

Milestones on a Golden Road

Writing for Chinese Socialism, 1945-80

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Introduction: The Road and the Writer

I thought; hope cannot be said to exist, nor can it be said not to exist.
It is just like roads across the earth. For actually the earth had no roads
to begin with, but when many men pass one way, a road is made.

– Lu Xun, “Guxiang”

“Back in the days when we met in Tianmen hiding out from the
[Japanese] devils, Chairman Mao was already pointing out the Golden
Road that we are walking today. On we go, my friend!” Facing the sun,
shoulder to shoulder, the two friends strode along the great road east.

– Hao Ran, *Jingguang dadao*

It was the middle of an autumn day. Sun Fu sat beside a fruit stand,
squinting in the bright sunshine. He leaned forward, hands on his
knees, and his grizzled hair seemed gray in the sunlight, gray like the
road that lay before him, a wide road that extended from the far
distance and then stretched off in the other direction.

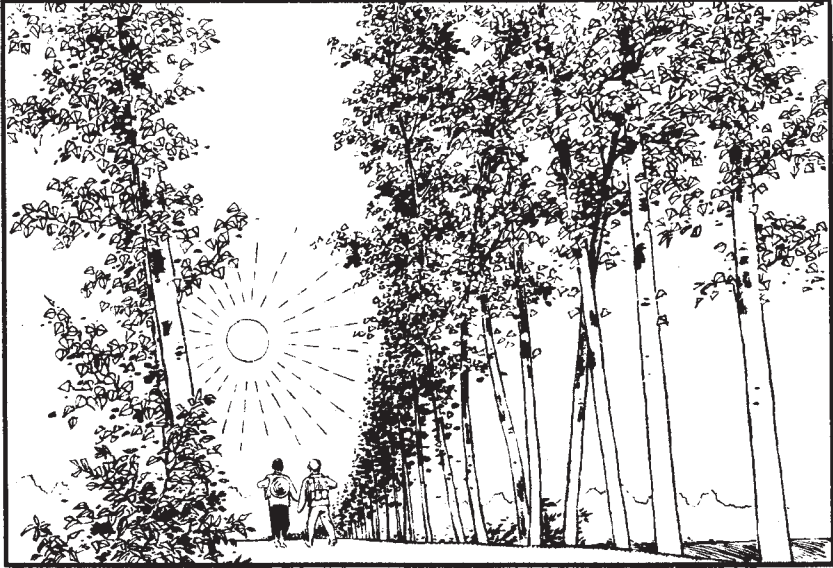
– Yu Hua, “Huanghun li de nanhai”

In a moment of visionary optimism as a boat carries him and what remains of his family from their ancestral home toward a new life in the city, the melancholic narrator of Lu Xun’s 1921 story “My Old Home” (*Guxiang*) permits himself to believe that future generations will transcend the divisions between social classes that have asserted themselves between childhood and maturity. His own childhood playmate Runtu, now beaten down by poverty, has shocked him by addressing him on his return as “master,” acknowledging the gulf between peasant and intellectual, but the narrator hopes that the gap can be narrowed in the next generation between the peasant’s son and his

own nephew. Lu Xun, a writer inclined to alienation and despair, may have appended this hopeful fragment, and others in his first collection of fiction, in deference to calls for activism by the leftist “commanders of those days.” Whatever his reasons, his words offered a ray of hope to readers at a time when the revolution that brought the Republic of China into being appeared to have stalled.¹

The metaphor chosen by Lu Xun for his narrator’s guarded optimism is that of the road trodden by many that would lead to a better place. Lu Xun’s cautious projection was turned into a triumphal teleology by the authors of the first three decades of the People’s Republic, following the determined and deterministic optimism learned from the Soviet Union. For them, the road symbolized a glorious journey, ideally eastward into the rising sun, toward the eventual goal of communism pointed out to them by the ruling Communist Party and its leader Mao Zedong. This image of the sunlit road into the future provides the title for the major fictional work of the Cultural Revolution, Hao Ran’s *The Golden Road* (*Jinguang dadao*). The novel’s title is mentioned for the first time in the passage quoted above, almost five hundred pages into the opening volume, and is charmingly illustrated by Figure 1, taken from the comic-book adaptation of the work. The moment comes after a pivotal meeting between the novel’s hero, Gao Daquan, and the speaker, one of his mentors in youth and adulthood, the soldier and later administrator Tian Yu. Their re-encounter, and its significance for the development of the era’s most celebrated (and subsequently most reviled) literary hero, will be discussed at length in Chapter 5 below.

The structuring device of the road to an ideal though unknown destination was abandoned, along with the social policies that were to be the means to reach it (in the case of *The Golden Road*, agricultural collectivization), in the free-market economy of the reform era and the more diverse and uncertain environment of late-twentieth-century Chinese culture. Thus, in his 1995 story “Boy in the Twilight” (*Huanghun li de nanhai*), Yu Hua, an author whose roads can lead in uncertain and unsettling directions, depicts a point on a road, grey this time, where a fruitseller has stayed for three years, on which dust raised by passing cars periodically plunges him into darkness.² Now the sun is setting, and the fruitseller, far from seeing the glimmer of hope offered by Lu Xun to the younger generation, takes out his pain and frustration on a young boy in a vindictive act of punitive justice, breaking his finger to punish him for the theft of an apple. The road no longer promises progress or a better life. It merely runs from a grey past to the equally grey future, through a present that is no more than a wretched existence in which the protagonist is stuck.



1 “Tian Yu said, ‘This road is one that Chairman Mao pointed out to us a long time ago. Let’s go, you can come with me to Yanshan, Secretary Liang is carrying out Chairman Mao’s directives there, guiding everyone in investigating the road to socialism.’ When he had spoken, the two friends walked due east towards the sun.”
Source: Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao* [The golden road] (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1975), 3:94, the comic-book retelling of Hao Ran’s novel by “Commune-member Zhang Youming,” illustrated collectively by the People’s Arts Publishers and the Revolutionary Committee of Shunyi County.

In this study, I follow the metaphor of the road through the second of the three phases outlined above, along the Golden Road destined eventually for the utopia of communism. This section of the road stretches from the imposition of Communist Party control in the revolutionary base areas centred on Yan’an to the years immediately following the Cultural Revolution, a period covering some four decades from the early 1940s to 1980. This is the age of a grand narrative of progress, of the Communist Party leading the Chinese people along the road to a prouder, more modern, and materially better future. Along this Golden Road, I have plotted a series of milestones, two significant works of fiction from each of four periods of particular political and ideological intensity. These are the civil war (1945-49), the Great Leap Forward (1958-60), the latter stages of the Cultural Revolution (1972-76), and the post-Mao catharsis (1979-80). An epilogue looks back at the Golden Road and its foremost chronicler through a reading of the final two volumes of Hao Ran’s masterwork, written in the mid-1970s but not published until 1994.

By focusing on these four key moments in the Chinese revolution, and eight texts selected to represent them, I am of necessity passing over many other significant examples of Chinese socialist fiction and other periods of momentous conflict reflected, however allusively, in literary works. Of the major novels written between the late 1940s and the early 1960s and now canonized as “red classics” (*hongse jingdian*), only the first two, written before the establishment of the People’s Republic in 1949, are considered at length. Works of the red classic canon are the objects of increasing attention from scholars in China and the West, and much of that scholarship is cited here. At the time of writing, however, the major English-language study of these novels as a group, written long before they were labelled “red classics,” remains Joe C. Huang’s 1973 *Heroes and Villains in Communist China*.³

Some significant moments of debate and contention between the arbiters of orthodoxy and the members of the managerial and intellectual classes likewise fall outside the main focus of this book. To give only the most obvious example, the Hundred Flowers movement of the mid-1950s, which is analyzed elsewhere, is mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, as a precursor to the backlash against those perceived as rightists and the launching of the Great Leap Forward later in that decade.⁴

Marking the Road

Each of the chapters that follow takes one work, viewed in the context of history and prevailing cultural policies, drawing on the intellectual biography and, where possible, the memory of its author. In the erection of literary milestones, each studied in the context of both history and literary influences, I am travelling the road forged by Marián Gálík in his *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898-1979)*.⁵ Like Gálík, I am interested in the sources of inspiration and models for modern Chinese writers in the creation and structuring of their works. In the case of the authors considered below, many of whom flourished during the gap left by Gálík between the mid-1950s and the late 1970s, I explore their creative confrontation with the West (which was less than that of the writers in Gálík’s study), with the Soviet Union, and with varying aspects of the Chinese literary tradition, influences that they themselves were often unable or unwilling to admit to at the time.

All the works considered below were officially published, the two novels first released during the civil war being republished after 1949 and gaining canonical status in the People’s Republic. All fall within the prevailing Communist Party historiography and literary policies of their days, though the two from the immediate post-Mao period can be seen to have stretched

the limits of both. None of the authors would have claimed to transgress the guidelines established for the arts under socialism by Mao Zedong in his Yan'an Talks of May 1942 (discussed in Chapter 1), which, albeit with varying interpretations, remained the official line on the arts until well after the period covered here.⁶ Thus, all the works discussed here were created in the service of socialism as perceived by the writer at the time. Not all can be said to adhere completely to the conventions of the socialist realism inherited from Stalin's Soviet Union (introduced in Chapter 2), or its Chinese successor, the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism (discussed in Chapter 3), a formulation dating to the Great Leap Forward and in force when the works considered in Chapters 3 to 6 were being created. Nonetheless, they share many of the features of the Soviet canon: a view of history as the progression from the darkness of an earlier society toward the light of an eventual communist future and a concomitant "party-mindedness" (Russian: *partiinosť*; Chinese: *dangxing*), or belief in the capacity of the Communist Party and its leaders to guide the nation forward to better times.

The irony surrounding the enterprise, implicit throughout, is made explicit in the final parts of this book: once seen as the route to a communist future, the golden road of the titles (Hao Ran's and my own) is now a thing of the past, abandoned since the reforms initiated in the early 1980s, with subsequent leaderships guiding the nation on a very different path. The first three decades of Communist Party rule appear in subsequent historiography, literature, and film as a time not of progress toward shared goals, but of irrationality, arbitrary rule, and suffering. The literary works studied here that date from the civil war, the Great Leap, and the Cultural Revolution, with their unwavering faith and optimism, attempt to preclude a contrary reading, but to no avail. The sense of irony that pervades post-Cultural Revolution writing has simply intensified in later works that look back on the lurid images of joyful socialism. The Golden Road has led nowhere.

Creating the Glories of Future Past

Writing for a Communist Party leadership required an incorrigible, sometimes even perverse, optimism. "Communism," as George Steiner observed in 1961, "even where it has gone venomous, is a mythology of the human future, a vision of human possibility rich in moral demand."⁷ The communism Steiner was referring to was that of the Soviet Union, but his comments would have applied equally to communism in China, especially at the time of his writing, as wild ambition and excessive demands were leaving a legacy of exhaustion and starvation in China's countryside.⁸ The mythology of the future had drawn

Chinese intellectuals to the Communist Party in its earliest years, and those intellectuals were indispensable in perpetuating the mythology as the communists fought for and achieved power. Following communist victory in 1949, the task for China's writers and artists, as assigned by their rulers, was to reinvent the mythology, mapping the road to a glorious future. The socialist dream factory of the Mao era created a world as it should be, and would be, if the Chinese people would but trust in the wisdom of the Communist Party leadership, fulfill the often superhuman demands placed on them, and delay their expectation of the rewards of their labours. At times, most painfully as Steiner was writing the passage quoted above, socialism as it appeared in the official literature, film, and visual arts of China existed in a separate, if parallel, universe to the one we read of today in history and memoir, stubbornly inspirational at a period of desperation. The Great Leap and the fiction written about it are the subject of Chapters 3, 4, and 8.

In the chapters below, I deal with the theories that guided authors at various points along the road. Here, by way of introduction, I offer a brief but elegant demonstration from fiction of the "mythology of the human future" alluded to above as characteristic of the arts produced under communist rule. It is drawn from the work of the Communist Party's first "peasant writer," Zhao Shuli (of whom more in Chapters 1 and 3). Zhao had come to prominence in Yan'an during the early 1940s and was still a major literary figure in the late 1950s, before criticism of both him and his work led to a disastrous fall from grace, incarceration, and death during the Cultural Revolution, as one among many Chinese authors, artists, and intellectuals to suffer appallingly for their service to a mercurial and vindictive regime.⁹ In Zhao Shuli's 1959 novel *Sanliwan* (the title is the name of the place where the action occurs), the artist Liang, commissioned by the leaders of the newly formed cooperatives to paint a portrait of the village, produces a first version for inspection, to the delight of its residents (Figure 2).¹⁰

Then he is asked if it is possible to paint things that do not exist, in this case a planned canal and a network of irrigation ditches in Sanliwan. The artist says that this is certainly possible and proposes a second painting with these features added; he is then asked by the leaders of the cooperative for a third image, complete with a highway, agricultural machinery, electrification, and modern housing, to demonstrate the benefits of further collectivization. Comrade Liang completes his triptych; the paintings are titled *Sanliwan Now*, *Sanliwan Tomorrow*, and *Sanliwan in the Age of Socialism*. Looking at the second picture, set in a future almost close enough to touch, local women think of the convenience that a ready supply of water will bring them, and children make plans to catch frogs and fish; the third is perhaps too far away



2 “Old Liang’s three paintings.”

Source: Chao Shu-li [Zhao Shuli], *Sanliwan Village*, trans. Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1964), facing 192. In the translated version, the artist’s name is given as Wu Ching-po. Reprinted in Zhao Shuli, *Zhao Shuli quanji* [Complete works of Zhao Shuli] (Beijing: Dazhong wenyi chubanshe, 2006), 4: facing 302.

for the ordinary villagers to grasp, though it is within the vision of their leaders.¹¹ It is easy to imagine these paintings: we have only to look back at the Cultural Revolution–era work of the peasant painters of Hu County in Shaanxi Province (adjoining Zhao Shuli’s native Shanxi Province) for an idealized image of life in the socialist countryside, as a place of harmony, abundance, and modernity.¹² The Hu County painters, like Comrade Liang in Sanliwan, depicted life as it should and would be, in line with the instructions given by Mao at Yan’an for all the arts, “even more lofty, even more

intense, even more concentrated, even more typical, even more ideal, and thus even more universal than actual everyday life.²⁹¹³

The same injunction also guided the authors of the eight works considered in the chapters that follow. Although all drew on their own experiences in their work, the world they portrayed in their fiction was not quite the world as they observed it, but one rendered typical and adapted to accommodate the official version of the unfolding of history. Their task was to show the present, or in the case of Hao Ran as he wrote *The Golden Road*, the recent past, in its place on the trajectory from a dark past to a bright future. Where present reality was much less than ideal, in terms either of material conditions or popular concurrence with official policy, they were responsible for indicating a way to transcend hardships and reservations, and for encouraging the reader to trust in enlightened and concerned leadership to bring what they described to reality. As component parts in the machinery of the state, the role they implicitly accepted was to present the Communist Party's vision of the future in its development, suppressing any desire they may have felt to act independently, recount tragedies, or expose inequities. Their loyalty, and their inventiveness in promoting the policies of the state, might lead to official patronage and financial security, but their enjoyment of these was not uninterrupted. Most successful authors of Mao-era China, both those who had achieved fame in the Republican era and those who had risen to prominence during the seventeen years between the communist victory and the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, found themselves subjected to criticism or persecution, many in the anti-rightist campaign of the late 1950s and more, with authors considered in this study well represented, in the Cultural Revolution.

The Artist and the State

Authors' preparedness to offer such an optimistic portrayal of their society in return for publication and official support does not, in my view, make them hypocrites or quislings. The older writers among them, Ma Feng and Zhou Libo, whose works are considered in Chapters 1 and 2, were enthusiastic participants in the revolution that brought the communists to power, and they dedicated themselves to the success of that revolution, hoping, sometimes against hope, that it would deliver the new society it had promised. Those who were beneficiaries of the state's practice of nurturing new writers from village-dwellers and the industrial working class, a group that includes Li Zhun, Hu Wanchun, and Hao Ran, wrote works designed to entertain and inspire, even as the disaster of the Great Leap was under way, in the belief,

however ill-founded, that things would improve, at a time when the Communist Party could still claim to be the provider of stability and future prosperity. This does not mean that all were happy with the roles assigned to them. In conversation, both Li Zhun and Hu Wanchun asserted that, had they not been burdened by the constraints placed on them, they would have produced much finer works. Both, however, are best remembered for their Great Leap writings rather than for those produced in later life under much less limiting circumstances. By contrast, Hao Ran, who enjoyed official favour in the Cultural Revolution when most other writers were condemned and ostracized, remained unapologetic for works written during the mid-1970s at the behest of cultural authorities condemned soon afterward. Had he not written in those days, he argued, what would there have been to read?¹⁴ Of those represented in this study, only the neophyte Zhang Kangkang, now a successful author but in 1973 a city girl from Hangzhou languishing on a state farm close to the Soviet border, deliberately set out to create a world where the dominant attitudes ascribed to her generation were the opposite of her own and those of her contemporaries. She depicted the young urbanites in the northeast as resolved to continue their lives on the state farm, when what she and they most wanted was to return home. As is shown in Chapter 6, she used a later work of fiction as a recantation of that first heroic presentation.

The authors Chen Guokai and Zhang Yigong, who are considered in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively, were interviewed more than two decades after producing works in the sentimental genre of post-Mao writing that essentially exonerated the Communist Party and its leader from the most terrible misjudgments in the second half of the twentieth century. They ascribed the excesses of those days to an aberrant strain within the leadership, remained proud of works published with some difficulty in an uncertain environment, and expressed contentment with what they had been able to achieve within the limited freedoms of their day.

The Word of the Author

Except for Chapter 2, on Zhou Libo's novel *Hurricane* (*Baofeng zhouyu*), all chapters include material from conversations or more formal interviews with the authors (in the case of Zhou Libo, who died in 1979, the conversation was with his son, Professor Zhou Xiaoyi). I believe that authors can have useful things to say about what they have written, though such is not invariably the case. Even though several decades may have passed since the creation of a work (I interviewed Ma Feng almost sixty years after he co-wrote the

novel *Heroes of Lüliang*), they may still recall the context and conditions within which they wrote, recollections that can contribute to a reading of their work. Interviewing authors is often unproductive: some prefer to talk about the difficulties of publication, the obduracy of editors, and their dislike of the writings of others rather than discussing their own work or tolerating attempts at analysis of it. I am aware of the fallibilities of memory, the desire to present oneself in a positive light, the need to justify achievements that younger generations have forgotten or now belittle, and the courtesy of indulging a guest, all of which are familiar to practitioners of oral history for their potential to distort the record. There is the additional complication that authors of fiction have as their profession making things up, and authors of socialist fiction prospered to the extent they did by embellishing the heroic and placing unpalatable truths in a favourable light. These reservations notwithstanding, I have found it valuable to speak to authors, at greater or lesser length, and at varying levels of formality, while writing about their work. I confess to having been impressed, though I believe not seduced, by their openness and candour, and I regret that I was unable to pose additional questions, following further reading of their works, to the older writers among them, who died during the long process of completing this project. The readings of their fiction are mine and not theirs. To provide the reader with a sense of each work (inasmuch as this is possible in translation), I have provided extracts from them, longer where no satisfactory translation exists.

The Milestones

Following this introduction, the book is structured in four parts, each of which takes two works to explore different aspects of an issue prominent in each of four historical moments. Part 1 looks at two alternative ways of presenting a new mythology of nation building to a mass audience in the 1940s on the eve of communist victory. First, I explore the tradition of storyteller narratives enshrined in the vernacular fiction of late medieval China, which was updated in support of the communist cause and represented by *Heroes of Lüliang*, the serialized novel of guerrilla warfare by Ma Feng and Xi Rong. Second, I read a Chinese variant of the Soviet style of socialist realism, Zhou Libo's novel *Hurricane*, which describes in normative terms the process whereby peasants dispossess the landlord class and take ownership of the land. These two novels were written shortly after Mao's pronouncements on the arts in his 1942 Yan'an Forum Talks and are the two earliest red classics.

Part 2 takes two longish Great Leap short stories by celebrated authors, one of rural and the other of industrial fiction, to look at the different ways

of depicting heroes to be emulated in an age of mass endeavour. Of particular interest here are the sources from which the authors drew in creating these exemplary characters – not just from observation of meritorious citizens in contemporary society, as required by literary policy, but also from the Chinese tradition and the Soviet novel. The first of these Great Leap stories, with a heroine who emerges from a life of household drudgery to run a canteen and become a model for her village and beyond, is “A Brief Biography of Li Shuangshuang,” by the “village writer” Li Zhun, a work with antecedents in popular and literary traditions as well as the realities of the moment. The second – “A Man of Outstanding Quality,” by the “worker-writer” Hu Wanchun – features a Stakhanovite dock worker in Shanghai who achieves the impossible by feats of inspiration, persuasion, and management. Hu’s hero owes much to Pavel Korchagin, protagonist of the Soviet classic *How the Steel Was Tempered* and an officially sponsored model for Chinese youth in the 1950s.

Part 3 looks at the novel in the Cultural Revolution and offers analysis of the first two volumes of Hao Ran’s *The Golden Road*, and of another novel of the period, Zhang Kangkang’s *The Dividing Line*, both written and published during the early 1970s. Both *The Golden Road* and *The Dividing Line* are seen as exercises in transformation – transforming both the past and the present to accommodate changing orthodoxy, and, in the first case, transforming an earlier writing style and view of society insufficiently belligerent for sterner times. Hao Ran’s epic work redrafts the history of agricultural collectivization during the 1950s (already the subject of a substantial literary record) in the light of the revised historiography of the Cultural Revolution, presenting the past as an ongoing struggle between opposing lines on rural development. In the process of the hero’s journey along this road, everything is transformed: the land, its ownership, the people who farm it, and the fiction that dramatizes it. By contrast, *The Dividing Line* is set at the time of writing and transfers the political struggles at the centre of power to a state farm in the northeast, adding a thrilling battle against the forces of nature with an operatic climax and transforming, at least within the world of the novel, the attitudes of those who doubt the value of their rustication in the process.

Part 4, which examines two short novels published in 1980, shows that the view of history has reversed itself, albeit in a style that is highly reminiscent of the earlier heroic narratives, the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution now being seen not as triumphs for the Communist Party and its leader, but as disasters for the Chinese people. The political struggles are the same as those represented in Zhang Kangkang’s novel and other fiction of the mid-1970s, but the heroic activists of earlier literature are now portrayed as cynical

opportunists. By contrast, those whom the state condemns for resisting its initiatives are depicted as sympathetic figures. Both works are set at the time of writing but look back at past tragedies and exemplify the briefly prevalent tear-soaked genre known as “wounds” literature. Chen Guokai’s *The Price* laments the chaos caused to industry by the political upheavals of the Cultural Revolution. His heroes are research scientists, and his villain is the communist operative who persecutes them for spite and personal gain; the price of the title refers to the sacrifices made by the wife of a scientist to preserve his work. The final novel, *The Story of the Criminal Li Tongzhong*, by Li Zhun’s fellow provincial Zhang Yigong, looks back to the Great Leap. It focuses on the sacrifice made by a village official who is designated a criminal for leading peasants in a raid on a grain station to save them from a famine ignored by his superior. It can be read as a refutation of “Li Shuangshuang” and other Great Leap official writing. In both their content and style, these two short novels, written as the reform era was beginning, constitute a bridge between the writing of the first three decades of Communist Party rule and the more cosmopolitan and experimental literature that followed. They retain the former professions of faith that the Communist Party will provide enlightened leadership whatever the atrocities recently performed in its name but with a sentimentality and irony that had not existed in the austere writings of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism.

The epilogue takes a last look at the final two volumes of *The Golden Road*, as they appeared in a new complete edition of the novel in the mid-1990s. I read them as historical anachronism: the most socialist of novels appearing in a post-socialist age, looking forward with absolute confidence to a future already long abandoned.

Epilogue: A Golden Road to Nowhere

By the time they became available to readers in 1994, the third and fourth volumes of Hao Ran's novel *The Golden Road* were already an anachronism, the re-situation of milestones along a road travelled forty years earlier, in a novel written twenty years before, to suit an ideological remapping abandoned for more than a decade and the erection of signposts to destinations never again to be sought. Collectivization of agriculture – the golden road of the novel's title along which the Party secretary hero Gao Daquan was leading (or perhaps dragging) his peasant neighbours – was summarily abandoned in the first reforms of the Deng Xiaoping leadership during the early 1980s in favour of the family farming against which Gao Daquan had inveighed. The style of literary writing had also changed forever: the conventions of Soviet socialist realism and its successor, the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, which had survived the Cultural Revolution by a few years and can be seen in the tragic heroism and defiant optimism of the post-Mao writing discussed in the two previous chapters, had also fallen by the wayside. As Communist Party micro-management of the arts relaxed, authors and readers encountered, many for the first time, the literary works of the Chinese tradition and the outside world.¹ The “high culture fever” that had gripped Chinese intellectuals in the mid-1980s had been brought to an end by the brutal suppression of student demonstrations on 4 June 1989; it had given way to a more commercially oriented writing that nonetheless saw serious authors rewriting the history of the People's Republic. For example, in the year immediately preceding the publication of the four-volume edition of *The Golden Road*, Yu Hua's novel *To Live* (*Huozhe*) had portrayed hunger and mismanagement survived solely because of a desperate determination to endure and the love of (often dysfunctional) family.² The heroism and faith of the Cultural Revolution were nowhere to be seen in writings emanating from this less certain but more prosperous world.

Following a public self-examination shortly after the arrest of Jiang Qing and her associates, including the Cultural Revolution minister of culture Yu

Huiyong, Hao Ran's own career had continued. In the self-examination as it appears in his "oral autobiography," Hao Ran attempts to exculpate himself from atrocities committed against other authors, confesses to having written works on commission for Jiang Qing and Yu Huiyong, and regrets his public advocacy of the literary policies of the day.³ His first post-Cultural Revolution novel, the 1980 *Countryside Romance* (*Shanshui qing*), set at the end of the Cultural Revolution and portraying a young man unjustly stigmatized for his landlord ancestry who still finds love and redemption, was followed in 1988 by *The Common People* (*Cangsheng*), which took a group of rural residents through the first decade of the reform period. The latter was filmed for television and gave its title to a new magazine edited by Hao Ran, which featured writing by amateur authors in the rural (now suburban) counties west of Beijing.⁴ Hao Ran had also published shorter fictional pieces and started work on a projected six-volume autobiographical novel (*zizhuan ti xiaoshuo*), of which only the first three, covering his early life, were ever completed.⁵ Although he remained active as a writer and editor, by 1994 he was certainly not the leading figure of the early 1970s, when the first two volumes of *The Golden Road* had appeared, and the publication of the novel in full did not attract the attention it would previously have commanded.

It did not pass quite unnoticed, however, and to some of its critics its reappearance was sinister as well as anachronistic. What, pondered a contributor to the Tianjin journal *Literary Free Speech*, was to be made of this novel, "which has been nailed to the pillar of infamy ... venturing forth once again when the people are inattentive?"⁶ For this critic, as doubtless for many others who had felt that the Cultural Revolution was safely behind them, the return of Hao Ran, his novel, and his favourite literary creation brought back memories of Mao-era policies in the countryside and the damage they were seen to have caused, the severe restrictions placed on the arts in the Cultural Revolution, and the ill-treatment of the great majority of artists and intellectuals during those years. In 1994, at least, it appears no harm was done: those who were sufficiently interested in following the inhabitants of Sweet Meadow a couple of years further into collectivization were able to do so without the novel generating too much in the way of nostalgia for those days.

The Ending of *The Golden Road*

Volume 2 of *The Golden Road* ends with the creation of the East Is Red Agricultural Cooperative. For the benefit of any who are curious about how subsequent matters developed in Sweet Meadow, I offer the following summary: Volume 3 begins early in 1953, as Gao Daquan returns to the village

during a blizzard and learns from the visiting Liang Haishan about the first five-year plan. With this, the demands, or opportunities for sacrifice, presented to the peasantry by the state are suddenly and steeply increased: Now collectivization is no longer principally the means to ensure the survival of the poor peasants, but a way for them to support the industrial proletariat in its building of socialism. To this end, the peasants of Sweet Meadow will be required not only to supply the state with increasing quantities of grain, but also to set land aside to grow cotton (something they have not previously done) and thereby provide the raw material for the textile factories that are under construction. The new demands exacerbate the “line struggle” between Gao Daquan’s obedience to the side of the divided Communist Party that he, the author, and the implied reader support, and that of his adversaries, the village head Zhang Jinfa and the prosperous peasant Feng Shaohuai. Gao Daquan sees increased collectivization as the only way to meet the demands of the state, whereas Zhang Jinfa seeks personal enrichment for himself and those who can achieve it while paying lip-service to current policy and maintaining his position and prestige in the village.

With grain in short supply at the nearby Tianmen township, Gao Daquan and his cooperative plan ways to increase output. By contrast, Zhang Jinfa and Feng Shaohuai of the Competing (Jingsai) Cooperative plan to profiteer in grain with the help of the still (barely) concealed saboteur Fan Keming and the scheming grain-merchant Shen Yiren, manager of the Sanheshun grain-store, hoarding grain until prices rise and then cashing in.

Gao Daquan designs a watercourse (*xieshuiqu*) for his cooperative, which can both irrigate their fields and divert flood waters. Initially, the watercourse is intended to go through land belonging to the middle-peasant Qin Fu and his family, but Qin refuses to cooperate, and a revised channel is constructed to circumvent his property. Much of the line struggle in Volume 3 is played out in the Qin family.⁷ Tension over the watercourse exacerbates divisions between them: Qin Fu’s daughter-in-law Zhao Yu’e is in favour of the project, but she is beaten by her husband, Qin Wenji, for her defiance of his father and leaves the Qin household to join the East Is Red Cooperative. Senior official Gu Xinmin supports Zhang Jinfa (and is thus implicitly aligned with State President Liu Shaoqi against Gao Daquan, his mentor Liang Haishan, and Chairman Mao). He disapproves of Gao Daquan’s actions, believing that he is coercing the villagers into carrying out his watercourse initiative and has caused the breakup of Zhao Yu’e’s marriage. When heavy rains at harvest time cause flooding on the North China Plain, those without access to the watercourse (including Qin Fu) lose part of their crop. Hearing that the people of Tianmen are critically short of food (because relief grain

has not arrived and the merchants have closed their stores, waiting for prices to spiral), Gao Daquan leads a convoy of peasants through a storm and over a rickety bridge to deliver their tax-grain in advance. Feng Shaohuai and Zhang Jinfa seek to profit from Tianmen's need, sending Qin Wenji shortly afterward by the same route to the town with a cartload of their hoarded grain to be sold at the Sanheshun grain-store. Cart, horse, grain, and driver are swept away as the bridge collapses, and Wenji is rescued by Gao Daquan. In a catharsis similar to that of Gao Daquan's brother Erlin in Volume 2 (which also involved a family member placed in danger while driving Feng Shaohuai's cart in pursuit of profit), Qin Wenji sees the error of his ways, the evil of Feng Shaohuai's ways, and the merit of the collective way; he is also reunited with his wife.

Meanwhile, Fan Keming, who was also part of the grain-profiteering scheme and other attempts to sabotage Gao's initiatives, is revealed to be a former warlord (as Gao Daquan had suspected all along). After he kills the pathetic alcoholic Zhang Jinshou, in whose well some of the grain had been hidden, he is captured and executed, and Zhang Jinfa is dismissed from the office of village head for profiteering and supplying internal Party information to the grain-merchant Shen Yiren.⁸ Feng Shaohuai is also denounced, though he and Zhang Jinfa remain in the village, more resentful than ever. Grain stored by villagers in their homes is moved to a collective granary. On the romantic front, a friendship develops between Gao Daquan's hot-blooded supporter Zhu Tiehan, who succeeds Zhang Jinfa as village head at the end of the volume, and a schoolteacher whose advice he seeks on cotton cultivation. Though she is of a city intellectual background, teacher Chen's given name Ainong (love of agriculture) suggests that she may also be able to love a peasant.

The second film of *The Golden Road*, made in 1976, essentially follows the plot, outlined above, of the third volume (which was not published at the time and had only recently been completed). It omits the romantic subplot, spending much time on the convoy to Tianmen and the dramatic rescue of Qin Wenji. Despite the association of the novel and its author with the Cultural Revolution, the film remained in circulation at least until the following spring, when it received a brief notice in the film magazine *People's Cinema* (*Renmin dianying*).⁹

With Gao Daquan's main enemies defeated, though not removed, by the end of Volume 3, new aspects of the line struggle were needed for the final volume. These are provided from both outside and inside the village: In the former, the government warns against moving too swiftly with collectivization, which is condemned as "impetuous advance" (*jizao maojin*), a conservative tendency associated in the novel with Liu Shaoqi and endorsed by the

unsympathetic leader Gu Xinmin. Within the village, the “peasant consciousness” from which Erlin had suffered in the earlier volumes resurfaces among peasants who have become too comfortable with the benefits of cooperative farming. Volume 4 moves the story forward two years, to Spring Festival 1955, with Gao Daquan returning to Sweet Meadow from a period spent elsewhere (as was also the case in Volumes 1 and 3). This time, he finds that the relative prosperity engendered by collectivization has (by his austere standards) made the villagers complacent and self-indulgent. The volume is about the need for an ideological transformation that will bring about greater self-sacrifice, acceptance of gratification further delayed, and willingness to work harder for the public good, qualities seen to be at odds with the much maligned peasant consciousness.¹⁰ Zhu Tiehan, now village head, has ordered the slaughter of thirteen pigs to provide members of their cooperative with pork for the New Year festivities. Gao Daquan, appearing dramatically as the fifth pig is about to be killed, orders a halt, after which the remaining pigs are sold, and the proceeds are used to buy a horse for future work. This is particularly upsetting for Deng Jiukuan, one of the first and the poorest to join the cooperative. He had been expecting a pig’s head as the centrepiece at a meal for the family of the girl he has chosen to marry his son, and he feels that Gao Daquan has abandoned him. Deng Jiukuan joins Qin Fu as examples of peasant consciousness, Deng’s case demonstrating that the slightest comfort can lead to ideological backsliding.

Gao Daquan now proposes that the villagers take silt from a riverbed to improve the quality of their soil (and thereby produce more grain and cotton for the state). Cutting the Spring Festival holiday short to start this project, he commandeers carts otherwise used for money-earning transportation work. To get more people working, he also proposes a change to his cooperative’s pay structure, with more money for time worked and less based on the land and other assets brought into the cooperative on joining, a move that angers founding members such as Deng Jiukuan, who fears that an influx of people as poor as he had been will drag the cooperative down. When the state suddenly demands 150 labourers (a sixth of the entire population of the village) for *corvée* duty, it is clear that the *corvée* work, the collection of silt, and spring sowing cannot be accomplished without herculean effort and a new, and larger, organization. Gao Daquan and Zhu Tiehan organize a “united brigade” (*da liandui*), with members of various cooperatives pooling their efforts. Following complaints orchestrated by Feng Shaohuai and Zhang Jinfu, Gao Daquan and Zhu Tiehan are accused by Gu Xinmin, abetted by his former guard Liu Wei, now a lower-level administrator and Tiehan’s

rival in love, of impetuous advance, pushing collectivization along too fast and trying to reach the goal of communism before the Party is ready for it. The accusation extends to Gao Daquan's mentor Liang Haishan and the head of the model cooperative at the nearby Red Date Village, both of whom are suspended from their positions. All the collectives are ordered by Gu Xinmin to disband, to the delight of Zhang Jinfa, who sees the imminent downfall of Gao Daquan and Zhu Tiehan as opening the way for his return to authority.

When Gao Daquan becomes sick, other peasants, including his brother Erlin, vow to persist with the collective way, even at the risk of arrest. At a public meeting called by Gu Xinmin to condemn him, a recovered Gao Daquan denounces Feng Shaohui and Zhang Jinfa for sabotage, the former landlord Crooked Mouth sets fire to the cooperative barn in an attempt to destroy collectively owned livestock, and Chen Ainong arrives to declare her love for Tiehan. As the novel concludes, Gao Daquan is once again in the ascendant, his headlong dash toward communism endorsed by Mao (if not the current Party leadership), and the villagers united behind him. His final rousing speech points the way forward: "Comrades! No matter what difficulties we encounter in the future, we must certainly forge ahead on socialism's Golden Road."¹¹

A Brighter Road, a Mightier Hero

Hao Ran wrote the third volume of *The Golden Road* between November 1974 and November 1975, a period of renewed factional struggle within the leadership of the Communist Party, which was reflected in the media and the arts. After spending a year away from the project, he wrote the fourth and final volume during the first half of 1977. At this time, the new leadership of Party chairman and state premier Hua Guofeng still endorsed policies associated with Mao, including collectivization and the rustication movement, while condemning the excesses of the Cultural Revolution and the leaders it had deposed in its October 1976 coup. Just as the first two volumes of Hao Ran's novel used the historiography of the Cultural Revolution and the operatic model to retell the story of the early years of collectivization, the second half of the novel likewise bears the stamp of its times. This is seen in the intensification of the line struggle, with a greater emphasis placed on the danger of falling back into old ways already condemned (peasant consciousness) even after the victory of socialism and a reminder of the threat to the Maoist path (the Golden Road of collectivization) posed by conservative-minded managers opposed to increased demands supported by political rather than

material incentives.¹² The third and fourth volumes also see a further elevation in the portrayal of Gao Daquan (already the model for lofty, large, and complete characterization), in line with the emphasis in the final years of the Cultural Revolution on the “basic task” (*genben renwu*) of producing outstanding revolutionary heroes in all forms of art.¹³

The road metaphor recurs constantly in the third and fourth volumes of the novel, both in repetitions of the Golden Road of the title and in its variant sideroads, crossroads, and blind alleys. A few examples must suffice here. For Zhao Yu'e, preparing to leave the stifling confines of the Qin family for the East Is Red Cooperative, the “free and incomparably joyful Golden Road” of socialist collectivization is also the path to her liberation as a woman and full membership in society.¹⁴ As Gao Daquan sees the grain convoy heading off through the storm to relieve Tianmen, he reflects, “They were all of different ages and contrasting dispositions, and their ideological level varied. But the sacred text (*fabao*) ‘Get Organized’ had led them on to a bright and shining road.”¹⁵ Shortly afterward, when Qin Wenji has been saved from drowning and has denounced the blind alley, or road of death (*si lu*), down which Feng Shaohuai and Zhang Jinfa have led him, Gao Daquan advises him, “If you're not going to take the road of death, you should courageously take the road of life. What's the road of life for us peasants? There is only one road, and that is socialism.”¹⁶ And reflecting on the progress of collectivization at the beginning of Volume 4, Gao Daquan realizes, “This movement was the crucible of the age ... He and his companions had forged a Golden Road ahead towards a happy life for them and for their descendants.”¹⁷ His past failure to make a correct decision is lamented by Liu Wan (and echoed by the narrator) as Liu recalls the death of his first wife: “She was killed by the capitalist road, and by me' ... even as a golden shining road stretched out before him.”¹⁸ Deng Jiukuan's “peasant thinking,” reinforced by increased prosperity, places him at a different point on the road: “How could he have known that a crossroads, leading either to light or to darkness, was irrevocably spread out beneath his feet in their new rubber-soled shoes?”¹⁹ As Deng Jiukuan's case shows, the road to socialism could also be used for retreat, a point emphasized by Gao Daquan in confronting the young local official Liu Wei, who, as Gu Xinmin's ally, is one of Gao's “negative superiors.”²⁰ As Liu encourages people to abandon the cooperatives, Gao gives the following warning: “Comrade, if anyone tries to make us take a step back on the road to socialism, we cannot allow even a step of an inch, or the tiniest fraction!”²¹

As the outstanding hero of the novel (and of Cultural Revolution literature), Gao Daquan is, for the peasants of Sweet Meadow, and for the reader learning

or relearning the history of the early years of the People's Republic, the guide along the golden road. By the time the third volume begins, he is thirty years old and a mature leader. He is therefore less in need of the kind of instruction that he received from Liang Haishan in Volume 2 and is better placed to resist instructions contrary to his view of socialism. Other characters' reactions to him are tests of their own class or ideological status. The opposing views are brought into focus as a group led by Gao Daquan attends a meeting at county headquarters to discuss collectivization, and a leader from a neighbouring village tells the Sweet Meadow delegation, "Don't laugh, but people in our village talk of Brother Daquan as a god."²² Almost immediately, an exasperated Gu Xinmin complains, "I don't understand what there is to admire in Gao Daquan, he doesn't care for the leadership, doesn't have the masses at heart, doesn't care about policy, and acts impetuously."²³ Elderly poor peasants see Gao Daquan as a hero greater even than the stalwarts of traditional fiction or as a "joyful star come down to earth."²⁴ By contrast, when Deng Jiukuan, viewing an argument over riverbed silt, hopes for the first time that Gao Daquan will fail, the extent of his fall from grace is revealed.²⁵

Gao Daquan's capacity for self-sacrifice is emphasized in the second half of the novel, even as he insists that his neighbours defer their enjoyment of the benefits promised by collectivization.²⁶ Whereas speculation in grain is compared to cannibalism, and Zhang Jinfa's participation in it to "partnership to suck the blood of the people," Gao Daquan's own actions are the other side of the cannibalism coin, the offering of one's own flesh to others.²⁷ Even when they are upset at the reduced slaughter of pigs for the 1955 Spring Festival, his neighbours still recall Gao Daquan's past generosity in giving his family's grain to Liu Xiang: "That guy Daquan gave away his grain to the masses when he was going hungry himself, truly a case of not feeling grief as he sliced off his own flesh."²⁸ Deng Jiukuan, reluctant to share the bounties of collectivization, is distressed by Gao Daquan's message of deferred gratification: "I don't have your high level of awareness! I don't have the heart of a Bodhisattva as you do! I can't bear to slice the flesh of my family to patch the wounds of outsiders."²⁹

The relationship between Gao Daquan and the Communist Party also provides a way for the reader to re-evaluate the policies of the early 1950s. As the five-year plan is announced in Volume 3, the Party becomes a much harder taskmaster than was the case in the first two volumes. Demands for fields sown with cotton and *corvée* labourers for river control come to the village only days before they must be acted on, and Gao Daquan, as a Party member, must obey these and other orders as a soldier obeys his superiors.

When Zhang Jinfa wants time to think about providing relief grain for the convoy to Tianmen, he is scolded for his hesitation: “The Party’s call is an order, the masses’ calamity is an order! Every Party member, you and me included, must carry them out without condition!”³⁰ However, orders to go slow on collectivization or disband the cooperatives are seen (from a Cultural Revolution perspective) as coming from an aberrant section of the leadership, as opposed to the Party in its ideal form, and are defied even at the risk of condemnation or imprisonment. Divisions within the Communist Party that featured in the first half of the novel, and appear in most of the fiction of the Cultural Revolution and the years immediately following, are very much in evidence here. The road on which Gao Daquan has embarked and remained is neither as broad nor as straight as might initially have appeared.

Intervening History

The reader of the novel in its complete form, following its 1994 publication, cannot but reflect on the history into which *Sweet Meadow* and the rest of rural China were headed, both following the completion of the novel in 1977 and, perhaps more troublingly, between 1955, when the action of the novel ends, and the early 1970s, when Hao Ran set to work to write it.

The disbanding of the communes and the return to family farming, which was under way within five years of the novel’s completion (and thus more than ten years by the time it was published in full), must have come as a cruel blow to those who had sacrificed so much for the cause of collectivization, not least the village leaders of the kind that Hao Ran had so affectionately portrayed, who had dragged their neighbours along the path they believed would lead to communism. In the reform era, their policies must have seemed inhuman, their methods bullying, and their sacrifices quixotic. Had the novel been rewritten with the historical hindsight of the 1980s or ‘90s, it might have presented Gu Xinmin as the wise and prudent manager, Feng Shaohuai as the resourceful farmer striving to raise production in the face of official interference, and Qin Fu as the salt-of-the-earth peasant doing his best for his family as collectivization destroys the fabric of village society. As for Gao Daquan, he might be the villain of the piece, trying to force the peasants to become agricultural labourers on what had briefly been their own land and, like the “Hot-shot Party Secretary” of Zhang Yigong’s novel *The Story of the Criminal Li Tongzhong*, driving himself and his charges to exhaustion in service of a state that was forever demanding more of them. As Zhang Dexiang observes in his 1995 reading of the novel, the mythology of heroic

progress to a glorious communist future that *The Golden Road* expounds with such fervent revolutionary romanticism presages the collapse of the miracle it describes, in the fatigue of its heroic characters, Gao Daquan most of all, but also his superior Liang Haishan and his supporter Zhu Tiehan. Even to readers inspired by the mythology, Zhang argues, the superhuman efforts and self-denial were obviously unsustainable.³¹

Hao Ran could not have anticipated that collectivization would end abruptly in the early 1980s, but the later years of the collectivization process, which followed closely on the action of the novel, are a different matter. The events of that time impose themselves on a reading of the novel, especially the second half, and would have been all too familiar to the author. Two sections in Volume 3 point to a road ahead that is rutted with historical ironies. In the first, Gao waxes “mightily poetic” about the future: “If we can bring the first five-year plan to fruition, what will the appearance of this land be? If we then go through two, three, or four more five-year plans, how fecund, rich and strong it will become! By then I’ll be just fifty, in my prime, with more than ten years’ work left in me!”³² The second comes as Gao Daquan announces to the villagers that the state is creating a monopoly on grain: “Our nation is gathering grain, that greatest of all treasures, into its hands, taking authority for the distribution of grain. If wicked people want to make trouble again, want to harm people as they did when Tianmen was cut off by flooding, they won’t be able to!”³³ And in the general celebration that follows, someone remarks that “if there are famine years, we’ll have state granaries to fall back on, and that road of ours will be even brighter, even broader!”³⁴

Hao Ran wrote these two passages in 1975, just over twenty years after the events described, by which time his creation would indeed have turned fifty. For the reader now, as, one would think, for the author then, this vision of uninterrupted progress is disturbing. Gao Daquan’s leadership is characterized by constant urging to greater collectivization, culminating in the “united brigade” at Spring Festival 1955, to accommodate the demands of the state for labour, to carry out his own initiatives, and still farm effectively. The buildup to the formation of the People’s Communes and the Great Leap Forward is manifestly clear.³⁵ Even the worksite kitchen, unwillingly managed by the deposed village head Zhang Jinfa, is a harbinger of collective eating to come.

Few can have known how disastrous the Great Leap actually was, so abundant and mendacious were the reports of rich harvests and successful innovations. The famines were less severe in Beijing (where Hao Ran was living) and its environs, though even there hunger showed its effects.³⁶ Such was the

state's control of news in those years that Hao Ran might not have heard of state granaries, which he had cited as a guarantee of supplies in case of emergency, being locked and defended against the peasants. What we do know from his memoirs, however, is that he became aware of the deceptions that were being concocted during the first year of the Great Leap to paint (or more precisely, photograph) an unrealistically rosy picture of increased grain production for readers at home and overseas. As the Great Leap Forward began, Hao Ran was stationed in Beijing, working for the Russian-language *Friendship Journal* (*Ewen youhao bao*), and was able to make only brief visits to rural areas close to the capital. In a visit to his friend Xiao Yongshun, the inspiration for the hero of the novel *Bright Sunny Skies*, he spoke of his wish to report on a success he had seen in the press, a grain crop so dense that children could stand on top of the plants. Xiao told him how the photograph had been faked (by placing the children on a bench strategically hidden among the plants) and warned him that "this year [1958] those above and those below are lying and boasting, it's bound to end in disaster."³⁷

His friend's admonition notwithstanding, Hao Ran wrote at least one work in praise of the innovations of the Great Leap, a love story set among the iron-smelters of his home province.³⁸ But the movement goes largely unmentioned in his fiction from the early 1960s, such as the stories collected in the Cultural Revolution anthology *Spring Songs*, which gives the reader no inclination of hardship in the Hebei countryside. The stories present charming village characters for a new collective age, romances built around agricultural production, and tales of enterprise and initiative in a common cause. Hao Ran was not alone in this: other authors who survived the Anti-Rightist Campaign (such as Ma Feng and Li Zhun, whose works were considered above) remained silent about the famines, and their stories about the countryside provided similarly heartening images of a new society. A number of rationalizations can be suggested for their omission: That witnessing the treatment of the "rightists" had cowed them into silence; that they were reluctant to lose the rewards brought to them by state sponsorship of their writing; or that they realized the impossibility of publishing even the most delicate mention of hunger. But it is also possible that they allowed themselves to be persuaded that the big picture was rosier than the travails they observed in their forays into the countryside and that their responsibility was to encourage their audience with a vision of better times ahead. Hao Ran, as a child of desperate poverty who owed everything to the communist revolution, might have been more willing than most to project past these potholes, however substantial, on the golden road to the glorious future of communism. He might have chosen to echo the words of Mikhail Sholokhov, the

greatest Soviet novelist of the countryside: "Each of us writes according to the dictates of his heart, but our hearts belong to the Party."³⁹ Following the truth as presented by the Communist Party would have been the safer option, though hardly a guarantee of security given the Party's history of internecine bloodletting.

As we leave *The Golden Road*, whatever approval we feel about the triumphs of Gao Daquan and his comrades must be clouded by hindsight and doubt. On which side, we may speculate, would Gao Daquan have been standing in 1960 if the villagers of Sweet Meadow were starving and their grain locked in a granary at Tianmen awaiting export? And how might he have reacted twenty years later as the cooperative organizations to which he had dedicated his life were disbanded by the Party he had served so loyally, and his enemies had been declared to have been right all along? By that time both Gao Daquan and Hao Ran's greatest achievements, respectively agricultural collectivization and its chronicling, would have been abandoned as milestones on a golden road to nowhere.

Notes

Introduction: The Road and the Writer

Epigraphs: The first epigraph is from Lu Xun, “Guxiang,” story dated January 1921, in Lu Xun, *Nahan* [Battlecry] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1973), 64-75, qt.p.75; the story was published in English as “My Old Home,” in Lu Xun, *Selected Stories of Lu Hsiün*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1956) 1:61-75, qt.p.75. “Guxiang” has its origins in a trip made by the author from Beijing to his native Shaoxing in 1919 to dispose of family property. The quoted lines are the last of the story. I have chosen to quote the Yangs’ version because it repeats the word “road” (*lu*) the full three times that it appears in the original. This is not the case in either of the more recent, and generally more precise, translations by William Lyell (as “Hometown”) or Julia Lovell (as “My Old Home”). See Lu Xun, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, trans. by William A. Lyell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990); Lu Xun, *The Real Story of Ah-Q and Other Tales of China: The Complete Fiction of Lu Xun*, trans. by Julia Lovell (London: Penguin Classics, 2009).

The second epigraph is from Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao* [The golden road] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1972), 1:498. Only two volumes of the novel were published during the Cultural Revolution. The quoted passage, at the end of Chapter 46, is given unchanged on page 449 of the complete four-volume edition published in 1994, also in Beijing, by Jinghua chubanshe.

The third epigraph is from Yu Hua, “Huanghun li de nanhai” [Boy in the twilight], story dated February 1995, in Yu Hua, *Huanghun li de nanhai* (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2004), 125-35, qt.p.125; unpublished translation by Allan H. Barr, slightly revised. These are the first sentences in the story.

- 1 In the preface to *Nahan*, Lu Xun attributes the (slight) optimism of two other stories in the collection to the “commanders of those days” (*na shi de zhujiang*) on the revolutionary left and their disapproval of passivity. Lu Xun, *Nahan*, 6.
- 2 See, for example, Yu Hua’s 1986 story “On the Road at Eighteen,” in which a naive young man’s road trip degenerates into violent confusion. Yu Hua, “Shiba sui chumen yuanxing,” in Yu Hua, *Shishi ru yan* [World like mist (and other stories)] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2004), 2-11; Yu Hua, *The Past and the Punishments*, trans. Andrew F. Jones (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 3-11.
- 3 See the studies by Li Yang, Fan Xing, and Krista van Fliet cited in the chapters that follow; and Peter Button, *Configurations of the Real in Chinese Literary and Aesthetic Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 201-33, for a reading of Yang Mo’s novel *The Song of Youth* [*Qingchun zhi ge*]; also Joe C. Huang, *Heroes and Villains in Communist China: The Contemporary Chinese Novel as a Reflection of Life* (New York: Pica Press, 1973).
- 4 See the studies by D.W. Fokkema and Merle Goldman, and the translations edited by Hualing Nieh, cited in the notes to Chapter 3; see also Merle Goldman, *China’s Intellec-*

- tuals: Advise and Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981); Perry Link, *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13-55.
- 5 Marián Gálik, *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898-1979)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986).
 - 6 My interview with Zhang Yigong at his home in Zhengzhou in May 2002 fell on the day designated by the Henan Writers' Association for discussion of the Talks on their sixtieth anniversary. Zhang was excused from attending the meeting to entertain his foreign guest.
 - 7 George Steiner, "The Writer and Communism," in George Steiner, *Language and Silence: Essays 1958-66* (London: Faber, 1985), 387-95, qt. p.397. Steiner's interest here is in comparing the literary output of communism with that of fascism. He suggests that the reason for the superior product of communism is that "fascism tyrannises through contempt of man; communism tyrannizes by exalting man above that sphere of private error, private ambition and private love we call freedom." Ibid.
 - 8 For an account of the disasters of the Great Leap, see Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe 1958-1962* (New York: Walker, 2010).
 - 9 The sufferings of the intellectual class in the Cultural Revolution are well documented. See, for example, Anne F. Thurston, *Enemies of the People: The Ordeal of the Intellectuals in China's Great Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
 - 10 *Old Liang's Three Paintings*, illustration from the 1959 edition of *Sanliwan*, reproduced in Zhao Shuli, *Zhao Shuli quanji* [Complete works of Zhao Shuli] (Beijing: Dazhong wenyi chubanshe, 2006), 4:303.
 - 11 Zhao, *Sanliwan*, in Zhao, *Zhao Shuli quanji*, 4:164-361; Chao Shu-li [Zhao Shuli], *Sanliwan Village*, trans. Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1964). Plans for the images are devised in *Zhao Shuli quanji*, 4:261-62, *Sanliwan Village*, 139-41, and the final versions are displayed in *Zhao Shuli quanji*, 4:301-8, *Sanliwan Village*, 194-96. The paragraph describing the third painting is translated by Joe C. Huang in his reading of *Sanliwan*, in Huang, *Heroes and Villains*, 240.
 - 12 Images of Hu County paintings published as posters can be found online at Chinese posters.net, "Huxian Peasant Painters," <http://chineseposters.net/>. Numerous albums of peasant paintings were mass-produced during the Cultural Revolution. These include *Huxian nongmin hua* [Peasant paintings of Hu County] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1974); *Huxian nongmin hua xuanji* [Selected peasant paintings of Hu County] (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1975). For a critical history of peasant painting at Hu County, see Ralph Crozier, "Hu Xian Peasant Painting: From Revolutionary Icon to Market Commodity," in *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution 1966-76*, ed. Richard King (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 136-63.
 - 13 Mao Zedong, "Zai Yan'an wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua" [Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art], in Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong xuanji* [Selected works of Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1967), 3:804-35, qt.p.818 (translation mine). For a full translation of this text, see Kirk A. Denton, ed., *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 458-84; the "six even mores" passage is on page 470.
 - 14 The most notorious of Hao Ran's Cultural Revolution works was his two-volume "sanwen-style" novel *Xisha ernü* [Sons and daughters of the Xisha Islands] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1974), written at the direction of Jiang Qing following a visit by Hao Ran to the Xisha Islands (over which China is one of a number of countries claiming sovereignty), and well outside the author's areas of experience and competence.

Chapter 1: Ma Feng and Xi Rong, *Heroes of Lüliang*, and “Revolutionary Popular Literature”

- 1 The first titles were Du Pengcheng, *Baowei Yan'an* (Protect Yan'an), Qu Bo, *Linhai xueyuan* (Tracks in the snowy forest), Li Xiaoming and Han Anqing, *Pingyuan qiangsheng* (Gunfire on the plains), Zhou Libo, *Baofeng zhouyu* (Hurricane), Ma Feng and Xi Rong, *Lüliang yingxiong zhuan* (Heroes of Lüliang), Kong Jue and Yuan Jing, *Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan* (New son and daughter heroes), Li Yingru, *Yehuo chunfeng dou gucheng* (Wildfires and spring winds: Struggle for the ancient capital), and Ding Ling, *Taiyang zhao zai Sanggan he shang* (The sun shines over the Sanggan River). All were published by Renmin wenzue chubanshe in 1997.
- 2 For recent scholarship on the red classics, see Fan Xing, ed., *Yongyuan de hongse jingdian – hongse jingdian chuanguo yingxiang shi hua* [The eternal red classics – on the history of the creation and influence of the red classics] (Wuhan: Hubei changjiang wenyi chubanshe, 2008); Li Yang, *50-70 niandai Zhongguo wenzue jingdian zai jiedu* [Re-examination of Chinese literary classics from the '50s to the '70s] (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002). *Heroes of Lüliang*, *Gunfire on the Plains*, and *Wildfires and Spring Winds: Struggle for the Ancient Capital* were made into television series during the first decade of the twenty-first century.
- 3 Many of these novels are discussed in Joe C. Huang's early study *Heroes and Villains in Communist China: The Contemporary Chinese Novel as a Reflection of Life* (New York: Pica Press, 1973), a work that predates the “red classics” designation.
- 4 Ma Feng and Xi Rong, *Lüliang yingxiong zhuan* (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1997); quotations from the novel use this edition.
- 5 The novel's claim to being the first written by authors in the liberated areas appears in Ma Feng's obituary, released after his death in January 2004.
- 6 In a memoir written in 1980, Ma Feng claims that it was the only novel to be written in the Jin-Sui (Shanxi-Suiyuan) liberated area; he also notes that it was serialized in the Nationalist capital of Chongqing. In his memoir, Ma lists some early short stories written in Shanxi, including one by his *Heroes of Lüliang* co-author Xi Rong. Ma Feng, “Jin-Sui bianqu kang-Ri genjudi wenzue yundong gaikuang” [The general situation of the literary movement in the Jin-Sui (Shanxi-Suiyuan) border region during the war of resistance to Japan], in *La littérature chinoise au temps de la guerre de résistance contre le Japon (de 1937 à 1945)* (Paris: Éditions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, n.d.), 91-100.
- 7 Meng Yue, “*Baimao nü* yanbian de qishi – jianlun Yan'an wenyi de lishi duozhixing” [Revelations on the evolution of *The White-Haired Girl* – and comments on the historical multiplicity of Yan'an culture], originally published 1993 in the journal *Jintian* [Today], reprinted in Wang Xiaoming, ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo wenzue de shilun* [Essays on the history of twentieth-century Chinese literature], rev. ed. (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanzhongxin, 2003), 2:185-203. The reference to Li Tuo's article, first published in 1985, is on page 186.
- 8 Author interview with Ma Feng and his wife, Duan Xingmian, May 2002; a transcript of the interview was reviewed by Duan Xingmian in 2004.
- 9 Jaroslav Průšek, *Die Literatur des Befreiten China und Ihre Volkstraditionen* (Prague: Artia, 1955), 201. The book was published in German only; translations are mine. Here and elsewhere, I have changed Průšek's romanization to *pinyin*.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 200.
- 11 Průšek's contention that the inclusion of the character *liang* in *Lüliang* links it further with Liangshan, the location of *Shuihuzhuan*, seems over-enthusiastic.
- 12 Novels written elsewhere in China around the same time in styles developed from earlier Republican fiction include Lao She's family drama of survival under Japanese occupation, *Sishi tongtang* (Four generations under one roof), Qian Zhongshu's *Weicheng* (Fortress

- besieged), in which a superfluous hero is holed up in the interior, and Lu Ling's *Jiè de Guo Su'è* (Hungry Guo Su'è), a tragedy of deprivation in the countryside.
- 13 Zhou Yang was pilloried for this comment following his condemnation by Yao Wen Yuan in 1967 and his fall from power. Anything that implied that the situation in Yan'an had been less than perfect was anathema to Cultural Revolution ideologues. I have been unable to locate the offending statement in Zhou Yang's writing.
 - 14 He Qun, dir., with music by Zou Ye, *Lüliang yingxiang zhuan* (Beijing/Lüliang: Zhongyang dianshitai/Shanxi guangbo-dianshi zongtai, 2005).
 - 15 The most notorious case of suppression of dissent and persecution of the dissenter is that of Wang Shiwei. Documents concerning his case are collected in Dai Qing, "Wang Shiwei and 'Wild Lilies': Rectification and Purges in the Chinese Communist Party 1942-1944," guest editors Timothy Cheek and David E. Apter, *Chinese Studies in History* 26, 2 (Winter 1992-93) and 3 (Spring 1993).
 - 16 David E. Apter, "Discourse as Power: Yan'an and the Chinese Revolution," in *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution*, ed. Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 193-224, qts., 199-201.
 - 17 For the Lu Xun Academy, see Zhong Jingzhi, *Yan'an Luyi – wo dang chuangban de yisou yishu xueyuan* [The Lu Xun Academy of Yan'an – a school for the arts established by our Party] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981); David Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Chapter 2 below.
 - 18 For an English-language biography of Kang Sheng, see John Byron and Robert Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon: Kang Sheng – the Evil Genius behind Mao – and His Legacy of Terror in People's China* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992). The section on Yan'an is on pages 135-90.
 - 19 Frederick C. Teiwes explains the loyalty of Mao's followers throughout his leadership as reflecting a "combination of belief, fear, and moral authority." Frederick C. Teiwes, "Mao and His Followers," in *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, ed. Timothy Cheek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 129-57, qt.pp.154-55.
 - 20 The quotation is from Robespierre's 1794 speech "On the Moral and Political Principles of Domestic Policy," Fordham University, *Modern History Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/>. At the time of the speech, Robespierre was the leader of the Committee of Public Safety elected by the National Convention. Within months he was himself arrested and guillotined, a victim (unlike either Stalin or Mao) of the terror he had endorsed. For the terror of 1789, see Simon Sharma, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1989), 746-92; for the arrest and execution of Robespierre, see pages 836-46.
 - 21 See Kirk A. Denton, "Literature and Politics: Mao Zedong's 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art,'" in *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, ed. Joshua Mostow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 463-69; Bonnie S. McDougall, *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1980); C.T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (1961; rev. ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 308-13; Průšek, *Die Literatur*, 29-40; D.W. Fokkema, *Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence, 1956-1960* (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 3-11; Merle Goldman, *Literary Dissent in Communist China* (Cambridge, MA: 1967; repr., New York: Atheneum, 1971), 18-50; Gregor Benton, "The Yanan Literary Opposition," *New Left Review* 92 (July-August 1975): 93-106. The earliest published text of Mao's Talks, from 1943, is translated in McDougall. The translation of the 1953 text used in Chinese publications, which appears in Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), 3:69-98, is reproduced in Kirk A. Denton, ed., *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 458-84.

- 22 For the May Fourth new culture movement, see Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
- 23 Qu Qiubai, "The Question of Popular Literature and Art," trans. Paul G. Pickowicz, in *Revolutionary Literature in China: An Anthology*, ed. John Berninghausen and T.D. Hutters (White Plains, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1976), 47-51; for more on Qu Qiubai, see Paul G. Pickowicz, *Marxist Literary Thought in China: The Influence of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).
- 24 Qu, "The Question of Popular Literature and Art," 49.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 26 "Hongjun di'sijun silingbu bugao" [Announcement from the Fourth Division of the Red Army], in Mao Zedong, *Mo Takutô shû* [Collected works of Mao Zedong, Chinese: *Mao Zedong ji*], ed. Takeuchi Minoru (Tokyo: Hokubôsha, 1971), 2:71-72.
- 27 For example, Qu's associate Li Bozhao, who had studied and worked in the Soviet Union, was head of the Arts Department in the Ministry of Education at the Soviet from 1933, when she was still in her early twenties.
- 28 Ellen Judd, "Prelude to the 'Yan'an Talks': Problems in Transforming a Literary Intelligentsia," *Modern China* 11, 3 (July 1985): 377-408. Some of the informants in Sun Shuyun's retracing of the Long March describe the propaganda activities within the Red Army. See Sun Shuyun, *The Long March: The True History of China's Founding Myth* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006).
- 29 Judd, "Prelude to the 'Yan'an Talks,'" 386.
- 30 Denton, "Literature and Politics," 464.
- 31 See Kyna Rubin, "Literary Problems during the War of Resistance Viewed from Yan'an: A Study of the Literature Page of *Liberation Daily* May 16, 1941 – August 31, 1942" (master's diss., University of British Columbia, 1979).
- 32 Ai Qing, "Liaojie zuojia, zunzhong zuojia," *Jiefang ribao* (Yan'an), 11 March 1942, reprinted in *Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang douzheng shi xuexi cankao ziliao* [Materials for the study of struggles in literary thought in modern China] (N.p. [printer given as Sichuan Daxian yinshuachang], 1976), 2:493-96.
- 33 Wang Shiwei, "Zhengzhijia, yishujia" [Politicians and artists], *Guyu* 1, 4 (17 February 1942), reprinted in *Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang douzheng shi xuexi cankao ziliao*, 2:467-71.
- 34 Ai, "Liaojie zuojia," 495. McDougall comments that "the possibility that sincerity or earnestness may not be sufficient qualification for wielding a surgeon's knife does not seem to occur to him." McDougall, *Mao Zedong's "Talks,"* 31.
- 35 See Raymond F. Wylie, "Mao Tse-tung, Chen Po-ta and the Sinification of Marxism," *China Quarterly* 79 (July-September 1979): 447-80; Joshua Fogel, *Ai Ssu-ch'i's Contribution to the Development of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).
- 36 Mao Zedong, "Shijian lun," in Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong xuanji* [Selected works of Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1968), 1:259-73; "On Practice," in Mao, *Selected Works*, 1:295-309.
- 37 Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (New York: Random House, 1938), 115.
- 38 Mao Zedong, "Xue," poem dated 1936, annotated edition in Mao Zedong, *Mao Zhuxi shi-ci jiangjie* [Chairman Mao's poetry with commentary] (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue zhongwenxi, 1973), 134-46. The quoted translation is from Mao Tse-tung, *Poems* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1976), 23-24. I have converted the romanization of Chinese names to pinyin.
- 39 Hung-Yok Ip sees Mao's relationship with the intellectuals as characterized by "anti-elitist elitism," in that he believed that the intellectuals must transform themselves ideologically but must still be the ones to communicate with the masses (and thus remain elites). Mao recognized "his intellectual comrades' desire for aesthetic enjoyment" while requiring them

- to popularize their writing styles. Hung-Yok Ip, "Mao, Mao Zedong Thought, and Communist Intellectuals," in *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, ed. Timothy Cheek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 169-95, qt.p.185.
- 40 McDougall, *Mao Zedong's "Talks,"* 13.
 - 41 Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 3:812; Denton, *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, 464.
 - 42 Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 3:831.
 - 43 Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 303.
 - 44 See Kirk A. Denton, *The Problematic of Self in Modern Chinese Literature: Hu Feng and Lu Ling* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
 - 45 Ding Ling, "Shafei nüshi de rijì," *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (February 1928), reprinted in Ding Ling, *Ding Ling duanpian xiaoshuo xuan* [Selected short stories by Ding Ling] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), 1:43-82. Translations of Ding Ling's fiction can be found in Ding Ling, *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*, ed. Tani E. Barlow, with Gary J. Bjorge (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989). See also Jingyuan Zhang, "Feminism and Revolution: The Work and Life of Ding Ling," in Mostow, *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, 395-400; Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, *Ding Ling's Fiction: Ideology and Narrative in Modern Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).
 - 46 Xiao Jun, *Bayue de xiangcun* (Shanghai: n.p., 1935; repr., Shanghai: Zuoia chubanshe, 1948). The work was also translated by Evan King (translator unattributed) as *Tien Chun, Village in August* (Cleveland: Tower Books, 1943). See Rudolf G. Wagner, "Xiao Jun's Novel *Countryside in August* and the Tradition of 'Proletarian Realism,'" in *La littérature chinoise*, 57-66; Alexander Fadeyev, *The Rout* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.); Lu Xun's translation, as *Huimie*, in Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji* [Complete works of Lu Xun] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), 18:258-613. The novel is also known in China as *The Nineteen (Shijiuge)*, after the title of its final chapter.
 - 47 Ding Ling, *Taiyang zhao zai Sanggan he shang* (1948; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1955). The novel was one of the 1997 "Red Classics" series and appeared in English as Ding Ling, *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984).
 - 48 *Wuchanjiuji xianshizhuyi* and *shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi* respectively. Mao, *Mo Takutô shù*, 8:136, and Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 3:824.
 - 49 McDougall, *Mao Zedong's "Talks,"* 16.
 - 50 Zhou Yang, "Wenxue yu shenghuo mantan" [Talks on literature and life], *Jiefang ribao* (Yan'an), 17-19 July 1941, translated in Rubin, "Literary Problems," 192-208.
 - 51 David Holm, "The Literary Rectification in Yan'an," in *Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism*, ed. Wolfgang Kubin and Rudolf Wagner (Bochum, West Germany: Brockmeyer, 1982), 272-308. For the debate on national forms, see David Holm, "National Form and the Popularization of Literature in Yan'an," in *La littérature chinoise*, 215-35; Edoarda Masi, "La discussion sur les 'Formes Nationales' dans l'art et la littérature, 1938-1942," in *La littérature chinoise*, 205-13.
 - 52 Průšek, *Die Literatur*; 359-73; David Holm, introduction to and translation of Ma Ke, "Fuqi shizi" [Man and wife learn to read], in Berninghausen and Hutters, *Revolutionary Literature in China*, 71-78; Chang-tai Hung, *Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 75-91. For a sense of the pre-reformed *yangge*, see the translations of plays collected by the American sociologist Sidney Gamble during the 1920s and '30s in Sidney D. Gamble, *Chinese Village Plays from the Ting Hsien Region* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970).
 - 53 *Bishang Liangshan*, in *Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang douzheng shi xuexi cankao ziliao*, 2:499-570; Mao Zedong, "Kanle Bishang Liangshan yihou xie gei Yan'an Pingjutuan de xin" [Letter written to the Yan'an Pingju Company after watching *Forced to Ascend Liangshan*], in *Zhongguo xiandai wenyi sixiang douzheng shi xuexi cankao ziliao*, 498. This collection

- was provided to students at Liaoning University in Shenyang in 1976-77. The story of Lin Chong's forced flight is spread through Chapters 6 to 10 of *Shuihuzhuan*.
- 54 He Jingzhi and Ding Yi, *Baimao nü* (N.p.: Shandong xinhua shudian, 1948). This was the first of many versions of the opera. The story also gave rise to a film and a ballet that became one of the Cultural Revolution's model theatrical works. See also Meng, "Baimao nü yanbian de qishi," in Wang, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo wenxue de shilun*.
- 55 Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970), 209-11.
- 56 Xu Xueqing, "The Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School," in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, ed. Kirk A. Denton and Michel Hockx (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 47-78. See also Fan Boqun and Kang Qingdong, eds., *Tongsu wenxue shi jiang* [Ten lectures on popular literature] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003). Lecture 2 in Fan and Kang's book traces *tongsu* literature from Tang dynasty tales of the remarkable (*chuanqi*) to prompt-books (*huaben*) attributed to Song dynasty storytellers, Ming-Qing serialized fiction (*zhanghui xiaoshuo*), and the popular novels of the twentieth-century authors Zhang Henshui and Jin Yong.
- 57 Third behind Mao Zedong and Zhu De. Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 89-96. Belden was unimpressed with Zhao for precisely the qualities that he would have cultivated to live up to his "peasant writer" description, and was unmoved by his fiction.
- 58 Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, *Ideology, Power, Text: Self-Representation and the Peasant "Other" in Modern Chinese Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 115.
- 59 *Ibid.*
- 60 See Chen Tushou, "1959 nian dongtian de Zhao Shuli" [Zhao Shuli in the winter of 1959], in Wang, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo wenxue de shilun*, 165-75. In the winter of 1959, Zhao Shuli addressed letters to the Communist Party leadership criticizing the Great Leap Forward, incurring the enmity of fellow authors and the Party leaders. For a brief summary of Zhao Shuli's career, see Hong Zicheng, *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature*, trans. Michael M. Day (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 108-15.
- 61 "Xiao Erhei jiehun," in Zhao Shuli, *Zhao Shuli xiaoshuo xuan* [Selected fiction of Zhao Shuli] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1980), 1-16; "Li Youcai banhua," in *Zhao Shuli xiaoshuo xuan*, 17-60; Zhao Shuli, *Rhymes of Li Youcai and Other Stories*, 2nd ed., trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980).
- 62 Edward M. Gunn, *Rewriting Chinese: Style and Innovation in Modern Chinese Prose* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 138.
- 63 Author interview with Ma Feng, May 2002. Where possible, biographical information provided by Ma Feng has been checked with other sources, including biographical dictionaries and information in Průšek, *Die Literatur*; Cyril Birch, "Chinese Communist Literature: The Persistence of Traditional Forms," in *Chinese Communist Literature*, ed. Cyril Birch (New York: Praeger, 1963), 74-91; Ma Feng's memoir "Jin-Sui bianqu," in *La littérature chinoise*; and his official funeral notice. Aside from his co-authorship of *Heroes of Lüliang*, Ma Feng is best known for short stories written in the 1950s about village life in his native Shanxi. He also wrote filmscripts and hagiographic novels about the Canadian doctor Norman Bethune and the young communist martyr Liu Hulan. Selected stories are translated in Ma Feng, *Vendetta* (Beijing: Panda Books, 1989). For a Chinese anthology with many of the same selections, see Ma Feng, *Wode di'yige shangji* [My first superior] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1977).
- 64 Members of the Training Group were not formally enrolled as students at Luyi, and most had a lower level of education than the Luyi students.
- 65 Zhou Wen is a sufficiently significant figure for his work to have been in the library at Luyi and to warrant inclusion in modern biographical dictionaries of Chinese authors. At Yan'an, he had been active in the promotion of national forms, responsible for the establishment

- of a Mass Reading Materials Society (Dazhong Duwushe). Holm, "National Form and the Popularization of Literature in Yenan," in *La littérature chinoise*, 232.
- 66 Průšek, *Die Literatur*, 194.
- 67 For example, the novels *Protect Yan'an* (*Baowei Yan'an*) and *Liu Zhidan* (the title of the novel is the name of its military leader hero) lost favour following the falls of Peng Dehuai (who is lionized in the former) in 1959, and Liu Zhidan, with Gao Gang in the mid-1950s. Following the death of Lin Biao and the political campaign to denounce him, the history of the civil war was rewritten, though the fictions were in essay rather than novel form, to show him attempting to sabotage the revolutionary war. The history was to undergo further changes following the Cultural Revolution, with Peng Dehuai rehabilitated and Lin Biao being given some credit for his civil war generalship.
- 68 David Der-wei Wang, "Reinventing National History: Communist and Anti-Communist Fiction of the Mid-Twentieth Century," in *Chinese Literature in the Second Half of a Modern Century: A Critical Survey*, ed. Pang-yuan Chi and David Der-wei Wang (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 39-64, qt.p.42.
- 69 As is the case with the battle scene in Chapters 35 and 36.
- 70 [Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong], *Shuihu quanzhuan* [Complete *Shuihu*] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975), 1:36; Pearl Buck, trans., *All Men Are Brothers* (London: Methuen, 1933), 51. For alternative versions of this passage among the translations of *Shuihuzhuan*, see [Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong], *Outlaws of the Marsh*, trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1988), 1:48; [Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong], *The Broken Seals: Part 1 of the Marshes of Mount Liang*, trans. John Dent-Young and Alex Dent-Young (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1994), 68.
- 71 Ma and Xi, *Lüliang yingxiong zhuan*, 89.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 74 Although such evil characters reappear in later fiction, it is highly unlikely that they would be related to the hero. Like the decent landlord Sir Second, Lei's father-in-law is an indication of the lesser constraints placed on writers away from the political centre during the civil war period.
- 75 Birch, "The Persistence of Traditional Forms," in Birch, *Chinese Communist Literature*, 88-91, with a list of "matching phrases" from *Heroes of Lüliang* and *Shuihuzhuan* on page 89. Birch provides an abridged translation. See also Průšek, *Die Literatur*, 196-97.
- 76 Ma and Xi, *Lüliang yingxiong zhuan*, 41-44.
- 77 This chapter is translated in full, including the poetic passages omitted in most translated versions, in H.C. Chang, *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 158-77, with an introduction on pages 147-57. Sadly, it is the only chapter of the novel translated by Chang.
- 78 The gender implications of the process whereby in later versions Xi'er escapes without being raped, and thus becomes simply a female victim to be saved by the revolution, are considered by both Meng Yue and Krista van Fliet Hang. See Krista van Fliet Hang, "The Heart of the Party: Language, Gender, and Power in *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 21, 1 (Spring 2009): 72-101.
- 79 Zhao Shuli is often associated with Ma Feng and Xi Rong, since all were from Shanxi. Ma Feng reports that he did not meet Zhao until after the communist victory, when they attended the first Assembly of Artists and Writers (Wendaihui) in Beijing. The three authors were reunited in Taiyuan during the Cultural Revolution, when they were incarcerated for their supposed literary crimes and occupied adjoining cells. Zhao died in custody in 1970.
- 80 Ma and Xi, *Lüliang yingxiong zhuan*, Chapter 47, 214-19.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 214.

- 82 Ibid., 219.
- 83 Kong Jue and Yuan Jing, *Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan* (Shanghai: Haiyan shudian, 1950; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1997). For a translation, see Yuan Jing, *Daughters and Sons*, trans. Sidney Shapiro (1958; repr., Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1979).
- 84 A similar incident, the rape of a young Chinese woman by a Japanese soldier, is very differently told in Xiao Jun's earlier *Countryside in August*. In that novel, the incident is seen through the mind of the rapist, whereas Iino is simply a monster in *New Son and Daughter Heroes*.
- 85 Robert E. Hegel, "Making the Past Serve the Present in Fiction and Drama: From the Yan'an Forum to the Cultural Revolution," in *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China 1949-1979*, ed. Bonnie S. McDougall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 197-223, esp. 210-14. Hegel notes two further stories in *New Son and Daughter Heroes* that are adapted from the classic novels, one each from *Shuihuzhuan* and *Three Kingdoms*.
- 86 Yuan, *Daughters and Sons*, 211.
- 87 Yang Heling, "Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan de chuanguo jingguo: ji Yuan Jing tongzhi de tanhua" [The creative experience of writing *New Son and Daughter Heroes*: Notes on a conversation with Comrade Yuan Jing], in "Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan" pinglun ji [Collected critical essays on *New Son and Daughter Heroes*], ed. Shi Yun and Xin Yi (Shanghai: Haiyan shudian, 1950), 86-91, qt.p.90.
- 88 Guo Moruo, "Dule Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan," in Shi and Xin, "Xin ernü yingxiong zhuan" pinglun ji, 1-2.
- 89 Van Fliet Hang, "The Heart of the Party," 75.
- 90 Qu Bo, *Linhai xueyuan* (1957; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1977). For a translation, see Chu Po, *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*, trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1962).
- 91 As van Fliet Hang's reading of the novel demonstrates, Qu Bo's adoption of the tonggu conventions also allows him to introduce elements of the supernatural in his novel, something that the civil war *Heroes* novels did not attempt.
- 92 Hegel, "Making the Past Serve the Present," in McDougall, *Popular Chinese Literature*, 214-20.
- 93 *Zhiqiu Weihushan 1970 nian yanchuben* [Taking Tiger Mountain by strategy, 1970 performance edition] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1971); *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1971).
- 94 See "Sparks amid the Reeds," *Chinese Literature* (September 1964): 3-63; *Shajiabang*, in *Geming yangbanxi juban huibian* [Libretti of model theatrical works] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1974), 137-200.
- 95 Hao Ran, *Yanyangtian* (1964; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1974), 1:396-402.
- 96 The score was composed by Zou Ye, whose other credits include the 2006 film *Yun-shui yao* (The knot), a saga with even greater pretensions to epic.
- 97 Cyril Birch, "Fiction of the Yanan Period," *China Quarterly* 4 (October-December 1960): 7.
- 98 Cyril Birch, "The Particle of Art," in Birch, *Chinese Communist Literature*, 3-14, qt.p.9.

Chapter 2: Zhou Libo, Hurricane, and the Creation of a Chinese Socialist Realism

Acknowledgment: An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Association for Asian Studies conference in March 2010. The comments of the panel discussant Philip Williams are gratefully acknowledged.

- 1 Zhou Libo, *Baofeng zhouyu*, first edition of part 1 (following partial serialization in the newspaper *Dongbei ribao*) (N.p.: Dongbei shudian, 1948), reprinted in Zhou Libo, *Zhou Libo xuanji* [Selected works of Zhou Libo] (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1984),

- 2:1-245, with part 2 on pages 247-514 (quotations below are from this edition). For a translated version, see Zhou Libo, *The Hurricane*, trans. Xu Mengxiong, with the assistance of Gladys Yang and Betty Chandler (1955; repr., Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981). Part 1 spans pages 1-216 of the 1981 English version. What is now the second half of the novel was written as a sequel in 1948, first published in May of the following year, and included thereafter as the second half of the novel. As David Der-wei Wang observes, the sequel essentially reprises the plot of the original, the same work-team leader returning to the same village to direct the peasants' struggle against new (and less threatening) exploiters. David Der-wei Wang, "Reinventing National History: Communist and Anti-Communist Fiction of the Mid-Twentieth Century," in *Chinese Literature in the Second Half of a Modern Century: A Critical Survey*, ed. Pang-yuan Chi and David Der-wei Wang (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 39-64. The second part of the novel will not be considered here.
- 2 Other authors who incorporated their own civil war experiences in their red classic works included Ding Ling in *Taiyang zhao zai Sanggan he shang*, Qu Bo in *Linhai xueyuan*, Du Pengcheng in *Baowei Yan'an*, Liang Bin in *Hongqi pu* (Keep the red flag flying), and Luo Guangbin and Yang Yiyan in *Hong yan*.
 - 3 Zhou Libo, *Shanxiang jubian* (Part 1 1958, Part 2 1960), *Zhou Libo xuanji*, vol. 3. Zhou Libo, *Great Changes in a Mountain Village*, trans. Derek Bryan (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1961). See Joe C. Huang, *Heroes and Villains in Communist China: The Contemporary Chinese Novel as a Reflection of Life* (New York: Pica Press, 1973), 242-43. See also Xiaomei Chen, "Worker-Peasant-Soldier's Literature," in *Words and Their Stories: Essays on the Language of the Chinese Revolution*, ed. Wang Ban (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 65-83, esp. 70-71; Ban Wang, "Socialist Realism," in Wang, *Words and Their Stories*, 101-18, esp. 114-17. A third novel followed *Great Changes in a Mountain Village*, set among coal-miners, but was much less popular. Zhou's final novel *Longhu dou* (Titanic struggle), also set in the countryside, was taken from the author by Red Guards at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and returned to his family only after his death. It has never been published.
 - 4 Ding Ling, *Taiyang zhao zai Sanggan he shang* (1948; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1955). For a translated version, see Ding Ling, *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (1955; new ed., Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984). Ding Ling's novel was published slightly after Zhou Libo's original *Baofeng zhuyou* and is a much longer, more complex, and equivocal work, continuing the concern of the celebrated veteran of May Fourth fiction with individual (particularly female) sensitivities in an age of revolutionary change. Both of the Chinese Stalin Prize winners are considered in Průšek's early report of the literature of the liberated areas and in Joe C. Huang's study of the novel in the pre-Cultural Revolution People's Republic. See Jaroslav Průšek, *Die Literatur des Befreiten China und Ihre Volkstraditionen* (Prague: Artia, 1955), 240-52; Huang, *Heroes and Villains*, 183-211.
 - 5 Also awarded the Stalin Prize in the category for drama was He Jingzhi and Ding Yi's liberated areas drama *Baimao nü*, which was to reappear in a number of versions, as opera, film, and ballet in subsequent years.
 - 6 Author interview with Zhou Xiaoyi, Zhou Libo's son and a professor of English at Beijing University, May 2002. The process for the selection of Stalin Prize nominees was not made public. Professor Zhou believes that the nominations were made by Zhou Yang, who included Ding Ling's first work since her clash with the Yan'an authorities to avoid the appearance of favouritism to his lifelong friend and fellow provincial Zhou Libo.
 - 7 Alla Latynina, "The Stalin Prizes as the Quintessence of Socialist Realism," in *In the Party Spirit: Socialist Realism and Literary Practice in the Soviet Union, East Germany and China*, ed. Hilary Chung (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 106-28, qt.p.108.

- 8 Translation of these novels into the languages of the Warsaw Pact was a component in the midcentury cultural exchanges detailed in Nicolai Volland, "Translating the Socialist State: Cultural Exchange, National Identity, and the Socialist World in the Early PRC," *Twentieth Century China* 33, 2 (April 2008): 51-72, see page 69.
- 9 Zhou Yang, "Wenyi zhanxian shang de yige da bianlun," *Wenyibao* (May 1958): 2-15, trans. as Zhou Yang, *A Great Debate on the Literary Front* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1958). Zhou Yang writes of Ding Ling that "it was thanks to help given her by the Party that she wrote *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River*." Zhou, *A Great Debate*, 16.
- 10 Wang, "Reinventing National History," in Chi and Wang, *Chinese Literature*, 62, citing a memoir by Zhou Yangzhi on the mistreatment of his grandfather in the Cultural Revolution.
- 11 Zhou Yang, "Shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi – Zhongguo wenxue qianjin de daolu" [Socialist realism – the road ahead for Chinese literature], first published in the Soviet literary journal *Znamia* (Banner) in December 1952, *Renmin ribao*, 11 January 1953, reprinted in Zhou Yang, *Zhou Yang wenji* [Collected works of Zhou Yang] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), 2:182-91, qt.p.183; Mao Zedong, "Lun renmin minzhu zhuanzheng," in Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong xuanji* [Selected works of Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1968), 4:1357-71, qt.p.1360; Mao Zedong, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," in Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), 4:411-24, qt.p.413.
- 12 Zhou, "Shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi," in Zhou, *Zhou Yang wenji*, 182.
- 13 Zhou Yang, "Zai Zhongguo di-yi jie dianying chuanguo huiyi shang guanyu xuexi shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi wenti de baogao" [Report to the first conference on film composition on the question of studying socialist realism], in Zhou, *Zhou Yang wenji*, 2:192-233, qt.p.193.
- 14 Sources for this brief introduction to socialist realism include Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Katerina Clark, "Socialist Realism with Shores: The Conventions for the Positive Hero," in *Socialist Realism without Shores*, ed. Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 27-50; Evgeny Dobrenko, *Political Economy of Socialist Realism*, trans. Jesse M. Savage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Hilary Chung, "Introduction," in Chung, *In the Party Spirit*, x-xviii; Lorenz Bichler, "Coming to Terms with a Term: Notes on the History of the Use of Socialist Realism in China," in Chung, *In the Party Spirit*, 30-43; Régine Robin, *Socialist Realism: An Impossible Aesthetic*, trans. Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Abram Tertz, *On Socialist Realism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Li Yang, *Kangzheng suming zhi lu – "shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi" (1942-1976) yanjiu* [The path of resistance and fate: Research on "socialist realism" (1942-1976)] (Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 1993); Zhang Dexiang, *Xianshizhuyi dangdai liubian shi* [The evolution of realism in the contemporary period] (Beijing: Shehui kexueyuan ziliao chubanshe, 1997).
- 15 Chung, "Introduction," in Chung, *In the Party Spirit*, x.
- 16 Leonid Heller, "A World of Prettiness: Socialist Realism and Its Aesthetic Categories," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 94, 3 (Summer 1995): 691.
- 17 A memorandum by Ivan Mikhailovich Gronsky included in Katerina Clark and Evgeny Dobrenko, with Andrei Artizov and Oleg Naumov, eds., *Soviet Culture and Power: A History in Documents, 1917-1953* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 163-65, recalls the two-word term being formulated in Stalin's study during April or May of 1932.
- 18 Quoted in H.G. Scott, ed., *Problems of Soviet Literature: Reports and Speeches at the First Soviet Writers' Congress* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1934), 22.
- 19 Zhou Yang's 1933 essay "Guanyu shehuizhuyi de xianshizhuyi yu geming de langmanzhuyi" [On socialist realism and revolutionary romanticism], reprinted in Zhou, *Zhou Yang wenji*, 1:101-14, introduced the term to China.

- 20 Many of the novels included in Katerina Clark's "Official Short List of [Soviet] Model Novels as Inferred from Speeches to Writers' Union Congresses" predate 1934, the earliest being Gorky's *Mother*, written in American exile in 1906 and published a decade before the October Revolution. See Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 261-63.
- 21 See Richard King, "Fantasies of Battle: Making the Militant Hero Prominent," in *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-76*, ed. Richard King (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 203-15.
- 22 Yang Li and Hu Zhihui, *A Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Writers* (Beijing: New World Press, 1994), 387.
- 23 Sources for the literary biography of Zhou Libo include entries in various biographical dictionaries including *ibid.*, in which Zhou is described on page 387 as having been "born into a farming family"; Lin Lan (the author's widow), "Zhanshi yu zuojia" [Warrior and author], in Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:562-86; additional information was supplied by the author's son Zhou Xiaoyi in May 2002.
- 24 See Zhou Yang, "Shiwu nian lai de Sulian wenxue" [Soviet literature of the last fifteen years], in Zhou, *Zhou Yang wenji*, 1:74-100; and Zhou, "Guanyu shehuizhuyi de xianshizhuyi yu geming de langmanzhuyi," in Zhou, *Zhou Yang wenji*, 1:101-14. The latter details discussions within the organizing committee for the Soviet Writers' Federation.
- 25 Zhou Yang, "Guanyu guofang wenxue," first published in the journal *Wenxue jie* [Literary world], 5 June 1936, Zhou, *Zhou Yang wenji*, 1:170-77; trans. Richard King as "On National Defence Literature," in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk A. Denton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 408-14. For more on Lu Xun's feud with Zhou Yang, see David E. Pollard, *The True Story of Lu Xun* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002), 187-96; and Merle Goldman, *Literary Dissent in Communist China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967; repr. New York: Atheneum, 1971), 13-14. Lu Xun's views on Zhou Yang can be found in Lu Xun, "Da Xu Mouyong guanyu kang-Ri tongyi zhanxian wenti" [Reply to Xu Mouyong on the question of a united front in the resistance to Japan], in Lu Xun, *Lu Xun zawan xuan* [Selected essays of Lu Xun] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1973), 230-46. This Cultural Revolution edition of Lu Xun's essays is annotated to ensure that Zhou Yang and his associates received the discredit they were then felt to deserve. It is here (page 238 and note 28 on page 245) that Lu Xun describes Zhou Yang (Zhou Qiyong), Tian Han, Xia Yan, and Yang Hansheng as *sitiao hanzi* (four villains), a label that was to be restored to them in the Cultural Revolution.
- 26 Mikhail Sholokhov, *Virgin Soil Uplturned*, trans. Robert Daghlish (Moscow: Raguda, n.d.); Mikhail Sholokhov, *Virgin Soil Uplturned*, trans. Stephen Garry (London: Putnam, 1935; repr., Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977). Here and elsewhere, I cite only translations of Soviet novels, as I do not read Russian. Zhou's translation, *Bei kaiken de chunidi*, was first published in 1937 by Shanghai shenghuo shudian, with the translator's name given simply as Libo. It is included in Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, as volume 7, with a translator's note to the 1954 reprinting and the translation of a Soviet article on Sholokhov. The 1937 edition notes that in revising his translation of the novel, Zhou Libo also checked it against the Japanese translation by Yoneyama Masahiro.
- 27 Author interview with Zhou Xiaoyi, May 2002. Zhou Libo's prison experiences were the basis for short stories collected as Zhou Libo, *Tiemen li* (Within iron gates) and published in 1955. The stories are in Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 1:1-43; see also "Tiemen li xu," [Preface to *Within Iron Gates*], in Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 6:528-29.
- 28 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 6:74-104.
- 29 Zhou Yang's account of his early relationship with Zhou Libo, up to the latter's arrival at Yan'an, can be found in the record of a conversation with Zhou Libo's son, Zhou Jianming, and three others (Hu Guangfan, Shi Dahao, and Li Huasheng) in Zhou Yang, "Guanyu

- Zhou Libo tongzhi de yixie qingkuang” [A few matters concerning Comrade Zhou Libo], in *Zhou Libo yanjiu ziliao* [Research materials on Zhou Libo], ed. Li Huasheng and Hu Guangfan (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), 97-101. Zhou Yang gives re-establishing contact with the Communist Party as his reason for going to Tokyo, notes that he supported Zhou Libo financially in Shanghai, and unsurprisingly glosses over the spat with Lu Xun.
- 30 David Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 45.
- 31 Zhou Libo already had a family in Hunan before his departure for Shanghai. Zhou Yangzhi, who contributed a memoir to Li Huasheng and Hu Guangfan’s book of research materials on the author, was a grandson from that family.
- 32 A photograph of “the Chinese Department at Luyi listening to Comrade Zhou Libo lecturing” can be found in Zhong Jingzhi, *Yan’an Luyi – wo dang chuanguan de yisuo wenyi xueyuan* [The Lu Xun Academy of Yan’an: A school for the arts established by our Party] (N.p.: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981). For more on Zhou’s Luyi lectures and their reception by their audience, his humanistic approach, and in particular his lecture on Stendahl, I have referred to Ban Wang, “Socialist Humanism and Revolutionary Culture” (unpublished paper, 2010).
- 33 Guy de Maupassant, *Boule de Suif et autres contes normands* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1971), 1-43; Guy de Maupassant, *Boule de Suif and Other Stories*, trans. H.N.P. Sloman (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1947), 15-56. The reader of Chinese civil-war-era leftist literature might see some similarity between Boule de Suif and the young woman Zhenzhen in Ding Ling’s 1941 story “Wo zai Xiaacun de shihou” (When I was in Xia Village) sent back behind Japanese lines by the Communist leadership to serve as a comfort woman and then despised as a fallen woman by her fellow villagers. Ding Ling, *Ding Ling duanpian xiaoshuo xuan* [Selected short stories by Ding Ling] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981). 2:451-60; Ding Ling, *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*, ed. Tani E. Barlow, with Gary J. Borge (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 298-315.
- 34 Quoted in Peter Cogman, “Boule de Suif,” *The Literary Encyclopedia*, <http://www.litencyc.com>.
- 35 *Zhou Libo Luyi jianggao* [Zhou Libo’s drafts for speeches at the Lu Xun Academy], ed. Lin Lan (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1984), 160. I have made slight changes to Lin Lan’s punctuation in my translation.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 160-61.
- 37 Holm, *Art and Ideology*, 104-6.
- 38 Zhou Libo, “Baofeng zhoyu shi zenyang xiede” [How Hurricane was written], in Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 6:240-46.
- 39 Clark et al., eds., *Soviet Culture and Power*, xii.
- 40 Mao Zedong, “Hunan nongmin yundong kaocha baogao” (essay dated 1927), in Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 1:12-44, qt.p.13; translated as “Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan,” in Mao, *Selected Works*, 1:23-59, qt.pp.23-24. The sentence in which the words *baofeng zhoyu* (hurricane) appear is printed as the epigraph to most Chinese editions of the novel (though not in the *Zhou Libo wenji* version) and in the Foreign Languages Press translation.
- 41 Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 1:21; Mao, *Selected Works*, 1:33.
- 42 Lu Xun, “Guxiang,” in Lu Xun, *Nahan* [Battlecry] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), 64-75; Ye Shengtao, “Duo shoule san-wu dou,” translated as “Three to Five Bushels More” in Harold R. Isaacs, ed., *Straw Sandals* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974), 337-47.
- 43 Zhao’s invention of the peasant subject was paralleled by his own invention as “peasant author.” See Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, “Zhao Shuli: The ‘Making’ of a Model Peasant Writer,”

- Chap. 4 in Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, *Ideology, Power, Text: Self-Representation and the Peasant "Other" in Modern Chinese Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 101-45.
- 44 Zhou, *Baofeng zhuoyu*, 87; Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 83, where the phrase is unequivocally translated as "a real peasant"
- 45 Quoted in Robin, *Socialist Realism*, 59.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 This section draws on the analysis of the opening section of the novel in James Keefer, "A Tale of Red Heroes: Myth in Chinese Socialist Realist Fiction" (master's diss., University of Victoria, 1992).
- 48 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2: 5 (translation mine); the passage appears in English on page 3 of the Foreign Languages Press version. The Foreign Languages Press translation was checked by Zhou Libo against his Chinese original (author interview with Zhou Xiaoyi, May 2002). The result is competent, though not meticulous, inevitably losing the Manchurian flavour of the language for which the author was praised.
- 49 It is only in later variations of Chinese socialist realism that the rising sun, especially when red, would come to represent not the bright future and the Communist Party that would bring it, but exclusively the leader of that Party.
- 50 See Li, *Kangzheng suming zhi lu*, 100.
- 51 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:6.
- 52 Ibid., 2:12; translation adapted from Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 11.
- 53 Author conversation with Professor Yang Kuisong of the History Department at East China Normal University, Vancouver, May 2010. Yang Kuisong was one of the historians visiting the area in 2000. He was told during his visit that the model for the peasant activist Zhao Yulin was less of a hero than his fictional reincarnation.
- 54 V.I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?" <http://www.marxists.org/> (emphasis in original).
- 55 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:86; translation adapted from Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 81.
- 56 After 1949, memories of bitterness were contrasted with the situation in the People's Republic in a form known as *yikusitian* "remembering (past) bitterness and thinking about (present) sweetness." *Yikusitian* was a standard part of education as well as fiction.
- 57 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:181.
- 58 Qu Bo introduces his alter ego Shao Jianbo as "a brilliant, handsome young officer of twenty-two." Qu Bo, *Linhai xueyuan* [Tracks in the snowy forest] (1957; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1977), 1; Chu Po [Qu Bo], *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*, trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1962), 1. Ostrovsky is similarly self-indulgent in his self-portrayal as Pavel Korchagin in *How the Steel Was Tempered*, a novel considered in Chapter 4.
- 59 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:7; Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 5.
- 60 The man's name is given as Wen Fengshan in the version of "How I Wrote *The Hurricane*" that appears as a preface to the 1981 edition of the translation. The author writes, "I included him in the novel, hoping that the description of his heroic death as well as the class consciousness and grief it aroused among the peasants might serve to teach our younger generation and inspire them to follow the example set by our heroic revolutionary martyrs." Zhou, *The Hurricane*, iii. In "*Baofeng zhouyu shi zenyang xiede*," the Chinese version on which the 1981 translation is based, the name is not supplied. Note Yang Kuisong's report on the historical model for Zhao Yulin.
- 61 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:32; translation adapted from Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 29.
- 62 Clark, "Socialist Realism *with* Shores," in Lahusen and Dobrenko, *Socialist Realism without Shores*, 29.
- 63 Ibid., 30.
- 64 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:151; translation adapted from Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 137.

- 65 Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 258, 259.
- 66 Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*, 2:238.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 2:239-40; translation adapted from Zhou, *The Hurricane*, 211.
- 68 The incident occurs in Sholokhov, *Virgin Soil Upturned*, trans. Garry, 333-36.
- 69 Zhou, *Shanxiang jubian*. The novel occupies volume 3 of Zhou, *Zhou Libo xuanji*.
- 70 Xie Tieli, dir., *Baofeng zhoyu* (Beijing: Beijing Film Studio, 1961).
- 71 See Wang Yuhe, “Feng gao wu tantu, tansuo wu zhijing – zuoqujia Li Huanzhi” [High peaks with no path, exploration without limits – the composer Li Huanzhi], in *Zhongguo jinxianandai yinyuejia zhuan* [Biographies of modern Chinese musicians], ed. Xiang Yansheng (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1994), 3:164-77. I am grateful to Joys Cheung for bringing this publication to my attention. At Yan’an, Li was a student of the composer Xian Xinghai, with whom he studied choral music and conducting to complement previous studies in Chinese operatic forms and European and American popular song.
- 72 Jay Leyda, *Diarying: An Account of Films and the Film Audience in China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972), 301. Leyda had written on Russian and Soviet film, and translated the work of the Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein. His enthusiasm for those works might have heightened his appreciation of *Hurricane*.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 303.
- 74 T.A. Hsia, “Heroes and Hero-worship in Chinese Communist Fiction,” in *Chinese Communist Literature*, ed. Cyril Birch (New York: Praeger, 1963), 113-38, qt.p.116. The possibility that Zhou Libo’s fiction allows for an anti-communist reading prompts Hsia to praise Zhou on page 118 as a “conscious artist” who has “studied, with some imagination and imaginative sympathy, life in Chinese villages under communism.”
- 75 Huang Weilin, *Zhongguo dangdai xiaoshuo jiaqun lun* [On modern Chinese fiction writers’ groups] (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2004), 59-98. The section on Du Pengcheng is on page 75; the novel referred to is Du’s *Baowei Yan’an* (1954; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1997).
- 76 This criticism recalls that of C.T. Hsia, quoted in the previous chapter, that the Yan’an Forum killed the potential for development of a Westernized literature.
- 77 Mo Yan, *Sheng-si pilao* (Taipei: Maitian, 2006); translated as Mo Yan, *Life and Death Are Wearing Me Out*, trans. Howard Goldblatt (New York: Arcade, 2008).
- 78 The final section, which functions as an epilogue, abandons the paired headings.
- 79 Mo, *Life and Death*, 23.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 47.

Chapter 3: Li Zhun’s “A Brief Biography of Li Shuangshuang”

- 1 Estimates of deaths can be as high as 45 million. See Frank Dikötter, *Mao’s Great Famine: The History of China’s Most Devastating Catastrophe 1958-1962* (New York: Walker, 2012). Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao’s Secret Famine* (London: James Murray, 1996), 270, came up with a substantially lower figure of 30 million. Historical materials in Chinese can be found in Yu Xiguang, *Dayuejin – kurizi* [Great Leap – bitter days] (Hong Kong: Shidai chaoliu chubanshe, 2005). The later historiography surrounding the Leap is summarized in Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, “Re-Imagining the Chinese Peasant: The Historiography of the Great Leap Forward,” in *Eating Bitterness: New Perspectives on China’s Great Leap Forward and Famine*, ed. Kimberley Ens Manning and Felix Wemheuer (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 28-50. For an understanding of current research on the Great Leap, I am grateful to the participants in the conference “New Perspectives on the Great Leap Forward,” which was organized by Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik and Felix Wemheuer at the University of Vienna in November 2006, in particular Jeremy Brown, Gao Hua, Gao Wangling, Qiao Peihua, and Xin Yi. The Great Leap Forward in Henan, the home province

- of Li Zhun and Zhang Yigong (see Chapter 8), is the subject of Jean-Luc Domenach, *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward: The Case of One Chinese Province*, trans. A.M. Berrett (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).
- 2 “Xianqi wenyi chuanguozuo de gaochao, jianshe gongchanzhuyi de wenyi!” [Raise a high tide in artistic creation, build communist arts!], *Wenyibao* 19 (1958), quoted in Chen Shunxing, *Shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi lilun zai Zhongguo de jieshou yu zhuanhua* [The adoption and adaptation of socialist realist theory in China] (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 323-24.
 - 3 Li Zhun, “Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan,” version dated March 1959 in Li Zhun, *Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1977), 332-66. This is the version included in post-1976 collections of the author’s work. I do not know if it is identical to Li Zhun’s 1959 original. Another version, dated 7 February 1960, appeared as “Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan” in *Renmin wenxue* 3 (March 1960): 11-27. It is translated as “A Brief Biography of Li Shuangshuang,” in *Heroes of China’s Great Leap Forward*, ed. Richard King (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 15-61. For an abbreviated version, see Li Zhun, “The Story of Li Shuang-shuang,” trans. Tang Sheng, *Chinese Literature* (June 1960): 3-25; a pictorial version based on the 1960 version appeared as Li Zhun, “Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan,” text by Bai Zi and illustrations by Hua Sanchuan, *Lianhuan huabao* 217 (6 June 1960): 4-8, and 218 (21 June 1960): 18-22, and a comic-book version following the plot of the film is Li Zhun, *Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan*, text by Lu Zhongjian and illustrations by He Youzhi (1964; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1977). The film version *Li Shuangshuang*, directed by Lu Ren and starring Zhang Ruifang in the title role, was produced by the Shanghai Film Studio in 1962. The filmscript, dated May 1961, can be found in Li Zhun, *Li Zhun dianying juban xuan* [Selected filmscripts by Li Zhun] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1978), 330-404. I had three interviews with Li Zhun, in 1993, 1996, and 1998. During the first of these, Li Zhun told me that Premier Zhou Enlai joked to Zhang Ruifang after a showing of the film that if Li Shuangshuang could become premier, he would step down from the post to make way for her. Li Zhun suspected that Zhou admired Li Shuangshuang for standing up to an autocratic partner, something Zhou failed to do in his relationship with Mao. For a recent study of the story, the *lianhuanhua* (picture book), and the film, see Krista van Fleet, “People’s Literature and the Construction of New China” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008).
 - 4 I have outlined the main themes of Great Leap rural poetry, and discussed Great Leap romanticism, in Richard King, “Romancing the Leap: Euphoria in the Moment before Disaster,” in Manning and Wemheuer, *Eating Bitterness*, 51-71. Translations of some Great Leap poems appear in that chapter, and others can be found in Richard King, guest ed., *Renditions* 68 (Autumn 2007), a special issue on the Great Leap Forward, where they are joined by a partial translation of the 1960 text of “Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan,” translations of other fiction and poetry from and about the Great Leap, and a brief introduction. For more on the background to the Great Leap, see my introduction to King, *Heroes of China’s Great Leap Forward*, 1-11.
 - 5 See Richard King, “The Hundred Flowers,” in *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, ed. Joshua Mostow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 476-80; D.W. Fokkema, *Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence, 1956-1960* (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 147-91; Merle Goldman, *Literary Dissent in Communist China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967, repr. New York: Atheneum, 1971), 158-242. Stories of the Hundred Flowers are collected in *Chongfang de xianhua* [Fresh flowers bloom again] (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1979); translations of the major writings of the period appear in Hualing Nieh, ed., *Literature of the Hundred Flowers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).
 - 6 For the demands placed on the proletariat, see chapter 4.

- 7 Trofim Denisovich Lysenko was the leading figure in Soviet agriculture under Stalin. Although Lysenko was expert at manufacturing a string of agricultural successes, and purging those who opposed him, his agricultural principles were largely fallacious. In the early 1960s, he was criticized by Soviet scientists including Andrei Sakharov for the damage he had caused by his pseudo-science and his attacks on scientists. For Lysenko's influence in China, see Laurence Schneider, "Lysenkoism and the Suppression of Genetics in the PRC, 1949-56," in *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949 – Present*, ed. Thomas Bernstein and Hua-yu Li (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 327-58.
- In China, the most notoriously mendacious regional official was Henan's newly appointed first party secretary Wu Zhipu, who claimed in the summer of 1958 that, due to the philosophical leap of his peasants, rice-paddies in Henan now yielded seventy times as much as they had in the past. Wu Zhipu, "Yuejin de zhexue yu zhexue de yuejin" [The philosophy of the Great Leap and a great leap in philosophy], *Zhexue yanjiu* 6 (1958): 15. For more on Wu Zhipu's public pronouncements, and his meeting with Mao in March 1958, see Michael Schoenhals, *Saltationist Socialism: Mao Zedong and the Great Leap Forward, 1958* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Department of Oriental Languages, 1987), 49-51.
- 8 Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution II: The Great Leap Forward* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 41; Wu Xiuming, *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue shi xiezhen* [A true account of the history of contemporary Chinese literature] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, n.d.), 1:52-57.
- 9 Quoted in Wu, *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue shi xiezhen*, 1:53. Xiao San had been an advocate of national forms in poetry at Yan'an. See David Holm, "National Form and the Popularization of Literature in Yan'an," in *La littérature chinoise au temps de la guerre de résistance contre le Japon (de 1937 à 1945)* (Paris: Éditions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, n.d.), 227-28.
- 10 Quoted in Wang Jialing and Jin Han, *Zhongguo xian-dangdai wenxue* [Modern and contemporary Chinese literature] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2004), 394. Analysis of the poems can be found on pages 393-97.
- 11 See Ban Wang, "Revolutionary Realism and Revolutionary Romanticism: *The Song of Youth*," in Mostow, *Columbia Companion*, 471-75.
- 12 Zhou Yang, "Xin mingge kaituole shige de xin daolu" [New folk-songs have opened a new road for poetry], *Hongqi* 1 (May 1958): 35.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 *Makesi wenyi lilun jiben wenti* [Basic questions in Marxist artistic theory] (Shenyang: Dongbei diqu ba yuan xiao [Eight universities in the northeast region], 1973), 231.
- 15 Large numbers of the new folk-songs can be found in national and regional journals from the late 1950s and early 1960s, but these are probably a small fraction of the total output. By the end of 1958, if Yao Wenyan is to be believed, over 2 million had been created in Shanghai alone. The number is quoted in Lars Ragvald, *Yao Wenyan as a Literary Critic and Theorist: The Emergence of Chinese Zhdanovism* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Department of Oriental Languages, 1978), 117. Some of the early Shanghai poems are collected in a 1958 volume edited by the Shanghai Municipal Propaganda Department; these are considered in Chapter 4.
- 16 Zhang Dexiang, *Xianshizhuyi dangdai liubian shi* [The evolution of realism in the contemporary period] (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 83.
- 17 He Zhi [Qin Zhaoyang], "Xianshizhuyi – guangkuo de daolu" [The broad road of realism], *Renmin wenxue* 9 (September 1956): 1-13; King, "The Hundred Flowers," in Mostow, *Columbia Companion*, 477.
- 18 Guo Moruo and Zhou Yang, eds., *Hongqi geyao* [Red flag ballads] (1959; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1979); references are to the 1979 edition. See also Chen, *Shehuizhuyi xianshizhuyi lilun*, 327.

- 19 For a fuller typology of the rural poetry, by far the largest section of *Red Flag* ballads, see King, "Romancing the Leap," in Manning and Wemheuer, *Eating Bitterness*.
- 20 "Xiang taiyang tiaozhan" [Challenge to the sun], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 129. The poem is said to be from Fujian. Translation by Gladys Yang and Yang Xianyi.
- 21 Maria Galikowski, *Art and Politics in China 1849-1984* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1998), 91.
- 22 Yao Wenyuan's personal targets for writing criticism are recounted in the next chapter. The demand for unprecedentedly rapid productivity was also felt by translators at the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing. The husband-and-wife partnership of Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang astonishingly translated Lu Xun's *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* in a single month, with Yang Xianyi dictating a rough translation and Gladys Yang editing as she typed it out. As Yang Xianyi explained in a 1993 conversation, with no time to check references or ponder the many difficult passages in the book, he had simply "leaped over" them, accounting for the many omissions in the English translation. Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi lue*, in Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji* [Collected works of Lu Xun] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), 9:145-450; Lu Hsun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (1959; repr., Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1976).
- 23 Another short story on a Great Leap theme of love, heroism, female enterprise, and sacrifice among the iron-smelters is Hao Ran, "Zhaoxia hong si huo," first published in the journal *Wenyi hongqi* (Red flag in the arts) in May 1959, and reprinted in Hao Ran, *Xin chun qu* [Songs of a new spring] (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1960), 1-33. For a translation of this story, see Hao Ran, "Dawn Clouds Red as Flame," trans. Haydn Shook, with Richard King, *Renditions* 68 (Autumn 2007): 17-49; for more on the story, see King, "Romancing the Leap," in Manning and Wemheuer, *Eating Bitterness*. During my May 2002 interview with him, Ma Feng said that he had also written a story glorifying the smelting of iron, of which he later felt ashamed, and of which he had kept no copy.
- 24 Zhou Yang, "Wenyi zhanxian shang de yige da bianlun" [A great debate on the arts front], *Wenyibao* (May 1958): 2-15; trans. as Chou Yang, "A Great Debate on the Artistic Front," *Chinese Literature* (March 1958): 124-25. The published text is a revised version of Zhou's speech of 16 September 1957. Mao had alluded to the need for a "cultural army" in his introductory speech to the Yan'an Forum. Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong xuanji* [Collected works of Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1968), 3:804. Zhou Yang's prosecution of the "rightists" was itself denounced by Yao Wenyuan as half-hearted, or "two-faced," in Yao's 1967 condemnation of Zhou Yang, whom Yao effectively replaced as the main authority on national cultural and propaganda matters in the Cultural Revolution.
- 25 Author interview with Li Zhun, May 1993.
- 26 For a discussion of the different forms of "popular" writing, see van Fleet, "People's Literature."
- 27 Author interview with Li Zhun, July 1998.
- 28 The story of a conservative father eventually won over to collectivist ways by his progressive son also takes up much of the action of Liu Qing's novel *Chuangye shi*, where the older peasant is Old Liang the Third, and the younger is his adopted son Liang Shengbao. Liu Qing, *Chuangye shi* (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1960); Liu Qing, *The Builders*, trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1964). For more on this novel, see Joe C. Huang, *Heroes and Villains in Communist China: The Contemporary Chinese Novel as a Reflection of Life* (New York: Pica Press, 1973), 244-53.
- 29 Li, *Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan*, 15; Li Zhun, *Not That Road and Other Stories* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1962), 23.
- 30 Author interview with Li Zhun, May 1993. This quotation from Mao cannot be corroborated. Given Mao's later treatment of the peasantry, there is a certain irony in the pronouncement.
- 31 Li, *Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan*, 364. A fuller summary of the 1959 version of the story appears in King, "Romancing the Leap," in Manning and Wemheuer, *Eating Bitterness*.

In preparing it, I referred to the 1977 reprint; I have not seen a 1959 printing and cannot be sure that no changes were made. The lack of an original 1959 text was the reason for the choice of the less romantic 1960 *Renmin wenxue* edition for translation in King, *Heroes of China's Great Leap Forward*. This chapter expands on the introduction to the story in that book.

- 32 See Tina Mai Chen, "Female Icons, Feminist Iconography? Socialist Rhetoric and Women's Agency in 1950s China," *Gender and History* 15, 2 (August 2003): 268-95. Perhaps the most famous of these trailblazers was Liang Jun, China's first female tractor-driver, whose image graced the one-yuan banknote for much of the Mao era.
- 33 For a summary of the Mu Guiying story, see Louise Edwards, *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in the Red Chamber Dream* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 89.
- 34 Li, *Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan*, 350. In the *Renmin wenxue* version, Lie Ning (Lenin) has become En Gesi (Engels); the peasant couple assume that Ma Kesi (Marx) and the others are Chinese, hence the reference to "that Ma guy" (*neige xing Ma de*) and my rendering of their names in romanization. This conversation is repeated almost verbatim in the film version.
- 35 Author interview with Li Zhun, July 1998.
- 36 After Li Zhun's death, Dong Bing wrote a memoir of her life with him, though her memories of the time he was researching and creating Li Shuangshuang focus on the difficulty of raising five children in Beijing while he was away from home most of the time. She does not mention herself as a source for the character of Li Shuangshuang, but she was present during the interview in which it was revealed. Dong Bing, *Laojia jiu shi: Li Zhun furen zishu* [Things past in an old household: Li Zhun's wife speaks for herself] (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2005). Unlike Dong Bing, who struggled to become literate, Hao Ran's wife, Yang Puqiao, also from an arranged marriage, never learned to read or write. Hao Ran seemed to take a perverse pride in her lack of literacy.
- 37 Author interview with Li Zhun, July 1998.
- 38 See H.C. Chang, "The Shrew," the first selection in his *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 23-31 (Introduction) and 32-55, qt.p.28. On page 31, Chang gives the text from which he translates as Tan Zhengbi, *Qingping shantang huaben* [Huaben (vernacular storyteller tales) from the Qingping Studio] (Beijing: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957).
- 39 Wu Cheng'en, *Xiyouji* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), 1:149-52; Wu Cheng'en, *The Journey to the West*, trans. and annotated by Anthony C. Yu (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 1:254-59.
- 40 Pu Songling, "Yingning," in Pu Songling, *Liaozhai zhiyi* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1978), 1:62-67; Pu Songling, *Strange Tales from Make-Do Studio*, trans. Denis C. Mair and Victor H. Mair (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1989), 73-89.
- 41 Pu, *Strange Tales*, 85.
- 42 Chang, *Chinese Literature*, 46 (emphasis in original).
- 43 "A Brief Biography of Li Shuangshuang," in King, *Heroes of China's Great Leap Forward*, 24-25.
- 44 Li, "Li Shuangshuang xiaozhuan," *Renmin wenxue*, 26; "A Brief Biography of Li Shuangshuang," in King, *Heroes of China's Great Leap Forward*, 58. An illustration on the same page of *Renmin wenxue* shows Li Shuangshuang holding up a handful of long noodles. The same scene appears in image 77 of Hua Sanchuan's illustration of the story in *Lianhuan huabao* 218 (June 21 1960): 21.
- 45 For the filmscript, see Li, *Li Zhun dianying juben xuan*. Li Zhun was a prolific author of filmscripts as well as of fiction. Jay Leyda notes that he "seems to be the only author in

- China who is continuously associated with filmmaking.” Jay Leyda, *Dianying: An Account of Films and Film Audience in China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972), 310.
- 46 Li, *Li Zhun dianying juban xuan*, 403.
- 47 For the film comedies of the early 1960s, see van Fliet, “People’s Literature,” 200-52. For the Four Clean-ups, see Richard Baum and Frederick Teiwes, *Ssu-ch’ing: The Socialist Education Movement of 1962-1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).
- 48 The film was honoured with a number of national Hundred Flowers awards for 1962, including best actress and best supporting actor. For more on the performers, see Xiaoning Liu, “Zhang Ruifang: Modeling the Socialist ‘Red Star,’” and Krista van Fliet Hang, “Zhong Xinghuo: Communist Film Worker,” in *Chinese Film Stars*, ed. Mary Farquhar and Yingjin Zhang (London: Routledge, 2010), 97-107, and 108-18 respectively.
- 49 Leyda, *Dianying*, 310 (emphasis in original).
- 50 The documentary accompanying the 2005 re-release of the DVD of the film is appropriately titled *Qiao zhe liang kouzi* [Look at the two of them] (Beijing: Beijing dianshitai, 2005). The documentary contains information on the preparations for the film and interviews with Zhang Ruifang and Zhong Xinghuo.
- 51 Ibid. See Jiang Qing’s instructions on “proletarian crying” to the actress playing the character Chang Bao in the opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, as recounted by Roxanne Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch’ing* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977), 423.
- 52 Matthew Johnson, “Beneath the Propaganda State: Early 1960s Grassroots Institutions and the Limits of Cultural ‘Reach’” (prepared for the workshop “Between Revolution and Reform: China at the Grassroots, 1960-1980,” Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, May 2010).
- 53 For more on He Youzhi’s *Li Shuangshuang* comic book, see van Fliet, “People’s Literature,” 98-99.
- 54 Chen Sihe, *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue shi jiaocheng* [A course in the history of modern Chinese literature] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 51.
- 55 Ibid., 49-50.
- 56 According to Li Zhun, he made statements during the Hundred Flowers movement to the effect that the cultural bureaucracy was a wall between authors and their audience, and that he would like to hear the sound of that wall falling. As a result, he was required to write a number of self-examinations – none of which he kept – before being released.
- 57 Chen Tushou, “1959 nian dongtian de Zhao Shuli” [Zhao Shuli in the winter of 1959], in *Ershi shiji Zhongguo wenxue de shilun* [Essays on the history of twentieth-century Chinese literature], rev. ed., ed. Wang Xiaoming (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2003), 170.
- 58 Ibid., 174-75.
- 59 William Hinton, *Shenfan* (New York: Random House, 1983), 217.
- 60 “We believed,” Ma Feng’s wife, Duan Xingmian, told me in my May 2002 interview with her and her husband, “because we wanted to believe.”
- 61 According to Professor Gao Wangling of Renmin University in Beijing, the canteens were never officially ordered closed, though most were disbanded by the end of 1960. Gao Wangling, pers. comm., Vienna, November 2006.

Chapter 4: Hu Wanchun’s “A Man of Outstanding Quality”

- 1 Lars Ragvald, “The Emergence of ‘Worker-Writers’ in Shanghai,” in *Shanghai: Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis*, ed. Christopher Howe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 301-25, qt.p.322. Hu Wanchun, “Teshu xingge de ren,” *Renmin wenxue* 12 (December 1959): 37-51. The story is dated 18 April 1959, and the *Renmin wenxue* version is said to be somewhat revised from the one that first appeared in the June

- 1959 issue of *Wenyi yuebao*. Reprinted in Hu Wanchun, *Xinsheng ji* [Sounds from the heart] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1981), 148-77; translated, with some omissions, as the title story in Hu Wan-chun, *Man of a Special Cut* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1963), 98-133. Ragvald translates the title as “A Man Made of Special Stuff”.
- 2 Nikolai Ostrovsky, *How the Steel Was Tempered*, trans. R. Prokofieva (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959); also as Nikolai Ostrovsky, *The Making of a Hero*, trans. Alec Brown (New York: Dutton, 1937). The novel was first published in two instalments in 1932 and 1934. Katerina Clark describes it as “one of the all-time classics of Socialist Realism.” Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 131.
 - 3 Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution II: The Great Leap Forward* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 88-90. Steel output for 1957 was 5.35 million tons. Mao demanded 10.7 million for 1958 and persuaded himself that 30.0 million was possible for 1959 and 100.0 to 120.0 by 1962.
 - 4 Welfare and attempts at population control during and after the Great Leap are considered in Nara Dillon, “The Urban Great Leap Forward: A Watershed in Urban Politics or Just Another Campaign?” (prepared for the workshop “Between Revolution and Reform: China at the Grassroots, 1960-1980,” Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, May 2010).
 - 5 The figure is quoted in Ragvald, “The Emergence of ‘Worker-Writers,’” 318.
 - 6 *Shanghai mingge xuan* [Collection of Shanghai folk-songs] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1958).
 - 7 “Qide Longwang huzi qiao” [The Dragon-king’s beard bristles with fury], “Da Yu zen neng he ni bi” [How can Yu the Great compare with you?], “Tiaodan bupa biandan wan” [Unafraid of the carrying-pole bending (under the weight of the load)], and “Mei ba hongqi dang jiazhuang” [Little sister (female voice in love-songs) offers a red flag as her trousseau], all in *Shanghai mingge xuan*, 183, 14, 214, 218. The industrial poems in the *Red Flag Ballads*, which originate from a number of urban centres, demonstrate similar themes. These include triumph over nature, in which the God of Thunder is humbled by the greater power of the explosives used by the miner-poet, and superiority to heroes of legend. “Wo he Leigong bi gao-di” [I compare height with the God of Thunder], and “Liu-yi Lu Ban chu jintian” [600 million Lu Bans bring forth this day], both in Guo Moruo and Zhou Yang, eds., *Hongqi geyao* [Red flag ballads] (1959; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1979), 233, 231, references are to the 1979 edition. A single poem celebrates the achievements of female industrial labour, in this case the transport-workers of Tianjin cheerfully pushing barrow-loads of coal through the night, “each drop of sweat turning into molten steel.” “Funü yunshudui” [The women’s transportation team], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 268-69; the line quoted is the last line of the poem. There are no love poems in the industrial section of the *Red Flag Ballads*, in contrast to the rural verses, but there is plenty of revolutionary romanticism: one verse links workers’ effort and zeal with painting and poetry, concluding, “Poetry and painting come from the factory floor, workers are the poets and painters.” “Gongren jiushi shi-hua jia” [Workers are the poets and painters], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 230.
 - 8 “Gang hua kailai hong you hong” [Steel flowers bloom red], in *Shanghai mingge xuan*, 140; “Gang jiao tikai Yingguo huo” [A steel foot kicks away British goods], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 141; “Sulian shushu zhen congming” [The Soviet uncles are really smart], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 272.
 - 9 “Renjian xibao duo” [So much good news], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 303.
 - 10 “Xinli kuaihuo xiebuwan” [The joy in our hearts never fully set down], in Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 305.
 - 11 “Yancong,” in *Shanghai mingge xuan*, 106, and Guo and Zhou, *Hongqi geyao*, 235; trans. in Lars Ragvald, *Yao Wenyan as a Literary Critic and Theorist: The Emergence of Chinese*

- Zhdanovism* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Department of Oriental Languages, 1978), 125. I have followed Ragvald's translation, restoring the divisions of lines in the original, where Ragvald writes it out as prose.
- 12 Yao Wenyuan, *Zai qianjin de daolu shang* [On the road forward] (Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 1965), 265; translated and quoted in Ragvald, *Yao Wenyuan*, 125. Ragvald's discussion of the essay is on pages 122-25.
 - 13 Yao's 1954 article attacking Hu Feng was written with the assistance of his mentor and future Gang of Four colleague Zhang Chunqiao. A story making the rounds in Shanghai literary circles during the mid-1980s, following Yao's trial and condemnation, held that he had been sympathetic to Hu Feng in the first draft of his article, but that, on hearing from Zhang Chunqiao that a mass campaign against Hu was about to be launched, he swiftly revised it to express his furious condemnation of Hu's heterodox literary views. If true, the story demonstrates the flexibility of Yao's principles, the speed of his reactions, and his capacity for instant moral outrage.
 - 14 Ragvald, *Yao Wenyuan*, 115.
 - 15 *Ibid.*
 - 16 For Yao's reading of Hu Wanchun's stories, see Yao Wenyuan, "Teshu xingge de ren xuyan" [Preface to (the short-story collection) *A Man of Outstanding Quality*], in Yao, *Zai qianjin de daolu shang*, 324-39.
 - 17 Ragvald, "The Emergence of 'Worker-Writers,'" 307.
 - 18 The Uptown Theatre (Ping'an daxiyuan), at the corner of Nanjing Road West (formerly Bubbling Well Road) and Shaanxi Road North, was renamed the Ping'an Cinema (Ping'an dianyingyuan) after 1949; in the 1990s it became the Arts Cinema (Yishu dianyingyuan). It is not one of the major cinemas appearing in the guidebooks for Republican Shanghai. For information on the cinema, and other Old Shanghai facts, I am indebted to Pan Ling and Michael Schoenhals.
 - 19 Author conversation with Hu Wanchun, May 1990. I do not claim this as an interview; we talked as we walked around town in the company of mutual friends for an afternoon, beginning at the Ping'an and ending at Hu Wanchun's bookstore, which specialized in translations of foreign works, from American popular fiction to Nobel Prize winners.
 - 20 Hu Wanchun, "Gu rou," story dated 5 September 1955, in Hu, *Xinsheng ji*, 1-13; trans. as "Flesh and Blood" in Hu, *Man of a Special Cut*, 134-49.
 - 21 Quoted in Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989), 145. Stalin was to return to this form of words frequently thereafter; see Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 119.
 - 22 Hu, "Teshu xingge de ren," 37-38 (translation mine, with reference to the Foreign Languages Press version).
 - 23 *Ibid.*, 46. Vincent van Gogh might have had a similar epiphany at Arles.
 - 24 See Chapter 5 below. It is characteristic of Wang Gang's solicitude and guile that he feeds and liquors his unwilling workers before taking the plunge and urging them to follow. The more austere Iron-man, Wang Jinxi, simply leaps in.
 - 25 Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 132-33 (emphasis in original).
 - 26 For the reception of the novel in China, from first translation to the first decade of the reform era, see Donghui He, "Coming of Age in the Brave New World: The Changing Reception of *How the Steel Was Tempered* in the People's Republic of China," in *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949 - Present*, ed. Thomas Bernstein and Hua-yu Li (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 393-420.
 - 27 Miin-ling Yu, "A Soviet Hero, Pavel Korchagin, Comes to China," *Russian History* 29, 2-4 (2002): 329-55. Additional information on the publication and dissemination of the novel and film in China was provided on the *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* listserv in 2004 by a number of contributors including Michel Hockx, Wendy Larson, and Xinmin Liu.

- 28 For an example in which a section of the novel is used to describe Ostrovsky's participation in the railway-building incident, see the Soviet hagiography S. Tregub, *The Heroic Life of Nikolai Ostrovsky* (Moscow: Foreign Language Press, n.d.), 17. For information on the educational uses of Pavel in Ukraine, I am grateful to my University of Victoria colleague Serhy Yekelchuk, one of the late Soviet-era Ukrainian youngsters who made the pilgrimage to Boyarka Station outside Kiev.
- 29 Wu Yunduo, *Ba yiqie xian gei dang* (1953; repr., Beijing: Gongren chubanshe, 1964). Although Foreign Languages Press used a literal translation of the title for its French-language version (*Tout pour le parti*), it was changed for the English version: Wu Yun-to, *Son of the Working Class* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1956).
- 30 Wu, *Son of the Working Class*, 217-18.
- 31 Wu's meeting with Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other leaders took place on the occasion of National Day, 1 October 1951. The report "Gangtie shi zenyang liancheng de – jieshao Zhongguo de Bao'er. Kechajin" (How the steel was tempered – introducing China's Pavel Korchagin) appeared in *Renmin ribao* on 5 October.
- 32 Hu Wanchun, "Bu Gao shifu suo xiangdao de," in Hu, *Xinsheng ji*, 98-109; translated as "What Instructor Pu Kao Thought," in Hu, *Man of a Special Cut*, 83-97.
- 33 Rudolf G. Wagner, "Life as a Quote from a Foreign Book: Love, Pavel and Rita," in *Das Andere China: Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Helwig Schmidt-Glinzer (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1995), 463-76, qt.p.474. I have changed Wagner's "Pawel" to "Pavel" for consistency. As Wagner notes, the Soviet novel was itself a quotation from a foreign book, Ethel Voynich's 1897 historical romance *The Gadfly* (Chinese title *Niumang*). That novel was published in 1897 and immediately translated into Russian, to be followed later by many of the languages of the Soviet Union. E.L. Voynich, *The Gadfly*, with an introduction by Harrison Salisbury (New York: Pyramid Books, 1961). The Chinese translation and a 1955 Soviet film adaptation made *The Gadfly* extremely popular with Chinese youth enchanted by its blend of revolution and romance. The novel and film are discussed, and short clips shown, in the film *Morning Sun*, directed by Carma Hinton, Geremie Barmé, and Richard Gordon (Brookline, MA: Long Bow Group, 2003). *The Gadfly* resurfaced briefly as a literary model for Chinese youth in Liu Xinwu's pioneering post-Mao story "Banzhuren" (The homeroom teacher). Liu's story is included in most anthologies of immediate post-Mao fiction, including Liu Xinwu et al., *Shanghen* [Wounds] (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1978). It is translated as "Class Counsellor" in Lu Xinhua et al., *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*, 77-78, trans. Geremie Barmé and Bennett Lee (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1979), 147-78.
- 34 The 1956 film version continued to be shown into the Cultural Revolution, at least until the production of Chinese-made feature films began again in the early 1970s.
- 35 Yu, "A Soviet Hero."
- 36 Ostrovsky, *The Making of a Hero*, 270.
- 37 Hu, "Teshu xingge de ren," 49.
- 38 Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 119. See also pages 120-21 for more on Stakhanov and the Stakhanovites.
- 39 Hu, "Teshu xingge de ren," 51. Wu Yunduo likewise ends his book with a look ahead to the communist future. Wu, *Son of the Working Class*, 225.
- 40 Hu, "Teshu xingge de ren," 51. This paragraph is omitted from the English translation.
- 41 Žižek, *The Sublime Object*, 145.
- 42 Liang Xiaosheng, *Chongsu Bao'er. Kechajin* [Refashioning Pavel Korchagin] (Beijing: Tongxin chubanshe, 2001). The series was financed from China and filmed in Ukraine with Ukrainian actors. In 2001, when Liang published *Chongsu Bao'er. Kechajin*, it had been seen only in China.

- 43 Ibid., 323-24.
- 44 Preface to Hu, *Man of a Special Cut*, iv; Zhdanov quoted in Régine Robin, *Socialist Realism: An Impossible Aesthetic*, trans. Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 215.
- 45 Quoted in Michael S. Duke, *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 32-33.
- 46 Ragvald, "The Emergence of 'Worker-Writers,'" 325.
- 47 The story was Cui Hongrui's "Yipian jie maodun de baogao" (A report exposing contradictions). See Richard King, "A Fiction Revealing Collusion: Allegory and Evasion in the Mid-1970s," *Modern Chinese Literature* 10 (1997): 71-90.
- 48 The concept of "middle characters" (*zhongjian renwu*) was hotly debated in literary circles during the early 1960s. See Joe C. Huang, *Heroes and Villains in Communist China* (New York: Pica Press, 1973), 266-91. Middle characters were one of the "eight black theories" (*heibalun*) condemned during the mid-1960s by Jiang Qing in "Lin Biao tongzhi weituo Jiang Qing tongzhi zhaokai de budui wenyi gongzuo zuotanhui jiyao," *Jiefangjun wenyi* 8-9 (September 1967): 3-9; translated as "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with which Comrade Lin Biao Entrusted Comrade Jiang Qing," *Peking Review* 23 (2 June 1967): 10-16.
- 49 Hu Wanchun, "Zhandi chunqiu" [Annals of the battlefield], in *Zhaoxia congkan* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), 1-98.
- 50 When the national and regional writers' associations introduced a ranking system for writers after the Cultural Revolution, both Li Zhun and Hu Wanchun were placed in the top echelon. Both wrote long fiction after their rehabilitation; Hu Wanchun also wrote literary criticism, and Li Zhun filmscripts. Their first post-1976 novels were Li Zhun, *Huanghe dong liu qu* [The Yellow River flows east], 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1979); and Hu Wanchun, *Wanü* [The girl diver] (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1983).

Chapter 5: Hao Ran on *The Golden Road*

- 1 This chapter draws on my article "Revision and Transformation in the Cultural Revolution Novel," *Modern Chinese Literature* 7 (1993): 105-29.
- 2 Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- 3 Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao, *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution*, trans. and ed. D.W.Y. Kwok (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).
- 4 Case studies include the history of the Red Guard movement by Yin Hongbiao of Beijing University as his PhD dissertation. Yin Hongbiao, "Wenhua da geming' qijian de qingnian sichao yu sixiang tansuo" [Youthful trends of thought and ideological searching in the "Cultural Revolution"] (PhD diss., Beijing University, 2005).
- 5 See, for example, Liu Xiaomeng, *Zhongguo zhiqing shi – dachao 1966-1980 nian* [The history of the Chinese urban youth – the high tide 1966-1980] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998). Other studies are cited in Chapter 6, which focuses on a novel by one of the "urban youth" generation.
- 6 Paul Clark, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For the visual arts, see Wang Mingxian and Yan Shanchen, *Xin Zhongguo meishu tu shi* [History of the fine arts in New China], English subtitle *The Art History of the People's Republic of China* (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2000). According to the authors, they were not permitted to use the words "Cultural Revolution" in the title, though that is what the book is about.
- 7 The visual and performing arts are also the focus of Richard King, ed., *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-76* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

- 8 Hao Ran, “Guanyu *Jinguang dadao* de jiju hua” [A few words on *The Golden Road*], in Hao Ran, *Nituchao xiezuo sanlun* [Occasional writings from Muddy Nest] (Kaifeng: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1997), 260–63. Muddy Nest was the name of Hao Ran’s residence in Sanhe County east of Beijing.
- 9 Lan Yang, *Chinese Fiction of the Cultural Revolution* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998).
- 10 This is the case in volume 9 of Zhang Jiong, Deng Shaoji, and Fan Jun, *Zhonghua wenxue tongshi* [Comprehensive history of Chinese literature], 10 vols. (Beijing: Huayi chubanshe, 2000). No works of Cultural Revolution literature are mentioned; by contrast, the collectivization novels and red classics *Chuangye shi* (History of setting up, translated as *The Builders*) by Liu Qing, and *Shanxiang jubian* (Great changes in a mountain village) by Zhou Libo, which cover much the same ground as *The Golden Road*, both feature in small sections on their authors. Hao Ran is mentioned as the author of *Yanyangtian* (Bright sunny skies) and as a writer of short stories. Zhang, Deng, and Fan, *Zhonghua wenxue tongshi*, 9:13, 9:5.
- 11 Zhang, Deng, and Fan, *Zhonghua wenxue tongshi*, 9:5.
- 12 See Yang Jian, *Wenhua da geming zhong de dixia wenxue* [Underground literature of the Cultural Revolution] (Jinan: Chaohua chubanshe, 1993); Shuyu Kong, “Between Undercurrent and Mainstream: Social Production of Hand-Copied Literature during and after the Cultural Revolution” (prepared for the workshop “Between Revolution and Reform: China at the Grassroots, 1960–1980,” Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, May 2010).
- 13 Well-known post-Mao authors who published fiction before September 1976 include Shen (Chen) Rong, Gu Hua, and Jiang Zilong. Zhang Kangkang, much better known for her later work than for her first novel *The Dividing Line* (the subject of Chapter 6), professed to have forgotten the plot of that novel when we discussed it in 2002.
- 14 An ignominious example was a novel published a few months before the first volume of *The Golden Road*; this was *Hongnan zuozhan shi* [History of battles at Hongnan] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1972). It was written in eighteen months by a “three-in-one” writing team (of writers drawn from the “masses,” political officials, and the literary critic Zhou Tian) in celebration of the history of land reform in Hongnan County near Shanghai. The project was ill-fated: there are inconsistencies between sections written by different members of the team, the plot is absurdly contrived, the narrator lectures constantly, and the hero has only to cite Mao to be assured of success. He proclaims, “Chairman Mao is truly brilliant! Chairman Mao is in Beijing, how is it that Chairman Mao knows everything that happens here, just as if he had seen it with his own eyes!” *Hongnan zuozhan shi*, 440. The novel was favourably reviewed in the press until 1975, when the local official on whom the hero was based was demoted for sexual misdemeanours, and the book sank into deserved oblivion.
- 15 These were Hao Ran, *Xisha ernü* [Sons and daughters of the Xisha Islands], 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing renmin chubanshe, 1974), a prose-poetry-style tale of the defenders of disputed islands written after Hao Ran and the poet Zhang Yongmei were dispatched to the islands on Jiang Qing’s orders, and Hao Ran, *Baihuachuan* [Hundred Flower Valley] (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe, 1976). Named after the valley in which it is set, *Baihuachuan* features a heroine who exposes rural “capitalist-roaders” in keeping with the futile campaign against Deng Xiaoping at the end of the Cultural Revolution. Hao Ran admitted to his reasons for writing these two novels in his 1977 self-examination, of which a text is reproduced in the 2008 edition of Hao Ran, *Hao Ran koushu zizhuan* [Hao Ran’s oral autobiography], transcribed by Zheng Shi (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2008), 245–58. His confession was successful in distancing himself somewhat from Jiang Qing and former minister of culture Yu Huiyong, and thus avoiding serious censure.

- 16 In my interviews with Li Zhun, he expressed contempt for Hao Ran's work, which he felt to be poorly written and untrue to historical fact. Liu Heng, one of the younger generation of authors, privately bemoaned the older man's influence in suppressing innovative writing. Author conversation with Liu Heng, June 1995. Liu Heng was to speak more kindly of Hao Ran when he attended his funeral.
- 17 By the end of the Cultural Revolution, there were many more model works than the eight that were introduced in 1967, and more writers than Hao Ran, but the cliché does draw attention to the limited fare available to audiences and readers for much of the period.
- 18 For post-Mao writing that presents an opposing view of land reform and collectivization, see Mo Yan's novel *Sheng-si pilao* (Life and death are wearing me out), Yu Hua's *Huo zhe* (To live) and *Xu Sanguan mai xue ji* (Xu Sanguan sells his blood), translated as *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, and Liu Heng's *Fuxi Fuxi*, translated as *The Obsessed*. Later examples of urban youth literature will be discussed in the next chapter.
- 19 Hao Ran was described as a peasant novelist in the title of an introduction to his works for Western readers. See Joe C. Huang, "Haoran the Peasant Novelist," *Modern China* 2, 3 (July 1976): 369-96.
- 20 In addition to works cited elsewhere, I have drawn for this summary of Hao Ran's life and writing on my interviews with the author between April 1981 and May 2002. By our final meeting in 2006, his mental decline was advanced, and I decided against questioning him on his work. I also referred to Chia Ching, "Introducing the Writer Hao Jan," *Chinese Literature* (April 1974): 95-101; Jia Ling [Ye Jiaying], "Hao Ran fangwen ji" [An interview with Hao Ran], *Dousou* (March 1978): 28-40; "Hao Ran jianjie" [A brief introduction to Hao Ran], in *Hao Ran zuopin yanjiu ziliao* [Materials for the study of Hao Ran's works] (Nanjing: Nanjing shifan xueyuan, 1974), 1-7.
- 21 Ye Shengtao, "Xin nongcun de xin mianmao – du *Xique deng zhi* [The new face of the new countryside: Reading *The Magpie Climbs the Branch*], *Dushu* 14 (1958), reprinted in *Hao Ran yanjiu zhuanji* [Collected reference materials on Hao Ran], ed. Sun Dayou and Liang Chunshui (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1999), 330-38. This collection of materials has considerable overlap with the 1974 collection cited above, but it omits some of the author's Cultural Revolution essays and presentations, and continues the bibliography of his works for a further twenty years.
- 22 Yao Wenyuan, "Shengqi-bobo de nongcun tuhua – tan Hao Ran jinnian lai de duanpian xiaoshuo" [Lively pictures of the village: On recent short stories by Hao Ran], *Renmin ribao*, 28 October 1962, reprinted in Yao Wenyuan, *Zai qianjin de daolu shang* [On the road forward] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1965), 226-39, qt.p.236 (emphasis in original).
- 23 "Jinqian ren songbie zuojia Hao Ran" [Almost a thousand people bid farewell to the author Hao Ran], *Jinghua shibao*, 29 February 2008, A38.
- 24 W.H.F. Jenner, "Class Struggle in the Countryside: A Novelist's View," *Modern Chinese Studies* 1, 2 (1967): 191-206.
- 25 "Hao Ran tan wenyi chuangzuo" [Hao Ran talks about literary creation], pts. 1 and 2, *Qishi niandai* (August 1976): 68-72; (September 1976): 66-71. This is a transcription of the author's Cultural Revolution version of events, transcribed from a lecture given to foreign students at Beijing University in 1975.
- 26 Author interview with Hao Ran, May 1981. An adulatory biography of Wang Guofu is "La geming che bu song tao, yizhi ladao gongchanzhuyi – ji wuchanjieji youxiu zhanshi Wang Guofu" ["Pull the cart of revolution without letting go of the traces, pull it all the way to communism" – a record of the outstanding proletarian warrior Wang Guofu], *Renmin ribao*, 20 January 1970, reprinted in *Xiandai wenzhang xuandu* [Selected modern essays] (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1976), 77-93.

- 27 Zhang Dexiang, “‘Shenhua’ yu ‘shihua’ – wo kan *Jinguang dadao*” [“Myth” and “epic” – my reading of *The Golden Road*], first published in the journal *Qingnian wenyijia* [Young literati] 2 (1995): 10-15 and 61-64. A copy was provided for me by the author.
- 28 In *Jinguang dadao*, Hao Ran casts doubt on their value as manuals. In Chapter 22 of volume 2, “Xu Meng xia xiang” (Xu Meng goes down to the village), pages 220-39, the innocent and bookish cadre Xu Meng, following novelistic practice, tries to seek out the poorest villagers but mistakenly picks out the former landlord Crooked Mouth (Waizuizi).
- 29 Here I apply Northrop Frye’s definition of melodrama as “the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealizing of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience.” Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 47.
- 30 The conflicting ideologies were customarily characterized as the Yan’an Way and the Soviet Model. See Mark Selden, *The Yanan Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Bill Brugger, *Contemporary China* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).
- 31 Frederick C. Teiwes, “Mao and His Lieutenants,” *Australian Journal of Chinese Studies* 19-20 (January-July 1988): 23.
- 32 Liu Shaoqi’s name is not mentioned in *The Golden Road*. No such discretion constrained the authors of *Hongnan zuozhan shi*, who refer to him as “the great traitor Liu Shaoqi.” *Hongnan zuozhan shi*, 339.
- 33 I have described the three prominences elsewhere and demonstrated their application in a painting. See King, “Fantasies of Battle: Making the Militant Hero Prominent,” in King, *Art in Turmoil*, 203-15.
- 34 Chu Lan, “Suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong dianxing shi shehuizhuyi wenyi de genben renwu” [Portraying proletarian heroic types is the basic task of socialist arts], *Renmin ribao*, 15 June 1974.
- 35 The opera *Zhiqu Weihushan* (Taking Tiger Mountain by strategy) was subject to a decade of revision, which gave rise to the cliché describing the model works’ perfection: “ten years to hone one opera” (*shinian mo yi xi*). See Fang Yun, *Geming yangbanxi xuexi zhaji* [Notes on the study of the model theatrical works] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1974), 21-26. For an example of a troupe account, see Shanghai jingjutuan *Zhiqu Weihushan* juzu, “Nuli suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong renwu de guangrong xingxiang – dui suzao Yang Zirong yingxiong xingxiang de yixie tihui,” *Hongqi* 11 (November 1969): 62-71; trans. as “Strive to Create the Brilliant Images of Proletarian Heroes – Impressions on the Creation of the Heroic Image of Yang Tzu-jung [Zirong],” *Peking Review* 51-52 (26 December 1969): 34-39. For Jiang Qing’s biography, see Roxanne Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch’ing* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977), 410-25. Directives from Jiang Qing are collected in the Red Guard anthology Jiang Qing, *Wuxian fengguang zai xianfeng – Jiang Qing tongzhi guanyu wenyi geming de jianghua* [Limitless view on a perilous peak – speeches by Comrade Jiang Qing on revolution in the arts] (Tianjin: Nankai daxue weidong, 1968).
- 36 In art, as in food and fashion, Jiang Qing did not limit herself to the diet she prescribed for her subjects; among her favourites were the films of Greta Garbo.
- 37 *Makesizhuyi wenyi lilun jiben wenti* [Basic questions in Marxist artistic theory] (Shenyang: Dongbei diqu ba yuan xiao [Eight universities in the northeast region], 1973), 150.
- 38 Testimonies to the motivational efficacy of the model theatrical works are contained in *Yizhi changdao gongchanzhuyi – gong-nong-bing puji geming yangbanxi diaocha baogao* [Sing all the way to communism: Investigative reports on popularization of the model theatrical works by workers, peasants, and soldiers] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), esp. the title article, pages 1-23.
- 39 As did the young worker-writer Duan Ruixia when writing the celebrated short story “Tebie guanzhong,” published in *Zhaoxia* [Dawn clouds] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1973),

- 1-17; translated as Tuan Jui-hsia [Duan Ruixia], "Not Just One of the Audience," *Chinese Literature* 9 (September 1973): 51-64. See Duan Ruixia, "Zuo weida shidai douzheng shenghuo de jiluyuan" [Being the recorder of the life of struggle in a great age], in *Duanpian xiaoshuo xuandu* [Selected short stories] (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue zhongwenxi, n.d. [1976?]), 86-95, qt.p.92; the story is reprinted on pages 68-85. See also King, "Fantasies of Battle," in King, *Art in Turmoil*.
- 40 The *quan* of Gao Daquan's name means "spring (of water)." In his study of the novel, Wong Kam-ming points to the character's association with water. See Wong Kam-ming, "A Study of Hao Ran's Two Novels: Art and Politics in *Bright Sunny Skies* and *The Road in Golden Light*," in *Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism*, ed. Wolfgang Kubin and Rudolf Wagner (Bochum, West Germany: Brockmeyer, 1982), 117-49. For another Western reading of the novel, see Michael Egan, "A Notable Sermon: The Subtext of Hao Ran's Fiction," in *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China 1949-1979*, ed. Bonnie S. McDougall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 224-43.
- 41 See Hao Ran, "Mantan suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong renwu de jige wenti" [Talks on some questions regarding the depiction of proletarian heroic characters], in *Hao Ran zuopin yanjiu ziliao*, 11-29. This essay may be one of the works for which the author expressed regret in his later self-examination.
- 42 Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 9-10.
- 43 Hao Ran, "Xindaokou qiaoyu," Chap. 46 in Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao* [The golden road] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1972), 1:487-99.
- 44 Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); see esp. pages 16, 30, 245-46, and 318-33.
- 45 Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, and Gerhard Adler, eds., *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung* (New York: Pantheon Books 1957), 7:para. 300.
- 46 C.G. Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," in Read, Fordham, and Adler, *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, 9.1:42-53.
- 47 Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 30. Although the gold standard of the hero's journey is that of Odysseus/Ulysses, Campbell's morphology of the hero cycle is drawn from a wide historical and geographical range. Obvious examples of heroes' journeys that postdate Campbell's study are those of Frodo Baggins (in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy) and Luke Skywalker (in the first *Star Wars* trilogy of films), the latter unsurprisingly given its creator George Lucas's familiarity with Campbell's work.
- 48 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 1:489. The entire runaway horse incident is missing from Carma Hinton and Chris Gilmartin's translation, in which Tian Yu simply walks over and introduces himself at the tea-stall. Hao Ran, *The Golden Road*, trans. Carma Hinton and Chris Gilmartin (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981), 314.
- 49 Hao Ran, "Bangwan," in Hao Ran, *Zhenzhu* [Pearls] (Tianjin: Baihua chubanshe, 1962), 90-103; reprinted in Hao Ran, *Huaduoji* [Garland] (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1980), 17-30.
- 50 Hao Ran, "Bangwan," in *Huaduoji*, 19.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 24 (ellipses in original).
- 53 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 1:490-91.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 1:492.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 1:493.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 1:35. When Gao Daquan and Tian Yu meet for the first time, in an incident set in 1942, they defuse another runaway horse incident, as gunfire alarms a horse that Gao is driving and Tian restrains it.

- 57 Ibid., 1:497.
- 58 Ibid., 1:498.
- 59 Liang Haishan's first political lecture concluded the novel's prologue. Ibid., 1:48-49.
- 60 Ibid., 1:500.
- 61 Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong xuanji* [Selected works of Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1968), 3:882-90; Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), 3:153-61.
- 62 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 1:508-9.
- 63 See the section "Geming yangbanxi jingyan zai xiaoshuo lingyu de chengong yunyong" [The successful adoption of the experience of model theatrical works in the realm of fiction], in *Jinguang dadao pingxi* [Analysis of *The Golden Road*] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975), 83-92. The book was prepared at Fudan University's Chinese Department by a "three-in-one" combination of Party leadership, four students, and Professor Wang Yongsheng. Author interview with Wang Yongsheng, June 1981.
- 64 As Carlo Ginzberg notes of Conan Doyle's creations, "Incidentally the Holmes-Watson pair, the sharp-eyed detective and the obtuse doctor, represents the splitting of a single character, one of the youthful Conan Doyle's professors [John Bell] famous for his diagnostic ability." Carlo Ginzberg, "Clues: Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes," in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Pierce*, ed. Umberto Eco and Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 81-118, qt.p.87.
- 65 A variant used by Zhao Shuli features a progressive daughter-in-law and a conservative mother-in-law, in "Chuanjiabao," in Zhao Shuli, *Zhao Shuli xiaoshuo xuan* [Selected fiction of Zhao Shuli] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1980), 272-86; translated as "The Heirloom," in Zhao Shuli, *Rhymes of Li Youcai and Other Stories*, 2nd ed., trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980), 67-86.
- 66 For analysis of *The Builders* (*Chuangye shi*) and a discussion of Old Liang the Third as a middle character, see Joe C. Huang, *Heroes and Villains in Communist China: The Contemporary Chinese Novel as a Reflection of Life* (New York: Pica Press, 1973), 273-78.
- 67 The brothers are the middle-aged Qin Fu, who believes in family enrichment, and Qin Kai, who tentatively supports collectivization. Their differences are repeated in Qin Fu's sons Wenjie, who follows his father, and Wenqing, who prefers Gao Daquan. See "Yihu zhong-nong de liangdai dixiong" [Two generations of brothers in a middle-peasant family], in *Jinguang dadao pingxi*, 69-76. The section is the work of Wang Yongsheng alone; in 1981 he expressed interest in undertaking a longer study of the Qins but reported that he was prevented by an order forbidding any research into Cultural Revolution literature. Author interview with Wang Yongsheng, June 1981. Professor Wang died shortly afterward and did not add to his research on the novel. For developments in the third and fourth volumes, see the Epilogue.
- 68 Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 1:3-11; Mao, *Selected Works*, 1:13-21. The passage on *zigengnong* "owner-peasants," which a footnote defines as *zhongnong* "middle peasants," is on page 5 of the Chinese text and page 15 of the English.
- 69 Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 1:8; Mao, *Selected Works*, 1:18.
- 70 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 1:156-58 (ellipses added).
- 71 The sleepless worker up to his waist in liquid plot element is drawn from the human-concrete-mixer fable in the mythology of Daqing's Iron-man Wang, the most celebrated of the pioneer oil-workers of the Great Leap era, backdated to the early 1950s. Both Chen and Wang are additionally injured at the time of their heroic acts. See "Zhongguo gongren jieji de xianfeng zhanshi – tieren Wang Jinxi" [Vanguard warrior of the Chinese industrial working class – Iron-man Wang Jinxi], *Renmin ribao*, 28 January 1972; repr. in *Xiandai wenzhang xuandu*, 1-29, esp. page 7.

- 72 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 1:574.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 1:213.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 1:345.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 1:506.
- 76 Hao Ran, *Yanyangtian* [Bright sunny skies] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, vol. 1, 1964, vols. 2 and 3, 1966; repr. 1974).
- 77 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 1:43.
- 78 Feng's class designation at the time of land reform is middle-peasant, which places him within the limits of class acceptability. However, this status was conferred over the objections of Gao Daquan, who had wanted Feng placed in the "class enemy" category of rich peasant.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 1:219.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 1:327.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 1:328-29.
- 82 A representative opera turnabout character is the young dock worker Han Xiaoqiang, who is persuaded of the nobility of his profession and alerted to the malevolence of the barely concealed class enemy by the heroine Fang Haizhen in the model theatrical work *Haigang*. See *Geming yangbanxi juben huibian* [Libretti of model theatrical works] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1974), 283-338; trans. as *On the Docks* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1973).
- 83 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 2:599.
- 84 Sun Yu, dir., *Jinguang dadao: shang* [The golden road] (Changchun: Changchun dianying zhipianchang, 1975). This is Part 1 of a projected 3.
- 85 The reading comes in Scene 6 of the opera. *Geming yangbanxi juben huibian*, 380; *Song of the Dragon River* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), 26-27. Mao's essay, one of the "three constantly read articles" (*laosanpian*) of the Cultural Revolution and already committed to memory by almost all who saw the opera and its film version in the 1960s and 1970s, was "Jinian Baiqiu'en." See Mao, *Mao Zedong xuanji*, 2:620-22; Mao, *Selected Works*, 2:337-38.
- 86 Author interview with Hao Ran, May 1981.
- 87 *Zhongguo dangdai wenxueshi chugao* [Draft history of contemporary Chinese literature] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1980), 1:193.
- 88 *Resolution on CPC History (1949-81)* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981), 27-47.
- 89 As, for example, the allegorical history of the barbershop that begins Wang Meng's story "Youyou cuncaoixin," *Shanghai wenzue* 9 (September 1979): 4-16; trans. as Wang Meng, "The Barber's Tale," *Chinese Literature* 7 (July 1980): 22-40. Rudolf Wagner's analysis of the story is in Rudolf G. Wagner, ed., *Literatur und Politik in der Volksrepublik China* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1983), 249-54, and in Rudolf G. Wagner, *Inside a Service Trade: Studies in Contemporary Chinese Prose* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 481-531.
- 90 Ru Zhijuan, "Jianji cuole de gushi," *Renmin wenzue* 2 (February 1979): 65-76; trans. Wang Mingjie as "A Badly Edited Story," in Ru Zhijuan, *Lilies and Other Stories* (Beijing: Panda Books, 1985), 153-73, was among the first exposés of the Great Leap. Gao Xiaosheng's "Li Shunda zao wu" is an ironic review of the Party's relationship with a compliant peasantry. Gao Xiaosheng, "Li Shunda zao wu," in Gao Xiaosheng, *79 nian xiaoshuoji* [(Gao Xiaosheng's 19) 79 short stories] (N.p.: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1982), 12-26; trans. Madelyn Ross as "Li Shunda Builds a House," in Gao Xiaosheng, *The Broken Betrothal* (Beijing: Panda Books, 1987), 25-57. Leo Lee compares Gao's story with Wang Meng's writing in "The Politics of Technique: Perspectives of Literary Dissidence in Contemporary Chinese Fiction," in *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society 1978-81*, ed. Jeffrey C. Kinkley

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 159-90. See also Wagner, *Inside a Service Trade*, 431-80.

Chapter 6: Zhang Kangkang at *The Dividing Line*

- 1 I have illustrated this tendency to militarize peacetime conflict in Richard King, "Fantasies of Battle: Making the Militant Hero Prominent," in *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-76*, ed. Richard King (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 203-15.
- 2 See, for example, the section quoted by Judith Shapiro from a report of Cultural Revolution dam building in Yunnan: "Each of these great boulders is a heavy bomb launched at the traitor/secret agent/scab Liu Shaoqi's foreign slave philosophy and reptilianism, it is a sword that cuts to the heart of American imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and the counter-revolutionary faction of each country." Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 127.
- 3 Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature*, 9. Shapiro's source for this quotation is a letter from a "Chinese scholar from Yunnan Province." The lines are also quoted in *Mao Zedong tongzhi de qing-shaonian shidai* [The childhood and youth of Comrade Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1951), 33, and were reprinted at the start of the Cultural Revolution, in *Jiefangjunbao*, 27 June 1966.
- 4 Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature*, 13.
- 5 An early study of the rustication movement is Thomas Bernstein, *Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages: The Transfer of Youth from Urban to Rural China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). Studies of the works of zhiqing authors include Zuoya Cao, *Out of the Crucible: Literary Works about the Rusticated Youth* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003); Richard King, "Models and Misfits: Rusticated Youth in Three Novels of the 1970s," in *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution*, ed. William A. Joseph, Christene W. Wong, and David Zweig (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 243-64 (which includes a brief analysis of *The Dividing Line*). Hong Zicheng, *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature*, trans. Michael M. Day (Leiden: Brill, 2007), has a brief section titled "'Educated Youth Fiction' in the Reconsideration of History" on pages 309-14. Translations of a range of writings by and about the zhiqing are included in "There and Back Again: The Chinese Urban Youth Generation," ed. Richard King, special issue, *Renditions* 50 (Autumn 1998). Laifong Leung, *Morning Sun: Interviews with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), has interviews with most of the major zhiqing writers, including Zhang Kangkang, on pages 229-39. Chinese studies on the zhiqing include Liu Xiaomeng, *Zhongguo zhiqing shi – dachao 1966-1980 nian* [The history of the Chinese urban youth – the high tide 1966-1980] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998); Deng Xian, *Zhongguo zhiqing meng* [The dream of the Chinese urban youth] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1993).
- 6 *Renmin ribao*, 22 December 1968; the full directive is quoted at the beginning of volume 1 of Guo Xianhong's novel *Zhengtu* [The journey] (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1973). Guo Xianhong was the pen-name for two older professional writers. For a summary of the novel, see King, "Models and Misfits," in Joseph, Wong, and Zweig, *New Perspectives*, 245-48. The first two chapters of the novel, the reception of the directive and the pre-departure parade, are translated in King, "There and Back Again," *Renditions*, 10-17.
- 7 The process was described to me during a visit to the Shanghai home of the author Wang Ruowang in April 1981 by his daughter, who had witnessed such persuasion.
- 8 For the socialization of the Red Guard generation, who, as members of the *laosanjie*, "three senior graduating classes" (of 1966, '67, and '68), formed the first wave of zhiqing, see Anita

- Chan, *Children of Mao: Personality Development and Political Activism in the Red Guard Generation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).
- 9 Like so many of the vaunted agricultural breakthroughs of the Maoist era, Dazhai turned out to be fraudulent, and emulation resulted in disaster. See Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature*, 95-114.
 - 10 Zhang Kangkang, *Fenjiexian* [The dividing line] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1975).
 - 11 Subsequent works by the author are listed in the collection Zhang Kangkang, *Dahuang binghe* [Great wasteland, river of ice] (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1998), 276-80; see also the entry by Sylvia Chan on Zhang Kangkang in Lily Xiao Hong Lee, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Twentieth Century 1912-2000* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 682-85; and the introduction in Zhang Kangkang, *Living with Their Past: Post-Urban Youth Fiction*, ed. Richard King (Hong Kong: Renditions Paperbacks, 2003), 7-13.
 - 12 Her marriage and the birth of her child do not appear in any of the memoirs she has written of that time, though she does include a very similar story in her novel *The Invisible Companion* (*Yinxing banliu*). Information for this introduction to Zhang Kangkang derives in part from a number of my interviews and conversations with the author between 1987, at the University of Victoria, and 2006, in Beijing. The October 1987 and May 2002 interviews dealt with her fiction on the rustication experience.
 - 13 Zhang Kangkang, "Fenjiexian," in Zhang, *Dahuang binghe*, 255-75. The book is one in a series of memoirs by authors from the laosanjie cohort.
 - 14 The secrecy of the undertaking is not mentioned in her memoir but was stressed in the October 1987 interview.
 - 15 Zhang, "Fenjiexian," in Zhang, *Dahuang binghe*, 255.
 - 16 The first representatives of the publisher to visit her in Hangzhou are referred to in the memoir by surname only as Lao [Old] Xie and Xiao [Young] Lu. In the revision process, Xie was joined by the former rightist Chen Xiangming (to whom the author gives the honorary title "auntie," *ayi*).
 - 17 Lan Yang, *Chinese Fiction of the Cultural Revolution* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998), 49-59.
 - 18 Zhang, *Fenjiexian*, 17.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, 17-18.
 - 20 Friedrich Engels, "Letter to Margaret Harkness" (dated "beginning of April 1888"), in *Marxists on Literature: An Anthology*, ed. David Craig (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), 269-71. I have reviewed the development of the typical in Chinese literary debate in Richard King, "Typical People in Typical Circumstances," in *Words and Their Stories: Essays on the Language of the Chinese Revolution*, ed. Ban Wang (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 185-204. The "basic task" injunction derives from an article by one of the radical writing groups of the mid-1970s: Chu Lan, "Suzao wuchan jieji yingxiong renwu shi shehuizhuyi wenyi de genben renwu" [Depiction of proletarian heroic types is the basic task of socialist literature], *Renmin ribao*, 15 June 1974.
 - 21 For the Cultural Revolution reinterpretations, see *Makesizhuyi wenyi lilun jiben wenti* [Basic questions of Marxist artistic theory] (Shenyang: Dongbei diqu ba yuan xiao [Eight universities in the northeast region], 1973), 134-49.
 - 22 Zhang, *Fenjiexian*, 143.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, 142.
 - 24 Wang Guangmei's offence, from the point of view of the Cultural Revolution cultural authorities, was not simply that she had led a work-team during the Four Clean-ups movement of the mid-1960s and created a model unit, but that an opera had been written to

- celebrate the event. Renewed condemnation of Wang Guangmei and the opera *San shang Taofeng* (Going up Peach Peak three times) was under way as Zhang Kangkang was writing and revising her novel. See Chu Lan, "Ping Jinju *San shang Taofeng*" [Critique of the Shanxi opera *Going up Peach Peak Three Times*], *Renmin ribao*, 28 February 1974; the article is reproduced as the first entry in a book entirely devoted to this subject: *Pipan Jinju San shang Taofeng* [Condemnation of the Shanxi opera *Going up Peach Peak Three Times*] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1974). In our May 2002 interview, Zhang Kangkang would not admit to a connection between Huo Li and Wang Guangmei.
- 25 The class of youths wanting to leave the farm are the "misfits" in King, "Models and Misfits," in Joseph, Wong, and Zweig, *New Perspectives*. The model and misfit categories are taken up by Cao in Chapter 5 of *Out of the Crucible*, pages 109-26. To these two types she adds a third, the striver.
- 26 Zhang, *Fenjiexian*, 172.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 61, 107.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 404.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 414.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 420.
- 31 The quotation is from Mao's 1955 poem "Youyong" (Swimming), in Mao Zedong, *Mao Zhuxi shi-ci* [Poems of Chairman Mao] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1974), 30-31, qt.p.30. Jerome Ch'en and Michael Bullock translate the two lines as follows: "Let the wind blow and the waves strike, / This surpasses an aimless stroll in the court." Jerome Ch'en, *Mao and the Chinese Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 346. Although the Chinese original featured quotations from Mao in boldface type, they appear in italics here.
- 32 Zhang, *Fenjiexian*, 421-23.
- 33 *Geming yangbanxi juben huibian* [Libretti of revolutionary model theatrical works] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1974), 373-74; translation in *Song of the Dragon River* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), 22. I have changed the spelling of the names to standard pinyin format.
- 34 *Geming yangbanxi juben huibian*, 371; *Song of the Dragon River*, 21.
- 35 Both versions of *What Have We to Fear* are reproduced in Wang Mingxian and Yan Shan-chun, *Xin Zhongguo meishu tu shi* [History of the fine arts in New China], English subtitle *The Art History of the People's Republic of China* (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2000), 80. Differences in the compositions are described on page 81.
- 36 Hong, *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature*, 240, where the title is translated as *Boundary Line*.
- 37 Author interview with Zhang Kangkang, Beijing, May 2002.
- 38 An exception among zhiqing authors in his celebration of the conquest of nature in the 1980s was Liang Xiaosheng. One of his best-known works of zhiqing fiction, the 1982 story "A Land of Wonder and Mystery," is, like *The Dividing Line*, an account of the cultivation of a tract of wetland in the Great Northern Wilderness. In Liang's story, the Spirit Swamp (Guizhao) is portrayed as malign and pestilential, and so transforming it into fields of grain is an unambiguously desirable undertaking, the deaths of three members of a detachment sent to explore the swamp is a heroic sacrifice, and those who remain are ennobled by their achievement. See Liang Xiaosheng, "Zhe shi yipian shenqi de tudi," in *Suiyue* [Time], vol. 1 of *Zhiqing wenxue jingdian congshu* [Collected classics of urban youth literature], 5 vols. (Lanzhou: Dunhuang wenyi chubanshe, 1996), 160-91; translated as "A Land of Wonder and Mystery," in *Best Chinese Stories 1949-1989* (Beijing: Panda Books, 1989), 325-82. For Laifong Leung's interview with Liang Xiaosheng, see *Morning Sun*, 112-20.
- 39 Lao Gui, *Xuese huanghun* (Beijing: Gongren chubanshe, 1989), 337; translated as Ma Bo, *Blood-Red Sunset*, trans. Howard Goldblatt (New York: Viking, 1995), 239.

- 40 Ma, *Blood-Red Sunset*, 241.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 245.
- 42 Wang Xiaoying, "Chang xiang yi," in *Qingjie* [(Psychological) Complex], vol. 4 of *Zhiqing wenxue jingdian*, 204-7, qt.p.207; trans. Jennifer Eagleton as "Faces Remembered," in King, "There and Back Again," *Renditions*, 154-57, qt.p.157.
- 43 See, for example, Zhang Kangkang, *Zhang Kangkang zhiqing zuopin xuan* [Collected urban youth works by Zhang Kangkang] (Beijing: Xiyuan chubanshe, 2000). Three of these stories are translated in Zhang, *Living with Their Past*.
- 44 Zhang Kangkang, *Yinxing banlü* (Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1986); translated as Zhang Kangkang, *The Invisible Companion*, trans. Daniel Bryant (Beijing: New World Press, 1996).
- 45 Zhang, *The Invisible Companion*, 325.
- 46 In [Zhong] Acheng's short novel *The King of Trees*, one of his celebrated "Kings" trilogy, the destruction of the natural environment and of the lives of those who exist in it is symbolized by the destruction of the tree that, and the person who, may both claim to be the "king of trees." Cutting down the tree serves little purpose for the zhiqing who decide to perform the task, except to eliminate the superstitious beliefs of the locals and to prove the truth of the slogan that people can triumph over heaven. See "Shu wang," in Acheng [Zhong Acheng], *Qi wang, Shu wang, Haizi wang* [The king of chess, the king of trees, the king of children] (Taipei: Xintian chubanshe, 1986), 61-118; translated as "The King of Trees," in Ah Cheng, *Three Kings*, trans. Bonnie S. McDougall (London: Collins Harvill, 1990), 95-153, esp. page 142. Other former zhiqing authors who have expressed concern for the damage they did to the ecosystems they were sent to conquer are Lao Gui (Ma Bo) in *Xuese huanghun* and more recently Zhang Kangkang's husband, Lü Jiamin, writing as Jiang Rong, in *Lang tuteng* (Wuchang: Changjiang wenyi chubanshe, 2004); translated as Jiang Rong, *Wolf Totem*, trans. Howard Goldblatt (New York: Penguin, 2008).
- 47 In her discussion of the devastation of the ecosystems of Mongolia and the Great Northern Wilderness, Shapiro cites the case, similar to that of the eagles in "Sandstorm," of the shooting of muskrats for their pelts. Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature*, 161-68.
- 48 See Zhang Kangkang, "Zixu" [Preface], in Zhang, *Zhang Kangkang zhiqing zuopin xuan*, 1-4.
- 49 Author interview with Zhang Kangkang, May 2002.
- 50 Zhang, "Fenjixian," in Zhang, *Dahuang binghe*, 255-75.

Chapter 7: Chen Guokai's *The Price*

- 1 Bai Hua and Peng Ning, *Kulian*, first published in the journal *Shiyue* (October 1979), reprinted in the Hong Kong magazine *Zhengming* [Contending], June 1981, 82-98; quotations are from this edition. This issue of *Zhengming* also includes a number of articles discussing the criticism of Bai Hua and his film script. A painting by Huang Yongyu of geese in flight is reproduced on page 29. For more on Huang Yongyu's painting and a reproduction of another metaphorical bird image, the winking owl, see Ellen Johnston Laing, *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). See also Michael S. Duke, "Resurgent Humanism in Bai Hua's *Bitter Love*," in Michael S. Duke, *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 123-48. *Kulian* was never publicly shown in China, though a version was filmed and released in Taiwan.
- 2 Author interview with Zhang Kangkang, May 2002.
- 3 Lu Xinhua, "Shanghen," first published *Wenhuibao*, 11 August 1978, and subsequently included in numerous anthologies.
- 4 For more on the literary history of this crucial period, see Richard King, "'Wounds' and 'Exposure': Chinese Literature after the Gang of Four," *Pacific Affairs* 54, 1 (Spring 1981):

- 82-99; Perry Link, "Afterword: Popular Fiction in China," in Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 236-90; Perry Link, *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), esp. pages 15-21. Anthologies of wounds literature include *Shengui de shiming* [Sacred duty (and other stories)] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1979); and Liu Xinwu et al., *Shanghen* (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1978). Two anthologies of translations are Lu Xinhua et al., *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*, 77-78, trans. Bennett Lee and Geremie Barmé (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1979); Lee Yee, ed., *The New Realism: Writings from China after the Cultural Revolution* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1983).
- 5 Bai and Peng, "Kulian," 96 (punctuation from the original).
 - 6 The multiple meanings of *ren* – humanity, humanism, people, the individual – are implicit in the title of the novel by Dai Houying, *Ren a, ren!* [People!] (Hong Kong: Yuandong pinglun chubanshe, 1983), a stylistically innovative book in which the narrative switches from chapter to chapter between the characters, colleagues, and family members as they come to terms with their treatment of each other in the Cultural Revolution and try to cope with the aftermath. The impossibility of rendering the title is acknowledged by the translator Frances Wood's choice of the English title: *Stones of the Wall*, by Dai Houying (London: Michael Joseph, 1985). For a reading of this novel, see Duke, *Blooming and Contending*, 149-81.
 - 7 Chen Guokai, *Daijia* (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1990), 264; quotations from the text are from this edition. The novel was first published in 1980 by Renmin wenxue chubanshe. A recent reprint is in Chen Guokai, *Chen Guokai xuanji* [Selected works of Chen Guokai] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998), 1:1-279.
 - 8 Chen, *Daijia*, 264-65. An emotionally charged letter also fills in the mother's tragic story in Lu Xinhua's "Shanghen." The device of having the central character write a long suicide note to the man in her life recounting her ill treatment at the hands of another man also appears in the 1979 novel *Shenghuo de lu* (The path of life) by the Shanghai author Zhu Lin, the first post-Mao novel set among the urban youth in the countryside.
 - 9 Chen, *Daijia*, 266.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, 274.
 - 11 See, for example, Cong Weixi's wounds-era story "Daqiang xia de hong yulan" [The red magnolia under the wall], *Shouhuo* 2 (April 1979): 5-38; translated as Cong Weixi, "The Blood-Stained Magnolia," *Chinese Literature* (April 1980): 3-56, in which a prison warden, now a prisoner himself, is killed while picking a white flower to be placed in Tian'anmen Square as a tribute to Zhou Enlai. Zhang Yang's *Dier ci wo shou*, one of the first novels to be published after the Cultural Revolution, having circulated for a few years in earlier drafts as "underground literature" (*dixia wenxue*), had a scientist as its dashing hero. Zhang Yang, *Dier ci wo shou* [The second handclasp] (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1979). The novel is considered by Perry Link as a revival of the traditions of earlier romantic fiction in *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*; it is analyzed, with reference to its creation and publishing history, in Shuyu Kong, "Between Undercurrent and Mainstream" (paper presented at the conference "China at the Grassroots," Vancouver, May 2010).
 - 12 For the treatment of the intellectuals in the Cultural Revolution, see Anne F. Thurston, *Enemies of the People: The Ordeal of the Intellectuals in China's Great Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
 - 13 Liu Binyan, "Foreword," in Perry Link, *Evening Chats in Beijing: Probing China's Predicament* (New York: Norton, 1992), xi-xiv, qt.p.xi.
 - 14 Chen, *Daijia*, 62-63.
 - 15 Late Cultural Revolution short stories typically feature these young heroes, said to have "horns growing on their heads and thorns growing on their bodies" (*toushang zhang jiao*,

- shenshang zhang ci*), in literary versions of the Communist Party's internecine struggles. A noteworthy example from film is Chunmiao, the young barefoot doctor who battles a conservative medical establishment in the 1975 film that bears her name.
- 16 Biographical information for Chen Guokai is derived from standard mainland biographical sources and from his answers to my questions during a May 2002 interview at his home in Shenzhen.
 - 17 The story, "The Minister Plays Chess" (Buzhang xia qi), was published in 1962.
 - 18 Following a *People's Daily* editorial of 1 June 1966, written by Chen Boda and titled "Hengsaoyiqie niugui-sheshen" (Sweep aside all ox-demons and snake-spirits), the term "ox-demons and snake-spirits" (niugui-sheshen) was used to describe those condemned in the Cultural Revolution. The cells in which those so designated were confined were called *niupeng* (ox-sheds).
 - 19 For a summary of this campaign, see Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 409-12.
 - 20 Chen Guokai, "Wo yinggai zenme ban?" *Zuopin* 2 (February 1979): 37-50; translated as Chen Guokai, "What Should I Do?" in *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Chinese Literature after the Cultural Revolution*, trans. Kenneth Jarrett, ed. Perry Link (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 73-96.
 - 21 Link, *Stubborn Weeds*, 73.
 - 22 Chen recalls that 790,000 copies of the issue were printed; the initial print-run had been 200,000. Link reports that the story was second on the list of reader favourites for the year but was selected for the eighteenth prize by the editors of *Renmin wenxue*. *Ibid.*
 - 23 Chen, "What Should I Do?" in Link, *Stubborn Weeds*, 95.
 - 24 Link, *Stubborn Weeds*, 73.
 - 25 For a summary of Qin Zhaoyang's activities in the mid-1950s and his tribulations during the two subsequent decades, including transcription of part of an interview with him, see Richard King, "After the Hundred Flowers: A 1981 Interview with Qin Zhaoyang," *Renditions* 65 (Spring 2006): 38-61.
 - 26 In his afterword to *The Price*, Chen Guokai also acknowledges the mentorship of the senior literary official and intellectual Wei Junyi. Wei's importance in nurturing a new generation of writers during the late 1970s was also acknowledged by the author Zhu Lin.
 - 27 Chen, *Daijia*, 3.
 - 28 *Ibid.*, 167. The words are spoken for Xu by the narrator.
 - 29 Rape of young female zhiqing by the officials in charge of them was common and was cited by many in the immediate post-Mao period as one of the evils of the rustication movement. A dramatic event of this kind comes in Chapter 6 of Zhu Lin's novel 1988 *Wuyan de Lancang Jiang* (The sobbing Lancang [Mekong] River), translated in "There and Back Again: The Chinese Urban Youth Generation," ed. Richard King, special issue, *Renditions* 50 (Autumn 1998): 47-52.
 - 30 Stories abound of offences against the image of Mao leading to harsh punishment. During my May 1981 interview with the author Wang Ruowang, he offered two examples, of a movie projectionist who somehow showed the leader's face upside down, and of a man who put a nail in his side of a partition wall, which punctured a picture of Mao on his neighbour's side, both actions resulting in imprisonment. Wang was himself beaten by Red Guards sent to interrogate him when they found the shards of a Mao bust he had broken by accident and hidden in a drawer.
 - 31 Chen, *Daijia*, 155.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, 155-56.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, 31.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, 59.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, 275. This is the final paragraph of the novel.

- 36 Ibid., 230.
- 37 See Bai Di, “Feminism in the Revolutionary Model Ballets *The White-Haired Girl* and *The Red Detachment of Women*,” in *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-76*, ed. Richard King (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 188-202.
- 38 Elsewhere, I have argued the case for this allegorical meaning in connection with one story. See Richard King, “A Fiction Revealing Collusion: Allegory and Evasion in the Mid-1970s,” *Modern Chinese Literature* 10 (1997): 71-90. Other young heroines overthrowing male adherents of the capitalist road can be found in the 1975 barefoot doctor film *Chunmiao* and Hao Ran’s final Cultural Revolution novel *Baihuachuan*.
- 39 For example, in Gu Hua’s celebrated 1983 novel *Furongzhen* (translated as *A Small Town Called Hibiscus*), the beautiful, full-figured, naive, and passionate beancurd seller Hu Yuyin is victimized by the unattractive and politically radical schemer Li Guoxiang. The beautiful and passionate young woman as victim and trophy is a recurring figure in Gu Hua’s work from this period. Wang Meng’s 1979 story “Youyou cuncaoixin” portrays the wife of an official returning after political persecution who devotes herself to maximizing the profit to be made from his position. For analysis of this story (the title of which is translated as “The Loyal Heart”), see Rudolf G. Wagner, *Inside a Service Trade: Studies in Contemporary Chinese Prose* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 480-530. The most notorious schemer of her age was Wang Shouxin, the corrupt official who is the subject of Liu Binyan’s 1979 investigative report “Ren-yao zhi jian,” published in *Renmin wenxue* (September 1979): 83-102; translated by James V. Feinermann as the title piece in Liu Binyan, *People or Monsters? and Other Stories and Reportage from China after Mao*, ed. Perry Link (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 11-68.
- 40 Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 45.
- 41 Within the classical tradition, there is also a long history of male poets adopting a female voice (the abandoned wife, the aging courtesan) in poems of lament and self-pity.
- 42 For more on the Zhang Zhixin case, see the following from mainland newspapers: “Yao wei zhenli er douzheng – youxiu dangyuan Zhang Zhixin tong Lin Biao, Sirenbang jinxing shusi douzheng de shiji” [We must struggle for the truth – incidents in the struggle to the death the outstanding Party member Zhang Zhixin waged against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four], *Renmin ribao*, 25 May 1979, 1 and 4; “Ji dang de hao nüer Zhang Zhixin tongzhi de gaoshang pinzhi” [On the fine moral quality of the Party’s good daughter Comrade Zhang Zhixin], *Renmin ribao*, 18 July 1979, 3, cont. 25 July, 3, and 1 August, 3; Zhang Zhixin, “Yige gongchandangyuan de xuanyan” [A Communist Party member’s manifesto], *Guangming ribao*, 12 June 1976; “Zhang Zhixin lieshi de yiyan” [The testament of the martyr Zhang Zhixin], *Renmin ribao*, 16 June 1979; “Ta shi mingfu-qishi de qiangzhe – Zhang Zhixin lieshi yuzhong douzheng jishi” [She truly deserves to be called strong-willed – a record of the prison struggles of the martyr Zhang Zhixin], *Shaanxi ribao*, 14 August 1979; “The Nation Contemplates: Why Was an Outstanding Woman Communist Killed?” *Beijing Review* 30 (27 July 1979): 19-21. The magazine *Zhongguo qingnian* dedicated the first twenty pages of its July 1979 issue to Zhang Zhixin, including, Lin Chun and Li Yinhe, “Jinian Zhang Zhixin” [In memory of Zhang Zhixin], 2 and 3, and Zhang Zhixin, “Zizhuan” [My autobiography] (dated 3 November 1952), 4-8. Articles in the Hong Kong press include Ouyang Mei, “Zhongguo dangdai de ‘shengnü zhende’” [A contemporary Chinese ‘woman saint’], *Zhengming*, October 1979, 26-28; Dong Liushui, “Zhang Zhixin, hongse gongzhu ji qita” [Zhang Zhixin, the red princesses, and other matters], *Zhengming*, November 1979, 56 and 57; Tao Baobu, “Zhang Zhixin chuanwen zhongzhong” [Various stories concerning Zhang Zhixin], *Zhengming*, November 1979, 32-33. The comic-book version of the story is Wu Wenhuan (text), *Zhang Zhixin*, illustrations by Han Min et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai meishu chubanshe, 1979).

- 43 “Yao wei zhenli er douzheng,” 4.
- 44 Luo Guangbin and Yang Yiyan, *Hong yan* (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1979), reprint of the 1961 Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe edition; translated as Luo Guangbin and Yang Yiyan, *Red Crag* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1978). The quotation is from page 283 of *Red Crag*, translating from page 272 of the Chinese text. For more on the novel, see Joe C. Huang, *Heroes and Villains in Communist China: The Contemporary Chinese Novel as a Reflection of Life* (New York: Pica Press, 1973), 93-113. Huang also translates a passage describing Sister Jiang’s neatness and dignity, on pages 103-4.
- 45 Wu, *Zhang Zhixin* (comic book), complete caption to illustration 74.
- 46 See King, “Wounds’ and ‘Exposure,” 92-93. Liu Binyan’s groundbreaking report “Ren-yao zhi jian” (People or Monsters?) ends with the warning, “People be on guard! It is still too early to be celebrating victories.” Liu, *People or Monsters?* 68.
- 47 Author interview with Chen Guokai, Shenzhen, May 2002.

Chapter 8: Zhang Yigong’s *The Story of the Criminal Li Tongzhong*

- 1 Zhang Yigong, “Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi,” *Shouhuo* 1 (January 1980): 93-115 and 193; quotations are from this edition. Reprinted as the title story in the collection Zhang Yigong, *Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi* (Beijing: Shidai wenxue chubanshe, 2001), 1-49. The author’s manuscript is housed in the Museum of Modern Literature in Beijing. A partial translation of the novel, by Johanna Hood and Robert Mackie, appeared in *Renditions* 68 (Autumn 2007): 82-111; the full translation is in Richard King, ed., *Heroes of China’s Great Leap Forward* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 63-128.
- 2 Much of the information in this chapter on the writing of the story, and on the author’s biography, comes from my May 2002 interview with Zhang Yigong at his home in Zhengzhou.
- 3 Zhang, “Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi,” 93.
- 4 Jeremy Brown, “Great Leap City: Surviving the Famine in Tianjin,” in *Eating Bitterness: New Perspectives on China’s Great Leap Forward and Famine*, ed. Kimberley Ens Manning and Felix Wemheuer (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 226-50.
- 5 Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao’s Secret Famine* (London: James Murray, 1996), 270. Becker’s critics argue that numbers of dead may have been inflated by including children who, because young women were malnourished, were never born, or more simply that the high figures, and the book as a whole, are anti-Mao propaganda. These arguments were found on the website of the Maoist International Movement, <http://www.etext.org/>; a much abbreviated version later appeared with the title “Author Jasper Becker is a Proven Liar,” on <http://wengewang.org/>. During an intervention at a December 2006 conference on the Great Leap Forward held in Vienna, Professor Gao Wangling of Renmin University suggested that 45 million was closer to the number of casualties. This figure is compatible with Frank Dikötter’s estimate in his *Mao’s Great Famine: The History of China’s Most Devastating Catastrophe 1958-1962* (New York: Walker, 2010), 3, which draws on recently available archival material.
- 6 There are striking similarities between Mao’s attitude to, and treatment of, the peasantry during the late 1950s and that of Stalin a decade into his own revolution in the late 1920s. In his history of Stalin in power, Simon Sebag Montefiore writes the following on Stalin’s reaction to protests at grain requisitions: Stalin and his allies “hated the obstinate old world of the peasants: they had to be herded into collective farms, their grain forcibly collected and sold abroad to fund a manic gallop to create an instant industrial powerhouse that could produce tanks and planes.” Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (London: Phoenix, 2004), 37-38.
- 7 William A. Joseph, “A Tragedy of Good Intentions: Post-Mao Views of the Great Leap Forward,” *Modern China* 12, 4 (1986): 419-57. Joseph quotes the claim by Bo Yibo in his

- memoirs that the Chinese people excused the leadership (of which Bo was a member) "because our intentions were good." *Ibid.*, 425.
- 8 Liu Binyan, "Shidai de zhaohuan" [The call of the age], *Wenyibao* 11-12 (December 1979): 36-46.
 - 9 Issues of the leadership-only bulletin *Neibu cankao* (Internal reference) reported extensive famine, beggars' marches, and some cases of cannibalism.
 - 10 Jean-Luc Domenach, *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward: The Case of One Chinese Province*, trans. A.M. Berrett (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), 137. This edition is a translation of Domenach's 1982 original *Aux origines du Grand Bond en avant*.
 - 11 A picture of Zhang Ruifang in the role of Li Shuangshuang appeared on the cover of *Renmin dianying*, February-March 1978 double issue, with further photographs from the production inside the magazine.
 - 12 Frederick C. Teiwes with Warren Sun, *China's Road to Disaster: Mao, Central Politicians, and Provincial Leaders in the Unfolding of the Great Leap Forward 1955-1959* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 97-98. Unlike wounds literature set during the last months of the Cultural Revolution, where Zhou Enlai is portrayed as a beacon of hope, fiction about the Great Leap does not mention him by name.
 - 13 Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay in Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). See especially Chapter 10, "Entitlement and Deprivation," pages 154-66.
 - 14 Domenach, *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward*, 63.
 - 15 The policy of opposing rash advances is presented in the second half of *The Golden Road* as being part of the conservative line of Liu Shaoqi and his supporters, and is thus endorsed by the village head and rich peasants and opposed by Gao Daquan.
 - 16 Teiwes and Sun, quoting Bo Yibo's memoirs, report that Mao concluded from his meetings in Moscow that socialism (the "east wind") was in the ascendant: "Chairman Mao felt we could explore an even higher rate of development [and] if the masses were mobilized ... production could experience a Great Leap Forward." Teiwes and Sun continue, "So aroused, Mao called China from Moscow, criticising the 1956 *fanmaojin* as wrong, saying that [it] should not be proposed again, and that building socialism must be a bit rash." Teiwes and Sun, *China's Road to Disaster*, 71. The authors describe and evaluate Bo's memoirs on pages 262-63.
 - 17 A second silence occurred between the 1980 publication of Zhang Yigong's work and the mainland release of [Wang] Zhiliang's novel *Ji'e de shancun* (Hungry mountain village) in 1994. Wang's book, possibly the first full-length novel about the famines, was initially serialized in a Malaysian newspaper in 1992-93. A translation of excerpts from the novel's first and twelfth chapters by Andrew Endrey, with a brief summary, can be found in *Renditions* 68 (Autumn 2007): 112-42. For introducing me to this novel, and for providing me with his unpublished paper "Hunting Ghosts: The Literary Re-appearance of Traumatic Experiences in Twentieth Century China," I am indebted to Army Schweiger.
 - 18 Sigmund Freud, "Delusion and Dream," in Sigmund Freud, *Delusion and Dream and Other Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1956), 25-118. Jensen's novella appears as an appendix in this edition, pages 145-235.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, 61. Other translations of this passage differ slightly; some render the last few words as "the work of spades."
 - 20 Nicola King, *Memory, Narrative, Identity: Remembering the Self* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 14. The quotation in this case is from Freud's "Constructions in Analysis."
 - 21 Liu Zhen, "Hei qi," *Shanghai wenxue* 3 (March 1979): 4-28; trans. as Liu Zhen, "The Black Flag," *Chinese Literature* 5 (May 1980): 53-72; Ru Zhijuan, "Jianji cuole de gushi," *Renmin wenxue* 2 (February 1979): 65-76; trans. Wang Mingjie as "A Badly Edited Story," in Ru

- Zhijuan, *Lilies and Other Stories* (Beijing: Panda Books, 1985), 143-73. Although “The Black Flag” was published after “A Badly Edited Story,” I will discuss it first, despite its later date of publication. *Shanghai Literature* reportedly delayed publication of Liu Zhen’s story so that Ru Zhijuan, editor-in-chief at that journal, could be the first to break new ground. Author interview with Shanghai journal editor, May 1981.
- 22 In neither story is the province named, following the convention that village stories were intended to be about all villages; however, both authors are from Henan, and both told me that their fiction reflects what they saw in their home province.
- 23 Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao’s Personal Physician* (New York: Random House, 1994), 268. Wu’s name is given as Wu Zhifu.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 270. See also Michael Schoenhals, *Saltationist Socialism: Mao Zedong and the Great Leap Forward, 1958* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Department of Oriental Languages, 1987), 51.
- 25 Teiwes and Sun, *China’s Road to Disaster*, 262, quoting the Party history journal *Dang de wenxian* 4 (1995): 36. For more on this journal, see Teiwes and Sun, *China’s Road to Disaster*, 260-61.
- 26 Domenach, *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward*, 129.
- 27 Zhang Yigong was born in 1935 in Kaifeng; his father was a professor of Chinese literature at Henan University, and his mother taught Chinese at Kaifeng Women’s College. The parents and their five children moved around Henan and neighbouring provinces as the university relocated during the war against Japan. Zhang’s father died in 1954, and his mother was condemned as a rightist in 1958 for her opposition to the backyard furnaces of the Great Leap. During the following year, Zhang was himself criticized for a story he had published in a local journal. The story, “Muqin” (Mother), was perceived as praising his “rightist” mother and suggesting that love could transcend class. He was able to continue work as a journalist until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, when he was again criticized and placed in detention. He was not fully rehabilitated until 1978, when he resumed his fiction writing with *The Story of the Criminal Li Tongzhong*.
- 28 I have also cited this anecdote, recounted during my 2002 interview with Zhang Yigong, at greater length in the introduction to King, *Heroes of China’s Great Leap Forward*.
- 29 Zhang, “Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi,” 92-93.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 94.
- 31 *Ibid.* Mu Guiying is also implicitly cited in “A Brief Biography of Li Shuangshuang,” where Guiying is the name of one of the central character’s friends.
- 32 Zhang, “Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi,” 95.
- 33 A Chinese text of “Here I Come,” with translation by Gladys Yang and Yang Xianyi, can be found in *Renditions* 68 (Autumn 2007): 14.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 114.
- 36 The incident takes place in the third volume of *The Golden Road*, which was not released when Zhang Yigong wrote his novel; however, the film had still been on general release in 1977.
- 37 Although Chen Guokai’s narrator regularly addresses the reader in expressions of outrage, he forbears to direct diatribes toward his characters, as Zhang Yigong does here and elsewhere.
- 38 As explained by Zhang Yigong, sweet white soil, found in that region, is fine in texture, pale coloured, and slightly sweet to the taste. In previous famines, people had tried to eat it with fatal results. Author telephone conversation with Zhang Yigong, March 2007.
- 39 Zhang, “Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi,” 102-3.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 96.
- 41 Gao Xiaosheng, “Li Shunda zao wu,” in Gao Xiaosheng, *79 nian xiaoshuoji* [(Gao Xiaosheng’s 19) 79 short stories] (N.p.: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1982), 12-26.

- 42 Lu Xinhua pasted up his short story “Shanghen” as a big-character poster at Fudan University before it was published in the Shanghai newspaper *Wenhui bao*. In the case of two first novels by young authors, Yu Luojin’s *A [Chinese] Winter’s Tale (Yige dongtian de tonghua)* and Zhu Lin’s *The Path of Life (Shenghuo de lu)*, the novelists and their editor Meng Weizai cut contentious passages, which allowed the works to appear. Zhu Lin’s book also won the support of the respected former rightist editor and short-story writer Qin Zhaoyang. Author interviews with Zhu Lin, Meng Weizai, and Qin Zhaoyang, May 1981.
- 43 This was Zhu Lin’s explanation for her relative restraint in writing about the sufferings of young women rusticated to the villages in her 1979 novel *The Path of Life (Shenghuo de lu)*.
- 44 Zhang, “Fanren Li Tongzhong de gushi,” 193. This is the novel’s final paragraph.

Epilogue: A Golden Road to Nowhere

- 1 In my May 2002 interview with Zhang Kangkang, she suggested 1982 as the year that Chinese authors began to come to terms with the multiplicity of literary styles available to them in translated works and to incorporate them in their own writing. From that point, the orderly progression and moral certainty of official writing under Communist Party control in the four decades since the Yan’an Forum were no longer possible.
- 2 Yu Hua, *Huozhe* (1993; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2004); translated as Yu Hua, *To Live*, trans. Michael Berry (New York: Anchor Books, 2003).
- 3 Hao Ran, “Wode jiaoxun” [Lessons I have learned], in Hao Ran, *Hao Ran koushu zizhuan* [Hao Ran’s oral autobiography], transcribed by Zheng Shi (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2008), 245-58. An exact date is not given for the document. A footnote added to the 2008 edition, which is essentially the same as Hao Ran, *Wode rensheng: Hao Ran koushu zizhuan* [My life: Hao Ran’s oral autobiography] (Beijing: Huayi chubanshe, 2000), warns the reader that “this confession was written shortly after the fall of the ‘Gang of Four’ and still includes some inappropriate expressions from that time.” Hao, “Wode jiaoxun,” 245.
- 4 Hao Ran, *Shanshui qing* (Tianjin: Baihua chubanshe, 1980); Hao Ran, *Cangsheng* (Beijing: Shiyue chubanshe, 1988). In my June 1996 interview with him, Hao Ran declared himself dedicated to promoting “the literature of the common people” (*cangsheng wenxue*).
- 5 Seven short novels from the early 1980s are collected in Hao Ran, *Jiabuchugu de sha yatou* [The unmarried dimwit girl] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985); the first three volumes of his autobiography were *Letu* [Joyful earth], *Huoquan* [Living springs], and *Yuanmeng* [Dreams come true] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989, 1993, 1998).
- 6 Shu Sui ren, “Guanyu ‘mingzhu’ *Jinguang dadao* zaiban de duihua” [Dialogue on the republication of the ‘celebrated work’ *The Golden Road*], *Wenxue ziyoutan* 4 (Winter 1994): 94.
- 7 In this respect, Hao Ran was following the urging of Wang Yongsheng of Fudan University, principal author of *Jinguang dadao pingxi* (see Chapter 5), who had focused a chapter on the Qins in his Cultural Revolution-era analysis of the first two volumes of the novel and regarded them as the most interesting of its characters. It is impossible to know whether Hao Ran took Professor Wang’s suggestions to heart in writing Volume 3.
- 8 The similarity between Fan Keming’s name and the designation *fangeming* (counter-revolutionary) is no coincidence: during our August 1995 interview, Hao Ran, temporarily forgetting his villain’s name (the author was already complaining of failing memory at that stage, a condition he attributed to male menopause), referred to him simply as *neige fangeming* (that counter-revolutionary).
- 9 Beijing shi Zhong-A youhao renmin gongshe pin, xia-zhong nong pinglun zu [Poor and lower-middle peasant criticism group of the Sino-Albanian Friendship Commune in Beijing Municipality], “Jinguang dadao women zou, feng chui lang da bu hui tou” [We walk the Golden Road, not looking back if winds blow and waves batter us], *Renmin dianying*, April 1977, 20.

- 10 In her analysis of Fyodor Gladkov's 1925 novel *Cement*, in many ways the prototype for the novel under Stalin, Katerina Clark observes that the role of the hero is to mobilize worker enthusiasm for mass voluntary labour even as officious bureaucrats tell him that his goal is impossible and accuse him of naïveté and insubordination. Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 69-77, esp. page 71. The fourth volume of *The Golden Road* follows this course.
- 11 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao* (Beijing: Jinhua chubanshe, 1994), 4:702. This is the novel's penultimate sentence.
- 12 Gu Xinmin's indulgence toward peasant consciousness, as opposed to Gao Daquan's idealizations of the proletariat, seen in the early encounter at the Beijing railyards in Volume 1 of *The Golden Road*, is a mark of his conservative thinking: "Gu Xinmin felt that it was all very well for the state to have a plan, but asking that peasants adapt to the demands of a planned economy could only be regarded as a fantasy. Peasants are peasants ... and can't be changed." *Ibid.*, 3:252. While Hao Ran was writing, criticism of contemporary capitalist-roaders was increasing in the national media.
- 13 As outlined in Chu Lan, "Suzao wuchanjieji yingxiong dianxing shi shehuizhuyi wenyi de genben renwu" [Portraying proletarian heroic types is the basic task of the socialist arts], *Renmin ribao*, 15 June 1974.
- 14 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 3:173; see also 3:178.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 3:529.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 3:545-46.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 4:2.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 4:272.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 4:537.
- 20 In defining the characters who serve as foils for the heroes of Cultural Revolution fiction, Lan Yang applies the term "negative superiors" to figures such as Gu Xinmin. The term "capitalist-roader," which he also uses, is an anachronism in the case of a novel set in the 1950s. See Lan Yang, *Chinese Fiction of the Cultural Revolution* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998), 111.
- 21 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 4:666.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 3:245.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 3:246.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 3:219, 240.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 4:403.
- 26 In his study of "hunger, cannibalism, and the politics of eating," which begins with Lu Xun's 1917 story "Diary of a Madman" (Kuangren riji) and includes late-twentieth-century fiction, Gang Yue refers to this endlessly deferred gratification as "asceto-Marxism." Defining this as "the uncritical subordination of material needs to some 'higher cause,'" he judges it to be "theoretically misconceived and historically disastrous." Gang Yue, *The Mouth That Begs: Hunger, Cannibalism, and the Politics of Eating in Modern China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 14.
- 27 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 3:558, 560. See Yue, *The Mouth That Begs*, 363-64, for his discussion of Amy Tan's dramatization in *The Joy Luck Club* of cooking one's own flesh to feed a starving parent.
- 28 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 4:176.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 4:55.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 3:517.
- 31 Zhang Dexiang, "'Shenhua' yu 'shishi' – wo kan *Jinguang dadao*" ["Myth" and "epic" – my reading of *The Golden Road*], *Qingnian wenyijia* [Young literati] 2 (1995): 20.
- 32 Hao Ran, *Jinguang dadao*, 3:231.

- 33 Ibid., 3:656. See also 4:51: “Grain is the greatest of all treasures [*bao zhong zhi bao*], it is the raw material for industry.”
- 34 Ibid., 3:656.
- 35 The authors of a history of one Hebei village note that in the following year (1956), as the state insisted the collectives grow larger, those who failed to commit immediately risked being condemned as rightists and that peasants were forced to perform “harsh, semi-militarized labor,” sometimes far from home. Edward Friedman et al., *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 218.
- 36 In his study of the Great Leap and the subsequent famines, Jasper Becker writes, “Even in Beijing there was nothing to eat, while in the countryside just outside the capital peasants who had survived were too weak to plant the new crops or harvest them. In villages a few miles outside Beijing, most peasants were grotesquely swollen by oedema and were dying in sizeable numbers. Grain output plummeted. The reality must have been impossible for anyone to escape.” Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine* (London: James Murray, 1996), 96.
- 37 Hao Ran, *Wode rensheng*, 263. I have translated the full passage in Richard King, “Romancing the Leap: Euphoria in the Moment before Disaster,” in *Eating Bitterness: New Perspectives on China's Great Leap Forward and Famine*, ed. Kimberley Ens Manning and Felix Wemheuer (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 81-82. The notorious photograph, distributed by the New China News Agency in 1958, is reproduced on page 65 of Manning and Wemheuer, *Eating Bitterness*.
- 38 Hao Ran, “Zhaoxia hong si huo,” first published in the journal *Wenyi hongqi* [Red flag in the arts] in May 1959, and reprinted in Hao Ran, *Xin chun qu* [Songs of a new spring] (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1960), 1-33; translated as Hao Ran, “Dawn Clouds Red as Flame,” trans. Haydn Shook with Richard King, *Renditions* 68 (Autumn 2007): 17-49. I have discussed this story in “Romancing the Leap,” in Manning and Wemheuer, *Eating Bitterness*. Other stories in praise of the Leap, if written, appear not to have found their way into later anthologies.
- 39 Quoted in Vera Alexandrovna, *A History of Soviet Literature 1917-1964* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 270.

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