, Sun Yat-sen developed a suit that combined aspects of military uniforms, student uniforms, and western-style suits. In the late 1920s civil servants of the Nationalist government were required by regulation to wear the Sun Yat-sen suit which would later be called the Mao suit' (Ebrey, No date).

both on their own and with the worker-peasant-soldier group. In total, there are 534 Red Guards characters, 279 male and 255 female. Foreigners, both African and European, occur 120 times, children 87, and minorities only 15 times in the two-year period. General masses were counted as groups (not the individual characters as they usually fade into the background). This is the last layer of the three prominences, with the people usually smaller and standing behind the main characters of the image. The general masses appear 252 times in the posters.

Finally, the enemy is represented both by specific named characters and general enemy figures. Altogether, there are 2141 enemies represented in the posters. The large number is partially due to the serial comic panels, particularly in the PPAC posters, that can feature 50 or more panels with an enemy as the main character. In addition, enemies are usually shown in groups and were counted as individuals as many were named or distinctive. The two most frequently appearing named enemies are Liu Shaoqi (736) and Deng Xiaoping (151). Other enemies, including some named enemies such as Wang Guangmei, as well as unnamed enemies, occur 1254 times. Enemy characters were identified by their roles in the posters, their names or what faction they represented written near them as well as several posters that contained keys or legends identifying the characters from different angles.

After people, animals are the next item coded for in Eberhard's hierarchy. There are very few animals within the posters. Overall there are 18 pack animals within the posters, 16 of which are shown as overworked and emaciated animals used by enemies in the serial comics. In addition, there are 10 assorted farm animals including cows and chickens, and 9 horses that are used by the People that are portrayed as strong and healthy animals. No wild animals or domesticated animals beyond the farm animals are shown. The only other animal that is a frequent character in the posters, particularly in the serial comics, but also in a few poster images is the crow. This bird frequently appears as a companion character to enemy figures. According to Welch (2008) and Williams (2006) the crow signifies evil, whereas Wetherell (2006) differentiates that different varieties of crow mean different things and that it is the collared crow that is considered a 'consistently evil omen' (169). In the poster images, a small black crow can be seen flying nearby or perched near the main characters in the panel. They are not usually actors in the image, but rather a bystander or part of the scenery. In addition, the crow only appears in images that contain an enemy,

never in an image that represents any of the red classes. In total, the crow appears 37 times.

Plants in the posters correspond to the third category identified by Eberhard. There are very few examples of plants in the posters. There are 35 images showing plants in an agricultural manner. Traditionally significant plants including the pine, bamboo, and Japanese lily appear 51 times. The final significantly appearing flower within the images are sunflowers. Sunflowers are known to follow the sun as it crosses the sky, and it therefore translates to sunflowers as people following the Mao-sun in both adoration as well as following the policies handed down by the leader. In these images, the sunflowers surround Mao in a semi-circular pattern with each flower face directed at Mao. The sunflower then becomes its own metaphor of the Chinese people and the ideal citizen (White, 1994: 64). Many images show people in fields of sunflowers, or with visible sunflowers in the background. Sunflowers appear 48 times, this counts their appearances as a whole, not the individual flowers.

The weather in the images is often superseded by the need to follow the red, bright, and shining and the use of the sun as a metaphor for Mao Zedong. In addition, many of the posters do not contain any substantial scenery and therefore weather is also excluded. That being said, there are a few noteworthy weather patterns portrayed in the posters: rolling clouds, sunny weather, and clear blue skies. Rolling clouds appears 33 times, sunny weather and clear blue skies are the predominant weather shown in the imagery at 411 images containing one form of those conditions, most utilising the sun motif.

This chapter discussed the theoretical underpinnings of propaganda from various perspectives. It first introduced the concepts of propaganda from a western approach which includes various negative undertones and a purposeful attempt at manipulation. Following this the Chinese view on propaganda was added to the overall picture of propaganda in the PRC, focussing on how the Chinese view propaganda more as an educational and informational tool rather than a manipulative device. It also showed that under Mao the two viewpoints on propaganda merged, with the didactic forms of propaganda integrating some of the techniques described by western theories. In addition, the guiding principles and standpoints of Mao and CCP in regards to art, and therefore propaganda art, were explicated. The most important elements of CCP rhetoric and

integration of art into the realm of politics were presented and explained. Next, the use of art during the CR was presented. Finally, the general characteristics of the poster sample used for this study were presented starting from the overarching themes, the types of posters, and then the individual characteristics and motifs that were present in the both the violent and non-violent images.

## Chapter 5: Violence in the Posters

*Use pens as weapons  
Aim at the dark force,  
Together—teachers and students—rise in rebellion  
To become pathbreakers of the Cultural Revolution.  
Extol Chairman Mao and our Party  
The Party is our real mother and father,  
Whoever dares to challenge our Party, We will immediately send him to hell—  
Kill, kill, kill.*

- *Popular song during the CR (quoted in Li, 2008)*

This chapter delves deeper into the use of violence within the propaganda posters of the CR. The previous chapter presented the theoretical underpinnings and general characteristics of the posters; this chapter will narrow these features to look more specifically at the violence related imagery. This chapter first presents the definition of violent posters and the characteristics that were used when identifying images as 'violent'. Following this, the semiotic analysis of the posters will be specified. For this, the symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements that were most commonly featured in the sample will be quantitatively presented as significant components and common meaningful elements that can be formally described. Each semiotic characteristic, symbol, metaphor, and deixis is grounded in the quantitative data as well as the internal and external arguments. This chapter therefore sets out to establish the most relevant and frequently used symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements that pertain to the violent imagery and that are important meaning components for the propaganda posters. These characteristics will ultimately be used to make the grammar maps described in the methodology section to describe the violence characteristics by gender category.

### Defining Violent Imagery in the Posters

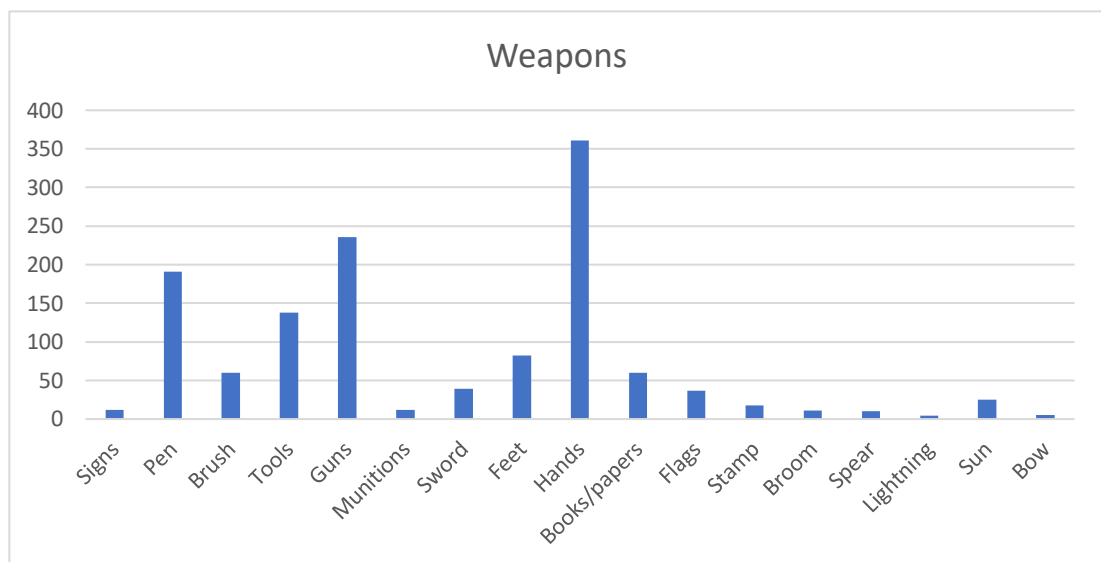
Violence within the posters is defined as images that portray acts of violence in progress or powerful stances with what appears to be the intent of violence. This can include the use of physical force, active harm, killing, and destruction or the overt intent to commit these acts. In addition, the presence of weaponry in active or passive use was a key factor in

differentiating whether an image was of a violent nature. Images that reflected militaristic or wartime propaganda were also potential violent messages but were examined more closely for other violent indicators rather than deemed violent outright.

Violent imagery within the sample represents a large percentage of the actions and messages within the posters. There are 283 (out of 558) or 50% of posters containing at least one violent image; and there are 519 images of violence within the posters, this includes whole page images as well as sub-images. Male only violence was the most common form of violence with 258 cases. Following this, indeterminate gender violence (violence conducted by a non-identified character such as a disembodied weapon or limb) occurred 133 times, mixed gender violence 111 times, and female only violence only 17 times.

There are a wide range of weapons, and many of them are used according to class standing or the message being sent. There are seventeen different kinds of weapons within the posters, and 1301 individual weapons. The most common weapon used within the posters are hands and fists (361), writing implements 251 times, guns 236 times, and tools 138 times. The frequency and range of weaponry is shown in *figure 25* below (for exact numbers see coding appendix). One significant observation within the weaponry is the class divisions in the instruments used. For example, workers almost exclusively use hammers, wrenches, and other industrial tools and peasants use shovels, pitchforks, and hoes. Soldiers always use guns or bayonets, and other classes are only shown using guns in images that show international support not in class enemy themed posters. Hands and feet can be used by anyone and are often used in indeterminate gender violence with the colour of the limb indicating that the person is a member of the People (red). Oversized writing utensils such as fountain pens, brushes, and pencils can be shown either as anonymous tools for violence or used by various classes and are not used exclusively by any one class. They are however more frequently used by Red Guards than other classes.

In addition to the acts of violence and the weaponry is the importance of the target of the attack. As mentioned earlier in the section on guidelines for art during the CR, the Sixteen Points clarified that contradictions among the People and contradictions between the People and an enemy are different, with the use of real weapons (i.e. guns, swords, spears, and so on) reserved specifically for enemies; whereas words and debate should only be used in confrontations between the People. This principle was illustrated in *figure 22*, with the girl embodying the slogan 'Struggle with words, not with weapons'. The target of the message and her powerful stance are not enemies, but rather those people who are still within the preferred classes but have committed errors.



*Figure 25 Frequency and types of weapons found in the sample*

### Semiotic Violence Analysis

This section presents the symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements that were found in the 1966-1968 specific violent images. These are not gender specific, but rather the most frequently found coded motifs within the posters. The internal and external argument system outlined by Hermeren (1969) was used to justify the use of the item as a meaningful element, and each of the specific grammar points was defined through the theoretical approach discussed earlier. In addition, the symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements described in this chapter are the component parts of the posters that contain violence, they are not necessarily equated to a violent meaning. Rather, they are important to the overall portrayal of the violence. For instance, some of these characteristics, such as the sun, are

only represented in male dominated imagery. Therefore, the frequencies of these elements and their meanings will also be presented here as part of the overall connection to the subsection of violent imagery, not their intrinsic violent value.

#### 1966-1968 Violent poster specific symbols

The 1966-1968 period has a unique set symbols that are introduced for the first time, evolved from earlier imagery to take on new meanings and connotations, or simply co-opted from elsewhere<sup>37</sup>. These symbols tend to define class struggle and class identification through association with the red or black class and categories, i.e. the proletariat or the enemy. As Lasswell (1927) pointed out, the definition of enemy, ally, and neutral is an important component of propaganda and Schoenhals (2007) added that the definition of People versus non-People became a key component of the movement (469).

While the idea and ideal of the proletariat classes has been a constant from the onset of the CCP in 1921, the degree of elevation and the level of admiration rises steeply during the CR. In addition, the general use of the class system not as an economic division but as an identity marker became more and more important as the CR divided people into those that were part of the favoured red classes and those that were from the inimical black classes. As a result of the elevation of the proletariat class status, symbols marking the superiority or inferiority of specific characters within the posters were developed.

#### *Red Class Symbols*

During the 1966-1968 period one of the important symbols for the red classes were images associated with the Mao cult. As noted earlier, Mao's image appears 460 times; however, this large number only counts direct images of Mao and does not include references and allusions to him through other symbols such as the LRB, quotations, his writings, etc. Symbols that are in the violence posters that are connected to the Mao cult include a globe, the LRB, Mao badges, armbands, flags, and the *yangbanxi*. According to White (1994) the globe denotes the role of Mao as a world leader and the spread of his ideology reaching far beyond the Chinese borders. The globe can be seen in the background of eleven images

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<sup>37</sup> The adoption of familiar signs was a common method to appropriate or transfer commonly known meanings to a new medium. Bonnell (1999) notes its usage in Soviet imagery in instances such as the transition of the colour red from a holy colour within the Church (implying veneration) to the representation of workers and rebellion (13).

with the masses spreading over the area of the sphere (see *figure 26*) and White notes that it is a frequent image on Mao badges as well (61).

The LRB, also known as the Mao Bible, is one of the most frequently seen and symbolic items used by the characters of the posters. According to Leese (2011) the LRB was a by-product of the Mao cult and the campaign for the lively study and application of Mao Zedong Thought (87-88). Though there are collections of Mao's writings that pre-date the CR, it was the promotion of its printing and study by Marshall Lin Biao that sparked the CR craze (Han, 2004). *The Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* were published in 1964 and 1966 respectively (Cushing and Tompkins, 2007: 14). Between 1966 and 1969 just over a billion official volumes were printed (Leese, 2011: 108). According to Yang & Gentz (2014) the LRB is featured in almost all of the early CR posters, with three of the most common poses being the waving of the book, holding it close to one's heart, and reading from the book (115). From the coding of the posters, there are additional appearances of the LRB used as a weapon, visible protruding from a pocket (usually a breast pocket), and waving held variably at arm's length or above the character's head. The *Quotations from Chairman Mao* volume had two different print versions, one with a white cover and one with a red cover (Leese, 2011: 112), both appear in the posters. Because of the prominence of the LRB, and the historical and cultural connections to Chinese society at the time this symbol is a conventional symbol. Its significance and importance is ascertained through the internal argument that it is highlighted or given some form of pictorial distinction within the posters and the external argument of the secondary sources classifying the item as a symbol. A total of 1287 LRBs appear in the posters, with red or white covers (an example of red covered LRB is pictured in *figure 27*).



Figure 26 An example of a globe in the image  
 Red Guards kill American imperialism and Soviet revisionism - The world strikes down American imperialism and Soviet revisionism (ca.1967)  
 红卫兵杀向美帝苏修-世界打倒美帝苏修  
 Full page image, Designer: Preparatory Committee for the great meeting "Long Live the Red Guards"  
 Call nr.: PC-1968-009 (Private collection)



Figure 27 Mao Zedong Thought is the magic weapon to victoriously combat all enemies at home and abroad! (Ca. 1967)  
 毛泽东思想是战胜国内外一切敌人的法宝!  
 Mao Zedong sixiang shi zhansheng guoneiwai yiqie dirende fabao!  
 Full Page Image, Designer: Beijing United Printing Plant Revolutionary Rebels (北京联印厂革命造反派)  
 Call nr.: PC-1967-025 (Private collection)



Figure 28 An example of a Mao badge (note, the character also wears an armband and has an LRB in the pocket)

There is irrefutable evidence that the rotten heads of the United Departments plotted to instigate a "Second Shanghai Riot"! They cannot get away with it! (Ca. 1967)

联司坏头头阴谋挑起“上海第二次大乱”铁证如山！罪责难逃！ Lian si huaitoutou yinmou tiaoque "Shanghai di'erci daluan" tiezheng rushan! Zuize nantao!

Full page image, Designer: Red Flag Commune of the Shanghai Art Department of the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Film Studio, Red Flag Corps of the Publishing Department of the Shanghai Municipal Print Technology Research Office" (《上艺司》工农兵电影制片厂红旗公社, 《版司》上海市印刷技术研究所红旗兵团 (宣))

Call nr.: PC-1967-009 (Private collection)

Mao badges were manufactured by the millions, even billions and became an omnipresent symbol of the CR, especially during the first three years (Wu, 2016). As a part of the Mao cult, the Chairman's image dominated the iconography of the CR, and the badges themselves 'symbolize[d] the power of image as ideological motive' (White, 1994: 57). These badges were used to express utmost loyalty to Mao (White, 1994: 58; Bennett & Montaperto, 1972: 122; Chen, 1971: 52), and as a marker of class that was dangerous to go without, lest one be marked as an enemy (Chen, 1971: 52). In addition, gifted speakers and models were presented with Mao badges as a sign of admiration (Leese, 2011: 190). According to Xinhua News (2003) wearing Mao badges was a sign of respect for Mao during the CR. In White (1994)'s analysis of his collection of Mao badges, he adds that they not only express a symbol of loyalty, but are a direct link to the Mao cult and worship. The Mao badges are a conventional symbol defined through the culture of the Red Years, the

internal prominence of the use of the badge within the imagery (pointed out by colour differentiation), and the external literature that marks it as a symbol. The Mao badge appears 283 times (*figure 28*).

The armbands worn by the Red Guards were part of an ensemble designed to resurrect the spirit of revolutionary purity that included faded old army uniforms, broad leather belts, and caps (Long Bow Group, 2003). While not always present as part of the Red Guard imagery, it is a common feature that stems from the origins of the Red Guard movement and is therefore an important symbol of the era. Besides being an obvious denotation of a Red Guard, its symbolic capital stems from the first meeting of the Red Guards and Chairman Mao at Tian'anmen. New China News Agency (1966) reported on the event:

A number of the Red Guards went onto the rostrum to pay their profound and sincere respects to Chairman Mao and to present their armbands to Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Biao and other leaders. Tumultuous cheers broke out from the packed square as Chairman Mao, wearing the red armband, waved greetings to the paraders. Red Guards down below shouted joyfully, "Look, Chairman Mao is wearing our armband. He approves of our Red Guards..." (quoted in Heaslet, 1972: 1032).

According to Cushing & Tompkins (2007) the armbands were originally worn by the militia members and were later co-opted by the Red Guards as a method of showing loyalty to Mao (14). The armband is a conventional symbol through the visual distinction given to it by the colour and contrast of the item as well as the historical-political significance given to the bands by the meeting with Mao at Tian'anmen. Armbands are visibly worn 548 times (an example of this can also be seen in *figure 28*).

There are three different types of flags in the posters. The first is the flag of the PRC, the red flag with one large yellow star surrounded by four little stars representing the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, and 'patriotic capitalists' (Eberhard, 1986: 31). The second type of flag in the posters is the red flag with the yellow or white characters 红卫兵 *hongwei bing* (Red Guards) emblazoned on it. The final instance is that of the plain red flag. This one is the most common flag in the posters. These can be seen being held by Red Guards in the images, but also where the groups of Red Guards are implied by the presence of the flags. It can also be seen used as a weapon. As a symbol, it potentially represents the slogan *Hold high the red flag of Mao Zedong Thought*. It can appear singly, held by one of the main

characters or as a sea of red dominating the image with the impression of the masses and the support for the ideals of the poster. The flags in general are conventional symbols in that they are used worldwide to signify a national or patriotic meaning. In the case of the flags of the CR, the different iterations of the flag stretch the conventional flag equals X state symbolism. The qualification and meaning of the symbol can be found in both internal arguments of the demarcation through colour, being held or pointed to, and the use of the flag as a weapon itself. There are 427 images that contain a flag or flags (for examples see *figures 29-31* below).



*Figure 29 The great criticism of the Cultural Revolution is very good  
革命的大批判好得很 Gemingde da pipan hao de hen  
An example of plain red flags as the background of an image  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection*



*Figure 30 Raise revolutionary vigilance and eliminate all enemies who dare to commit crimes!  
提高革命警惕，消灭一切敢于来犯的敌人! Tigao geming jingti, xiaomie yiqie ganyu fan de diren!  
Sub-image, From PPAC collection ca. 1966-1968*



Figure 31 A shining example – A great beginning – Chairman Mao’s 8th inspection of the cultural revolution army (1966)  
 光辉的榜样-伟大的创举-毛主席第八次检阅文化革命大军 Guanguhide bangyang Weidade chuanguju -  
 Mao zhuxi dibaci jianyue wenhua geming dajun  
 Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名) Call nr.: PC-196b-010 (Private collection)

The model operas 样板戏 *yangbanxi* are important for promoting Maoism and the morals associated with these stories. The *yangbanxi* stem from the thirteen model operas personally selected by Jiang Qing ‘as the true and only revolutionary performance art during the Cultural Revolution’ (Yang & Gentz, 2014: 116). The original eight of the thirteen were called ‘The Eight Model Works’ and were the most popular and present during the CR (Cushing & Tompkins, 2007: 14). The eight works consisted of five operas, two ballets, and one symphony: 红灯记 *Hongdengji* The Story of the Red Lamp or the Legend of the Red Lantern, 沙家浜 *Shajiabang* Shajia village, 智取威虎山 *Zhiqu weihushan* Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, 奇袭白虎团 *Qixi baihutuan* Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, 海港 *Haigang* On the Dock, 红色娘子军 *Hongse niangzi jun* Red Detachment of Women, 白毛女 *Bai mao nü* The White-Haired Girl, and 交响乐"沙家浜" Symphony "Shajiabang" (Landsberger, 2016).

There are a number of characteristics and symbolically significant items adopted from the operas. First, according to Wang (2011) the origin of the CR propaganda poster contents and style are a combination of the Chinese national art, soviet realism, and especially *yangbanxi* style Beijing opera. This is primarily reflected in the profile dominant imagery and exaggerated body language of the characters (53). Landsberger (2016) adds that as part of the adoption of the *yangbanxi* style and the three prominences ‘the subjects were to be

portrayed realistically, and they were always to be in the centre of the action, flooded with light from the sun or from hidden sources. Moreover, when we look at the propaganda posters of these years, it always seems as if we, the spectators, are looking upward, as if the action is indeed taking place upon a stage'. In addition, there are recognisable items and characters from the *yangbanxi* in the posters. Key scenes were reproduced in posters (Landsberger, 2016) and in the serial comics<sup>38</sup>. The most recurring symbols from the model operas are the main characters such as the white-haired girl and the props such as the red lantern. The *yangbanxi* are semi-conventional symbols in that they symbolise both the inner meaning of the dramas and the direct symbolic signification of the plays themselves (a natural symbolic connection). The internal arguments are through artistic depiction of the various characters and story elements that are conspicuous within the confines of the poster. In total, there are 200 references to the *yangbanxi*, of which 93 are female characters (figure 15).

Another important symbol to the 1966-1968 period is the standardised way that each of the worker-peasant-soldier and Red Guard groups are portrayed. Each character is easily identifiable through their clothes. Soldiers wear brown or green military uniforms, usually with a gun slung over their shoulder. Workers wear button-down shirts, hats, and trousers or overalls. They commonly have a white towel or scarf around their neck that is a marker of a worker because it is used to wipe sweat away (verbal confirmation by Yang Peiming, head of the PPAC). Peasants or farmers are marked by a more varying clothing style. Of the three characters, the peasant is the only one that can be presented as either male and female. They wear more traditional clothing with high necked, frogged collars and a wide brimmed hat. In addition, the colour choice of the clothing varies, especially for the female peasants who will don red, pink, blue, floral and check/plaid. In addition to the worker-peasant-soldiers, Red Guards are younger student characters who wear oversized military style uniforms with a belt cinching in the waist, a cap with a Mao badge or star on it, boots, and sometimes a messenger bag with the strap across their chest. Looking at the Red Guard uniform as more than its physical manifestation, Li (2015) observes 'the uniform did not remain merely a fashion statement of this privileged group of teenagers; it soon became a

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<sup>38</sup> Several of the appearances are as *lianhuanhua* story lines, in these cases, the different panels were counted as one each so as not to inflate the numbers. If the characters were appearing out of context, in another image or as part of a large group of the masses, they were counted singly.

symbol of destruction and violence', discrimination, and exclusion as well as a sign of political power and social privilege (443). In addition, the female Red Guards have a certain set of hairstyles, with pig tails, short, and short with a little side ponytail the most frequent. The symbolic use of standardised clothing and styling allows for instant identification of who each character is and what they represent and is a natural symbol in that it is a sign-signifier connection of representation. In addition, many characters have rolled up sleeves, which according to Eberhard (1986) is a sign that the person might be about to attack someone (126).

In addition to the clothing markers of social status, the kinesics of theatrical productions changed during the CR where the 'women have the same upright stance and sturdy gait as the positive male protagonists' as well as gestures indicating 'strength, courage, and resolution equal to that of any male character' (Roberts, 2004: 415). This equality in action and gesture translates to the imagery, where the social status is symbolically aligned with men and women shown in similar strong poses and fierce facial expressions. In addition, some traditional gender-based props are adapted from the theatre to be incorporated into the posters, breaking down the gender societal boundaries by allowing both genders to use traditionally male specific props such as guns and other munitions, building equipment, swords, and paperwork (Roberts, 2004: 417). The use of the sword is especially important and according to Roberts (2004) wielding a sword by a woman was originally restricted to voyeuristic or decorative use. This can be seen in the use of the sword (and spear) by the *yangbanxi* characters in both the theatre and the posters, such as the Red Detachment of Women or White-Haired Girl carrying a weapon and attacking an enemy with it. Both symbolic relations to the people of the posters can be considered to be semi-conventional symbols. The one-to-one signification between the depiction of a specific person and who they signify is a natural symbol within the imagery. The conventional aspect of the imagery is what they stand for, that they are the red classes and the characteristics that are linked to them are idealised in their manifestations here. Clothing, stances, hair styles, foregrounding or backgrounding of certain characters are all part of the overall internal argument for the people.

Diametrically opposed to the five red categories were the seven black categories consisting of the 'landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, capitalist roaders, and reactionary academic authorities' (Li, 1995: 150). As the identification of People versus non-People relied heavily on these categories, the symbols throughout the imagery are repetitive and strong. The first symbols of the black classes are those people that represent antithetical models to the Maoism. As the main representatives of the enemy classes, caricatured versions of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping are the most common identifiable characters. There are several examples of legends or keys to help identify the characters (see figures 32-34). Liu Shaoqi is a metonymical stand in for a revisionist and capitalist roader, and Deng Xiaoping represents the bourgeoisie (New World Encyclopedia contributors, 2014a & 2014b). Wang Guangmei, Liu Shaoqi's wife, is usually shown with decadent clothing of a qipao, high heels, and a pearl necklace<sup>39</sup>.



Figure 32 Legend of Enemies (Great Criticism reference material)  
点鬼台 (大批判参考资料) dian gui tai (da pipan cankao ziliao)  
Top row (left to right): Lyndon Johnson, Leonid Brezhnev, Alexei Kosygin, Nikita Khrushchev  
Bottom row (left to right): Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Tao Zhu, Tan Qilong  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection

<sup>39</sup> These items referred to Wang's 1963 diplomatic visit to Indonesian President Sukarno. Against Jiang Qing's advice, she wore a tight-fitting qipao dress, heels, and a pearl necklace. 'In April 1967, the Red Guards would force Wang to put on the same dress, with silk stockings, high heels and a mocking necklace made out of ping-pong balls' (Gittings, 2006)



Figure 33 Legend from PPAC collection (sub-image)

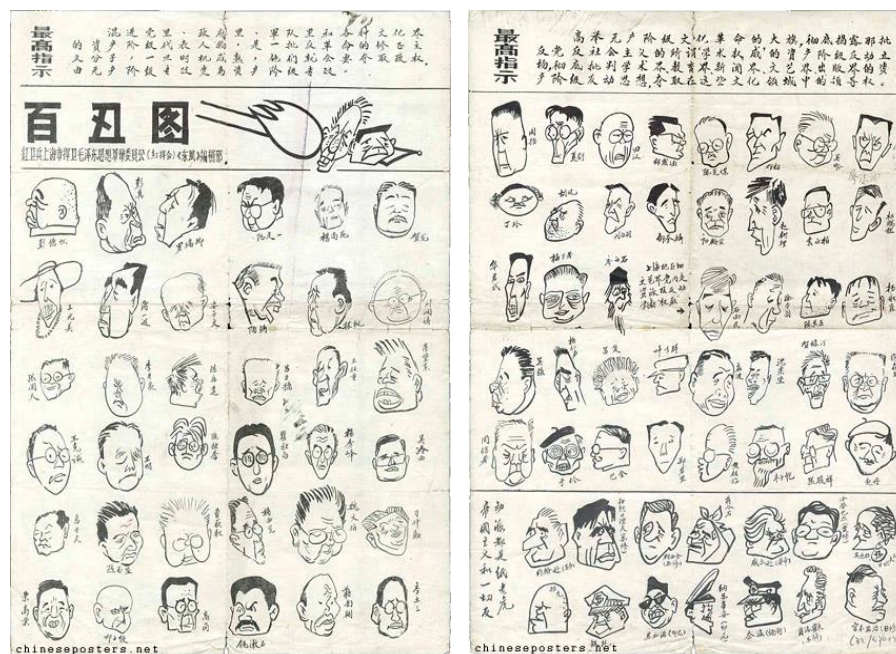


Figure 34 One Hundred Clowns (1967) 百丑图 bai chou tu  
 Caricatures of prominent Party members, specialists, scholars and other functionaries who were under attack during the Cultural Revolution. On the bottom two rows of the righthand image: foreign politicians and state leaders.  
 Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名), Published in Shanghai  
 Call nr.: BG C32/477 (IISH collection)



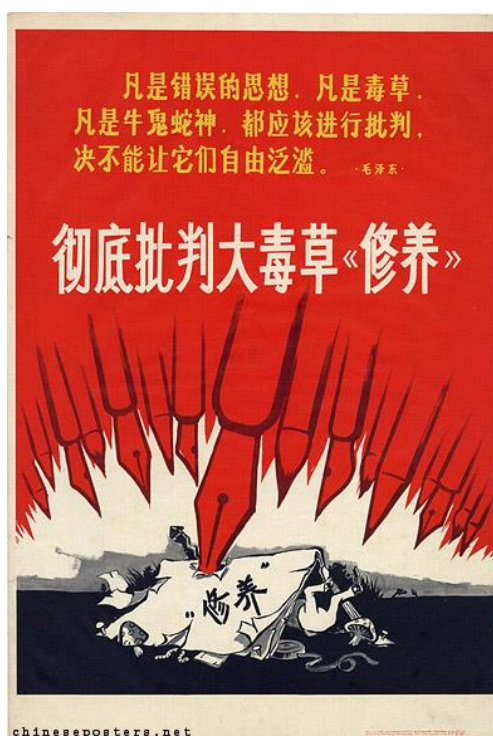
Figure 35 Various markers of capitalist-revisionist symbols  
Sub-images, from PPAC collection ca. 1966-1968



Figure 36 Example of capitalist-revisionist symbols  
Sub-image, from PPAC panel ca. 1966-1968

Some enemies are dressed or associated with the Republican era through turn of the century dress or appearing with characters such as Chiang Kaishek. The representation of capitalism is shown in two ways, through actions and through visual images. The enemy characters are depicted as fat and lazy and are pictured in the act of subjugating the masses by taking copious amounts of food and hoarding money to the detriment of all around them. Old style Chinese coins are in piles around the characters, in big bulging bags, or even as a motif on their clothing. Republican and capitalist symbols are often conflated and seem

appear together in many images. In total, there are 307 distinct symbols of these two types of enemy (*figures 35 and 36*). While there are more in the storyline serial comic images they are not discernible discrete symbols, rather they are part of the story. The revisionist symbols are either linked to Liu Shaoqi's book that is in many of the posters as a book labelled simply with the characters 修养 *xiuyang*<sup>40</sup>. The revisionist symbol is a semi-conventional symbol in that the book stands for itself, but more importantly the inimical philosophies attributed to the piece and by association, Liu Shaoqi. The book and label of 'revisionist' appear 88 times throughout the posters (*figure 37*).



*Figure 37 Example of the 'How to be a Good Communist' Book Thoroughly criticize the great poisonous weed of "How to be a good communist" 1967, April 彻底批判大毒草《修养》Chedi pipan da ducao "Xiuyang" Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名) Call nr.: PC-1967-008 (Private collection)*

<sup>40</sup> This refers to Liu Shaoqi's book 'How to be a Good Communist' 论共产党员的修养 *lun gongchandang de xiuyang* which was published in Yan'an in 1939. The book 'stressed the need to cultivate - almost in a Confucian manner - revolutionary behavior and thought' (Landsberger, 2016) and it was this association that was strongly criticised during the CR (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006: 366)

In addition, there is one important character symbol that appears in the violent images. This refers to a single written character contained within the image rather than writing that appears as a caption or slogan. Within the violent imagery, the defacing or manipulating of an enemy's name takes on additional meaning beyond the literal written word. According to Jiang (2007) the purposeful manipulation of a character through irregular simplification or deliberately miswritten characters was used as a method of insulting the target of the poster (13). When writing or printing enemy's names, some or all of the characters are printed upside down or crooked, the name's characters are replaced with similar looking characters, or phonetic homophones with different meanings. The first is markedly different from the upside-down character of 福 *fu* or good luck for the Chinese New Year which plays on the homophonic phrase of 'your *fu* is upside down' sounding the same as 'your *fu* has arrived' and takes on the meaning of good fortune is coming (Fong, 2000: 225; Wan, 2000: 400). In this case, names such as Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, or Wang Guangmei being turned upside down to represent the phrase strike down or 打倒 *dadao*. The visual play of the character even *looks like* it is being knocked head over heels and could potentially translate into a wish of action against the people named. The second is only observed with the name of Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇 being changed to 刘少狗, '狗 *gou*', meaning 'dog'. The last form of name defacement is a complete substitution of the characters into 'drown the dog' or '落水狗 *luoshui gou*' and is written with an image of a Liu faced dog (Jiang, 2007: 13). This type of name transmutation appears 86 times throughout the posters and newspapers. In addition to an enemy's name being written upside down, the name or group name can be crossed over with an 'X', usually in red but occasionally black. This refers to the method of marking a person as dead in criminal records and was also common practice in *dazibao* for marking an enemy's name. Artist Xu Bing described the use of characters during the CR in the following way: 'At that time, [...] you really felt the power of characters. If you wanted to kill somebody, you did it not by gun but by brush' (quoted in Jiang, 2007: 14). The 'X' through an enemy's name appears 63 times. These character transmutations are conventional symbols. The manipulations and their meanings were traditionally and culturally rooted in Chinese practises. The oddity and the colour distinction mark these elements from the internal arguments, and externally these are well known cultural slurs (for examples of the manipulation of characters see *figures 38-40*).



Figure 38 Strike down the two-faced counter revolutionary Wang Libo!  
 Example of upside-down characters in a name  
 打倒反革命两面派王历波! dadao fan geming liangmianpai Wang Libo!  
 Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 39 Strike Down Liu Shaoqi!  
 打倒刘少奇! Da dao Liu Shaoqi!  
 Example of red X through the name of the enemy  
 Full page image, from PPAC Collection



*Figure 40 Beat Liu Shao 'gou'  
痛打刘少'狗' Tongda Liu Shao'gou"  
Example of enemy name being turned into an animal  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection*

### 1966-1968 Violent poster specific metaphors

According to Ivie (1982) the use of metaphorical thinking is one of the crucial methods that people use to relate to and define their reality—and propaganda posters that tap into this primal interpretation technique are thus made even more effective. In this way, the propagandist communications simultaneously impart information and defines the shape in which people engage with a subject. The CCP used many metaphors within their propaganda posters which were later adopted within the regionalised or locally produced posters that were made by students and other art groups outside of the central propaganda department. This memetic adoption of the metaphor added to the strength and accessibility of associative techniques pairing specific sources and targets. Metaphors within the posters vary from direct metaphor where target and source are clear to more subtle variants, leaving the connection to the audience.

Just like the symbols, the metaphors that are important to the violent imagery conform to People versus non-People paradigm, associating different characteristics with the proletariat classes and the enemies. As part of the agitation and integration forms of propaganda, the propagandist attempts to simultaneously appeal to one side while creating hatred and dehumanisation of the other (Ellul, 1965; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992; O'Shaughnessy, 2012). Adorno et al (1950) notes that this kind of divisive manipulation often taps into deep-seated ethnocentrism to create these strong in- and out-groups (102); the CCP, however, utilised divisive classist distinctions rather than ethnocentrism. According to Landsberger (2016) the posters were used to force the Party's interpretation

of reality—elevating favoured classes and dehumanising the enemy. This bifurcation of the People is important as war metaphors, as it assigns roles to the various players in the posters and clearly differentiates characteristics of both the heroes and the enemies in the narrative.

### *Metaphor of War*

From the ‘Bombard the Headquarters’ slogan that ignited the CR to other violently charged phrases, Mao’s visions of revolution and the CR’s role were very clearly defined, even if the methods and course would later spiral out of control. According to Chan, Chan, & Kwan (2011), ‘the Chairman was [...] fighting [a] two-in-one war—external war against imperialism and Soviet revisionism and internal war against those ‘capitalist roaders’ which were unified in one theme, revolution’ (71). Hence war, battles, and fighting are common motifs within the imagery. This was presented as a diametrically opposed battle of the Red, good, leftist worker-peasant-soldier and Red Guard versus the enemy of black, revisionist, capitalist, rightists and was seen as justifiable death and mayhem. Lin Biao brought the idea of war from his martial background and harnessed its force to conduct the CR. According to Lu (2004) he was responsible for coining the originating war metaphors used in the CR:

The battlefield of the Cultural Revolution cannot call a cease-fire. This is a war without that option. There may be a cease-fire in a regular war, but not in an ideological battle. The approach to this ideological war is different. Sometimes it is a huge battle; sometimes, it is a small fight. At certain times, there must be huge battles; at other times, there can be small fights. Regardless of whether we are engaged in a huge battle or a small fight, [we] must fight on until the end’ (speech by Lin Biao quoted in Lu, 2004: 91).

These metaphors equated the CR to a real battle, taking the source characteristics of war and applying them to the target of the movement. Characteristics such as sacrifice and martyrdom were infused into the ideological battles and license was given to the ‘soldiers’ to use violence and brutal tactics (Lu, 2004: 91). The differentiation between internal and external enemies was a prevalent method of collective identity definition that parallels the USSR system and was potentially inherited as part of the adaptation of the Socialist Realist tradition and Soviet influence on propaganda techniques in China. According to Bonnell (1999) these ‘images of the “the other,” the negative figures against which the Bolsheviks attempted to define their positive heroes and create models for acceptable thought and

action' (9). These types of black and white enemies and heroes reinforced the Manichean good versus evil paradigm that left society in a continuous form of irresolvable conflict (9).

The metaphor of war is therefore split into two distinct spheres, the first being the internal fighting to save the People, and by extension Maoism and China; the second is an external gaze toward irredentism, defence, and support of like-minded nations around the world. It is broken down into the ideas of a home-front internal battle against the enemies within and an optimistic idea of recapturing Taiwan, and supporting third world countries such as Vietnam and various African nations (Chan, Chan, & Kwan, 2011: 71-2). This internal struggle metaphor later metamorphoses into the violent internecine battle metaphors of the factional infighting, and it is this set of 'internal war' metaphors that are most pertinent to the local violence seen during the CR. Therefore, this section concentrates on the posters that fall into this subcategory more than the external war scenario.

The CR is first and foremost an internal battle to rid the People and the Party of hidden enemies, with Mao having a preoccupation on revisionism (Perkins, 1967: 43). The war metaphors are strong, repetitive, and enticing. According to Lu (2004), metaphors of violence and war were pervasive in the period's wall posters (*dazibao*) and were mainly used to 'dehumanize and objectify class enemies, to intensify hatred, and to provoke violent acts' (91). He identifies war metaphors and animal metaphors as two of the most common metaphors in the *dazibao*. In addition, the CR was sometimes labelled as Mao's fifth campaign, as the subsequent military campaign after the anti-Japanese and anti-KMT campaigns and the conflict between those for and against Mao were described as 'battles'. The language of the time was charged with militaristic terms, such as attack and aim at X enemy, fire at capitalists, hold the revolutionary front line (91). These ideas translate into the imagery of the posters.

One of the main ways of conveying the 'revolution is war' metaphor is through the antagonistic set up of the imagery. The words struggle, fight, oust, root out, kill, criticise, hit, beat, destroy, and many more define the actions in the images. In addition, the main characters in the imagery gain the titles of hero, martyr, saviour, guard, and soldier while the enemy gains the titles of traitor, spy, and various anti- characters. Main characters' facial expressions are set in anger, concentration, and hatred with an eyeline that engages

with the enemy. It is epitomic fight of good versus evil, red versus black, and worker-peasant-soldier versus capitalist revisionists within the party and people.

The external war divides the Us versus Them into a more universal usage of propaganda, the citizens of one's home country defending and supporting the nation against an aggressor from abroad. It is easier to accept a war motif from the perspective of an attacking outside aggressor. The main enemies in this category are the revisionist USSR and the imperialist USA, while the main populations that are being favoured are the Taiwanese, Vietnamese, and African peoples. These inimical fights are often reinforced with imagery that clearly identifies the enemy through long standing caricatures and symbols, such as the sickle and hammer for a soviet revisionist or an Uncle Sam-like character as the enemy. Ideas that are pervasive within these posters are similar to those within the internal enemy narrative: beating, hitting, attacking, kicking out and killing the USSR or USA representative. Another storyline within the external war metaphor is the support of friends. Liberate Taiwan, Support Vietnam or Albania are common themes, with warlike elements. There are main characters with a variety of different clothing (i.e. not tied to a specific class) and they use munitions, such as guns, bayonets, and grenades, as their main form of weaponry. The enemy in these posters is implied, either only mentioned in the text or more commonly existing outside the frame of the image, with the Chinese fighters engaging with an unseen enemy.

#### *Red Class Metaphors*

The weapons of the CR are also visual rhetorical devices within the posters. Unlike conventional war imagery that solely uses munitions and other armaments, the CR imagery uses a wide variety of weapon-like implements. This creates a separate method for engaging with the enemy, that uses war imagery but departs from the literal 'attack' scheme. It applies the source meaning and connotation of violence to the target implements used. In other words, the violent meanings associated with arms are transferred to a variety of weaponry within the posters, for example the use of oversized pens, brushes, and tools. As Mao's words became weapons of power and authority (Han, 2008) during the CR, words as weapons takes a central place in the posters. According to Duran & Huang (2014) posters from the CR often 'represent pens and brushes as weapons' and that this trope shows 'how art should be used as a forceful power to revolutionize the

country and people' (110). In addition, the slogan 'Attack in letters [words], defend in arms' 文攻武卫 *wengong wuwei* was first coined by Jiang Qing in 1967 (Jiang, 1967; Lee, 1980: 253). She later qualified the slogan by explaining that the 'attack with words' portion meant 'exposing enemies and arousing the masses by using reason' and that the second part 'meant that after the enemy resorted to arms, the revolutionary mass organizations too had to take up arms to protect themselves' (He, 2016: 315). As a result, combat teams were set up all over the country to carry out this slogan and armed conflicts quickly escalated (He, 2016: 315).

As Jiang Qing defined the use of force during the CR as first and foremost the exposing of enemies through words or reason and that only traditional arms were to be used in a defence position, the use of weapons within the internal war enemy theme posters transitions to a metaphorical meaning. Her words clarify that these images of weapons are not to be taken literally, but rather to be construed as a visual metaphoric rendering of class struggle. Therefore, traditional arms such as guns, bayonets, knives, spears, swords, and fists and feet within the internal war genre can be seen as metaphorical use of the weapons whereas the external war imagery has a more literal use of the armaments and munitions. In the internal war images, the primary holders of items such as guns and bayonets are soldiers of the worker-peasant-soldiers group and they are attacking class enemies along with other characters using non-conventional weaponry such as pens and tools. By placing the traditional and non-traditional weaponry together, the source and target information is made clearer. The external war posters have peasants, ordinary people, as well as soldiers holding the guns to attack literal enemies without China. Guns, bayonets, swords etc are also used within the indeterminate gender violent images, where *just* a weapon is shown attacking an enemy without an actor behind the action. Explicit conventional weapons are used 297 times.

Hands or fists and feet are particularly prevalent in the 1966-1968 samples of posters. People can be tortured, beaten, and killed by being hit or kicked. These weapons are universally used by all types of protagonists of the posters. Worker-peasant-soldiers and Red Guards punch, point, beat, kick, and stomp enemies under their feet. They are also a common anonymous violence weapons with a large foot or hand coming down to stamp or

pummel the enemy. There are 443 instances of hands and feet as weapons, with hands making up roughly 81% of the occurrences.

In addition to conventional weaponry used in a metaphorical sense, the use of non-literal weaponry is extended to the use of words as weapons. This use of the word as a weapon takes on three visual metaphors to impart the idea of how important the verbal struggle is and associating the effect (defeating an enemy) of the weapon as a source onto the target substitute weapon. The first metaphorical stance of words as a weapon is through the idea of criticism and verbal struggle. This concept is usually outlined in the words of the poster, while the main characters take on a violent stance or attend a struggle session. Slogans and performative utterances such as ‘Struggle with words, not with weapons’ 要文斗, 不要武斗 *yao wendou, bu yao wudou*, ‘Down with \_\_\_\_\_’ 打到 *dadao* or ‘Criticise \_\_\_\_\_’ 批判 *pi/pipan* all engage with the verbal as weapon metaphor.

The second key metaphorical interaction of words and struggle is the ubiquitous oversized fountain pen or calligraphy brush wielded like a spear. If the idea being propagated was solely the idea to physically assault or kill the enemy, only traditional weapons such as swords, spears, guns, and bayonets would be used to attack the enemy as it is in the external war imagery. However, within the CR internal war weapon cache, a large proportion are these pens, pencils, and brushes, implying other methods of engaging with the enemy. A popular slogan during the CR was ‘hold up the pen as a sword and gun’ and that this substitution of weapon ‘gave people a sense of power and pride’ (Zheng, 1994: 186) that they had defeated the classes that were traditionally most associated with these items—intellectuals and scholars (Eberhard, 1986: 50). The pen as a weapon is only shown in the internal war posters. The oversized pen/pencil/brush motif is evident 251 times in the coded material.

Publications of the LRB, *dazibao*, pamphlets, signs, and papers are the final form of the written word as a weapon. The LRB was used as a weapon against the black categories, and ‘Red Guard factions [...] would use the book to accuse their own teachers, entrenched Chinese Communist Party bureaucrats at all levels, and, increasingly, each other, of betraying Maoist values’ (Cathcart, 2015). Mao quotations were an important rhetorical argument tool in struggle sessions and debates, with Red Guards taking intense pride in

memorisation contests and using the argument from authority technique to make their points. These types of weapons appear 72 times.

In addition to the words as weapons metaphors, the posters also introduce tools as a metaphorical weapon. Tools used to attack the enemy such as wrenches, shovels, and brooms are used in a similar way to the pens. They are class specific and are used to metaphorically attach the significance of defeating an enemy to accomplishing the tasks these tools are used for. Workers use wrenches, hammers, and industrial tools to attack the enemy, and peasants use shovels, hoes, and pitchforks. Like the pens of the written word weapons, the tools of the trade motif appear only in the internal war metaphor posters. Tools as weapons occurs 138 times. In addition to the conventional tools like shovels, pickaxes, and hammers, there are also non-trade specific implements. The first is the stamp or seal. Portrayed as a large and oversized seal apparatus, it is used as a weapon to smash the enemy and can be seen being held in the air ready to be brought down or already crushing the enemy beneath it. It is often engraved with the word 权 *quan* meaning 'power', 'right', or 'authority' or 印 *yin* meaning 'seal'. This is another method, similar to the use of the brush, to remove authority from the officials who traditionally use the seal and transfer it to the masses. The seal is used eighteen times. The second non-trade specific item used to attack the enemy is the broom. The broom is used to sweep away the enemy. It is also an allusion to previous campaigns and posters about removing the four pests<sup>41</sup>, with the composition of the imagery paralleling the vermin control propaganda posters. The broom is used eleven times as a weapon<sup>42</sup>.

One of the most prevalent metaphors within the sample of violent posters is the sun. Though the sun is not necessarily a metaphor *for* violence, it is used consistently within the violent images and will therefore be discussed here as an important element of the violent subset of posters. According to White (1994) 'the sun is perfect for Mao—all powerful and everlasting' (64). There are various ways in which this parallel is drawn, ranging from the

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<sup>41</sup> Eliminate the Four Pests 打麻雀运动 *da maque yundong* (1958) was a 'large scale hygiene campaign, which [... aimed] to eliminate flies, mosquitoes, rats and sparrows. Sparrows were later replaced by bed bugs, as the extermination of the former upset the ecological balance, and bugs destroyed crops as a result of the absence of natural predators' (Landsberger, 2016).

<sup>42</sup> The varying weapons uses systematicity as the main metaphorical characteristic. The transfer of source to target is systematically used to transfer the idea of victory in the militaristic sense and strength through arms to the target of the use of other means to be triumphant.

quite literal, to more understated methods of equivalency. The first and foremost method that artists used to state this metaphor is by placing a visual rendering of Mao, often a bust portrait, within the sun. This comparison is in published full colour images, locally produced posters and newspapers, as well as guidebooks. This imagery also spans artistic style, including gouache and oil socialist-realist paintings, woodblock, papercut, *lianhuanhua* or cartoon/comic book style, and more amateur style sketches.

This widely popular form of Mao is the sun attached several characteristics. First, from a traditional art standpoint, the equivalence with the sun denotes an overall association with positive *yang* component of *yin* and *yang*, as well as a potential allusion to old symbols of leadership and the Emperor (Eberhard, 1986: 278; Bartholomew, 2006: 128; Williams, 2006: 361; Welch, 2008: 260-1). In addition, Bartholomew (2006) indicates that the traditional associations with the rising sun signifies a number of special meanings, including a new day, good fortune, prosperity, rising in rank and even as a pun for the word ‘soon’ 指日 *zhiri* (128). These potential meanings could be part of the source meaning that is being applied to the ‘Mao is the sun’ metaphor. According to Eberhard (1986) ‘[a]mong the lower classes, sun worship joined forces with the lucky colour red, to find ideological expression in popular uprisings—right down to Mao Ze-dong, whose teachings were compared to a ‘red sun’ (280). In addition, the sun imagery of the Mao sun rises above the scenery, shining down on the People who resemble sunflowers who follow the sun through the sky (Yang & Gentz, 2014: 5).

This metaphor is reinforced with the earlier discussed ‘red, bright, and shining’ artistic style that was prevalent during the CR. In addition, these images of the sun have strong and prominent vectors in the form of the sun rays that serve to both draw the eye towards the central image of Mao, but also to then spread out over the image and draw the eye to the remaining meaningful components, whether that be another figure such as the worker-peasant-soldier combination, another leader, and so on. Ultimately, the objects of the sun’s rays are all favoured objects that have gained the great leader’s approval and are to be copied or emulated. A further use of the sun metaphor is through the ray shining on the enemy image; this enemy cowering, diminutive in size, sweating or melting under the powerful rays of the Mao-sun. Mao appears in the sun, both as a bust and as an individual 192 times (*figure 1*).



Figure 41 Be ready to die in defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line - *Revolutionary Rebels Picture Exhibition* (1967)  
 誓死保卫毛主席的革命路线-革命造反画展 *Shisi baowei Mao zhuxide geming luxian – geming zaofan huazhan*  
 Designer unknown (佚名)  
 Full page image, Call nr.:PC-1967-004 (Private Collection)

As an expansion of this literal manifestation, are substitution metaphors of other objects that are shown either within the sun or more commonly, with sunrays emanating from them (*figure 41*). This includes Mao Quotations, little red books, characters from *yangbanxi*, model citizens, flags, other leaders, and sometimes places like the Tian'anmen or a monument. Images of the 1966-1968 period explicitly state the connection between the sunlight, Maoism, and the favoured classes. Examples of this can be seen in the titles of several images from the CR such as: *The sunlight of Mao Zedong Thought illuminates the road of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, *The growth of all things depends on the sun*, and *The glow of the red sun warms ten thousand generations* (from the IISH archive). Landsberger (2016) notes that in many images of Mao, he seemed to be the primary light source within the artistic composition; a divine light haloed around Mao's head which illuminated those around him. This kind of extended sun image appears 207 times<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> The sun metaphor and its extensions engage with the ideas of conventionality, systematicity, asymmetry, and abstraction. First, it utilises both the traditional and contemporary views of the sun as an analogous term for power, leadership, approval, and nourishment. The sun metaphor is also systematic in that it is extended beyond a single point to encompass a great many meanings and applications, as well as portrayals of similar messages through varying images. The internal logic of the sun metaphor also lends to this systematicity. The asymmetry of the comparison is relatively simple; Mao is the sun cannot be reversed into the sun is Mao, nor the People are sunflowers, to sunflowers are people. As a concrete source, the sun has clear attributes that are being applied to a more abstract target, that of People, Mao, Leadership, and ultimately Communism. Each of these can be a bit vague in conception and by applying the fundamental good associations with the sun, they are made into a more tangible source of goodness and strength.

In addition to the sun metaphor, the proletarian classes are associated with the metaphor of size and strength. According to Landsberger (2016) 'their strong and healthy bodies functioned as metaphors for the strong and healthy productive classes the State wanted to propagate'. This metaphor of strength and size are common metaphors used throughout the CR propaganda posters. Strength in the posters is shown as a physically exaggerated form of large muscles, features, and stature. It translates roughly into the People are strong, but it is not necessarily to be taken as a physical strength only. This strength signifies a commitment to revolution, hard-work, mental fortitude, and unity. It also equates to strength of the specific classes that are shown with these inflated physiques.

Furthermore, size not only represented in physique but also in scale lends to the metaphor of strength and power. Size follows a strict hierarchy within the posters: Mao is taller and more substantial than everyone else in an image, models are imaginatively shown as encompassing whole swathes of the image, the central worker-peasant-soldiers and Red Guards are bigger than the surrounding masses, and the protagonist out-sizes the enemy by a significant margin. This combination of powerful physique coupled with oversized heroes dictates a clear message of power, hierarchy, and values. This differentiation also complies with the three prominences guidelines dictates of the time. The size and strength of the proletariat metaphor uses big fists, enormous arms and legs, strong broad facial features, powerful stances, hyperbolic size, clear-cut straight lines, and well-defined vectors leading to an overall mental image of strength, power, and supremacy. It is a simple metaphor that confirms faith in the worker-peasant-soldiers and Red Guards, and ultimately lies in direct contrast to the inimical variant of size and caricature.

#### *Black Class Metaphors*

In direct opposition to the enlarging and strengthening of the red classes, are the caricaturising and diminishing of the enemy characters in the posters. The caricatures borrow from traditional theatrical clues to denote the enemy. Cool and dark colours of blue, green, grey, and black adapted from stage makeup portrayals of the demons (Welch, 2008: 223) along with unrealistically inflated facial features are a common method of marking the enemy. According to Donald (2014), the 'wide variations in scale and miniaturisation' was utilised 'in order to demonstrate moral hierarchies between revolutionaries and revisionists' (669). In addition, many of the characters have large noses,

small eyes, evil expressions, and are often seen greedily accumulating money as paragons of capitalism and self-indulgence. The enemy is unlikable, pathetic, and repulsive, easily recognised by these traits. These physical characteristics not only mark the enemy, but equate to their lack of moral qualities as well. In order to aid in the identification of the caricatured enemy, name labels are often posted on or near their bodies.

In addition, the antagonist is never shown as a full-scale enemy at equal proportions to the hero, but rather in a diminutive and cowering stance or sometimes even only implied. This undersized enemy can be extended into two different metaphors, a lacking in the physical sense and a lacking in the nonphysical sense. The former can be interpreted as a deficit of strength, numbers, and a general feeling of diminutive threat, i.e. the People will prevail. The latter refers to the enemy's lack of probity, socialist ethic, or any redeeming moral quality. In addition, the characters such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, are often shown with weak physiques. These two aspects combined illustrate that the enemy deserves to be eradicated for the betterment of the People. When put in contrast with the oversized and domineering physique of the People in the posters, the metaphor of strength for the People and weakness for the enemy is amplified. The caricatured and/or undersized enemy images total to 2141 across the sources coded<sup>44</sup>.

Lu (2004) points out that the war metaphors and the animal metaphors are often combined into 'a single directive' and that this kind of dehumanising language justified the many violent acts performed on class enemies (92). Therefore, another commonly used technique for enemy definition is to dehumanise and zoomorphise the enemy by visually turning them into an animalistic character, generally vermin that should be eradicated. According to Wasserstrom and Wong (1996) the use of animal equation is 'good for

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<sup>44</sup> The metaphor of size and strength utilises conventionality and systematicity to relate the meaning of the propagandist. The features of asymmetry and abstraction are excluded as a descriptive characteristic of the meaning because this metaphor is both reversible and concrete. The target here is the People group discussed in the iconography chapter, of those who are members of the red classes. The source characteristics linked to the psychological correspondence between size and the idea of strength and power. Therefore, when a target character is portrayed as large, oversized, and muscular they are strong and powerful. The metaphor conventionality is through the readily understood meaning transference and the level of lexicalisation of the metaphor. Throughout the 1966-1968 period studied, the adoption of this strength metaphor is pervasive and a key method of identifying imagery of the violent segment of the CR. It is a part of speech in that it can potentially be an adjective, using visual markers of size to describe the noun form of the People. There is an effective use of systematicity that coins the new image of the red classes as well as extends the logic of size to both the physical and moral strength of the proletariat.

swearing at and denigrating people whose political stances or cultural affiliations are different than one's own' (27). Schoenhals (1994) states that the use of both real animals (such as black sheep) and imaginary ones as vilifying terms were used between the 1950s and 1970s to denigrate the enemies of the Party and State. Political epithets that associate animals with negative characteristics were used throughout the 1960s (Perry & Xin, 1993). Lu (2004) adds that the dehumanisation of the class enemies through animal metaphors was common, '[a]nimal metaphors disparaged human beings, legitimized cruelty, and allowed for the ruthless treatment of innocent individuals' (Lu, 2004: 91-2). Despite the gendered zoomorphism in traditional Chinese mythology, there does not appear to be a correspondence between specific zoomorphic techniques and gender. The only female enemy portrayed within the posters from 1966-1968 is Wang Guangmei, and she can be turned into an animal, but that is rare. There is not enough evidence to categorically equate gender and zoomorphism within the posters.

Within the CR posters coded, the zoomorphism equates enemies to dogs, paper tigers, pigs, insects, cats, birds, rats, snakes, scorpions, cows, and tentacle-monsters. Some examples are shown below in *figures 42, 43, and 44*. The phrase cow ghosts and snake spirits '牛鬼蛇神' *niugui sheshen* was 'the most recurrent supernatural metaphor' (Landsberger, 2016) and was first coined by the Tang dynasty poet Du Mu as an insult to another poet's style (Lu, 2004: 59). It also refers to demonic or supernatural creatures from Chinese mythology that disguise themselves as human beings and commit evil deeds. According to Lu (2004), this can therefore be extended to the metaphorical meaning of evil in disguise. In the PRC, the phrase was first used by Mao during the anti-rightist campaign in reference to intellectuals who attacked the Party: 'Letting cow ghosts and snake spirits come out of their hiding places makes it easier to annihilate them. Letting poisonous weeds break through the earth makes it more convenient to wipe them out' (Lu, 2004; 59). During the CR, the term was often shortened to simply 'monsters and demons' and came to refer to all class enemies. The popular slogan 'sweeping away all the monsters and demons' was first officially used in the *People's Daily* 1 June 1966 and stood for those enemies that were bourgeois and revisionist (Landsberger, 2016). By extension it was used to refer to anyone from the black categories. Once a person was labelled as such, they were necessarily a class enemy (Lu, 2004: 59). In a dramatized recollection of her experiences during the CR, Yang (1997) remembers:

...I really wished that I had never heard any stories from Nainai so that thought reform would not be such a difficult task for me. In fact, in those years I even wished that I had never had such a Nainai and those ancestors of hers. They were bloodsuckers, parasites, smiling tigers, piles of garbage, cow ghosts, and snake demons...If I could erase them from my memory, I would become a reliable successor to the revolutionary cause like my schoolmates (22).

Another commonly used phrase is paper tigers 纸老虎 *zhilaohu*. The term dates back to the Ming dynasty and appears in the famous novel 'Water Margin': 'You're always shooting off your mouth what a great fighter you are, but in an emergency, you're useless! [...] A paper tiger scares you silly!' (Luo, 258). Robert Morrison in his 1828 dictionary defines the term as 'a false pretext to frighten people' while John Francis Davis in his 1836 book entitled *The Chinese*, attributes the meaning of a harmless person that is more ferocious looking than the reality. In the LRB, Mao stated 'imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers' (Zimmer, 2017). Cats are shown not as true cats but as masks of cats on the enemy, showing cunning and deceptiveness. Insects and rats are shown as an infestation, creeping into socialism and polluting whatever they touch. In one image the rats have 'right' written on them; in another, the insect has Liu Shaoqi's face. Birds are a pest just as the other vermin or a crow as discussed in the symbols section. There is one instance of a tentacled-multi headed monster being decapitated by the sword.

The dog metaphor is a common image that deserves a closer examination. While there are several traditions, both good and bad surrounding the dog, it is often used within the oral language as a demeaning term or curse word, such as when used to mean 'damn', 'dog-headed advisor' (meaning a bad advisor 狗头君师 *goutou junshi*), and 'dog's leg' (meaning thug, 狗腿子 *goutuizi*) (Welch, 2008: 119). Therefore, the dog is a common inimical term, featured in slogans such as, 'The running dog of imperialism', 'Those who are against Chairman Mao will have their dog skulls smashed into pieces' (Huang, 2001), and 'members of the dog pack' (Lu, 2004: 92) which were slurs used to direct aggression and anger at the enemy. Those identified as 'running dogs' were imperialists, revisionists, rightists, and other enemies. This metaphor extends to the visual propaganda as well. There are a variety of ways that the adversaries are shown as 'dogs'. The most literal method of equation is showing the enemy as a physical dog, perhaps with human caricatured features that identify them as a specific enemy, perhaps more wholly an animal. After this, the dog

qualities can be shown as more abstract. Some enemies wear a tail, others walk or crawl in a similar way to a dog (*figures 42-44*). Zoomorphic imagery appears 132 times<sup>45</sup>.

In addition to caricaturisation, diminutisation, and zoomorphism, the enemy is associated through metaphor to death and decay. Skulls and skeletons with the word 'capitalism' emblazoned on them frequent the posters and the antagonists are shown carrying these bones, skeletons and other dead objects around, revering them or trying to feed them. In addition, haphazard depletion runs rampant under the guidance of the opponent, with animals starved, adversaries growing fat on the backs of others, eating their way through all the food and leaving just the bones strewn around the scene. Another reference to rot and decay is the image of Liu Shaoqi gardening, but all he is growing are rotting mushrooms, with flies and other signs of rot emanating from the plot. There are 67 instances of rot, death, or decay<sup>46</sup> (*figure 45*).

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<sup>45</sup> Zoomorphism can be classified as asymmetric, conventional, systematic, and abstractive types of metaphors. While there are images that refer to previous vermin eradication imagery, it is asymmetric in that 'the enemy are vermin' cannot readily be reversed into 'the vermin are enemies' without shifting the meaning entirely. Enemy as pestilence, vermin, or dehumanised in this manner is a conventional metaphor drawing on an instinctive revulsion for these pests and transferring these feelings to the enemy. It also reflects the level of lexicalisation within the Chinese language to use reviled animals as an insulting or demeaning manner of address, or simply a way of describing unscrupulous person—such as dog's leg meaning a thug. The internal logic of the zoomorphism makes this metaphor a systematic one as well. Within the enemy as vermin logic, it can be expanded within the confines of the model. Mao declared enemies to be cow ghost and snake spirits, and it was then extended during struggle sessions and incarcerations that enemies were kept in lockups called 'cow sheds'. It is also an example of an abstraction metaphor by taking an unseen enemy, one that was not only difficult to identify and 'battle', but also sometimes vague as to what they actually had done to acquire such an enemy status, and applying source characteristics, readily known reasons for disliking vermin, to the enemy.

<sup>46</sup> These metaphors can be seen as both an abstraction metaphor as well as one that plays on systematicity. The first uses a concrete source that is easily understood, that of death, and puts its characteristics onto a conceptual level of the inimical ideas. Capitalism is rotten, Rightism is a form of decay, counter-revolutionaries are putrid. This metaphor uses systematicity engaging with the internal logic of death and decay, extending the characteristic beyond that singular idea and coining a new visual 'phrase' and a 'dead ideology'.



Figure 42 Strike down Liu Shaoqi!  
打倒刘少奇! Dadao Liu Shaoqi!  
Example of Liu Shaoqi zoomorphised into a snake  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 43 Paper tigers  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection

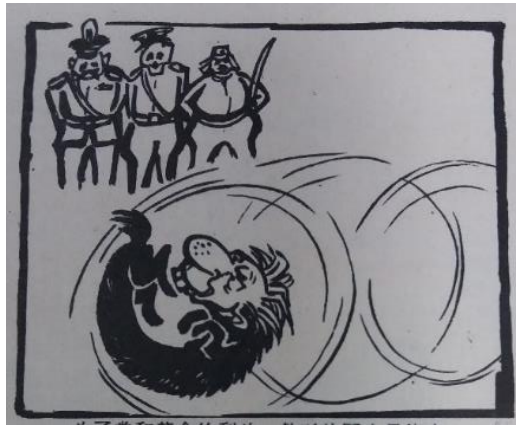


Figure 44 Liu Shaoqi zoomorphised into a dog  
Sub-image, from PPAC collection



Figure 45 Examples of death, decay, and rot in panels of posters.  
Sub-images, from PPAC Collection

## 1966-1968 Violent poster specific deictic elements

Within the 1966-1968 poster sample of violent images, there are several deictic elements that help aid the audience in unpacking the meaning of the posters. Though the ideas of symbols and metaphors have been discussed in previous secondary literature, the use of visual deixis as a component of the posters is introduced here. Therefore, the external arguments for these elements are generally unavailable and the identification and analysis relies on internal arguments and quantitative coding. Some of the most frequent forms of deixis within the 1966-1968 posters are explored in this section.

### *Person Deixis*

As discussed in the semiotic theory section, person deixis is essentially the speaker of the image. There are three common forms of person deixis within the violent subset of posters. The first is the publisher and the attached logos that are on the posters. Though these can be difficult to identify during this time as many of the posters are published anonymously or through work groups, their presence is the first indicator of the speaker or person deixis of the image. For the full colour images, the propagandist as the deictic centre is more common as these images are officially produced, censored, and distributed; while the woodcut and local posters are less likely to have an indicator of the propagandist through publication information of logos. For the locally produced posters, many of the images are copied from centrally distributed guidebooks and images and are what are called memetic images. By producing the memetic posters, the local producers are furthering the goals of the central propaganda team rather than creating a new speaker for the message. In addition, the use of mimesis is potentially one of the methods used by amateur artists to avoid denunciation as the subject reproduced would be beyond reproach.

The second form of person deixis utilised Mao and his faction as the deictic central speakers. These images place Mao as the central character, or use a Mao bust, a quotation, and/or a signature as a metonymical stand in for him. There are 56 posters with both active violence and explicit Mao quotations in the sample. The third form of person deixis within the sample are the fictitious speakers of the posters—primarily relatable protagonist actors. In the violent images, the most common speakers of the image are worker-peasant-soldier or Red Guard groups and less frequently a single worker, soldier, or Red Guard. The

enemy in violent images becomes the directed target of the deictic centre, receiving the action of violence from the actor. The person deixis of the image does not necessarily indicate the *true* speaker of the propaganda, but rather the visually *perceived* speaker of the information.

#### *Place and Time Deixis*

There is a distinct lack of spatial and time deictic markers within the sample. Of the posters with overt violence (full page, small image, and serial comics) there are 502 images with no discernible place indicator, 27 with a generic background of farms or factories, and only 5 with a specific location in the context of the poster. The non-place in the posters is indicated through plain backgrounds with white, red, or yellow backdrops, masses fading into the background, or flags or the sun blocking out the rest of the scene. This lack of place and time deixis is important to the generalisation and relatability of the image. In addition, the focus of the image is notably narrower, making the central action more important to the meaning of the image. Compared to the other themes within the 1966-1968 period, these violent posters have a much higher frequency of blank or simplistic settings that remove the action from a temporal or spatial location. The lack of place deixis heightens the message of the image as a general speech act; the audience can take its message wherever they are. The lack of time deictic elements makes the poster a continuous present tense, where the action is always taking place at the time of the viewing. There is the potential argument that the absence of background information could also be attributed to the simplicity associated with the violent imagery and the use of the woodblock technique to mass produce these images quickly and easily. However, this does not lessen the impact of the absence of the violent posters since many images using the same techniques in other themes still contain place and/or time elements.

#### *Discourse Deixis*

Discourse deixis, the use of referential imagery to connect the posters to other propaganda discourse, is relatively common within the posters. The four most common methods of discourse deixis are metapictures and metatext, reference to well-known information and other forms of propaganda within the posters, repeated themes, and memetic copying of official posters into local versions. Within the violent subset of images, the metapicture

generally takes the form of an embedded image of a poster featuring a model or Chairman Mao, or a banner with slogans written on them. Other images contain references to well-known information, such as a culturally relevant story, myth, news item, or historical fact. In addition, other propaganda items are pictured within the posters, especially important are the official notifications 通知 *tongzhi*, references to the sixteen points, *dazibao*, and the LRB. Most of these discourse deictic references are interacted with by the main characters, reading or writing and frequently used as a weapon. The model operas also appear within the posters. Items such as the red lantern and characters such as the White-Haired girl are shown both as background images as well as actors within the imagery.

Finally, discourse deixis can be a repeated theme or image and memetic posters. The other factors in the image may be different, but the use of the same symbol, character, or other visual aspects will indicate an immediate meaning to the audience. For example, within the sample, a repeated use of distinct heroes and villains are set up in the same way over and over again. This repetition strengthens the innate relationship that the posters are building within the People and non-People by cementing the societal roles in such a visual way. In addition, the use of not just a repeated formulaic image, but the exact copying of an image is also a discourse deictic element that can be seen within the three-year sample. An example of the copying method can be seen in *figure 46*, the left image from the IISH collection and the right from the local PPAC collection, showing a direct copy of the full-page officially produced poster into the set of the smaller locally produced images of the sub-image page poster. Other memetic images are not exact copies, but the construction, symbols, and art all parallel other images, such as in *figure 47*.



Figure 46 Example of mimetic copying of posters from full page images to sub-images  
 Right: Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and Tao Zhu must get out of the Central Committee of the Party!

刘少奇, 邓小平, 陶铸从党中央滚出去! Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Tao Zhu cong dang zhongyang gunchuqu! Designer unknown (佚名) 1966 Call nr.: BG E15/358 (Landsberger collection)

Left: The copied image into a local poster from the PPAC Collection



Figure 47 Left: The Sun is Chairman Mao, the Sun is the Communist Party. Commemorating the 46th Anniversary of the Birth of the Chinese Communist Party.

太阳就是毛主席, 太阳就是共产党, 纪念中国共产党诞生 46 周年 Taiyang jiushi Mao Zhuxi, taiyang jiu shi Gongchandang. Jinian Zhongguo Gongchandang dansheng 46 zhounian. 1967. Red Guard Headquarter of the Southwest Shanghai. Full page image, from PPAC Collection

Right: Papercut Quotation of Chairman Mao (We not only strive to destroy the old world, we also strive to build a new world).

剪纸 毛主席语录 (我们不但善于破坏一个旧世界, 我们还将善于建设一个新世界) Jianzhi Mao Zhuxi Yulu (Women budan shanyu pohuai yi ge jiu shijie, women hai jiang shanyu jianshe yi ge xin shijie). Ca 1966-1968 Sub-image, from PPAC Collection

The final type of deixis is particularly important within the early years of the CR. Within the posters, social deixis defines the stratification of society through hierarchically ranking class and the People. Beyond the symbolic and metaphorical distinction between the red and black classes outlined earlier, an interesting feature within the CR posters is the physical visual definition of the ranks in the relative social positions within society. What this translates to within the imagery is an almost list-like view of the characters ranking from top to bottom, with the uppermost being the highest on the hierarchical ladder, and the lowermost being the enemy. Mao, if present, is always in the highest point of the image. Next comes the models, such as Lei Feng or Wang Jie. Following the specific named role models are the worker-peasant-soldiers and Red Guard characters, generally shown at the forefront of the image as the most relatable characters and those that are performing the tasks promoted by the poster. If this level of the hierarchy is mixed gender, the females are often portrayed as slightly lower on the hierarchical scale by height, foregrounding/background, and size. Below or behind these characters are the masses. Finally, at the very bottom, and sometimes even depicted out of the frame are the enemy. An example can be seen *figure 16, Study Wang Jie, all one's heart for the revolution, everything for the revolution*.

This chapter presented the visual grammar elements found in the violent subset of the poster sample. First, the definition of violent propaganda posters and the methods for identifying the imagery was presented. Then, the three distinct forms of visual grammar were catalogued. For each of these grammar points, the specific symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements found within the violent imagery were identified, described, and justified. While not all of the elements are signifiers of *violence*, they are present in the violent images and will be included in analysis for their presence, association, or absence in the male-female assessment in the following chapter. One of the most fundamental findings of the general violence posters is the elevation of class struggle and the visual bifurcation of the red and black classes. Each of the three grammar modes first and foremost is used to differentiate these diametrically opposed groups. Symbols associate positive or negative significance to certain people, physical attributes, and items in order to make this demarcation, while metaphors apply different source meanings of war to the two classes.

Finally, deixis aids in the stratification of the imagery, clearly placing the speaker front and centre, deleting place and time, relating the messages to other propaganda of the period, and socially dividing the classes from the highest to the lowest. The overall use of symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements make the breakdown of the internal meaning components more easily understood and provide a concrete method for looking at posters in a more detailed manner. Rather than a generic and vague summary of the posters, this section presented an itemised method of analysis for the violent imagery.

## Chapter 6: Female Violence within the Posters and Reality

*Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.*

- Mao Zedong, *On New Democracy 1940*

This chapter further narrows the type of violence motivation imagery by breaking down the subset of posters into gender categories. The division of the representations by gender accomplishes two interrelated objectives. First, it allows for a closer inspection of the female image and the female role when women are presented by themselves and as part of a group. Second, by separating the groups, a comparative analysis of how the women are portrayed versus how the men are portrayed can be considered. This is important to investigate whether the female characters within the posters have different meaning components to male characters, and therefore different motivation to commit violence during the CR. This chapter first defines the gender categories' general characteristics. It will then proceed to use the maps to chart each of these gender categories based on the semiotic violence analysis in order to ascertain the four categories' properties and unique characteristics. The maps will be used to compare the gender categories' features to explicate the way in which female characters are portrayed and pinpoint key elements that differ between the genders.

Following the comparative map analysis, the connection between the propaganda theories and the posters will be presented, looking at some of the specific characteristics that may have influenced the motivation to commit violence. By connecting this to the gender differentiation and how this can be used to ascertain to female violence motivation, the potential messages embedded towards female violence are explored. This includes the interpretative significance of the posters to the contemporary society and the way that the semiotic reading aids in understanding the historical reality of the posters. Finally, the posters as a reflection of the historical phenomenon and what can be learnt from the imagery as a lens into the female violence history of the CR will be explored in conjunction with the information on the reality of the CR gleaned from historical pieces, memoirs, and primary sources.

## Gender Categories

As previously mentioned, the posters were broken down into four gendered categories: female only, male only, mixed gender, and indeterminate gender violence. This was based on the initial poster survey as well as the observed gendered characters in the final sample. Each individual image (i.e. full-page image or sub-image) was coded for one of these four categories. Therefore, these codes and their analysis reflects the portrayals of men and women within single panels and does not look at their position within larger sub-image posters. The female individual images and placement into the overall poster and their role in the greater arrangement will be discussed later in the chapter.

The first category, female only, contains single or paired women characters. These are generally fictitious individuals; however, there are two aberrant images that portray Jiang Qing in sub-images. This is the only category to have a real person attacking enemies, all the others are exclusively fabricated generic characters. The second gender category is male only. These posters contain only men as the main characters singly, paired, or in groups of three or more. The mixed gender category must include at least one male and one female protagonist within the main group of actors. The mixed gender images can be either pairs or groups. The final category is indeterminate gender. Indeterminate (gender) violence is defined as an actor that is physically engaging with an enemy, but only a limb or weapon is visible. According to Donald (2014) this depiction is a metonymical actor often portrayed as a fist or a boot, with miniaturised, pale coloured enemies 'squashed, pummelled, speared or thrown into a free fall' (670). While there are no gender markers available for these actors as such, however, these items may have generally been attributed to male characters. This is for three main reasons. First, the quantity of male specific protagonists greatly outnumbers the female characters. Second, the weapons used are often associated with the soldier or worker characters that are exclusively male within the imagery. Third, when the limb is shown as the weapon, the features are the overly muscled forms that are most often attributed to male characters during this period. By combining these three indications, it is potentially justified to presume that these characters are intended or interpreted as male.

## Grammar Maps

The grammar maps from *figures 18* and *19* explicate the methods used for mapping the characteristics on an individual panel level. Each item that is contained in the map pertains to a coded entry for that image and cross referenced for the type of grammatical mode that it represents. While one individual grammar map for one image is a useful tool to compare discrete posters, the purpose of this research is to build a consistent method to scientifically identify and compare overarching characteristics for whole categories of imagery. This systematic methodology allows for concrete classification of the meaningful elements that are used in general and aids in understanding the differing messages based on a wider use of content. Therefore, the coded material is combined into merged maps by gender category, allowing for cross-categorical examination and pinpointing of the key differences in representation and interpretation within the violent imagery overall. Each gender map contains all the possibilities for that category and any individual poster that is classed as that gender category will be able to be mapped by the corresponding gender map. There may be characteristics on the map that are not applicable to an individual image, but will be a statistically significant item found within the gender category. The utility of mapping the images in this way highlights the key similarities and differences presented in the posters.

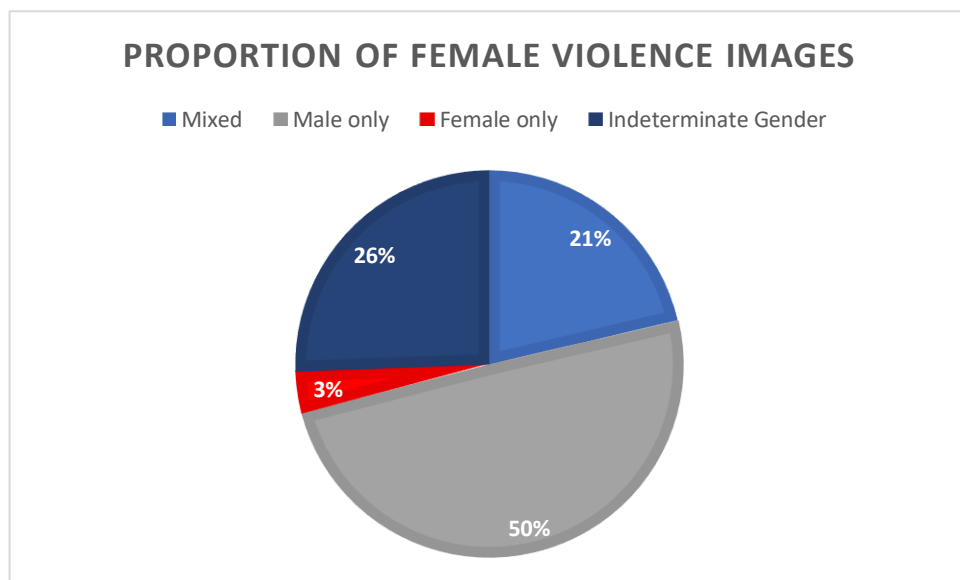


Figure 48 Proportion of Female Violence Images

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, the first node of the maps identifies the theme of the poster. While there are a few instances of violence present within the international ally theme, these examples are not mapped or thoroughly analysed here for two reasons. First, these are cases of the external war narrative and would not have been communicating a message of active violence, but rather an engagement with the ideals of irredentism and moral support for foreign friends. Second, most of the women pictured in these posters are clearly not Chinese women (African or Caucasian), and the female motivation to violence would not be strong. Therefore, this theme has been excluded from this analysis and only the images from the enemy theme are fully analysed and mapped. In addition, the construction of the posters throughout the enemy theme is consistent with active and directed motion construction. This configuration instils the poster with action and energy that is needed to comply with the agitation propaganda trait of Maoist propaganda and instigate conflict. Every map consequently contains 'enemy theme', 'directed motion', and 'active' construction nodes.

The other characteristics on the maps are category dependent, though there are consistencies that will be indicated in the discussion. Each category explanation will first describe an individual image and its mapped characteristics and then the overarching map for the entire gender classification to clarify the transition from single image to generalisable diagram. In addition, each informational node that represents coded material is justified through statistical frequency shown in the appendix coding or in the discussion of the elements in the previous chapter and/or secondary literature that highlights it as a meaningful element. For complete information of coded entries see appendix tables. Each of the elements identified on the maps has been previously discussed in chapter five.

#### *Female Only Maps*

The first gender category is female only violence. These posters feature protagonist female characters committing direct violence to an enemy or taking a violent stance with an implied enemy. There are 17 images of female only violence out of 519 total violent images, just under 3.3 percent. The poster, *Struggle With Words, Not With Weapons!* (Figure 22, repeated below in figure 49), is a representative example of the type of poster found in this category. The female character pictured in the image complies to the enemy theme and active construction with directed motion. In addition to these general characteristics,

she is line drawn, shown at the middle distance with her eye out of frame, the directionality is vertical, and the colouring is red, black, and white. She is the only character in the image. Symbolically, she can be identified as a Red Guard through her stylised clothing (hat, rolled sleeves, old army uniform) and her physical characteristics mark her as female (delicate features, short hair in pigtails, cinched waist, and round face). She carries the stereotypical messenger bag and wears a Mao badge. There is no enemy pictured within the frame of the image, though it is implied that she is engaging with an enemy just outside the viewpoint of the audience through the martial arts style pose she adopts.

The metaphorical indicators within the imagery belong to the weaponry and size and scale metaphors. The weaponry that the girl uses comply with the 'Words as Weapons' meaning transfer from the source meaning of weaponry and the target meaning of words by the active use of the Sixteen Points document in her hand. This is reinforced by the quotation in the slogan that refers to the sixth point of the publication. In addition, she uses her hand as an active engager with the enemy, and her whole stance gives the impression of a martial stance being transferred to the words-based attack. She is large and muscular, taking up most of the frame of the poster and the rolled sleeves show strong and sturdy arms. In addition, Eberhard (1986) indicates the importance of rolled sleeves into the symbolic imagery that the person is about to attack. Deictically, she is the centre of the image and the message is coming from her to the audience, the deictic target of her action is the out of frame enemy. The Sixteen Points document is a deictic reference as well as a metaphorical weapon in that it ties the discourse of the document into the connotations of the image. Finally, the girl is the highest point of the social deictic scale of the image and the un-pictured enemy automatically is relegated to the lowest point. The maps for each of the grammar points is presented below *figure 49*.



Figure 49 Struggle With Words, Not With Weapons! (1967)  
要用文斗，不用武斗 yaoyong wendou, bu yong wudou  
Full page image, Designer: Sun Jingbo (孙景波)  
Call nr.: BG E16/110 (IISH collection)

Female Only								
General Characteristics								
Descriptive Qualities								
Theme	Art Style	Distance	Eyeline	Directional	Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters
Enemy	Line Drawn	Middle	Out of Frame	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Directed Motion	Active	Single

Table 27 General Characteristics Map for Figure 49

Female Only			
Symbol: People			
Red Classes			Black Classes
Red Guard			Not Present
Hat	Rolled Sleeves	Old Army Uniform	Out of frame

Table 28 Symbol: People Map for Figure 49

Female Only			
Symbol: Physical			
Red Classes			
Delicate Features	Short Hair	Cinched Waist	Round Face

Table 29 Symbol: Physical Map for Figure 49

Female Only	
Symbol: Items	
Red Classes	
Mao Cult	Messenger Bag
Mao Badge	-

Table 30 Symbol: Items Map for Figure 49

Female Only			
Metaphor: Internal War			
Red Classes			
Weapon		Size and Scale	
Words as Weapons	Other	Large	Muscular
Documents/Signs	Hands	-	-

Table 31 Metaphor: Internal War Map for Figure 49

Female Only		
Deixis: Person		
Deictic Centre	Deictic Target	
Fictitious	Not Present	
Red Guard	Out of Frame	Referential

Table 32 Deixis: Person Map for Figure 49

Female Only		
Deixis: Discourse	Deixis: Social	
Writings	First (Highest)	Second (Lowest)*
Mao or Party	Red Guard	Enemy
16 Points	-	-

\* unseen

Table 33 Deixis: Discourse and Deixis: Social for Figure 49

By combining the grammatical components found across the 17 posters within the female only category, a general gender map can be created. In addition to the coded items included in the maps in the exemplar above, the female only posters contained additional nodes. Of the 17 female only images, only four are full page images and all feature an art style of woodcuts or line drawing, take place at a middle distance (suggesting social distance), have an eyeline that directly engages with what they are doing (whether that be in or out of frame), and are red, black, and white colouring. The directionality is exclusively vertical.

The maps for symbols and metaphors are split into the corresponding visual markers that are assigned to either the red or the black classes. Informed by Bonnell (1999)'s approach to identification of characters through visual syntax, the symbolic branch of the maps uses people's clothing or standard appearance, physical characteristics, and items carried or worn to identify the main the characters of the image. These clothing characteristics are used to rapidly pinpoint the class of the character. Of the four full page enemy themed posters that feature female only characters, three of the women are Red Guard females in similar old military style uniform with rolled up sleeves such as in the poster *Resolutely Support All Revolutionary Actions of the Red Guard Publishing Divisions (figure 50)*. There is only one example of a female peasant within this category, represented in *Long Live the Farmer Movement (figure 51)*; the primary difference is the woman's dress—peasant top and hat, the other clothing features are the same. They are singular actors, one female character centred in the image. The women stand in active poses with muscular physiques, they are, however, not overtly masculine. All four characters have round faces, delicate features, short hair, and cinched waists<sup>47</sup>. In addition, there is either an LRB or Party document in each of the posters and the three Red Guards wear Mao badges and/or armbands.

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<sup>47</sup> As noted in chapter 3, these are relative to the male appearance. They are masculinised female features that defy old clichés and are used in conjunction with the unfeminine behaviour of the posters. 'Round faces' refers to the rounder jawlines of the female characters than the male characters rather than a conventionally round moon-like face from traditional Chinese art. 'Delicate features' are the code for smaller facial features than the men, the eyebrows are not heavy set, the lips and noses are smaller.



Figure 50 Resolutely Support All Revolutionary Actions of the Red Guard Publishing Divisions  
 坚决支持版司一切革命行动! Jianjue zhichi bansi yiqie geming xingdong!  
 Full page image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 51 Long Live the Farmer Movement  
 革命的农民运动万岁 Geming de nongmin yundong wansui 1967  
 Full page image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 52 Thoroughly criticize the bureaus of industry of the Shanghai city, region and district and the reactionary line of the capitalist class. Oath taking rally. Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

彻底批判上海市区县工业局资产阶级反动路线誓师大会高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗. Chedi pipan Shanghai shiquxian gongyeju zichan jieji fandong luxian - shishi dahui - gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi

Full page image, Designer: Shanghai Worker's Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters 1967, February Call number: BG E16/353 (IISH collection)

The imagery complies with the internal war metaphorical narrative with the size and scale of the female protagonists larger than the present enemies and physically muscular. The weapons the main characters use are only their hands. If the enemy is present in the image, they are small and caricatured. The female characters are the fictitious deictic centres of the imagery, with diminutive or implied enemies as the deictic target of the action. Furthermore, there is no deictic place or time present in any of the images. In addition, of the full-page female only images, one contains two discourse deictic references to the Sixteen Points, while the other three also contain LRBs. Social deixis within the images are somewhat vague as the female characters are the only protagonists pictured and therefore are not visually ranked. The only exception is the one image with the pictured enemy, in which case the female character is the highest and the enemy the lowest. These characteristics can be seen in *Thoroughly criticize the bureaus of industry of the Shanghai city (figure 52)* where the female character depicted not only complies to the symbolic characteristics, because an enemy is pictured in the frame of the image, the metaphorical and deictic elements are apparent. She outsizes the enemy by a large margin, attacks with her hands, and the directionality and prominence of the character both make her the focus of the image.

In addition to the full-page images, there are thirteen female only small sub-images with Red Guards and *yangbanxi* characters. There are six sub-images of female only violence both in small images and the serial comic styles that are exclusively female Red Guards. All

six Red Guards are wearing the stereotypical old army uniform or shirt, some with sleeves rolled up or a hat such as in *Female only violence sub-image poster (figure 53)*. All of the characters are identifiable as female through the same feminine characteristics of the full-page image characters—i.e. round faces with delicate features and short hair and belted waists. Three have a visible armband, and three are carrying LRBs in varying locations. Half of the girls are using writing implements as weapons, and half are using fistful hands. Only one character is shown actively stabbing an enemy, Liu Shaoqi in *Sweep away all traitors, we are invincible (figure 54)*. In this image, the protagonist female greatly outsizes the small and caricatured Liu Shaoqi. The female Red Guards are the deictic centre of the images indicated through the centring of their person, foregrounding in front of other elements in the image, and in the case of the attacker, she has the attention drawn to her through the vectors of the weaponry and the directed motion. Other characters are seen in the background or as the diminutive enemy.

In addition to the sub-images featuring the Red Guard characters, the other type of female only violence sub-images are the *yangbanxi* characters such as those featured in *Female Only sub-image yangbanxi characters (figure 55)*. There are five of this type of sub-image. The *yangbanxi* protagonists from *The Red Detachment of Women* and *White-Haired Girl* stand in active poses, from a long, upward facing distance suggesting a similar viewpoint as watching the theatrical production (Landsberger, 2016). The pairing of the two main protagonists from these plays are the only occurrence of a female group attacking an enemy, otherwise it is single females or females as part of a mixed gender group. The artistic style is black, white, and red cartoons. The characters' clothes and hair match their appearance in the model plays rather than conform to the standards of the CR era. The antagonistic setup is part of the internal war metaphor—the weapons are more variable than the other female only violence images, including a spear, hands and feet, and a gun. There are only two outlying images that do not fit into these types of posters. These images feature Jiang Qing as the main character, one with her attacking an enemy herself and the other with her in front of *yangbanxi* characters attacking an enemy. One of these images is pictured below in *Jiang Qing Attacks Enemy (figure 56)* and the other is pictured in *figure 57*.

Through the consistent use of the three grammatical characteristics, these images are able to transmit information to the audience without the need for the written word to explain

the meaning. The consistencies between the images within the categories can be mapped. Each of these maps can be used on any of the 17 female only images simply by selecting the relevant nodes to the individual image. Most of the nodes will be applicable to the posters, though some may be missing from the individual image and pertain to a different poster. Because of the focus on the female only images, the rest of the images are included below in *figures 58-65*. The small number of female only images may make the female only map less statistically clear-cut than the other gender categories, however the general female representation, or lack thereof, is important in and of itself and will be discussed later in this chapter. These characteristics are shown in the general maps below.



*Figure 53 Female only violence sub-image poster  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection*



Figure 54 Sweep away all traitors, we are invincible" Strike down the number one power holder within the Party that walks the capitalist and revisionist line! Completely bury the anti-revolutionary and revisionist black line!

"要扫除一切害人虫，全无敌" 打倒党内头号走资本主义道路当权派！彻底埋葬反革命修正主义黑线！ "Yao saochu yiqie hairenchong, quanwudi" dadao dangnei touhao zou zibenzhuyi daolu dangquan pai! Chedi maizang fangeming xiuzhengzhuyi heixian!  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 55 Pay attention to the Discussion of "The Life of Wu Xun" Film  
应当重视电影《武训传》的讨论 Yingdang zhongshi dianying "Wuxun zhuan" de taolun  
ca 1966-1968

Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 56 Jiang Qing Attacks Enemy  
ca. 1966-1968  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 57 Learn from Comrade Jiang Qing, Pay tribute to Comrade Jiang Qing!  
向江青同志学习, 向江青同志致敬! Xiang Jiang Qing tongzhi xuexi, xiang Jiang Qing tongzhi zhijing!  
Full page image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 58 Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary literary line!  
 毛主席的革命文艺路线胜利万岁! Mao zhuxi de geming wenyi luxian shengli wansui!  
 Full page with multiple sub-images, from PPAC Collection



Figure 59 Stamp the emperor into the ground, raise the swan into the sky  
 把皇帝踩入了地，把天鹅捧上了天  
 Ba Huangdi cai ru le di, ba tian'e peng shang le tian  
 Sub-images, from PPAC Collection



Figure 60 Yangbanxi female characters attacking enemy  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 61 Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary literary line! Learn from Comrade Jiang Qing, Pay tribute to Comrade Jiang Qing!  
毛主席的革命文艺路线胜利万岁! 向江青同志学习, 向江青同志致敬!  
Mao zhuxi de geming wenyi luxian shengli wansui! xiang Jiang Qing tongzhi xuexi, xiang Jiang Qing tongzhi zhijing!  
Full page image with multiple sub-images, from PPAC Collection



Figure 62 Everyone is a critic  
 人人都当批判家 Renren dou dang pipanjia  
 Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 63 Chairman Mao says: To educate the Red Guards, enhance learning. Red Guards are the sworn pathbreakers fighting selfishness and repudiating revisionism  
 毛主席说：对红卫兵要进行教育，加强学习。红卫兵誓作斗私批修的闯将 Mao zhuxi shuo: dui hongweibing yaojinxing jiaoyu, jiaqiang xuexi. Hongweibing shizuo dousi pixiu de chuangjiang  
 Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 64 Strike Down Capitalists 打倒资本家 Dadao zibenjia  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection



Figure 65 Thoroughly criticise the final villain leader of the literary black line 彻底批到文艺黑线的总后台 Chedi  
pidao wenyi heixian de zonghoutai  
Sub-image, from PPAC Collection\*

*\*This image may count as either mixed gender or female violence. It is the only image where a male and female are paired and the female is committing the violence, so it has been included as a female violence image. Though the male character potentially does make this a paired violence image.*

Female Only												
General Characteristics												
Descriptive Qualities												
Theme	Art Style		Distance	Eyeline		Directional		Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters	
Enemy	Woodcut	Line Drawn	Middle	At Task/ Enemy	Out of Frame	Horizontal	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Directed Motion	Active	Single	Pair

Table 34 Female Only General Characteristics Map

Female Only											
Symbol: People											
Red Classes							Black Classes				
Jiang Qing	Red Guard			Peasant			Yangbanxi	Present		Not Present	
Army Uniform	Hat	Rolled Sleeves	Old Army Uniform	Shirt	Head Scarf	Rolled Sleeves	Character Dependent	Anonymous	Named	Out of frame	Referential
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Liu Shaoqi	-	-

Table 35 Female Only Symbol: People Map

Female Only							
Symbol: Physical							
Red Classes				Black Classes			
Female				Male			
Delicate Features	Short Hair	Cinched Waist	Round Face	Weak/Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed	No shoes

Table 36 Female Only Symbol: Physical Map

Female Only							
Symbol: Items							
Red Classes				Black Classes			
Flags/Banners	Mao Cult			Messenger Bag	Writings		
-	LRB	Armband	Mao Badge	-	Pens	Papers	How to be a Good Communist

Table 37 Female Only Symbol: Items Map

Female Only						
Metaphor: Internal War						
Red Classes				Black Classes		
Weapon		Size and Scale		Size and Scale		
Words as Weapons		Other	Large	Muscular	Small	Caricatured
Documents/Signs	Oversized Pen	Hands	-	-	-	-

Table 38 Female Only Metaphor: Internal War Map

Female Only							
Deixis: Person							
Deictic Centre				Deictic Target			
Fictitious			Real	Present		Not Present	
Red Guard	<i>Yangbanxi</i>	Peasant	Jiang Qing	Real	Unspecified	Out of Frame	Referential
-	-	-	-	Liu Shaoqi	-	-	-

Table 39 Female Only Deixis: Person Map

Female Only				
Deixis: Discourse				
Writings			Visual	
Mao or Party			Liu Shaoqi	Pictured Characters
LRB		16 Points	How to be a Good Communist	Mao <i>Yangbanxi</i>

Table 40 Female Only Deixis: Discourse Map

Female Only						
Deixis: Social						
First (Highest)		Second			Third	Fourth (Lowest)
Leadership		Red Guard	Peasant	<i>Yangbanxi</i>	Masses	Enemy
Mao	Jiang Qing	-	-	-	-	-

Table 41 Female Only Deixis: Social Map

### *Male Only Maps*

In contrast to the female only violence images, there are 258 male only violence images, making up 49.7% of the total violent images. In addition, male only violence imagery can be portrayed as single males or all male pairs or groups. The poster, *Thoroughly Smash the dynastic Li family!* (figure 66), pictured below, is a representative example of the type of poster found in this category featuring a single male actor. The full-page poster image complies with the enemy theme and construction of directed motion and active construction. The directed motion in this image is particularly strong with vertical lines showing the movement between the weapon and the enemy. This poster is in the woodblock style, at far distance (observational and impersonal distance), eyeline is directly at the enemy, vertical directionality, and red, black, and white. He is the only featured protagonist character in the image.

Symbolically, this male character can be identified as a worker through his button shirt worn open over a vest, and rolled sleeves. The enemy is specifically named and is presumably a caricatured version of the real person; he is also weak and presented in dark colours. The only item symbol in the image is in the background with the masses who carry banners and flags. Metaphorically, he is using a class specific weapon, the hammer to smash the enemy. This can be interpreted as either a more literal physical attack than the exemplar from the female only image as he is smashing the enemy with his foot and hammer or as an extension of the use of class specific means of defeating the enemy. The size and scale metaphor in this image are clear, with the main character taking up most of the frame and outsizing the enemy character by a large amount.

The deictic centre of the image is the male character, he is the one performing the main action of the piece and he is the focus through the action and centring of his person. The deictic target is the one receiving his action, i.e. the enemy. While the worker is a generic fictitious character, the enemy is a specific person identified in the slogan as well as labelled above his head. The reader therefore becomes the audience of the message and the masses in the background participants/bystanders. This particular poster lacks time, place, and discourse deictic elements. The social ranking of the image is the main (male) character as the focal point of the poster, the masses who are backgrounded in red line drawings are second, and the diminutive enemy is at the lowest point of the social hierarchy. This can be

ascertained through the positioning of the characters in the image, the colouration, as well as the level within the image where highest in the image is highest in the social ranking and so on. The maps depicting these characteristics are shown below.



Figure 66 Thoroughly smash the dynastic Li family!  
彻底摧毁李家王朝! Chedi cuihui Lijia wangchao!  
Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名) ca. 1967  
IISH Collection

Male Only								
General Characteristics								
Descriptive Qualities								
Theme	Art Style	Distance	Eyeline	Directional	Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters
Enemy	Woodcut	Far	At Task/ Enemy	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Directed Motion	Active	Single

Table 42 General Characteristics Map for Figure 66

Male Only		
Symbol: People		
Red Classes		Black Classes
Worker		Present
Buttons Shirt	Rolled Sleeves	Single
-	-	Other

Table 43 Symbol: People Map for Figure 66

Male Only								
Symbol: Physical								
Red Classes					Black Classes			
Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist and Neck	Overly Muscular	Weak/Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed

Table 44 Symbol: Physical Map for Figure 66

Male Only
Symbol: Items
Red Classes
Flags/Banners

Table 45 Symbol: Items Map for Figure 66

Male Only					
Metaphor: Internal War					
Red Classes			Black Classes		
Weapon		Size and Scale		Size and Scale	
Work Tools	Other	Large	Overly Muscular	Small	Caricatured
Hammer	Feet	-	-	-	-

Table 46 Metaphor: Internal War Map for Figure 66

Male Only	
Deixis: Person	
Deictic Centre	Deictic Target
Fictitious	Present
Worker	Real
-	Other

Table 47 Deixis: Person Map for Figure 66

Male Only		
Deixis: Social		
Hierarchy		
First (Highest)	Second	Third (Lowest)
Worker	Masses	Enemy

Table 48 Deixis: Social Map for Figure 66

Across the male only category, the class role of the male characters includes Red Guards, peasants, workers, and soldiers. Because of the high number of male only violence posters, there are a greater variety of types of poster and possible grammatical formulae. Single male characters are either workers or Red Guards. The art style is primarily the black, white, and red in either woodblock or line drawing style, though there are a few examples of full colour pages. The perspective distance from the characters varies greatly, ranging from chest high (personal), waist high (semi-personal), and a full body or long-range viewpoint (impersonal). Body positions are active, often accompanied by drawn lines indicating movement such as in the example above. The directionality and vectors of the poster also vary, including strong horizontal as well as vertical vectors. Both types of lone male characters are oversized with particularly muscular frames and large limbs. Clothes for the Red Guards are the old army style uniforms—hats and messenger style bags are also common. However, the body shapes are overtly masculine with thick waists and necks, and the sleeves are almost always rolled up showing muscular forearms. Their facial features—large heavy-set eyebrows and strong square jaws are consistent throughout the posters. In addition, almost all of the characters wear a red armband while fewer wear the Mao badge.

The weapons used represent all the different types of metaphorical weapons usage including 'Words as Weapons' through the use of oversized writing implements, LRBs, and stamps. The work tools include brooms, shovels, hammers, callipers, and wrenches; conventional weaponry is represented by swords and spears. Other weapons used include hands, feet, and flags used as spears. Enemies featured with the male characters are present more often than implied and they are drawn diminutively, as well as caricatured or zoomorphised. Male characters also attack physical manifestations of inimical philosophy, such as a buddha statue, books, and bourgeois items such as records and jewellery. The proportions of the scales between the protagonists and the antagonists is generally greater than the female protagonist characters. Characters hold the LRB in one hand while attacking with the other. The single male characters are the deictic centre performing the main action of the image to the deictic target, the enemy. While most of the posters lack the place and time deictic elements, there are a few that contain place markers general place markers and a couple of specific references to Beijing or Yan'an. Furthermore, the single male characters have a variety of backgrounds which include flags and banners, masses, varying colours, but also, sun bursts.

Most paired male characters are worker-Red Guard sets, with worker-soldier, worker-worker, and Red Guard-soldier occasionally being featured. An example of the paired male posters can be seen in *Overthrow Peng Dehuai, Luo Ruiqing, Chen Zaidao, Liao Laotan!* (figure 67). Other characteristics parallel the single male character poster images. The final type of male only violence are the groups of three or more male characters. These posters always feature a worker-peasant-soldier trio, and with an optional extra character, usually a male Red Guard. Within these groups, the worker is featured most prominently. The worker character is the largest and most foregrounded, displays an LRB either held above their head or held at chest height, and often is the character actively engaging in the attack on the enemy. This is the only male violence sub-category that has guns as a weapon, carried exclusively by the soldiers. An example of the three character male only poster is pictured below in figure 68, *Carry out the revolutionary "integration of three", take the power from Tianjin's black municipal Party committee.*



Figure 67 *Overthrow Peng Dehuai, Luo Ruiqing, Chen Zaidao, Liao Laotan!* Ca. 1967  
 打倒彭德怀，罗瑞卿，陈再道，辽老谭！  
 Dadao Peng Dehuai, Luo Ruiqing, Chen Zaidao, Liao Laotan!  
 Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名)  
 Call number: BG E12/626 (IISH collection)



Figure 68 Carry out the revolutionary "integration of three", take the power from Tianjin's black municipal Party committee Ca. 1967

实现革命的“三结合”夺天津黑市委的权 Shixian gemingde "san jiehe" duo Tianjin hei shiweide quan

Full page image, Designer: Tianjin Geming Gongren Daibiao Huiyi. Choubeichu

Call nr.: BG E12/627 (IISH collection)

Male Only									
General Characteristics									
Descriptive Qualities									
Theme	Art Style			Distance			Eyeline		
Enemy	Gouache/Oil	Woodcut	Line Drawn	Close	Middle	Far	At Audience	Out of Frame	At Task/Enemy

Male Only								
General Characteristics								
Descriptive Qualities								
Directional		Colour		Construction		# of Main Characters		
Horizontal	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Full Colour	Directed Motion	Active	Single	Pair	Group

Table 49 Male Only General Characteristics Map

Male Only												
Symbol: People												
Red Classes												
Worker					Peasant				Soldier		Red Guard	
Overalls	Button Shirt	Hat	Rolled Sleeves	Towel	Shirt	Head Scarf	Towel	Rolled Sleeves	Army Uniform	Bayonet	Old Army Uniform	Rolled Sleeves

Male Only							
Symbol: People							
Black Classes							
Present					Not Present		
Single			Pair		Group	Out of frame	Referential
Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other	Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping		Liu Shaoqi and Others	-	-

Table 50 Male Only Symbol: People Map

Male Only								
Symbol: Physical								
Red Classes						Black Classes		
Male						Male		
Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist and Neck	Overly Muscular	Weak/Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed

Table 51 Male Only Symbol: Physical Map

Male Only											
Symbol: Items											
Red Classes					Black Classes						
Flags/ Banners	Mao Cult			Messenger Bag	Writings			Bourgeoisie and Four Olds			
-	LRB	Armband	Mao Badge	-	Books	Papers	How to be a Good Communist	Jewellery	Records	Coins	Buddha Statue

Table 52 Male Only Symbol: Items Map

Male Only																
Metaphor: Internal War																
Red Classes																
Sun	Weapon														Size and Scale	
-	Words As Weapons				Work Tools				Conventional			Other			Large	Overly Muscular
	Documents / Signs	LRB	Stamp	Oversized Brush/ Pen	Hammer	Broom	Shovel	Wrench	Sword	Spear	Gun	Hands	Feet	Flag	-	-

Male Only																
Metaphor: Internal War																
Black Classes																
Size and Scale								Zoomorphism								
Small				Caricatured				Various Animals								

Table 53 Male Only Metaphor: Internal War Map

Male Only									
Deixis: Person									
Deictic Centre				Deictic Target					
Fictitious				Present			Not Present		
Worker	Peasant	Soldier	Red Guard	Real			Unspecified	Out of Frame	Referential
-	-	-	-	Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other	-	-	-

Table 54 Male Only Deixis: Person Map

Male Only				
Deixis: Place				
Specific Location		Generic Location		None
Yan'an		Urban	Rural	-

Table 55 Male Only Deixis: Place Map

Male Only						
Deixis: Discourse						
Writings				Visual		
Mao or Party			Liu Shaoqi		Metapictures	
Mao Quotations	LRB	16 Points	How to be a Good Communist	Posters	Newspapers	<i>Dazibao</i>

Table 56 Male Only Deixis: Discourse Map

Male Only						
Deixis: Social						
Hierarchy						
First (Highest)	Second				Third	Fourth (Lowest)
Leadership	Worker	Peasant	Soldier	Red Guard	Masses	Enemy
Mao	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 57 Male Only Deixis: Social Map

### *Mixed Gender Maps*

There are 111 examples of mixed gender groups in the posters, representing roughly 21.4% of the sample of violent posters. There are three kinds of mixed gender groups: pairs, groups of three, and larger groups of four or more. An example of a paired mixed gender poster was given in *figure 19, Exhibition to expose the evil deed of China's Khrushchev to sabotage the publication of Chairman Mao's writings' (1968)*. The poster, *Resolutely smash the number one power holders in the party that follow the capitalist road!* in *figure 69*, pictured below, is a representative example of the type of poster found in this category featuring a mixed gender three person group. It is enemy themed, with active and directed motion construction. Similar to the male only example given above, there are lines drawn to indicate the action of the poster and the attack on the enemies. The art style is woodcut and the colouration is red, black, and white. The characters are observed from a far (impersonal) distance and their eyelines are all directed at the enemy in the bottom righthand corner. The directionality is vertical and there are three main characters in the group, two male and one female.

Beyond the general characteristics, the symbols in the poster identify the three subjects as Red Guards through their clothes and rolled sleeves. The enemies are stereotyped versions of themselves and include Liu Shaoqi as the metonymical place holder for the enemies of the Party. In addition, the physical characteristics help to differentiate the two male characters from the single female character. While the female is relatively masculinised compared to previous female imagery, she is clearly identifiable as female by her physical attributes. This is especially apparent in these type of mixed gender images where the two genders can be observed side by side. Here, the two male characters are relatively larger than the female counterpart, with heavier eyebrows, cropped hair that is barely visible, large limbs, strong square jawlines, thick necks and waists, and overtly muscular. By comparison, the female has smaller facial features and a smaller head/face in general, short hair indicated by the fringe on the forehead, and a rounder jawline than the two males. The body is not visible, so it is impossible to compare the body types. Furthermore, the two male characters wear discernible armbands on their left arms. Whether or not the female character would be wearing one is unknown since she is backgrounded to the two males. The female is holding a white bound version of the LRB. The enemies are surrounded by

scattered papers and a copy of Liu Shaoqi's book *How to Be A Good Communist* on the ground.

The metaphorical features of the poster include the 'Words as Weapons' motif with one of the male Red Guards using an oversized fountain pen as well as his foot to attack the enemies and the second male attacks with his clenched fist. Both characters are presented in violent stances to reinforce the weapon usage. The female backs them up with the LRB raised in her fist but does not actively engage in the violence of the image. The size and scale metaphor places the protagonist males and female as much larger than the enemy; however, the female character is slightly smaller than the male characters. The enemies are also caricatured.

Finally, the deictic elements of the image point to the Red Guards as the deictic central participants through their size, centring, and bold colouration. In addition, their action placed on the enemy characters helps to solidify this role. The enemies are relegated to the deictic target, literally targeted by the main characters' actions. There is no time or place deictic elements in the poster. The discourse deixis contains an example of Mao's writing through the LRB held by the girl and a copy of *How to Be a Good Communist* on the ground. Both of these are referential to a greater narrative that is well known to the audience. Lastly, the social deictic markers point to the male characters as the highest in the social ranking through their centring, active stances and foregrounding. The female is pushed to the background, just her head and shoulders visible between the two male characters. She is serving as a backup and contributor more than the main active figure. She is therefore relegated to the second level of the social hierarchy. At the lowest level are the enemies. They are not only shown at the bottom of the page in a very small scale, the colouration makes them less noticeable and is connotative of the enemy spirit. They are weak and the direct target of the attack.



Figure 69 Resolutely smash the number one power holders in the party that follow the capitalist road! 1966  
坚决打倒党内头号走资本主义道路的当权派! 彻底粉碎资本主义复辟的反革命逆流! Jianjue dadao  
dangnei touhao zuo ziben zhuyi daolude dangquanpai! Chedi fensui ziben zhuyi fubide fangeming ni liu!  
Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名)  
Call nr: BG E15/569 (Landsberger collection)

Mixed Gender								
General Characteristics								
Descriptive Qualities								
Theme	Art Style	Distance	Eyeline	Directional	Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters
Enemy	Woodcut	Far	At Task/Enemy	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Directed Motion	Active	Group

Table 58 General Characteristics Map for Figure 69

Mixed Gender		
Symbol: People		
Red Classes		Black Classes
Red Guard (Male or Female)		Present
Old Army Uniform	Rolled Sleeves	Group
-	-	Liu Shaoqi and Others

Table 59 Symbol: People Map for Figure 69

Mixed Gender												
Symbol: Physical												
Red Classes										Black Classes		
Male					Female					Male		
Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist and Neck	Overly Muscular	Delicate Features	Short Hair	Round Face	Relatively Smaller than Male	Weak/ Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed

Table 60 Symbol: Physical Map for Figure 69

Mixed Gender			
Symbol: Items			
Red Classes		Black Classes	
Mao Cult		Writings	
Little Red Book	Armband	Papers	How to be a Good Communist

Table 61 Symbol: Items Map for Figure 69

Mixed Gender									
Metaphor: Internal War									
Red Classes				Black Classes					
Weapon		Size and Scale							
Words As Weapons		Other		Male		Female		Small	Caricatured
Male or Female		Male		Large	Overly Muscular	Muscular	Larger than Enemy		
LRB	Oversized Brush/Pen	Hands	Feet	-	-	Less than Male		-	-

Table 62 Metaphor: Internal War Map for Figure 69

Mixed Gender		Mixed Gender			Mixed Gender			
Deixis: Person		Deixis: Discourse			Deixis: Social			
Deictic Centre		Deictic Target		Writings		Hierarchy		
Fictitious Male	Fictitious Female	Present		Mao or Party	Liu Shaoqi	First (Highest)	Second	Third (Lowest)
Red Guard	Red Guard	Real		LRB	How to be a Good Communist	Male Red Guard	Female Red Guard	Enemy
-	-	Liu Shaoqi	Other	-	-	-	-	-

Table 63 Deixis Elements Map for Figure 69

In the mixed gender category as a whole, there are four images of paired groups, three containing one male Red Guard and one female Red Guard and one with a male worker and female Red Guard. The art style is red, black, and white woodcut, with directed motion and active construction. Three of the four are full page images. All four have strong top down directionality and medium semi-personal distance from the characters. The male characters are foregrounded while the female character stands behind, in a support role. The male character directly attacks the enemy; the female character holds up an LRB and points at the enemy. A further example of this kind of mixed gender pairing can be seen in *figure 70*. In this image, the two characters are in the same pose, with fisted hands, but the female character is less prominent, and the male character is foregrounded, taller, and carries an LRB.



*Figure 70 Resolutely smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of Peng, Lu, Luo and Yang*  
彻底粉碎彭、陆、罗、杨反革命修正主义集团! Chedi fensui Peng, Lu, Luo, Yang fan geming xiuzheng zhuyi jitian!

*Full page image, Designer: Propaganda Group of the Preparatory Office of the Oath-taking Rally to Struggle Against the Peng, Lu, Luo, Yang Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Clique (斗争彭、陆、罗、杨反革命修正主义集团誓师大会筹备处宣传组) 1966, December Call nr.: PC-1966-002 (Private collection)*

There are two types of three-person groups within the mixed gender category, the worker-peasant-soldier group and the all Red Guard group. When the female character is part of the worker-peasant-soldier trio style of group, a female peasant is substituted for the male peasant. The female character in these groups is never a soldier or a worker. The all Red Guard groups are always two male Red Guards with one female Red Guard. In both types, the female character is in a support role, usually at the back of the group. She looks on at the violence, beckons people to join in the violence, and only directly engages the enemy if all three characters are shown attacking together. The only time a female is foregrounded, is if she is a Red Guard character, but she still is not the active attacker, usually pointing at the enemy while a male character attacks with a weapon.

The larger groups are more varied, including all Red Guard groups, Red Guards and worker-peasant-soldier groups, marching masses, and four examples of *yangbanxi* characters. The structure of the groups generally contains more male than female characters. Within these larger groups the female characters *can* be shown as actively engaging in the violence and are sometimes the most foregrounded character if they are a Red Guard. The female characters that are actively engaged with the violence are always matched by at least one other male character. The larger groups consisting of five or more characters are drawn in a stacked or pyramid shaped construction, with the enemy in a lower corner, for instance in *figure 1* or *figure 71*, *Our nation's millions of Red Guards resolutely support the patriotic compatriots [...]*. Marching masses have the worker-peasant-soldier trio in the most foregrounded position and vary the classes into a fading background. The female characters are either standing to the side of the central character or the second or third character from the front in these images (*figure 72*). This is the only type of image where a background female character can be shown as a worker; however, they are in the background and not main characters. Many of these images contain an oversized bust of Mao within a sun in the top section of the poster. In addition, at least one character is always carrying an LRB, and flags and banners are common. Most characters wear either a red armband or a Mao badge. In addition, there is a large variety of weaponry used, ranging from the guns and spears of traditional weapons to the writing implements. There are several deictic place markers. Also, there are metapictures in the form of posters and written notices that refer to other propaganda from that period. The general maps for the mixed gender category are pictured below.



Figure 71 Our nation's millions of Red Guards resolutely support the patriotic compatriots of Hong Kong and Kowloon in their anti-English struggle against violent repression! Ca. 1967  
 祖国千百万红卫兵坚决支持港九爱国同胞反英抗暴斗争! Zuguo qianbaiwan hongweibing jianjue zhichi Gang Jiu aiguo tongbao fan Ying kangbao douzheng!  
 Full page image, Designer unknown (佚名)  
 Call nr.: PC-196b-013 (Private collection)



Figure 72 Hold high the red banner of great Mao Zedong Thought to wage the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end 1966, August  
 高级毛泽东思想伟大红旗把无产阶级文化大革命进行到底 Gaoju Mao Zedong sixiang weida hongqi ba wuchan jieji wenhua da geming jinxing daodi  
 Full page image, Designer: People's Fine Arts Publishing House Creative Group collective work (人民美术出版社创作组集体创作)  
 Call nr.: PC-1966-I-001 (Private collection)

Mixed Gender																
General Characteristics																
Descriptive Qualities																
Theme	Art Style			Distance		Eyeline			Directional		Colour		Construction		# of Main Characters	
Enemy	Gouache/ Oil	Woodcut	Line Drawn	Middle	Far	At Audience	Out of Frame	At Task/ Enemy	Horizontal	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Full Colour	Directed Motion	Active	Pair	Group

Table 64 Mixed Gender General Characteristics Map

Mixed Gender														
Symbol: People														
Red Classes														
Worker (Male)*					Peasant (Male or Female)				Soldier (Male)		Red Guard (Male or Female)		Masses	Yangbanxi (Female)
Overalls	Buttons Shirt	Hat	Rolled Sleeves	Towel	Shirt	Head Scarf	Towel	Rolled Sleeves	Army Uniform	Bayonet	Old Army Uniform	Rolled Sleeves	Various	Various

\* Can be female if and only if presented in a large group in the background, never as a main character

Mixed Gender														
Symbol: People														
Black Classes														
Present										Not Present				
Single			Pair			Group				Out of frame		Referential		
Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping		Other		Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping			Liu Shaoqi and Others			-		-	

Table 65 Mixed Gender Symbol: People Map

Mixed Gender													
Symbol: Physical													
Red Classes											Black Classes		
Male						Female					Male		
Heavy Set Eyebrows	Cropped Hair	Large Limbs	Strong Jawline	Thick Waist and Neck	Overly Muscular	Delicate Features	Short Hair	Cinched Waist	Round Face	Relatively Smaller than Male	Weak/Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed

Table 66 Mixed Gender Symbol: Physical Map

Mixed Gender									
Symbol: Items									
Red Classes							Black Classes		
Instruments	Flags/Banners	Mao Cult			Messenger Bag	Megaphone	Signs	Writings	
-	-	LRB	Armband	Mao Badge	-	-	-	Papers	How to be a Good Communist

Table 67 Mixed Gender Symbol: Items Map

Mixed Gender													
Metaphor: Internal War													
Red Classes													
Sun	Weapon												
-	Words As Weapons				Work Tools				Conventional			Other	
	Male or Female	Male Only	Male or Female		Male Only			Male or Female	Male Only	Male or Female <i>Yangbanxi</i> Characters		Male or Female	
	Documents/ Signs	Stamps	LRB	Oversized Brush/Pen	Hammer	Broom	Wrench	Shovel	Gun	Sword	Spear	Hands	Feet

Mixed Gender													
Metaphor: Internal War													
Red Classes							Black Classes						
Size and Scale							Size and Scale				Zoomorphism		
Male			Female				Small	Caricatured			Various Animals		
Large	Overly Muscular		Muscular	Larger than Enemy			-	-			-		
-	-		Less than Male										

Table 68 Mixed Gender Metaphor: Internal War Map

Mixed Gender									
Deixis: Person									
Deictic Centre					Deictic Target				
Fictitious Male			Fictitious Female		Present			Not Present	
Worker	Soldier	Red Guard	Peasant	Red Guard	Real		Unspecified	Out of Frame	Referential
-	-	-	-	-	Liu Shaoqi	Other	-	-	-

Table 69 Mixed Gender Deixis: Person Map

Mixed Gender								
Deixis: Discourse								
Writings				Visual				
Mao or Party			Liu Shaoqi		Metapictures			
Mao Quotations	LRB		Slogans	How to be a Good Communist		Posters	Newspapers	<i>Dazibao</i>

Table 70 Mixed Gender Deixis: Discourse Map

Mixed Gender									
Deixis: Social									
Hierarchy									
First (Highest)	Second				Third			Fourth	Fifth (Lowest)
Mao	Male Worker	Male Soldier	Male Peasant	Male Red Guard	Female Peasant	Female Red Guard	Female Worker	Masses	Enemy

Table 71 Mixed Gender Deixis: Social Map

The final form of violence within the posters are the indeterminate gender images. The only part of the violent actor that is seen is the weapon. These can be hands, feet, pens, swords or knives, bayonets, shovels, brooms, flags, and stamps. In the example poster, *Down with the usurper and anti-Party element Luo Ruiqing*, pictured below (figure 73) an anonymous hand punches down on the featured enemy. There significantly few general characteristics that can identified in indeterminate gender posters. The theme is again enemy themed, the constructions active and directed motion. In addition, the colour and art style is exclusively red, black, and white woodblock. The distance is not measurable since both parties featured are not to scale. Eyeline can also not be determined due to the lack of protagonist faces in the images. The number of characters in this image is a single attacker represented by the hand and the directionality it vertical top-down following the punch.

In this image the only class identifying symbol for the attacker is the limb, there are no other identifying markers through clothing or gender markers. As mentioned earlier, this kind of image *may* be interpreted as male because of the overly muscular and large limb characteristics, but there is no way to confirm this. The enemy is a stereotypically caricatured image of the enemy, in this case Luo Ruiqing. In addition, his name has an X through it. He is weak, distressed and bandaged<sup>48</sup>. There are no items present. The metaphors comply to using a hand as a weapon, and the size and scale proportions indicate the overwhelming power of the attacker and the relative weakness of the enemy. The attacker's whole hand is larger than the enemy being attacked. The deictic centre is the attacker through the centre and general focus on this character while the target is Luo Ruiqing, the enemy punched to the ground. There is no time, place, or discourse deixis present in this image. The final deictic element, social hierarchy put the attacker at the top and the enemy at the bottom through the physical attack, the strong top to bottom vectors that push the enemy to the lowest part of the image and the centring of the attacking limb.

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<sup>48</sup> The bandaging appears in this image as a reference to Luo Ruiqing's attempted suicide. According to Landsberger (2016) 'On 16 March 1966, Luo attempted suicide by jumping from the third story of a building, but landed with his feet down. He broke both legs, but survived. This suicide attempt was ridiculed by other Party leaders (Luo should have jumped with his head down), and interpreted as an act of treason against the Party and as proof of his guilt. After some time in hospital, Luo was deemed to have recovered enough to be brought to public 'struggle meetings', carried on stage in a crude basket of the kind normally used to store cabbages'.

Because of the similarity between this poster and general maps for this category, only one set of maps will be shown here.

Most of the indeterminate gender violence images are similar to the ones above. The number of main actors can range from one to a large group, all attacking the enemy character(s). The proportion of scales between the anonymous attacker and the enemy is even more exaggerated than the previously discussed images. There are three forms of directional vectors within this type of posters. The first is a centre out/in form where the enemy is in the middle of the field of vision and is surrounded by multiple weapons bearing down on them. An example of a centre focused poster is shown below in *figure 74*. The other forms are strong downward or horizontal vectors, with a weapon coming down on the enemy. The art style is exclusively red, white and black woodcut or line drawn to imitate the woodcut style. The focus is on the act of attacking the enemy. The general maps for indeterminate gender violence posters are shown below in *tables 72-77*.



*Figure 73 Down with the usurper and anti-Party element Luo Ruiqing Ca. 1967*  
*Designer: Preparatory Office for the Defense Industry Great Revolutionary*  
*Mass Struggle Meeting against the Usurper and Anti-Party Element Luo*  
*Ruiqing*  
*国防工业革命群众斗争篡军反党分子罗瑞卿大会筹备处*  
*达到篡军反党分子罗瑞卿 Dadai cuanjun fandang fenzi Luo Ruiqing*  
*Full page image, Call nr.: PC-1967-006 (Private collection)*



Figure 74 Down with Soviet Revisionism! Smash Brezhnev's dog's head to pulp! Smash Kosygin's dog's head to pulp! 1967

打倒苏修! 砸烂勃列日涅夫的狗头! 砸烂柯西金的狗头! Dadao Suxiu! Zalan Bolieriniefude goutou! Zalan Kexijinde goutou!

Full page image, Designer: Art Line Struggle Liaison Station of the Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebel General Command, Revolutionary Rebel Command of the Shanghai Publishing System, "Fight to the End" Corps of Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe" (上海工人革命造反总司令部美术战线联络站、上海出版系统革命造反司令部、上海人民美术出版社《拼到底》兵团)

Call nr.: PC-1967-002 (Private collection)

Indeterminate gender											
General Characteristics											
Descriptive Qualities											
Theme	Art Style		Distance	Eyeline	Directional			Colour	Construction		# of Main Characters
Enemy	Woodcut	Line Drawn	-	-	Centre Focus	Horizontal	Vertical	Red, Black, White	Directed Motion	Active	-

Table 72 Indeterminate gender General Characteristics Map

Indeterminate gender							
Symbol: People							
Red Classes		Black Classes					
Disembodied Limb		Present					
-		Single			Pair		Group
		Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other	Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping		Liu Shaoqi and Others

Table 73 Indeterminate gender Symbol: People Map

Indeterminate gender						
Symbol: Physical						
Red Classes		Black Classes				
Large Limbs	Overly Muscular	Weak/Malnourished	Dark Clothes	Distressed	Characteristics by Legend	Ugly

Table 74 Indeterminate gender Symbol: Physical

Indeterminate gender							
Symbol: Items							
Red Classes	Black Classes						
-	Writings				Bourgeoisie and Four Olds		
	Papers	How to be a Good Communist		Money	Film Strip	Bombs	Jewellery

Table 75 Indeterminate gender Symbol: Items Map

Indeterminate gender																
Metaphor: Internal War																
Red Classes																
Weapon															Size and Scale	
Words As Weapons				Work Tools				Conventional		Other					Large	Overly Muscular
<i>Dazibao/Tongzhi</i>	LRB	General Books	Oversized Brush/ Pen	Sickle	Hammer	Callipers	Shovel	Gun	Sword	Hands	Feet	Flag	Train	Lightning	-	-

Indeterminate gender																
Metaphor: Internal War																
Black Classes																
Size and Scale			Zoomorphism										Death and Decay			
Small	Caricatured		Various Animals				Demonic/Monster			Weeds			Skulls/Skeletons		Mushrooms	

Table 76 Indeterminate gender Metaphor: Internal War Map

Indeterminate gender										
Deixis: Person					Deixis: Discourse				Deixis: Social	
Deictic Centre	Deictic Target				Writings			Visual	Hierarchy	
Fictitious	Present				Mao or Party		Liu Shaoqi	Metapictures	First (Highest)	Second (Lowest)
Attacker	Real			Unspecified	Mao Quotations	LRB	How to be a Good Communist	Dazibao	Attacker	Enemy
-	Liu Shaoqi	Deng Xiaoping	Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 77 Indeterminate gender Deixis Maps

Each of these categories' maps aid in representing the discrete meaningful elements present across the gender group and by identifying what elements are included or excluded within the discursive field. As Bonnell (1999) determined, this technique is one of the main methods for identifying the communicative indicators of a political (propaganda) poster. In addition, it allows for a comprehensive comparative view between the gender categories whereby the nodes that are in one map but not in another pinpoints key differences in representing the themes to men or women. It also aids in simplifying the imagery into discrete points that can be used for analysis rather than trying to ascertain all the similarities and differences from thousands of images.

### Male versus Female Representation

This section will discuss the findings of the gender category maps and what the maps indicate as key differences in communication from the leaders at the time. An important indicator of the female representation during the CR can be found in the evaluation of their roles and appearance as opposed to the male characters. Most secondary literature indicates a convergence of appearance and the masculinisation of the female during the CR (Evans, 1999), while there are some that indicate less of a masculinisation and more of a (bodily) gender erasure that is subsumed by the class identification (Wang, 2011; Lu & Li, 2012). Through the coding of the images and the mapping of the key elements in portraying violence by gender category, this section will illustrate how neither of these assertions holds for the violence imagery in the early CR period. While there is no definitive way to tell how the differences were interpreted by the contemporary audience, the indicators provided by the semiotic characteristics as well as the propagandist theories outlined earlier help to infer what *may* have been interpreted from these images. In conjunction with the memoir-based evidence, this estimate of effect is made stronger.

The first important characteristic to highlight is the large disparity in general portrayal. Despite Lu & Li (2012)'s statement that the female characters are generally masculinised, they do support the idea that there are relatively fewer female characters and that those that are portrayed are relegated to secondary roles. This assertion is confirmed by the coding of the posters. At the most basic is the ratio of all male posters to all female posters, with males outnumbering females 258 to 17. If the indeterminate gender violence images

are added to the male violence imagery, there is a pronounced increase in this ratio (23:1). In addition, even when men and women are shown working together, there are always more men portrayed than women. This disproportion in portrayal could indicate that the target of the propaganda poster was by and large the male population or reflect a higher male participation rate in the movement. The artists themselves also could have chosen to portray more males than females simply due to the historical preference of males in this kind of violent imagery and the departure from previous roles of female characters to the violent positions was unusual.

On the descriptive level of the maps, the key difference lies in the art style, distance, and eyeline. The theme, the construction, and the directionality are consistent across the gender categories. Female characters and the indeterminate gender images are shown in line art or woodblock images while the male and mixed gender imagery has a wider range of art styles including line, woodblock, gouache, or oil painting. This also affects the use of colour as only gouache or oil images use a wider palette. This difference in art style shows a preference for portraying male characters only or in groups with female characters in the more labour intensive and technical works that were printed through the CCP Propaganda Department and displayed as political art as well as reproduced as posters. Another key difference is the distance the characters are portrayed at. Female only images are portrayed at the middle distance, indicating the social distance and could potentially be viewed as a compatriot or somehow on equal footing to the reader in action. The male only and mixed gender categories, however, exhibit a much wider range of viewing distance including close, middle, and far. This differentiation in distance indicates different associations with the characters and different interactions with the readers. While the female characters are only portrayed at a middle distance as counterparts and social equals, the other characters can be shown as having personal connections to the audience or seen as a far-off character that one is viewing in action as a role model or key player. The final general characteristic that differs between the male and the female is the eyeline of the protagonist characters. Again, there is only a single portrayal of the female character; their eyeline is directed at their task whether that be in or out of the frame. The male characters, by contrast have a wider potential eyeline than the female characters, engaging with their task parallel to the female portrayal, but they can also be looking directly at the audience (engaging the reader directly) or out of the frame entirely.

Finally, there are a wider range of possible grouping and types of male portrayals than female characters. Female characters only get shown in pairs if they are *yangbanxi* characters, otherwise they are shown singly, a few as whole-page images, but mostly as sub-images that are not the focus of the page. The male only images can be shown singly, in pairs, or in groups of three or more. In addition, they are represented in full page posters and sub-images, some of which are the focus of the page others are more minor panels. The mixed gender images have a few that are pairs, but mostly are groups of three or groups of four or more. This type of poster also can be seen in full page posters, or as sub-images in a similar manner to the male only imagery. Indeterminate gender violence has a couple of full-page examples but by and large are sub-images. This portrayal indicates a preference shown for imagery that contains male characters by focusing on these images within the multi-image page as well as featuring these types of characters for the full-page images.

The symbolic cogency of the people category allows for instantaneous identification based on uniform characteristics displayed across the imagery. Especially important for the 'people' subcategory are the clothes that help to identify the varying classes displayed. As determined earlier, the symbol maps are bifurcated into red class and black class values. The people red class subcategory shows key differences in portrayals of female and male characters within the violent imagery. This is perceived through the types of characters associated with their gender category. The female only maps indicate a strong preference for Red Guards as well as a few examples of peasants or *yangbanxi* characters. There are no female only images that contain workers or soldiers. The male only violence people subcategory contains all four of the possibilities: worker, peasant, soldier, and Red Guard, with a strong preference for workers and Red Guards. The mixed gender category also contains all four types of characters, however, there are only certain ones among them that can be shown as a female character (peasant, Red Guard, and worker *if and only if* it is a group of five or more and they are not a featured character and they are a peripheral character). The enemy characteristics are approximately the same across the categories, though the male only and mixed gender categories have more detailed and varied portrayals of the enemy.

The physical characteristics symbols are also indicative of the classification of characters. Female characters are defined by a more diminutive frame compared to the male

characters, with rounder faces, delicate features, short hair and cinched waists. Males are defined by an overall more heavysset appearance, with a muscular build, large limbs, thick waists and necks, strong jaw, thickset eyebrows, and cropped hair. While the claims of secondary literature of the masculinisation of the female character could potentially be argued for in the comparison with previous era's imagery of the female form, there are still key distinctions presented in the imagery to differentiate male from female. These characteristics can be generalised across the subcategories for their respective gender roles. The black classes are equally generalisable, with the same physical attributes manifesting across gender categories: weak and malnourished, overall colouring is dark, and visually distressed (Donald, 2014 discusses this prevalence).

The final type of symbol are the items present within the image. These go beyond the identification of the characters and has strong associations with specific classes as indicators of positive or negative class stance. These items include Mao cult items such as the LRB, Mao badges, and armbands. In addition, flags are common elements portrayed in the background or held by characters, and messenger bags can be carried by Red Guards. The mixed gender posters can contain a wider variety of items due to their more elaborate set up and include in addition to the previously mentioned items, megaphones, instruments, signboards, and banners. The enemy has items specifically associated with them as well. In the mixed gender and female only images, the enemy has symbolic writings such scattered papers or Liu Shaoqi's book 'How to be a Good Communist' displayed near them. In addition to these items, the male only and indeterminate gender violence posters also have more symbolic items for bourgeois items such as jewellery, records, Buddha statues, film strips, bombs, and money. In the indeterminate gender violence posters, some of these items may be shown broken or rotten. Overall, the female only images lack a certain detail of items within the image that are included when male characters are present in the image. Because of the size and placement of the female sub-images, it may have been too small to give the extra detail of the items in the frame of the image without cluttering the artwork. In addition, these objects would have been easier to add to the full colour images and the detail of these images was much greater than the wood cut or line drawing style that predominates the female only posters. Finally, this difference in symbolic items could also be showing a difference in gendered use of the positive symbols and attack

of the negative symbols. The males attack a greater variety of inimical stances and are more supported through association with items like the Mao badges.

Metaphor maps for the female only posters contain metaphors of weapons and size/scale associated with the protagonists and only size/scale as the meaning transfer for the enemy. Of the weapons, there are only writing implements (words as weapons) or hands used by the female characters. The male only metaphors are significantly more elaborate and can contain multiple metaphors in a single image. There are three main metaphors associated with the male only posters, size and scale, weapons, and the sun. While size and scale is similar across all four of the gender categories, they are more pronounced in the male, mixed gender, and indeterminate gender than in the female only images. In addition, the overall musculature is much more pronounced on male characters and the anonymous limbs. The weaponry of the male only posters is also more extensive than the female only images. The words as weapons can be portrayed in a similar method to the female images, but also contains the oversized stamps. Hammers, brooms, shovels and wrenches represent the work tools and are predominantly used by male characters, and conventional weaponry such as sword and spears and guns and bayonets are carried by soldiers. Also, there are instances of hands and feet being used as weapons as well as flag being used like a spear. As noted earlier, the sun is not a metaphorical indicator of violence as such, but its strong association with the *male* characters is important to the differentiation between the gender portrayals.

The mixed gender metaphors are similar to the male only posters, containing comparable depictions of the sun and size and scale. The main size and scale difference is that while the protagonists all greatly out-scale the enemy, the males are generally portrayed as larger and more muscular than the females. The weapons still have gender differentiation, with certain weapons used by males only or by both genders. Hammers, wrenches, guns, and stamps are exclusively male, while the LRB, oversized writing implements, shovels, flags, hands and feet can be used by either gender. Swords and spears can be wielded by men or female *yangbanxi* characters only. This weapon differentiation reinforces the gender class differentiation in that the female characters still only use specific weaponry within the confines of their socially accepted societal roles. In addition, this may indicate an association with the Sixteen Points emphasis on using words to attack those that are mistaken versus using 'real' weapons to attack true enemies. The women are by and large

portrayed as attacking the lesser enemy. Indeterminate gender violence posters also contain books, *dazibao/tongzhi*, sickles, callipers, swords, gun butts, trains, and lightning as weapons in addition to the male only associated weaponry. The strong prevalence of disembodied weaponry associated with the male only roles in the posters is another of the main indicators of the possible interpretation of the indeterminate gender posters in fact being considered as part of the male gender category.

In addition to the metaphors associated with the protagonists of the posters, there are strong metaphors associated with the antagonists of the imagery. The female only images are more simplistic containing enemy metaphors of size and scale only. Male only adds zoomorphism to the metaphors, though the zoomorphism in the indeterminate gender violence is more varied and pronounced. The indeterminate gender images also contain some of the death/decay metaphors. The mixed gender violence has similar inimical metaphors parallel the male only images. This also lends to the interpretation that the female only characters are restricted in their attack to the 'lesser' enemies of the People while the male characters or mixed gender groups attack the 'higher' enemies of bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders represented by the more elaborate metaphors of the imagery.

Of the five types of deixis, person, discourse, and social lend to the gendered interpretation of the posters by emphasising certain characters over others and tying the narratives to other types of propaganda. The time and place deictic markers are important for the violence specific posters in that there is a distinct lack of these indexical indicators; however, this lack is across all gendered portrayals and therefore does not aid in the contrasting of the gendered maps. Person deixis reflects the central characters of the imagery as well as the enemy as the deictically targeted characters. Within the male only and female only imagery, the respective central characters, i.e. the man or the woman, is the deictic central actor and there is therefore only a difference in the number of times a man is portrayed as the centre versus the number of women portrayed in the parallel role. However, within the mixed gender imagery, the deictic person positions take on a more significant function when decoding the gender roles within the poster. Within the paired male and female characters, the male character is the deictic centre while the female character becomes a secondary participant. This is indicated through the centring, enlarging, and foregrounding of the male character within the image as well as their direct

engagement with the enemy. The female characters are portrayed as slightly smaller and shorter, behind the male, and off to the side of the centre. When portrayed in the larger groups, again, the male characters take precedent in the centrality of the message while the female are participants, observers, and bystanders. In addition, within the larger groups, the men always outnumber the women, lending to the primacy of the male as the deictic central person of the poster. The deictic targeted enemy is always male.

Discourse deixis of metapictures and visual images within the posters are more prominent and varied in the female only and mixed gender images, while the writing-based discourse deixis such as quotations of Chairman Mao or *How to be a Good Communist* tend to be portrayed roughly equally across the four categories. The visual images and metapictures that feature heavily in the female only and mixed gender are the female *yangbanxi* characters, particularly the White-Haired Girl and the Red Detachment of Women characters. These characters are shown in a variety of ways, including as background characters, primary actors, or as inspiration for the main characters. In addition to these iterations, there are portrayals of other posters within the posters to reinforce the narrative. This tendency to feature the strong female characters from the *yangbanxi* within the imagery may indicate the involvement of Jiang Qing in both the production of the plays and the art realm. She has a very strong influence on the precepts of art during this period, and the use of her specifically selected works may have been a method of ensuring the proper message within the posters. In addition, these characters are some of the most easily recognisable of the *yangbanxi* set. This favouring of featured female *yangbanxi* characters as the primary actors in the image may also indicate a preference for utilising idealised and completely fictitious female characters as violent actors. In other words, the females that are primarily shown as the violent actors are not realistic, but rather idealised fantastical characters. This shows a partiality for the portrayal of female associated violence through a conjured image rather than a relatable model type character. Other visual deictic images that are consistent between the mixed gender and male only portrayals include Mao busts in the sky, LRBs, and *dazibao*.

The final form of deixis that is particularly important to the gendered portrayal of the characters in the posters is social deixis. Social deixis defines the hierarchy of the characters within the imagery through the inherent portrayal of class structure as well as the emphasis on certain characters and the deemphasis on others. Within the structural hierarchy of the

CR society, Mao was the deific figure and therefore always the highest point of society. This is reflected in the imagery by a literal elevating of his bust or portrait into the top of the frame, often levitating in the sky. Within the class structure, the workers are generally centred or emphasised through height, size, and foregrounding. This is important since only males are portrayed as workers in the majority of the imagery. When shown as a worker-peasant-soldier mixed gender group, the female peasant is shown as smaller than the other two male characters, off to the side of the central male, and usually slightly behind him as well. The all-male worker-peasant-soldier plus a female Red Guard is similar, with some of the imagery looking as though the female Red Guard was an afterthought and the image would be communicating the same message even with the character removed from the group (this idea of the female as a peripheral or afterthought type character is discussed by Wang, 2011). In addition, the significant lack of female characters is in itself a social deictic marker in that it shows the female character as a less prevalent actor within the CR society and more generally as a male counterpart, not as an independent actor.

By connecting the four types of maps into a holistic communicative device, the posters articulate a specific message both to women and about women's roles during this period. The general lack of independent female characters perpetrating violence within the poster sample, a mere 17 images within the enemy theme, indicates a substantial difference in the artistic representation of female participation in the movement. The art styles and general characteristics are also limited when compared to the variety of male portrayal. There appears to be a very static portrayal of women within the sample that lacks the more in-depth and nuanced communicative devices that are apportioned to men. Symbolically, the women are limited to specific roles within society, the peasant or the Red Guard, through their clothing and stereotypical appearances. Physically, the women are still differentiated from men through more petite figures and a less substantial presence. Even when it comes to the symbolic items that accompany the central characters, the male actor interacts with, and has access to, a much wider range of red class associated motifs and attacks more of the black class items as well.

The metaphorical analysis also points to a limiting effect of the female characters. Women use far fewer types of weaponry and are limited to the most metaphorical types of weapons within the CR weapon cache. In addition, female characters are never connected to the Mao cult through the sun motif unless they are shown with male main characters.

The inimical use of metaphors is also demonstrably less varied, with females rarely interacting directly with the enemy character and the lack of zoomorphism in the female images.

Deictically, the female characterisation can be classified as less significant than their male counterparts. The person deixis points to a preference for male actors both through the male only numbers and the roles they play in the mixed gender posters. The male is the main deictic centre of CR rhetoric with female characters only occasionally stepping into this role. Discourse deixis is one of the only points of the posters where there is a *slightly* greater emphasis on the female character. However, the fictitious *yangbanxi* characters rather than promote a greater role for the female in CR society replaces her in the posters. Without the *yangbanxi* characters in the posters, the number of females as a central violent actor decreases. Potentially it is more acceptable to imagine a female violence scenario when the female character is within a strictly defined fictitious state. The social ranking of the actors within the imagery also points to a male preference through the centring, foregrounding, and emphasising of the men over the women.

#### Connecting Art and Reality: Female Violence

This section aims to connect the portrayals of women within posters and their motivational imagery to the reality of female violence during the CR. Looking at the propaganda posters as both a motivational piece as well as a reflection on the time aids in understanding the CR and how the women interacted with it. Despite the significant public participation in violent episodes chronicled in memoirs and historical accounts, the portrayal of female violence within the propaganda poster art of the time only partially reflects this trend. While female characters on their own appear significantly less frequently than their male counterparts, the mixed gender group with males and females acting together seems to be signified within the imagery. By looking at how the messages of the posters fit into the larger picture of female violence during the early years of the CR, the intended messages of the leaders and how these potentially motivated the women to violence, or not, can be extrapolated.

## Female Motivation

Within this motivation to commit violence are different subcategories of the People that were targeted as the audience of the posters. This study looks at the violence motivation based on gender, but other categories could include motivation by class, location (i.e. rural versus urban), or age. The gender motivation in the posters is portrayed in several interlinked ways. At the most basic level, the proportion of male to female characters in the posters is important to the perceived messages of the imagery. Because of the much higher prevalence of male characters as the main actors in the violent posters, the messages seem to be targeted at the male population more than the female population. Even in mixed gender groups there are significantly more male characters than female characters. Generally, the women are not featured as the performers of violent acts within the imagery and when they are, it is as a support mechanism for the male characters. In addition, the female only images are not only fewer than the male only and mixed gender images, but also show a more simplistic construction. They are more likely to be violent actors within the locally produced newspapers and woodblock posters than the official full-page coloured images. This deemphasis of the female characters is also shown in the placement of the sub-images that feature women. The sub-images are generally peripheral to the main images of the poster, focussing on either Mao or male oriented imagery as can be seen in *figure 75*.

Beyond the basic characteristic divergences between the gendered portrayals in the posters, the three semiotic devices used to analyse the posters show distinct differences in the motivational material directed at men and women of the CR. Male characters are emphasised as the favoured actors of the CR, while the female characters are relegated to secondary roles. The female characters are not only shown in fewer class roles than the male characters, because of the class hierarchy of the CR, the female peasant and the female Red Guards are lower in the social hierarchy than the male worker, soldier, and Red Guard. This can be seen in the symbol and deictic class differentiation, where the male characters are not only represented by the whole range of classes that designate the 'People', the deictic markers also underscore their social superiority in rank. The female characters, on the other hand, are only represented by peasants or Red Guards, and both are shown as supporters of the male characters within the mixed gender imagery. The



Figure 75 Example of a single panel in a larger sub-image page containing a female violence image

examples of these women on their own are few, and significantly less dynamic than the lone male counterparts.

In addition, the *yangbanxi* characters are slightly different and have therefore been isolated as a subgroup explanation. These characters, while they are portrayed as female characters nearly as often as the male *yangbanxi* characters, they are entirely fictitious and not the 'relatable' characters that the deictic central characters represent. The other characters appear to portray a kind of fabricated role model that is at once generalisable and relatable to the common person observing the image. The *yangbanxi*, however, are direct links to other forms of propaganda and they tend to be more acceptable violence actors than the female peasant and Red Guard. This is perhaps because the concept of a female character as a violent character was more culturally acceptable as a non-real person. In essence the violence was taken over by the surreal and fantastical characters and the women were to emulate their spirit rather than their actions. If, by this argument, the *yangbanxi* characters were removed from the statistics on female characters in the violent imagery, the ratios of male characters to female characters becomes even more pronounced.

Physically, the female character is smaller than the male character, and this can be seen across all three of the semiotic characteristics. While there is a departure from conventional depictions of women and a definite masculinisation of the female form compared to prior imagery, there is still a distinct difference between the female and male physiognomy in the CR posters. This difference is especially obvious in the mixed gender imagery due to the ability to compare the bodies side by side, but the differentiation was noted across the sample. The symbolic physical characteristics mark the females as less than the male with delicate facial features such as round jaw lines, shaped eyebrows, refined eyes, and feminine lips, cinched waists and distinctly girlish hair styles. The men however, have harsher facial features with heavy set eyebrows, short cropped hair, strong jawlines, and thick necks. Their bodies are stocky, with absurdly large and muscular arms and legs. In other words, the women of the posters tend to be presented as younger and more 'girlish' while the men are shown as domineered and strong men in their prime.

As a motivational factor, this then emphasises the male over the female because of the physically larger size and strength means that the man was going to be the prime performer of the violent act. This is only made more compelling by the metaphoric reliance on size and

scale to differentiate the People from the non-People. Both men and women are shown as significantly larger and more muscular than the enemy, and it is the disproportion that metaphorically defines the hierarchy between the two. Therefore, the outsizing of the women by the men can also be interpreted as a hierarchy to a lesser degree. The men just out-size the women, making the perspective force the male to the foreground and the female into the background reinforcing the deictic centre and support roles. The male and female characters are the deictic centres of their respective categories; however, if males are present, the deictic centre reverts back to them. In these mixed gender images, the main actor is drawn in the centre of the image or emphasised strongly in some way.

The items interacted with also show a strong preference for the male characters and the male motivated targets of the posters. Not only are the male characters and indeterminate gender characters interacting with a wider variety of both red and black class markers, the metaphorical weaponry used by the gendered characters delineates both the targets of the attack and the general social order of the People. The symbolic items that are used to demarcate the red classes within the imagery are used for both men and women; however, the men wear and use the items more consistently than the women. In addition, the black class symbols are significantly more varied when a male character is present, reinforcing the wider range of enemy ideologies that are under attack by the CR. For example, it is only the men that attack Buddha statues and piles of coins that represent 'old ideas' of religion and capitalism.

Weaponry also is an important indicator of motivation to violence. While this seems obvious, i.e. using weapons in the imagery would indicate use of violence, there are some nuances that are also important to the gender-based reading. In general, the female characters of the CR posters use a much more limited selection of weapons. The female only posters are especially limited. As noted earlier, this shows a preference for females to only engage with 'contradictions between the People' and not the 'contradictions between the People and the Enemy'. Also, the use of the words as weapons metaphors that show female characters, even in mixed gender groups, utilising the oversized brushes and pens as their primary weapon reinforces the lesser enemy as a target message. Women are never shown using guns, swords, or munitions in the enemy themed posters unless they are very specific *yangbanxi* characters. In addition, in mixed gender images, the female peasant characters can be seen using class specific tools as a weapon such as a pitchfork or a shovel.

This can be paralleled by the male peasant character. However, the female never takes on the role of the male worker or male soldier and are excluded from using their class specific weapons. Men and indeterminate gender characters have the entire range of weapons at their disposal and use much more militaristic arms in addition to the 'words as weapons' tools. This indicates a wider range of enemy that are permissible for the men to attack and more of a violence motivation communicated to the male audience.

Deixis enhances this reading through the physicality of the use of the weapons that is used artistically to draw attention to the person deixis, the discourse deixis, and the social deixis elements. While the weapons are not necessarily deictic markers in and of themselves, the construction of the image uses the strong vectors within the posters to 'point to' and emphasise different aspects. Person deixis is thus drawn to the fore by line of the gun, spear, pen(cil), or other item drawing the eye first to the larger and more substantial deictic centre and then leading down to the enemy at the other end of the weapon. The clean lines of the weaponry and the simplicity of the background make the artistic featuring of the characters clear. These lines generally are a direct link between the male character and the enemy. In male only imagery, the enemy is shown within the frame of the image more frequently than the female only imagery and they are more likely to have a weapon pointed directly at or even piercing the enemy. In addition, the discourse deixis can be seen in the use of weaponry by the *yangbanxi* characters. Characters use narrative specific weapons to attack enemies that help to connect the story on screen/stage with their depictions in the posters. This is especially important for the female *yangbanxi* characters since they are the only female characters to use 'masculine' weapons. Finally, the social strata of the classes conform to the use of the weapons, both through the vectoral elements pointing to the highest and lowest classes, but also the class identification within the hierarchical sphere of the CR. This again reinforces the male over the female agency within the images.

The charismatic leader of the imagery is also an important factor that has the potential to affect the genders differently. The charismatic leader in the CR posters is Mao and is represented through the Mao cult items, the sun as well as the deictic speaker of the image when he is present or a quotation from him is used to set off the image and the highest point of the social hierarchy. Despite such a universal presence of Mao as the charismatic leader during the CR, his presence through physical depictions as well as metonymical stand-ins varies. Though Jiang Qing appears in several images, as a leader she is more of a

metonymical character that represents a part of Mao's power rather than a charismatic leader in her own right. If she was not associated with Mao, her power would be minimal. This can be seen in the earlier discussion that she could not have been his successor because of her gender. The Mao cult items such as the LRB, the Mao badges, and the armbands are fairly universal, though they are more likely to be interacted with by male characters. However, this is may be slightly misleading as there are more instances of interaction because there are simply more male images. The most striking difference between the gendered posters' use of the Mao imagery is the exclusive use of the metaphor of the sun within the male only, indeterminate gender, and mixed gender imagery. Female only imagery does not use this metaphor within the posters, and it is more common in the male only and indeterminate gender imagery than in the mixed gender images. In addition, the use of Mao and his quotations is limited to the male only and mixed gender images. This could be because of the more complex imagery that is in these categories, and therefore the use of more complex construction. On the other hand, it could also lead to the feeling that Mao was directly reaching out to the male audience members through the posters more than the female audience and that this diverging targeting may have meant that men felt more like they were being directly called to action than the women of the era.

In addition to the lesser role in the posters, the posters that feature female characters tend to mimic the male posters. This tendency to copy, rather than have a specific role or agency of their own, also lessens the idea of female specific motivation. According to Wang (2011), the female characters of the CR posters tend to copy not only the actions, but also the ways that the characters are drawn. Though Wang argues for a complete masculinisation as part of his idea of mimicry, which was found to not be the case, this idea of mimicry was noted throughout the posters. This was especially noticeable in mixed gender images where the construction of the main characters has all three in the same pose, doing the same action. Another instance of copying the male image is the direct parallel that can be seen between the some of the male only and female only images. *Figure 76* shows how the two images are almost identical, except for gender. They are, in fact, so similar that it looks like one may have been copied off of the other. This kind of copying can be seen over and over again in the sample. This mimicry confirms part of Wang (2011)'s premise that the female



Figure 76 Example of copying or mimicking the male and the female

Left:

Stop the armed struggle at once! 1967

立即制止武斗! Liji zhizhi wudou!

Full page image, Qingdao Municipal General Command of the Revolutionary Trade Unions (青島市革命职工总司令部)

Call nr.: PC-1967-017 (Private collection)

Right:

Struggle with words, not with weapons

要用文斗, 不用武斗. Yao yong wendou, bu yong wudou.

Full page image, Designer: Sun Jingbo (孙景波) 1967

Call nr.: BG E16/110 (IISH collection)

characters are not really taking on roles of violence in these images, but rather just substituting the gender to appear more inclusive.

As a result of the differentiation between the semiotic components geared towards male and female characters of the posters, the motivational factors within the imagery can be seen to favour the male character as the violent actor. The female audience is asked to be active members in the 'contradictions among the People' but encouraged to be supporters for the more violent 'contradictions between the People and the enemy'. This ties into the first two paired characteristics of politico-social and agitation-integration propaganda in that the women are encouraged to partake in the political and social end game of the Party and integrate into the larger group of the People; however, they are to only have a limited role in the agitation and violence. They are smaller, younger, and more restricted in their roles within the posters and are significantly less likely to be portrayed at all, let alone as a violent actor.

This, however, does not take away from the fact that the posters of this era utilised a completely new narrative to depict and connect with women. The use of women in violent imagery at all is a drastic departure from previous propaganda images, and the novelty of the stronger and powerful position may have led to an elation and feeling of equality that was heretofore unknown to the young women of the CR. This idea of equality and newfound power is substantiated in the memoir pieces by women of that era like Yang (1997), Zhong, Zheng, & Di (2001), Li (2008), and Zhang (2014), all of whom claim that the girls that were participating in the violence of the movement felt equal to the men.

By breaking down the posters into their component parts and comparing them to other gendered portrayals of violence in the CR posters, the motivation to commit violence communicated by the leadership can be studied. Despite what is thought of as a period that promoted violence in general and is noted for depictions of women committing violence that departed from previously accepted roles, the results of this research do not find that women were encouraged to commit violence within the imagery at particularly high levels. Women as singular agents of violence are incredibly rare in the imagery, with only four full page images showing females in a militant manner and thirteen in sub-images that are not the focus of the page. Some of these images also depict *yangbanxi* characters or Jiang Qing as the initiator of the violence, and therefore only a few of the images would directly speak

to and motivate violence within the readers. Of the posters that are used to motivate the female only audience, most point at Red Guards as the main actors of the violence. These girls are young and pose in similar fashion to their male counterparts. This reinforces the mimetic observations of Wang (2011) who stated that the female actors within the imagery were mere duplicates of the males. While this seems to be an exaggeration, the mimetic qualities of the imagery do help to strengthen the idea that women were not their own agents within the violence, but rather following the lead of others. In addition, female workers, peasants, and any other form of female societal role are excluded from partaking in the violence within the imagery.

The results of the poster study, that women were not motivated to commit violence in the same levels as men, especially as lone attackers, contradicts many of the memoir-based recollections of the period that assert girls and women were key perpetrators of violence. Moying Li (2008) recalls a lone girl taking the lead during a struggle session and forcing a girl to beat her own father, Naihua Zhang (2001) relates her interaction with some militant female Red Guards, and Nien Cheng (1995) also notes severe female violence from the guards where she was detained. All of these incidences lead one to believe that female violence was a prevalent occurrence during the CR and that the posters would therefore be encouraging and motivating women to commit violence to a greater degree than they are. Even though there appears to be documentation of the lone female as a perpetrator of violence, this is not found in the imagery.

The most prevalent form of female depiction and therefore female violence is within the mixed gender category of the posters. Female participation in the mixed gender posters generally confirms that while females would participate and commit violence; however, it was predominantly in groups and that within the group the males were more brutal than the females (Wang, 2001). This is shown repeatedly in the imagery where the female characters are represented in the violence motivation imagery, but they are shown as lesser than their male counterparts. The women are either shown as back up to the male characters of the image, or if they are actively engaged in the violence, as participating alongside the male characters. They are not leading the violence, nor are they main actors in their own right. Except for a few images of paired male and female characters, the women are outnumbered by the men and generally depicted as smaller and less prominent in the imagery. The findings of the maps also indicate that the composition of the mixed

gender images gives precedence to the male actors through the symbols they interact with, the metaphorical weapons and size/scale, as well as deictic elements that emphasise the male over the female. Men are shown foregrounded, centred, and there is often a direct visual connection between them and the enemy such as a weapon connecting with the body of an adversary.

Rae Yang (1997)'s account both contradicts the female only violence findings and confirms the group findings. She states that she witnessed a female Red Guard brutally beating an 'enemy' on their own; however, she also relates her own participation in beating a classmate within a group setting. Several authors talk about female participation in violence within a group setting (Gao, 1987; Cheng, 1995; Zhong, Zheng, & Di, 2001; Li, 2008; Zhang, 2014) whether as female participants themselves, as male counterparts, or as witnesses. The imagery does seem to confirm some of the authors' statements about participation in group violence. This contradiction between the reflections and historical documents potentially points to a disconnect between motivation and how women were actually behaving at the time. The motivation to initiate and be the leaders of the violence is low. The group setting where the females are participating in the violence, while more frequent than the female only violence, is still significantly lower than the male only violence. Within these images the male characters take the lead and the women support and reinforce the message. While this departs from documentation of female led violence such as in Wang Youqin's records of the All-Girls School violence, it may suggest a motivation to commit violence as part of a male led group.

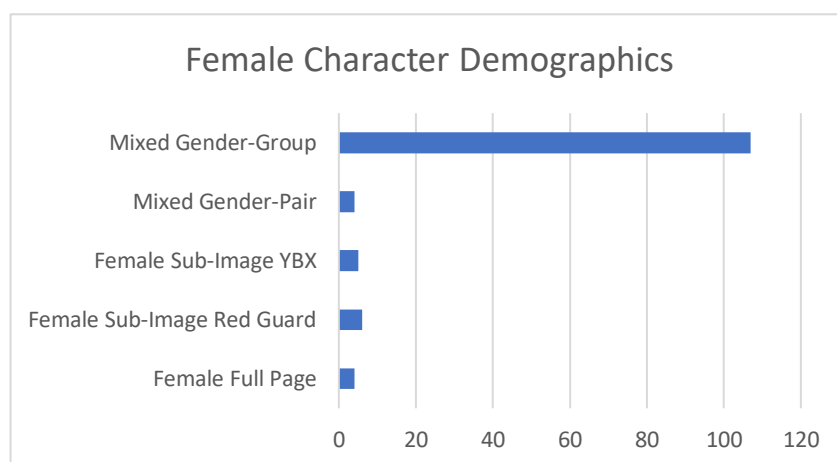


Figure 77 Instances of images with violence

## Reflection of Reality

Posters and images of a period can serve two interconnected goals of looking at how the leaders communicated with the led and as a reflection of the reality of the era. According to Yang (2016), the posters represent 'an insight into the events of those times' and further adds that '[t]he change to the red-art style of the cultural revolution and the violent and militaristic themes is a sudden shift that gives the readers some impression of the mood of the time' (1-2). Therefore, it is important to look at the posters as a result of the motivation as well as the motivational potential. While the posters cannot be used as a direct lens or as a literal documentation of the exact events of the era, they can be used to gauge the level of political turmoil and level of upheaval that may have been taking place. As Bonnell (1999) points out, a direct cause and effect of the propaganda on people's behaviour cannot be conclusively linked; however, by placing the imagery into the historical context of the CR, some form of connection can be extrapolated. The *motivation* to commit violence is strong, with the high number of posters, the very bold imagery, and the way that Chinese people view *xuanchuan* as an educational and informative mode of communication all lend to the idea that violence was promoted by the imagery during this period. This combined with the documented violence of the CR leads to a compelling argument that the general motivation to commit violence within the imagery was strong even if the findings of this research do not find that the motivation for *female* violence was as strong.

As a reflection of reality, the posters in general suggest the increased tension, the violence, and the class identities that were pervasive throughout the CR era. As a microcosm within these images, the portrayals of the female characters may reflect not only the messages intended for them, but their perceived participation within the violence. This is especially true for the local, woodcut posters as they were made by amateur artists depicting and interpreting what they were seeing around them and what they thought would work best in the situation. Therefore, the perceived smaller role within the violent imagery may be an indicator of a lesser role in the violence. As the women are shown as supporters and observers more often than as active participants, this may reflect at least the ideal that they not actively engage in violence but rather act in more traditionally feminine roles of support for the dominant male actor. In addition, the female characters' encouragement to confront the 'contradictions between the People' shows a continuity with past movements

in that these contradictions would generally be settled with words and struggle sessions rather than outright violence. These are established forms of confrontation and the imagery may be reflecting the female characters participating in higher rates at these functions as they were familiar and less of a challenge to their normal roles in Maoist China.

Furthermore, the roles that women are shown in in the posters reflect the classes and ages of the women that would generally be participating in the violence. Young peasant and especially Red Guard girls take part in the poster scenes and are the most likely members of society to have been active in reality. While women were also commonly part of the worker class, the posters do not show many examples of female workers. This potentially reflects a non-participant role, or perhaps, because of the increased status of workers and soldiers during the CR, they wanted to show them as male. There are many reasons that the female characters could have been excluded from the worker roles, but there is no conclusive proof that can be shown. All that the posters can tell us are the roles that were being depicted as acceptable violent actors. Women at this point were not soldiers, so there would be no instance of them taking on this role. As noted earlier, one of the main uses of the posters ability to relate information is through looking at what was included and what was excluded. The exclusion of women as a main violence actor and from different class roles is important to the narrative of the period.

In addition, the age of the participants is an important factor to consider. The general age of the characters in the violent posters are young adults, with the older generations limited to other themes; the older male tends to be a teacher and the older female a nurse or peasant. Thus the age of those participating in the violence within the imagery tend to be the younger generations, this is supported by the CR being a primarily student led initiative. This also supports the portrayal of the female peasants and especially the female Red Guards being younger and more 'girlish' than the male characters represented by the worker-peasant-soldiers. The ages of the Red Guards, both male and female, tend to be roughly similar, while the worker-peasant-soldier males versus the other female characters seems to show a slightly older male paired with a slightly more youthful female. This age disparity, though slight, could also have affected the motivation to violence as the girl characters were following the lead of the older and stronger male figures.

The gendered reading of the posters leads to a more masculine motivation to commit violence and a male centred poster regime that encourages women and girls of the era significantly less than their male counterparts. The reality of the violence, as reflected in historical documents and memoirs seems to depart from the motivational narrative. Women were noted as participating in the violence both on their own and in mixed gender groups. As a reflection of reality, the posters show a strong tendency towards violence in general. To a lesser extent, they show a relative increase in depictions of female violence compared to previous movement's imagery; however, the general trend is of male motivated violence and female motivated support. As such, the lesser role of the female characters of the imagery appears to diverge from the documented occurrences.

Over and over again noteworthy female violence emerges from the narratives of memoirs. Victims such as Nien Cheng (1995) specifically talk about vicious female Red Guards; former Red Guards, both male and female, discuss female brutality during the movement. It is well known that the first real violence of the CR occurred in an all-girls school and that the representative of the Red Guards to Mao was a girl. This disconnect between the motivation and reality pinpoints two interrelated arguments about the motivation to commit violence and the perpetration of violence by women during the CR. First, the relative lack of motivation to women to commit violence appears to have less of an effect on the women of the era than was originally thought. This could mean that despite the male dominated imagery, the posters spoke to everyone as role models despite gender. If not, it could also mean that the posters were not as large of a contribution to the communicative properties as was originally thought. This however seems doubtful as the documentation reveals several instances that the women acknowledge the influence of the imagery on their role in society.

Therefore, this seeming disconnect between the reality of female participation and the portrayal of women participating in the violence within the imagery leads an alternative reading of the CR female violence. The methods that the posters use to motivate and reflect reality could potentially be closer to the actuality of the situation; the documentation of female violence itself could be exaggerated to reflect a higher incidence than expected. With no statistical measure of the actual participation numbers, there may be considerable memory gaps in the memoirs that over-emphasises the female role in the movement. Perhaps the disconnect is in the way that female violence sticks out to people,

as in, they note the female violence particularly in history and memoirs because it is considered out of the ordinary and therefore give an inflated view of the phenomenon as more prevalent.

While the incidence of female led violence and violence of females on their own appears to be at odds with the imagery, the mixed gender category of posters does appear to corroborate some of the evidence of female behaviour during this period. As Wang Youqin (2001) asserted, both boys and girls participated in the violence of the CR, yet in one of her interviews the interviewee noted that if the group was a mixed gender group the males would be fiercer than the females (28). This parallels the roles portrayed in the mixed gender imagery; both men and women of the posters are brutal, but the men are more so than the women. This correspondence aids in understanding the situation of female violence in the CR by corroborating the reflected reality of the mixed gender posters. Accordingly, women were violent, but not as violent as their male counterparts. This is reinforced by the significantly higher frequency of the male actors in the posters and the relative social ranking of the male versus the female. In addition, the advocacy for men to be part of the contradictions among the People and the Enemy, while women were pushed more towards the former bolsters these messages.

As Yang noted, the posters reflect the mood of the times and the trend of violence in the depictions supports this statement. The increased tensions, violence, and fighting are shown in the posters through the Us versus Them rhetoric and the powerful imagery. Even if the posters' violence were not literal and used as a figurative transfer of power to the proletarian classes, the conflict and hostility are front and centre. However, as the violence of the era is well documented, this lends to the idea that the posters are both motivating factors in the violence as well as reflecting what was happening. This chapter looked at the results of the coding of the violent subset of images through a gendered lens. First it outlined the broader gender categories and asserted that the indeterminate gender violence imagery has the potential to be interpreted as male characters. Next it broke down the posters by gender category and looked at the mapped features of each of the groups. Following this, this chapter looked more specifically at the differences that were highlighted by the poster maps and the comparison of the female versus the male semiotic markers within the posters. These differences highlight the use of male and female characters within the propaganda posters and suggest a key divergence in the roles within the violence

of the CR. While some of the semiotic structures across the gender categories are similar, there are many differences between the portrayals of men and the portrayals of women that will aid in understanding the female motivation and participation in the violence of 1966-1968. The final sections connect the motivation within the posters to the reality of the CR and what these reflections indicate.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

*After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.*

- *"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 364*

This thesis has attempted to accomplish two goals: to build a new methodology for analysing imagery within the context of Chinese propaganda and to utilise this new methodology to examine the phenomenon of female motivated violence during the CR. Despite the extensive scholarship on Chinese propaganda in general and propaganda posters more specifically, there is a distinct lack of a concrete methodological approach to analysing the meaning and communicative properties of the images within the literature. Therefore, the first part of this thesis bridges this gap by building a comprehensive method for systematically anatomising the posters based on previous works in similar fields as well as new ideas that develop from these foundational pieces. Building on several authors' (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002 & 2006; Crow, 2010) approaches to analysing imagery and posters through a linguistic style methodology, this thesis constructed a new and scientifically rigorous manner of examination that allowed for a more cohesive way to investigate the posters' utility and communicative elements. This allowed for an in-depth analysis of both individual poster meaning components as well as a comparative analysis between categories of posters.

In order to form this methodological approach, this thesis first identified the internal mechanisms within the posters that communicated information. This was accomplished through several stages of coding, starting from a broad view of the composition of the sample obtained and each subsequent stage narrowing the field further. This first stage looked at the whole sample for overarching meaning components that could be justified by what Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) classify as elements that are formally describable and statistically relevant. This combined with Hermeren (1969)'s internal and external arguments for justifying iconographically significant pieces of an image helped to identify what meaningful elements were most frequently used within the time period overall and

determined what elements to assess in the final stage of coding for the test case of female violence. Following the categorical subdivision, the posters were determined to contain several key grammatical elements that were identified as: symbol, metaphor, and deixis. These were explained in detail as to what they are, how they were identified within the posters, and examples of these linguistic constituents as seen in the imagery.

After the initial identification of the three key linguistic components, the posters were further narrowed into the violence specific imagery. This involved ascertaining which of the themes coded in the overall sample contained the most violent imagery and determine which of the previously described linguistic elements featured in the category. It was determined that the Enemy Theme was the primary violence based category of posters, and therefore from this point on was the principal set of posters analysed. In describing the violence imagery overall, each of the violence posters' symbols, metaphors, and deictic elements were designated, described, and statistically justified.

The next step was to narrow the field further to the female violence motivational imagery. This test case allowed for a comprehensive testing of the methodology as well as a previously unexplored avenue of inquiry. In order to look at these type of poster, the violence only posters were broken down into gender specific categories that included: male only, female only, mixed gender, and indeterminate gender violence. Each of these categories then built a map of the key elements found within them, making it easier to compare the key elements of the posters and systematically determine which elements were gender based and which were more broadly applicable. Within the female violence chapter, each of the category's maps are shown both through an individual poster and then expanded to the entire category in order to show how they were determined.

Finally, the linguistic elements that pertain to each category are discussed. This includes not only the identification of which elements are unique or more frequent to specific categories, but also what these elements add to the reading of the posters on an individual poster category foundation. Building on the gender categorical analysis, the results of the comparative analysis facilitated by the maps are discussed. The implications of the comparative analysis are determined through the side-by-side evaluation of the poster maps' main differences and similarities, especially when comparing the female only imagery to the other categories.

Through this linguistic based analysis of the posters, this thesis determined that despite the reputation of increased female violence, there was a distinct lack of portrayed female perpetrated violence in the posters. In general, there was an increase from previous imagery of female violence<sup>49</sup>; however, the increase was minimal and the incidence of female led violence was nominal. Accounting for just over three percent, the female only violent images are rare within the sample. In addition, the majority of these images are simplistic in design and feature as small sub-images rather than full-page posters. This leads to the determination that female agents were not seen as the main perpetrators of violence during this period. They are mostly limited to the lesser form of violence outlined in the 16 points and not seen as important actors of the movement.

Rather, the female participation in the violent imagery was concentrated within the mixed gender category, with male characters by and large leading the image while the female characters supported their lead. There are a few extant female led mixed gender images with the majority depicting female characters outnumbered by male characters, smaller physiques, backgrounding or decentering, and limited class roles. In addition, when the females are acting violently within the imagery, they are matched by at least one male character. This can potentially be interpreted as a devaluation of female leadership in the movement and a push towards participation through male direction.

One of the important findings is the posters' reflective value of the period and as a way to look back at the CR through the mirror image. While the posters cannot be used as accurate documentation of the period, as Yang Peiming (2016) asserts in his museum catalogue, it is a good way to determine the feelings and mood of the period. The descriptive value of the female character as young and either students or peasants presents a clear idea of what kind of woman was to participate in the CR. There are no images of mothers, grandmothers, or other classes and ages of women in the imagery and this potentially can be extrapolated to the idea that they were not promoted to actively engage with the violent messages. In addition, the more complex imagery focusing on the male form lends to the idea that they were the primary actors of the CR both within the real world and the portrayed imagery.

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<sup>49</sup> This was ascertained by a general survey of previous imagery and through the fact that violent imagery is known to have increased in general during this period.

These findings depart from the generally conceived notions of the CR that women were considered equal to their male counterparts and were encouraged to participate and commit violence in previously unseen numbers. Though some memoirs relate observed female violence episodes, the posters generally lack any information that corroborates this assertion. This can potentially be explained in two ways. First, that the lack of portrayal of female imagery does not necessarily correspond to the actual occurrence of female perpetrated violence during the CR. Second, that the incidence of female of violence was actually less frequent than depicted, but because of the visibility and deviant aspects of the behaviour it was more noticeable and therefore recorded.

The results of this thesis expand the field in two separate but interrelated ways. First, they determine that the methodological capabilities of linguistic style analysis holds a unique and scientifically rigorous approach to examining propaganda posters that has not been previously seen in studies of visual arts or Chinese studies. While used here to look at a particular subset of imagery and as a tool for analysing Chinese CR propaganda posters specifically, the broader implications of this methodology go beyond this area specific field. This kind of grammatical analysis lends itself not only to propaganda poster based study, but to more general imagistic analysis that looks at formally describable elements of an image to determine how to 'read' the images. Future studies of Chinese imagery with different containment parameters such as a chronological comparison, urban versus rural view, and many others could be broken down and analysed in a similar fashion. In addition, going beyond the implications for the China specific posters and images, other images could be analysed in this method and compared either against their own images or those of another culture. This could help identify culturally specific meaning markers and/or meaning components that may be considered universally understandable.

Second, the test case is also an important contribution to the field. Previous works have looked at the occurrence of female violence within the imagery from an historical point of view or as a more descriptive type of analysis, without breaking down the imagery and looking more specifically at the individual meaning components that make up the female violence poster. The analysis of the posters determined a lack of female agency within the posters that feels counterintuitive to the observed amount of female character participation. This was determined to potentially be caused by the noticeability and the

conspicuousness of the female imagery, while the male imagery (that greatly outnumbers the female ones) are less perceptible due to their vast numbers.

Further research could potentially expand both of these facets to look at many different avenues of analysis such as the female image over time within the CCP propaganda portrayals, the different movements and their unique meaning components, elements that are adapted from elsewhere and those that change over time, and so on. Through this methodological use linguistics as a medium for study, the sphere of poster and visual studies can be developed and enhanced to new levels.

## Appendix 1: Coding Results for 1966-1968 posters

Themes	
Enemy	177
Leadership	135
People	65
International Support	24
Revolutionary Heroism	22
Work	7

Female Violence Posters	
Female Full Page	4
Female Sub-Image Red Guard	6
Female Sub-Image YBX	5
Mixed Gender-Pair	4
Mixed Gender-Group	107

General Information						
	IISH	PPAC Posters	PPAC Newspapers	PPAC Woodcuts	PPAC Catalogue	Total
Total Number of Images	201	64	96	131	66	558
Full page images	185	36	11	130	66	428
Sub-image pages	16	28	85	1	0	130
# of subimages	36	263	507	4	0	810
lianhuanhua- comic	12	32	72	0	0	116
lianhuan hua- individual panels	188	432	386	0	0	1006
lianhuanhua-enemy	10	25	53	0	0	88
lianhuanhua- etiological	0	3	0	0	0	3
lianhuanhua-model	2	4	14	0	0	20
lianhuanhua- yangbanxi	0	0	8	0	0	8
whole pages containing 1 violent	84	41	65	75	18	283

Gender Categories						
	IIS H	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
Mixed	27	17	50	9	8	111
Male only	44	62	73	71	8	258
Female only	3	4	9	1	0	17
Indeterminate gender	27	31	69	4	2	133

Mao and the sun						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
Mao bust in sun	29	66	28	14	9	146
Mao full/part in sun	5	19	11	4	7	46
Mao in light	10	11	8	2	8	39
Mao in clear skies	7	0	0	0	5	12
light/sun rays	12	19	46	11	14	102
LRB in sun	13	12	16	14	11	66
Mao in rolling clouds		20	0	4	0	24
total Mao images	72	189	115	51	33	460
total sun images	69	127	109	45	49	399
total whole images	190	64	97	132	66	549
total whole posters w/o Mao	120	22	30	82	33	287
total whole posters w/ Mao	81	40	58	52	35	266

Traditional Symbols						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
pine tree	5	20	8	0	2	35
bamboo	0	3	1	0	0	4
lily	0	4	2	2	1	9
both pine and bamboo	0	0	3	0	0	3
double happiness	5	10	4	2	1	22
enemy names	7	14	48	16	1	86
(red) X	12	12	8	20	11	63
loyalty	2	30		0	0	32
sunflowers	6	41		0	1	48

Important Places						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
Yan'an	4	14		2	2	22
Forbidden city/Tiananmen	13	23		0	3	39
Long march/Jinggangshan	2	23		1	1	27

General Working Environment						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
industrial/factory	10	17	11	4	2	44
iron girl/women work	6	5	0	1	0	12
agriculture/farming	10	17	6	2	0	35

Celebratory markers						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
banner/balloons/fireworks	3	15	1	5	3	27
big red flowers and ribbons	12	11	6	3	2	34
traditional banner	26	27	20	17	20	110

Weather						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
weather --rolling clouds	0	23	5	4	1	33
weather --blue skies	10	0	0	0	2	12

People-red classes						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
Jiang Qing	7	1	6	1	4	19
Lin Biao	12	5	7	1	4	29
Other	6	0	3	0	3	12
Worker-Peasant-Soldier with Female	19	25	26	11	13	94
Worker-Peasant-Soldier without Female	15	21	18	10	5	69
Worker-Male	83	214	158	71	32	558
Worker-Female	15	22	19	5	2	63
Peasant-Male	57	62	101	15	10	245
Peasant-Female	41	41	50	10	11	153
Peasant-Female With grains in arms	3	8	1	1	3	16
Soldier	70	134	143	38	26	411
unknown	29	73	89	13	23	227
masses	52	65	80	27	28	252
Red Guard-Male	37	63	106	45	28	279
Red Guard-Female	42	72	87	23	31	255
foreigners	21	18	49	11	21	120
child	11	58	11	1	6	87
minorities	7	2	4	1	1	15
Norman Bethune	3	2	8	0	0	13
Yangbanxi total	23	27	131	0	19	200
Yangbanxi Female	8	20	56	0	9	93
models	11	14	7	0	0	32

Red class markers						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
Mao Badge	63	99	55	27	39	283
armbands	109	115	199	82	43	548
LRB	249	414	358	130	136	1287
messenger bag	18	34	13	12	18	95
indistinct mass with LRB	48	27	55	14	21	165
laosan pian	2	3	1	0	0	6
flags	102	145	80	58	42	427
globe	3	5	1	2	0	11

People-black classes						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
Liu Shaoqi	39	271	402	21	3	736
Deng Xiaoping	18	72	50	10	1	151
Other	272	491	337	118	36	1254

Black class markers						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
zoomorphism	7	49	66	10	0	132
rot/ decay/ death	2	44	21	0	0	67
size-small	329	834	789	149	40	2141
capitalism	34	166	104	1	2	307
修养	8	33	39	6	2	88
legends	1	1	4	0	0	6
crow	1	21	17	0	0	39

Weapons						
	IISH	PPAC posters	PPAC newspapers	PPAC woodcut book	PPAC catalogue	Total
signs	3	3	2	3	1	12
pen	41	18	120	8	4	191
brush	15	11	30	1	3	60
tools	22	31	64	16	5	138
guns	61	63	80	21	11	236
munitions	3	4	4	1	0	12
sword	1	19	19	0	0	39
feet	15	10	35	11	11	82
hands	128	65	119	36	13	361
books/papers	20	13	20	4	3	60
flags	4	8	21	3	1	37
stamp	2	3	6	5	2	18
broom	3	4	3	1	0	11
spear	2	4	3	1	0	10
lightning	2	1	1	0	0	4
sun	5	9	11	0	0	25
bow	1	1	3	0	0	5

## Appendix 2: Glossary of Chinese Names

Bai Tianxue 白天雪

Bian Zhongyun 卞仲耘

Chen Boda 陈伯达

Chen Xiaomei 陈小眉

Cheng Nien (pen name for Yao Nianyuan 姚念媛) 郑念

Deng Xiaoping 邓小平

Deng Xiumei 邓秀美

Deng Yingchao 邓颖超

Du Mu 杜牧

Hua Mulan 花木兰

Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kaishek) 蒋介石

Jiang Qing 江青

Jiang Zhujun 江竹筠

Kang Sheng 康生

Lei Feng 雷锋

Li Fenglan 李凤兰

Li Lisan 李立三

Li Moying 李漠鹰

Liang Guangqi 梁光琪

Liang Hongyu 梁红玉

Lin Biao 林彪

Liu Chunhua 刘春华

Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇

Liu Zhide 刘志德

Liu Zhigui 刘知贵

Lu Ping 陆平

Lu Xun 鲁迅

Mao Zedong 毛泽东  
Min Anchee 閔安琪  
Nie Yuanzi 聂元梓  
Peng Dehuai 彭德怀  
Peng Peiyun 彭珮云  
Peng Zhen 彭真  
Qin Liangyu 秦良玉  
Sha Ping 沙坪  
Shen Jiawei 沈嘉蔚  
Song Shuo 宋硕  
Sun Di 孫迪  
Tan Qilong 谭启龙  
Tao Zhu 陶铸  
Wang Guangmei 王光美  
Wang Jie 王杰  
Wang Youqin 王友琴  
Wang Zheng 王峥  
Wu Han 吴晗  
Xia Yan 夏衍  
Xu Bing 徐冰  
Xue Zheng 薛正  
Yang Peiming 杨培名  
Yang Rae 杨瑞  
Zhang Naihua 张奶花  
Zhao Yiman 赵一曼  
Zhou Enlai 周恩来  
Zhou Libo 周立波

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