This guide, part 1 of a two-part publication, contains resource units on Chinese history and culture which can be used with 9th-grade students. The materials and activities, gathered by American secondary-school teachers who visited China in 1973, are intended to provide a pattern for an elective course or supplementary material for regular social studies courses. Suggested teaching techniques include readings, classroom discussion, media, research, and class reports. The resource units teach the following topics: Three Views of the Recent History of China: The Maoist View, an American (Non-Maoist View), and the Nationalist View; Chinese Revolutionary Art—The Message through the Chinese Picture-Books; The Message through Chinese Paper Cuts; The Message through Revolutionary Opera; The Message through Revolutionary Songs; and The Message through Propaganda Posters. Teacher background material, student objectives, teaching methods, discussion questions, and classroom materials are provided for each unit. Additional print and media resource materials are cited. (Author/RM)
Teaching About
The People's Republic of China

PART I
Whose Perception? How to Use This Guide
Looking at the Past to Better Understand the Present
The Message: The Ways It Is Conveyed

A Guide for
Ninth Grade Social Studies
Teaching About the People's Republic of China has been produced as a result of two major changes since the development of the State ninth grade social studies program, Asian and African Culture Studies. The first, the international aspect, has been the change in relationships between United States and the People's Republic of China, making possible limited visits by teachers and scholars, and the gathering of source materials on the scene. The second change, perhaps equally revolutionary to the secondary school, has been the rapid developments in alternative programs, minicourses, and other curricular variations.

This publication is designed to meet the needs growing out of both of these developments. Under the sponsorship of the Department's Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, a group which included three secondary school teachers visited the People's Republic of China in July 1973. These three teachers met with staff from the Divisions of General Education and Curriculum Development prior to their journey to discuss the types of materials which secondary school teachers needed, in attempting to view China through the eyes of those who are living there. The various selections in this publication were assembled and suggestions for their use in the classroom were prepared by L. Heidi Hursh, social studies teacher, Mendon Center Junior High School, Pittsford; Robert Neiderberger, associate professor, State University of New York at Albany and secondary social studies teacher, The Milne School, Albany; and Elaine Zanicchi, teacher of social studies and Chinese, Washington Irving High School, New York City. Donald Wolf, teacher of social studies, South Woods Junior High School, Syosset, and Jo Ann B. Larson, formerly social studies teacher, Ravena-Coeymans-Selkirk Central School, developed alternative teaching strategies and suggested additional resources for classroom use.

To permit the development of alternative curriculum patterns, the organization of the publication is intended to allow variations in its use. Therefore, in addition to providing resource material for the State ninth grade program, this guide may also suggest a pattern for an elective course of study or simply provide supplementary material for other course offerings.

The following specialists in Chinese studies reviewed the manuscript and their suggestions were incorporated in preparing the final copy: Shao-chuan Leng, Doherty professor of government, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Charles Hoffmann, professor of economics, State University of New York at Stony Brook; Michel Oksenberg, associate professor of political science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; and Jonathan Spence, professor of history, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Donald H. Bragaw, chief, and Loretta J. Carney, Coe F. Dexter, John F. Darity, Jacob I. Hotchkiss and Kenneth E. Wade of the Bureau of Social Studies Education, participated in the initial planning and offered valuable suggestions throughout preparation of the publication. Ward Morehouse, director, Arthur Osteen, assistant director, and Norman Abramowitz, associate, Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies also reviewed the manuscript and suggested additional resources. Janet M. Gilbert, associate, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, had general charge of the project and prepared the manuscript for printing.

GORDON E. VAN HOOFT
Director, Division of Curriculum Development
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This is Part I of a two-volume publication. Part II contains material which shows how the daily life reflects "The Message."
WHOSE PERCEPTION?
HOW TO USE THIS GUIDE

Few contemporary cultures are viewed in as widely disparate ways by Americans as that of the People's Republic of China. Our historic relationship with China, particularly from 1840 to 1948, our varied opinions about the government of Chiang Kai-shek, and our concerns about Chinese penetration of threatened-domination in various areas of Asia have all been factors in producing these different stances.

The excerpts in this guide are not intended to support a verdict concerning the rightness or wrongness of the present regime in the People's Republic of China. The various materials should be seen by the teacher as a collection of data which can be subjected to analysis by the students. They were selected by several secondary school teachers as exhibits which reflected the views expressed by various citizens of the People's Republic of China.

Although most teachers will associate the guide as a resource in teaching Topic 5 in Syllabus for Social Studies 9: Asian and African Culture Studies, the variation in sophistication of both source selections and suggested strategies indicate the dual purpose of the publication. Many teachers of electives in Asian studies will find the materials and some of the strategies are useful in developing concepts in these specialized offerings. In addition, the guide may suggest some structuring for mini-course use.

It is important that no one regards this guide as an all-inclusive study of China or as a replacement of the topic in the syllabus for social studies 9. There are many useful materials available related to China's past; schools have a choice in many paperbacks, filmstrips, etc., in developing understandings concerning ancient traditions and customs.

Perhaps more than with resource guides for other areas of study, the teacher must play his/her roles of selector, as well as classroom strategist. None of the entries can stand alone and out of context. Each must be used within a framework in which the student attempts to determine the following points:

- What picture is the Chinese person attempting to convey about himself/herself?
- Why does he want the American to view him and life in the People's Republic in that way?
- What past events color the student's judgment concerning the "good" aspects of the present day in China, or the "bad" aspects of the past in China, or the present or past in other cultures?

A further area of inquiry, for which the quantity and variety of the materials are not sufficient to warrant any firm conclusions, must nevertheless be initiated for further speculation and research as the student matures politically and socially. What are the implications of the Chinese person's view of himself for the future of Chinese relationships with the rest of the world? This question poses one of the most important reasons for looking at statements, pictures, vignettes, and other accounts with which one might not agree, or which one might suspect is unsubstantiated. To consider the examination of life in the People's Republic of China as simply a description of what the people represented here were thinking and doing at the time these materials were gathered, is to ignore an important part of the story.

"WHAT WHEELS" AND "WHY WHEELS" AS AN INTRODUCTORY PERCEPTION EXERCISE IN THE STUDY OF CHINA

"What wheels" and "why wheels" can be used in numerous ways in the social studies classroom. This device lends itself well for use as a perception exercise, a tool for evaluation, or a teaching technique. Steps in the "What Wheels," "Why Wheel," Process

Students are grouped in pairs or slightly larger groups (in this introductory exercise, pairs are the most satisfactory grouping).

Each student draws on the upper half of a page a large circle divided by spokes into pie-shaped segments. (See Figure A)

Each student looks at the partner and writes single words or hyphenated terms (no sentences or phrases) in each segment of the wheel.

- Terms are those the writer thinks best fits the partner
- Terms may be observable facts, impressions of personality, real or imagined, or a feeling which the partner creates in the writer
FIGURE A
"What Wheel"

(Note: Inform students of number of spokes to be drawn.)

FIGURE B
"What Wheel"

"Why Wheel"

circled item

2
"What Wheels" are exchanged between partners for action:
- Each partner selects a term which he/she feels requires elaboration, explanation, or defense and circles it.
- Each partner draws an empty circle in the lower half of the page. (See Figure B)
- Wheels are returned to the original writer.
- Each student must now provide an explanation in the empty "Why Wheel," and return it to the partner.

In a sense, this is what happens: a student expresses himself in the "what wheel," but he is held responsible for that which he says by means of the device of the "why wheel."

For certain situations that become clearer with frequent use of this device, an optional third wheel, a "how wheel," can be used to explore other facets of a matter where additional development is desired. This approach can be used to provide an informal evaluation of an entire course.

A (brave) teacher and class can do wheels on each other.

What-Why Wheels in Culture Studies

Studying a culture different from one's own requires one to take one's own biases into account to minimize distortion. "What wheels" and "why wheels" can be used to cultivate an awareness of the effect of perceptions rooted in misinformation or ignorance. Have students do "what wheels" and "why wheels" on the topic of "wolves." You may or may not choose to discuss the responses at this point. Then have students listen to Robert Redford's narration on wolves on the LP record album Language and Mien of the Wolves produced in 1971 by the American Museum of Natural History (Tonsil Records, 10 West 56th Street, New York City.)

This account destroys many misconceptions about the nature of wolves and the history of human encounter with them in North America. (There is, for example, no documented account of wolves ever killing a human being.) The myth of the killer wolf is exposed. After the playing of the record have students do another set of "what wheels" and "why wheels" on wolves. Discussion can proceed from the nature of the two sets of responses, and to the reasons for the different kinds of responses.

- What were initial reactions to the word "wolves"? Why?
- What were the reactions after learning more about wolves? Why?
- How are the responses different? Why? What accounts for differences?
- What lessons can be learned from this exercise?

What-Why Wheels and the Study of China

At the beginning of the study of China, have students prepare "what wheels" in response to the word China. After partners have completed the process through the "why wheels" their responses can be used as a point of departure for setting the scene for the study of China.

- What terms or ideas are associated with China?
- What are the specific responses given?
- What mental pictures of China emerge?
- To what extent does stereotyping characterize student reaction?
- What areas of study are suggested?

(If the wolf exercise was used) What implications does the class activity concerning wolves have for the study of China?

Following the study of China, students can again be directed to do "what wheels" and "why wheels" in response to the word China. A comparison of responses in the wheels before the study of China with those after the study may serve as a basis for discussing the extent to which perceptions have changed and the reasons for any apparent changes.

Here are some other sample applications of "what wheels" and "why wheels":

- Paired-up members of a class reading excerpts from The Good Earth do "what wheels" on Wang Lung, the main character, and also on his wife. "Why wheels" follow. Some of the wheels are put on the board for discussion.
Students do "what wheels" followed by "why wheels" on Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Wheels can be done on any prominent figure. Try using the name of the President of the United States, and contrast results with those which use Mao as the cue word.

Students evaluate the unit on China by doing "what wheels" on it. All "what wheels" are placed on the board. The teacher serves as everyone's partner by circling an item in each "what wheel" and draws the "why wheels" which students complete and discuss.

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR UNDERSTANDING PERCEPTION

Various exercises are available to develop the concept of perception. One or more of these would be useful for a class which is relatively naive in the study of a culture significantly different from that which is most prevalent in the United States.

One series of introductory exercises is based upon comparisons of lines to illustrate illusion and mental sets. Lesson material using this approach can be found on pages 64-66, in Human Relations Education: A Handbook to Learning Activities, prepared by the Human Relations Project of Western New York and distributed by the State Education Department.

The second type also involves the use of visuals. The exercise entitled "The Two Women" is based upon a picture of a woman included by E.G. Boring in an article, "A New Ambiguous Figure," in the American Journal of Psychology, 1930, p. 144. Teachers will find a reprint of this figure, together with an easily read expository text concerning perception, on pages 10-22 of The July 1914 Crelio: A Case Study in Micro-perception and Misdeception, available from the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, of this Department.

In China Pac distributed by Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y., 1971, the Boring figure has also been used, but with three versions of the picture given. A class of students can be divided into several groups with some groups getting one version of the picture indicating that the woman is old; other groups getting a version of the picture indicating the woman is young. The predisposition of a given group toward perceiving a young woman or an old woman can be further reinforced in the teacher's verbal instructions. Each group may be charged with determining the age of the woman in the picture and listing as many reasons as possible for that determination. Although the two versions of the picture are both modifications of the original, in a sense, the visual data contained in the pictures is 90% the same. When all groups reassemble as a class to view an overhead projection of the modified picture, the preconception of the various groups will be reflected in the ensuing discussion of estimates of the age of each woman. Once the double image is perceived by all, discussion can focus on lessons to be extracted from this exercise and applied to the study of China. Students may see that perceptions vary with preconception, that present perceptions of China were probably shaped by individual and group preconditioning, and that one should attempt to keep an open mind while undertaking the study of China.

China Pac also includes other materials useful in applying perception to the study of another culture. One exercise, "To Hear and to Understand" develops a sort of paradigm for approaching the study of China. It stresses the need for making the effort to understand what the Chinese say about themselves and how they explain what they are trying to do. The exercise involves repeating back to another person what that person says about a controversial statement.

A second exercise, "The Other Point of View," uses controversial statements and related activities to demonstrate the reasons for difficulty in appreciating points of view other than one's own. The exercise develops the idea that fear, hostility, and misunderstanding can result from not talking with those with different points of view and from not being willing to set aside one's own feelings in order to see something from another's point of view.

Proverbs

Have students consider the following proverbs, using the discussion questions below:

(1) "We see what is behind our eyes."
(2) "Beauty is in the eye of the beholder."

What is the meaning of each proverb?

Why is the relevance of the proverbs to initiating a study of the People's Republic of China?

What do the proverbs suggest that one keep in mind while studying any culture different from one's own?
APPLYING PERCEPTION TO MAPS: A TEACHING MODULE

Divide the class into several small groups and equip each group with a large piece of newsprint and some masking tape. Assign each group to tear up its large piece of paper into pieces representing the continents. Have each group arrange the torn pieces of newsprint in a manner representing the arrangement of continents on the face of the earth. If desired, a globe may be available for reference but no flat maps should be used. Each group should then use masking tape to fasten its interpretation of the continents to an area of wall space. One variation of this approach is to have each group draw an arrangement of the continents on a large piece of newsprint using broad-tipped felt pens. The large pieces of paper with the freehand maps can then be taped to the chalkboard or wall.

The class as a whole can then look for and discuss any features common to two or more of the maps. Ways in which these renditions of the earth's surface differ can also be explored and discussed. A discussion of the results should include the positioning of North America and Afro-Eurasian land masses. Which continents are placed at the center? Why? What conclusions can be reached?

The next phase of this activity involves students in a consideration of the two accompanying maps of the world. One map is of Chinese origin and the other American. These maps may be reproduced for use with individuals or groups. Transparencies for use with larger groups may be made using these maps as originals. With students working in small groups or in a teacher-led class discussion, consideration of the two maps may develop along lines suggested by the following questions:

- What elements do they have in common?
- How are the two maps different?
- What does each map emphasize? How?
- What is the center of the American map? Why?
- What is the center of the Chinese map? Why?
- What relationship between China and the rest of the world are emphasized in the Chinese maps?
- Explain.
- What can be inferred about the people or culture which produced each map?
- The ancient name for China was "Chung Kuo." It means "Middle Kingdom." Does this say anything about perception?
- What additional observations can be made or conclusions drawn from the maps? (Other map on p. iv.)
LOOKING AT THE PAST TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE PRESENT

TEACHER BACKGROUND: THREE VIEWS OF THE RECENT HISTORY OF CHINA

To the casual observer in the United States, events in the history of China since the early 1800's are apt to seem incredibly complex. A degree of understanding of this period of China's history is rare among Americans and is apt to be a difficult achievement for most students. The need for Americans to know more about China's recent past has become obvious as we seek to normalize relations with one-fourth of the population of the world. An understanding of the People's Republic of China necessitates some concept of its evolution in an historical context. As part of developing a balanced understanding of the People's Republic some attention must be given to the contemporary Chinese perspective on events.

In reading these views, the teacher should see them within the context in which they are presented: as different ways of perceiving the same sequence of events. They are not offered for making judgments concerning accuracy, but, rather, reflecting the usefulness to the proponent of the viewpoint.

OBJECTIVES

Given a series of passages dealing with recent Chinese history, the student will be able to identify the ideological perspective of each passage and to justify each identification.

STRATEGIES

Without identifying the particular point of view, have students read each of the following perspectives of Chinese history. After each passage is identified, have students justify their identifications. Students should identify each selection with the following questions in mind.

What political perspective does each passage most closely represent? Why?

What does each passage have to say about the impact of foreign powers on China?

According to each passage, what role, if any, does a single individual play in the push toward Chinese independence?

How does each passage view the ultimate rise to power of the Communists?

After students have analyzed the passage collectively, have them investigate each passage specifically.

CHINA'S RECENT PAST - THE MAOIST VIEW

In a conversation with American educators visiting at Pei Ta University near Peking, three Chinese historians were asked to comment on official Chinese views of the recent history of China. They were asked to suggest a conceptualization of the recent era which might be of use to American teachers and students in better understanding contemporary China.

One of the historians described such a view of recent Chinese history which has apparently been accepted at Pei Ta as an official guideline for purposes of teaching and studying Chinese history. According to this view the recent history of China may be structured in the manner summarized by the following time line.

1Pei Ta University, Peking, July 11, 1973.
This, then, is the view of Chinese history propogated by the Chinese government although the century extending from the Opium Wars to Liberation may be seen as a single period of struggle against "semi-colonialism" and "semi-feudalism." The distinction between the "Old" and "New" Democratic Revolutions" is significant. The "Old Democratic Revolution," a sort of first reaction to an oppressive society, was characterized by the support of the middle class ("bourgeoisie") and a lack of correct leadership. The "New Democratic Revolution" was led by Mao Tse-tung and supported by the masses of workers and peasants. Founded in 1921, the Chinese Communist Party provided correct leadership for the revolution based on a true mass line.

During the century-long period of "semi-feudalism" the masses of China, the vast lower stratum of Chinese society, were oppressed by an exploitative system, a hold-over from an ancient feudal order. Concomitantly, there existed a century of "semi-colonialism" during which foreign powers sought to take advantage of a weakened China and extend foreign control over Chinese territory and people.

Since oppression begets resistance, the masses of China periodically rose against those within China who oppressed them. Similarly the "agression of imperialist powers resulted in the resistance of the Chinese people to that aggression. The Maoist approach to Chinese history, rooted as it is in Marxism-Leninism, emphasizes the significance of class struggle, the resistance to imperialism, and the role of masses rather than that of the elite. Several examples illustrate this perspective. The Taiping Rebellion is seen as a mass movement directed against imperialism and feudalism. Similarly the Boxer Rebellion was directed against foreign imperialism and oppression at home, and the 1911 Revolution is considered a large-scale mass revolution.

For a century during the "Old" and "New Democratic Revolutions," the masses of China failed to throw off the yoke of feudalism and imperialism. "Liberation" was ultimately achieved under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party. A key to this success was the Party's "Mass Line" which stressed the involvement of the masses and proclaimed that "the masses are the real heroes." 1 In his famous retelling of the story of the "Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," Chairman Mao Tse-tung said in 1945: "Two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism... Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?" The history of China since "Liberation" may be viewed in terms of largely successful efforts to clear away those mountains. With the overthrow of the semi-feudal old regime and the organization of the masses under Party leadership, great strides have been and continue to be made in improving the livelihood and welfare of the people. On the international scene the People's Republic of China has moved towards its rightful place among the nations of the world.

THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS

"There is an ancient Chinese fable called 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains.' It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains, hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, 'How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains.' The Foolish Old Man replied, 'When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every hit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away? When I die, there'll be my grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every hit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?" (From Mao Tse-Tung, Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 322. Reprinted in Mao Tse-Tung, Quotations from Chairman Mao. Peking. Foreign Languages Press. 1972. pp. 201-202.)

* This fable is reprinted in Hunter, We, The Chinese and in Seybolt, Through Chinese Eyes, Vol. I.

2Ibid., p. 118.
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

What was the situation facing Mao and his followers at the time he wrote this (in 1945, and just before the end of World War II)?

What earlier and later events help explain one reason why the Chinese exalt Mao as a savior and view his writings as a key to the future?

What is the significance of using a 2000-year-old fable?

In what sense does this reflect a "long view of history"?

What human qualities does this story exalt?

What was Mao's point in retelling the fable?

In what ways is this story a summary of a Marxist interpretation of recent Chinese history?

To what extent have Mao and the Chinese people removed the twin mountains of feudalism and imperialism since "Liberation"?

Additional References:


Weitman, O. L. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution, has excerpts from Mao, Edgar Snow, the United States Department of State, and others giving different views of Chinese history.

CHINA'S RECENT PAST--AN AMERICAN (NON-MAOIST VIEW)

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION (1850 - 1950)

Opium Wars - Britain

Foreign Imperialism - France, Russia, Germany

Taiping Rebellion

Bauer Rebellion

Show-Japanese War

"Spheres of influence" - loss of territory - semi-colonies

Manchus weaken

Russian Civil War

Japanese invades China

Revolution

Communist Revolution

Korean War

Many Americans view the recent era of Chinese history from the early 1800's through the present, as very complicated. The complexity of history resulting from seeing it as a succession of incidents makes an understanding of any period of history difficult to achieve. So it is with the period of Chinese history since the Opium Wars. What is needed is a conceptualization of the period which provides structure and shows relationship among otherwise unrelated events. One approach is making sense out of recent Chinese history is to relate events to two or three major ideas or themes.

Significant events and clusters of events in Chinese history since the 1830's can be related to three key factors: (1) the impact of the West on China, (2) the reaction of China to the impact of the West, and (3) the concept of a century-long "Chinese Revolution." These three matters may be seen as the major themes in the history of China during the 19th and 20th centuries. In other words, during this period of time the West was profoundly affecting China in various ways, and China was in turn reacting to what the West was doing. In addition to these two interrelated matters, this era of Chinese history may be interpreted as a single, great "Chinese Revolution" with most major events seen as an integral parts of a single, broad movement rather than as isolated occurrences. Events of the "Chinese
"The Opium War of 1839-42 showed China the might of British warships and guns. In the Treaty of Nanking, China agreed to open five of her ports to foreign trade. Western encroachment led to other unequal treaties and extraterritoriality which would remain in effect until World War II.

"Chinese woes followed one another in quick succession throughout the 19th century. At the time of the Anglo-French expedition against Peking, an internal revolt, known as the Taiping Rebellion, was gathering momentum, and for 15 years caused untold suffering to the people of South China.

"The repeated defeats suffered by China at the hands of foreign powers, the weakness and incompetence of the Manchu Court, plus the example of the Meiji reformation in Japan, stimulated many thinking Chinese to action.

"Popular discontent with internal misgovernment, plus the anti-foreign sentiment aroused by the unequal treaties, combined to spark the Boxer Incident in 1900. This tragic event led to the storming of Peking by the combined forces of eight foreign powers and the signing of the Treaty of Peking the following year. China was disarmed and forced to pay large indemnities. This treaty was regarded as the most humiliating of all the unequal treaties.

(From China Yearbook 1975. Reprinted by permission of the China Publishing Company, Taiwan, China.)
"After decades of painful experiences and frustrations, the Chinese people, disillusioned with the Manchu government, began to take a keen interest in the revolutionary movement of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

"CHINA SINCE 1911

"Dr. Sun's followers raised the standard of revolt at Wuchang on October 10, 1911. The whole nation rallied to the revolutionaries and the Manchu government was soon overthrown. The Republic of China was formally established on January 1, 1912. Manchu rule in China had lasted 268 years (1644 to 1911) during which there were 12 emperors.

"Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Republic of China, established a republic based on the Three Principles of the People: Nationalism, Democracy and Social Well-being. His objective was Chinese independence and freedom.

"After establishment of the Republic, the task of national reconstruction met with a series of reverses. Between 1912 and 1926, there occurred a period of warfare among the northern warlords for the control of the Central Government. Dr. Sun rallied the revolutionary forces of his Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) in southern China to oppose the warlords. After his death in March, 1925 his followers set up a government at Canton in July to oppose the northern warlords. In 1926, this government appointed General Chiang Kai-shek commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army, which broke the power of the warlords in two years and unified the country. The seat of the government was moved from Canton to Nanking.

"With the nation unified, the work of national reconstruction based on Dr. Sun's teachings began in earnest. From 1928 on there was marked progress. China was headed toward independence and freedom. Social and economic stability were assured. Then a second misfortune befall China, this time in the form of Japanese aggression...

"After eight years of war with Japan, China needed time to heal wounds. The Chinese Communist immediately took advantage of the situation to start a nationwide rebellion. After the fall of the Chinese mainland to the Communists in 1949, the Chinese government moved its seat to Taiwan. Since then it has been vigorously engaged in preparing for national recovery and the restoration of constitutional rule proclaimed in 1947 on the Chinese mainland. Remarkable progress has been made in Taiwan. A land reform begun in 1949 realized the 'land-to-the-tiller' ideal... The island province stands as a bastion against Communist aggression in the western Pacific...

"Communism runs counter to Chinese culture. The two can never exist together. The Maoist seizure of mainland is only temporary. A genuine revolution among the Chinese people on the mainland is now in the making. With the help of the free Chinese in Taiwan, they will wipe Communism from the face of China. China, then, will again regain her rightful position and contribute her share to the peace of the world."

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

. How does the Nationalist passage assess the Manchus? The foreign impact on China?
. What roles did Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek play in the Chinese revolution?
. How do the Nationalist perceive their role on Taiwan?
. How do they assess the Communist impact upon the mainland?
LEARNING ABOUT RECENT CHINESE HISTORY: A TEACHING MODULE

OBJECTIVES:

Students may demonstrate their understanding of the impact of the West upon China during the last 150 years by:

- identifying any events or circumstances which reflected Western good will and/or understanding of China's integrity as a nation,
- identifying events or circumstances which would cause Chinese resentment of Western powers,
- listing some causes of China's antagonism toward the United States during the 1950's and 60's.

Given the premise that the major social and political developments in China in the past 150 years, although seemingly antithetical, were really events in a great Chinese revolution and parts of one great era of revolutionary change, the student will be able to:

- describe relationships between certain developments or events in that timespan,
- identify developments and events within the timespan as resulting from the impact of the West upon China,
- identify developments and events within the timespan as China's reaction to Western actions.

Using cartoons and illustrations from Western periodicals and newspapers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the student can identify features which indicate misperceptions of China in that period.

STRATEGIES

Students individually or in small groups may choose one of the following events from Chinese history for the purpose of obtaining information about that event. (The list may be modified to be appropriate for the students.)

- The Opium Wars
- The Taiping Rebellion
- Foreign Imperialism in China: England, France, Russia, Japan
- The Open Door Policy: American altruism or imperialism?
- The Sino-Japanese War
- The Boxer Rebellion
- The Republican Revolution - Dr. Sun Yat-sen
- Period of warlords
- The Nationalist Revolution - Chiang Kai-shek
- Period of Civil War
- Japanese Invasion
- The Communist Revolution - Mao Tse-tung
- The Korean War
- Friction between China and other nations: India Russia, U.S.
In addition to selections on the next several pages, the teacher may wish to use additional readings. Among the most useful sources of materials is Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell, eds., The China Reader, New York, Vintage Books, 1967, Vol. I: Imperial China (287 pp. $1.95 pa.); Vol. II: Republican China (369 pp. $1.95 pa.); and Vol. III: Communist China (647 pp. $2.45 pa.). The number 68 issue of Intercom entitled "Understanding U.S.-China Relations" (New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1971, 72 pp., $1.50) is a very useful item for studying and teaching about China. Human Adventure, eds. Eisen & Filler, Vol. 2. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, pp. 79-89.

Footnotes on the next few pages indicate other useful sources.

The readings, both those included and those to which questions are referred, help establish the intense pride of the Chinese people and their sensitivity to a loss of national territory. They also hint at the harshness of the Western impact upon a proud nation. Other readings help to develop the significance of the U.S. involvement on Taiwan and the importance of Russian control of vast tracts of Asia once under the sway of Peking. Each reading is accompanied by discussion questions.

Students should direct their research to determine whether the assigned occurrence was primarily a matter of the Western action against China or Chinese reactions to Western action. In other words, was a given event an example of the impact of the West, or does it illustrate Chinese reaction to the West? Can elements of both be found in the given event? Terms like "the West," "impact," and "reaction" should be clarified or explained.

The class can exchange information to see if a pattern emerges, using a variation of the fishbowl or group-on-group technique.* Decisions concerning how to classify the various individual events as reflecting the impact of the West, the reaction of China, or both can be recorded by marks on a modified checklist similar to the one below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>West Doing Something to China</th>
<th>China Reacting to the West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opium War</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiping Rebellion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Imperialism, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X = some relationship  
XX = predominant relationship

*Teaching About Basic Legal Concepts in the Senior High School, Module I-The System: Who Needs It? The State Education Department, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development. Albany. 1974. See pp. 3-7 for a detailed explanation and example of how to use a "fishbowl" or "group-on-group" technique.
The checklist might be set up on the board or prepared as a transparency for summing up discussion of each item on the list of events. Once the exchange of information is underway, the teacher may assign the entire class to do broader reading on this period of Chinese history, emphasizing that all classifications are subject to revision, as further information is located.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

How does each of the events listed on the previous page (e.g. the Opium Wars) relate to the impact of the West or the Chinese reaction to the West?

In how many different ways was China undergoing "revolutionary" change during the past 150 years?

Why might one see the Republican, Nationalist, and Communist Revolutions as phases of a single revolutionary process?

Why do some see the past 150 years of Chinese history as a period in which China was like a doormat for the imperial powers?

Review current news stories and identify reasons why China is antagonistic toward the United States; why China is hostile toward Russia?

A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR OF CHINA

Two letters ("mandates") from Emperor Ch'ien-lung of China (1735-1795) to King George III of England who had sent an ambassador to China to demand representation at the Emperor's Court and the right of free trade are excellent sources:


A more complete excerpt is available in *Focus*, November, 1971, pp. 24-29.


*China: Selected Readings*, edited by Hyman Kublin, has additional selections from the same correspondence.

Weitzman, D.L., *East Meets West*. Field, Asian Studies Inquiry Program, pp. 33-47, has Ch'ien-lung's letter, and several Chinese views of America and Europe. Each of these additional references suggest additional ways to use the selections, and provide a different context within which they may be viewed.

Intercom #68 (pp. 18-23) contains several selections useful for this exercise.
The following questions are the types of questions you will want to ask students who investigate the Ch'ien-lung letters. Some of these questions may suggest additional areas of research if students are to obtain a clear understanding of the concepts involved.

- What was the Chinese view of themselves?
- What was the Chinese view of Europeans and other outsiders? Why?
- What was the position of China among the other nations of the world from the Chinese point of view? What was the concept of the "Middle Kingdom"?
- What was the tribute system? How long had it been in existence? How did the smaller states near China conduct themselves toward China?
- What hint of future conflict is there?
- What sorts of matters do you think the Chinese might be most "touchy" about?

THE TREATY OF NANKING

Signed on August 29, 1842, the Treaty of Nanking ended the "Opium War" and opened China to foreign residence and trade. The privileges gained by the foreigners came to be known as "treaty rights" and opened ports "treaty ports." Other countries soon sought and obtained similar treaty arrangements with China. You will find excerpts of this document in the following sources:

- Kublin, China: Selected Readings, pp. 121-127.
- Human Adventure, Vol. II., pp. 80-84. This reading includes a letter written in August 1839 by Lin Tse-hsu to Queen Victoria which discusses the opium trade in addition to excerpts of the treaty.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- How would you describe the tone of this treaty?
- What did the Chinese get out of this treaty? the British?
- How would you expect the Chinese to react to such a treaty? How would you have felt about it had you been a Chinese living in 1842? Explain your answers.
- Why doesn't the People's Republic of China take either or both Hong Kong and Taiwan?

After students have discussed the above questions, you may wish to assign additional readings, periodicals, etc., so that students can investigate the following questions:

- Why was the concept of "extrality" such a raw provocation or aggravation to the Chinese?
What is the origin of the expression "unequal treaties"? In what ways were they unequal and from whose point of view?

Do the British, Russians, or any other countries still hold any Chinese territory? If so, why do the Chinese permit it?

Does the United States occupy any Chinese territory? What is the Chinese point of view on this question?

THE VIEW FROM CHINA'S SIDE

Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times summarizes the Chinese concept of the "Middle Kingdom" and suggests something of Chinese ethnocentrism. He indicates that, if the United States can end its dispute with China over Taiwan, Russia will remain in Chinese eyes as the only foreign power still occupying large tracts of territory that rightfully belong to China.

"China historically regarded itself as the 'Middle Kingdom,' the kingdom between heaven and earth, not quite as high as heaven but well above the mundane earth... China was surrounded by a world of barbarians; in fact, the Chinese word for 'foreigner' was 'barbarian.'... The Chinese did not merely assume the superiority of the civilization over other civilizations; they assumed that their civilization was civilization..."

"This, then, was the nation and these were the people who found themselves, early in the nineteenth century, falling into subjugation at the hands of the Europeans... The Chinese had to watch their great cities taken from them. They saw their people forcibly addicted to the barbarian traffic in drugs. They stood by as their great cultural and religious monuments were dismantled and hauled off to barbarian lands. They had to submit to new ways of life and new kinds of 'culture,' 'which to their thought were not culture but the rude and ignorant habits of European ape-men. And they had to accede to the loss of control of vast segments of the empire--and none of these segments were greater in scope than those seized by the Russians.

"The new regime of the Communists meant many things to the Chinese but none, perhaps, more striking than the restoration of national dignity and China's right to be master of her own house..."


See also: Kublin, China, Selected Readings, pp. 123-131, for view of Abbé Huc, who visited China in the mid-nineteenth century.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

What phrases in this and other readings would lead one to state that the Chinese people are a proud people? What comparable statements do Americans make about themselves?

What matters must the United States and China work out in order to establish cordial relations?

Answering some of the following questions may require additional research.

What circumstances and conditions make it difficult to resolve differences between China and Russia? Why? (Give specific examples.)

What possibility do you see for the United States to play a role in the dispute between Russia and China? On what events do you base your thinking?

What do some correspondents and world observers predict as the consequences for the world, if China and the U.S.S.R. went to war with each other?

In the post-Vietnam era, why might the U.S. have to turn to China in order to continue its diplomatic dealings with Southeast Asia?

MAO ON U.S. (1958)

"...U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for...years. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries all over the world. China's territory of Taiwan,...and all military bases of the United States or foreign soil are so many nooses round the neck of U.S. imperialism. The nooses have been fashioned by the Americans themselves and by nobody else, and it is they themselves who have put the nooses round their own necks, handing the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people...and all the people of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. ..."


Tuchman, Barbara W., Stilwell and the American Experience in China 1911-1945, MacMillan Company, New York, pp. 462-64, 476-78, 526-527, gives background material for both the Dixie Mission and the Marshall Mission; Ms. Tuchman also presents interesting evidence concerning various American assessments of both the Communist and Kuomintang camps.
The following sequence of events in 1944-50 might be helpful in dealing with the Mao passage:

Summer 1944: Dixie Mission or Military Observation Mission
- established first American contact with Communist since 1938
  in order to explore the possibility of aid to or tactical collaboration with the Communists against the Japanese

1946: Marshall Mission
- due to anti-Communist sentiments within the U.S., General Marshall was sent to China to buttress Chiang Kai-shek's position, bring truce and a united government to China

August 1949: White Paper transmitted to President Truman
(see page 20 for excerpts of transmittal letter.)

December 1949: Chiang Kai-shek and Nationalist leaders fled to Formosa (Taiwan)

January 1950: President Truman and National Security Council agreed to the following points, which were subsequently discussed at length in Congress:
- there would be no military action in defense of Formosa by the United States
- if Formosa could be kept out of Chinese Communist hands through limited financial and technical assistance, this should be considered
- American occupation of the island was not justified; it would cause alienation, not only on the part of the Chinese, but of other Asian peoples.
- recognition of Communist government in China would be unwise at that time

June 1950: North Korea invades the South, Korean War begins

December 1950: Chinese troops enter Korean War after American troops approach Chinese border
UNITED STATES AID TO TAIWAN (NATIONALIST CHINA)  
1951 - 1965

[Bar chart showing aid amounts from 1951 to 1965 in millions of U.S. Dollars]


UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH CHINA  
With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949

Letter of Transmittal

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, July 30, 1949

"THE PRESIDENT: In accordance with your wish, I have had compiled a record of our relations with China, special emphasis being placed on the last five years. . . ."

"...I instructed those charged with the compilation of this document to present a record which would reveal the salient facts which determined our policy toward China during this period and which reflect the execution of that policy. . . .a frank record of an extremely complicated and most unhappy period in the life of a great country to which the United States has long been attached by ties of closest friendship. . . ."

"The interest of the people and the Government of the United States in China goes far back into our history. Despite the distance and broad differences in background which separate China and the United States, our friendship for that country has always been intensified by the religious, philanthropic and cultural ties which have united the two peoples, and has been attested by many acts of good will over a period of many years. . . . The record shows that the United States has consistently maintained and still maintains those fundamental principles of our foreign policy toward China which include the doctrine of the Open Door, respect for the administrative and territorial integrity of China, and opposition to any foreign domination of China. . . ."

(From United States Relations with China - With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949. Based on the files of the Department of State, Washington, D.C.)
"...For more than three thousand years the Chinese developed their own high culture and civilization, largely untouched by outside influences. Even when subjected to military conquest the Chinese always managed in the end to subdue and absorb the invader. It was natural therefore that they should come to look upon themselves as the center of the world and the highest expression of civilized mankind. Then in the middle of the nineteenth century the heretofore pervious wall of Chinese isolation was breached by the West. These outsiders brought with them aggressiveness, the unparalleled development of Western technology, and a high order of culture which had not accompanied previous foreign incursions into China. Partly because of these qualities and partly because of the decay of Manchu rule, the Westerners, instead of being absorbed by the Chinese, introduced new ideas which played an important part in stimulating ferment and unrest.

"By the beginning of the twentieth century, the combined force of overpopulation and new ideas set in motion that chain of events which can be called the Chinese revolution. [T]he Kuomintang, first under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and later Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek...was not challenged until 1927 by the Chinese Communist party when the Third International demanded a predominant position in the Government and the army...[T]o a large extent the history of the period between 1927 and 1937 can be written in terms of the struggle for power between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists, with the latter apparently fighting a losing battle. During this period the Kuomintang made considerable progress in its efforts to unify the country and to build up the nation's financial and economic strength...

"Perhaps largely because of the progress being made in China, the Japanese chose 1937 as the departure point for the conquest of China proper, and the goal of the Chinese people because the expulsion of a brutal and hated invader. Until 1940 this resistance was largely without foreign support...[and] to a large extent destroyed the emerging middle class which historically has been the backbone and heart of liberalism and democracy.

"...[T]he divided interests of the leaders of the Kuomintang and of the Chinese Communists...became apparent in the early forties that the leaders of the Government, just as much as the Communist leaders, were still as preoccupied with the internal struggle for power as they were with waging war against Japan. Once the United States became a participant in the war, the Kuomintang was apparently convinced of the ultimate defeat of Japan and saw an opportunity to improve its position for a show-down struggle with the Communists. The Communists, for their part, seemed to see in the chaos of China an opportunity to obtain that which had been denied them before the Japanese war, namely, full power in China. This struggle for power in the latter years of the war contributed largely to the partial paralysis of China's ability to resist.

"...The Government of China, of course, had always been a one-party rather than a democratic government in the Western sense. The stresses and strains of war were now rapidly weakening such liberal elements as it did possess and strengthening the grip of the reactionaries who were indistinguishable from the war lords of the past. The mass of the Chinese people were coming more and more to lose confidence in the Government.

"...American observers...were concerned over the effect which this deterioration of the Kuomintang must have on its eventual struggle, whether political or military, with the Chinese Communists...that the National Government might be so isolating itself from the people that in the postwar competition for power it would prove itself impotent to maintain its authority.

"When peace came...our policy at that time was inspired by the two objectives of bringing peace to China under conditions which would permit stable government and progress along democratic lines, and of assisting the National Government to establish its authority over as wide areas of China as possible. As the event proved, the first objective was unrealizable because neither side desired it to succeed: the Communists because they refused to accept conditions which would weaken their freedom to proceed with what remained consistently their aim, the communization of all China; the Nationalists because they cherished the illusion, in spite of repeated advice to the contrary from our military representatives, that they could destroy the Communists by force of arms.

"The second objective of assisting the National Government, however, we pursued vigorously from 1945 to 1949. The National Government was the recognized government of a friendly power. Our friendship, and our right under international law alike, called for aid to the Government instead of it to the Communists who were seeking to subvert and overthrow it.

"The reasons for the failures of the Chinese National Government...do not stem from any inadequacy of American aid. Our military observers on the spot have reported that the Nationalist armies did not lose a single battle during the crucial year of 1948 through lack of arms or ammunition. Kuomintang leaders had proved incapable of meeting the crisis confronting them, its troops had lost the will to
fight, and its Government had lost popular support. The Communists, on the other hand, through a ruthless discipline and fanatical zeal, attempted to sell themselves as guardians and liberators of the people. Nationalist armies did not have to be defeated; they disintegrated.

"It must be admitted frankly that the American policy of assisting the Chinese people in resisting domination by any foreign power or powers is now confronted with the gravest difficulties. The heart of China is in Communist hands. The Communist leaders have foresworn their Chinese heritage and have publicly announced their subservience to a foreign power, Russia, which during the last 50 years, under czars and Communists alike, has been most assiduous in its efforts to extend its control in the Far East. In the recent past, attempts at foreign domination have appeared quite clearly to the Chinese people as external aggression and as such have been bitterly and in the long run successfully resisted. Our aid and encouragement have helped them to resist. In this case, however, the foreign domination has been masked behind the facade of a vast crusading movement which apparently has seemed to many Chinese to be wholly indigenous and national."

"In the immediate future, however, the implementation of our historic policy of friendship for China must be profoundly affected by current developments. It will necessarily be influenced by the degree to which the Chinese people come to recognize that the Communist regime serves not their interests but those of Soviet Russia and the manner in which, having become aware of the facts, they react to this foreign domination."

"Respectfully yours,

DEAN ACHESON"

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS (These questions refer to the readings from pages 18 to 22.)

What reasons might Mao have for making this statement?

What contrasts are there in the pictures of United States given by Mao and given by Dean Acheson's statement?

With which references to the Chinese Communists in Acheson's statement would Mao disagree?

Early in 1950, Congress was opposing voting any aid to the Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan. Later that year the Chinese Aid program indicated by the graph was designed. What events brought this change in American policy?

How would Mao interpret the picture shown by the graph?

For detailed account, Tuchman, op.cit., pp. 526-527; 529-530.
In this policy statement Chou-En-lai indicated that two issues involving the United States threatened the security of the People's Republic of China. After students have read this statement, have each student in a written statement react to it first from the Chinese perspective then from an American perspective. The Chinese position should include a statement concerning Taiwan.

"(1) China will not take the initiative to provoke a war with the United States. China has not sent any troops to Hawaii; it is the United States that has occupied China's territory of Taiwan province. Nevertheless, China has been making efforts in demanding, through negotiations, that the United States withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan province and the Taiwan Straits, and she has held talks with the United States for more than ten years, first in Geneva and then in Warsaw, on this question of principle, which admits of no concession whatever. ..."

"(2) The Chinese mean what they say. In other words, if any country in Asia, Africa, or elsewhere meets with aggression by the imperialists headed by the United States, the Chinese government and people definitely will give it support and help. ..."

"(3) China is prepared. Should the United States impose a war on China, it can be said with certainty that, once in China, the United States will not be able to pull out, however many men it may send over and whatever weapons it may use, nuclear weapons included. Since the fourteen million people of Southern Vietnam can cope with over two hundred thousand U.S. troops, the six hundred fifty million people of China can undoubtedly cope with ten million of them. No matter how many U.S. aggressor troops may come, they will certainly be annihilated in China.

"(4) Once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. Some U.S. strategist want to bomb Chinese cities by relying on their air and naval superiority and avoid a ground war. This is wishful thinking. Once the war gets started with air or sea action, it will not be for the United States alone to decide how the war will continue. ..."


DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. According to Chou En-lai what areas of concern required attention before relations between U.S. and the People's Republic of China were improved? To what extent have these conditions changed?

2. What fear did Chou En-lai apparently have when he wrote this in 1966? To what extent was he justified?

3. In your judgment have any conditions changed significantly since 1966? Explain.

4. What issues would most likely lead to war between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China? Why?

PEKING COMES TO THE U.N.

On October 25, 1971, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted overwhelmingly to seat the People's Republic of China in the U.N. On November 15, Chiao Kuan-hua, leader of the Chinese delegation, delivered a speech in the General Assembly. The following excerpts are from that speech as reported in the provisional verbatim record of the meeting held at headquarters, New York, Monday, November 15, 1971, at 3:00 p.m. After students have read Mr. Chiao's statement, have them make a speech answering his viewpoint written from the perspective of a delegate from Taiwan.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 26TH SESSION

Welcoming Statements to the New Delegation From China

"Mr. CHIAO (China) (interpretation from Chinese) Allow me first of all, in the name of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, to thank you, Mr. President, and the representatives of many countries for the welcome you have given us. ...We are deeply moved by this and we shall convey all this to the entire Chinese people. ...

"The Chinese people have experienced untold sufferings under imperialist oppression. For one century and more, imperialism repeatedly launched wars of aggression against China and..."
forced it to sign many unequale treaties. They divided China into their spheres of influence, plundered China's resources and exploited the Chinese people. The degree of poverty and lack of freedom suffered by the Chinese people in the past is known to all. In order to win national independence, freedom and liberation, the Chinese people...waged protracted heroic struggles against imperialism and its lackeys and finally won the revolution under the leadership of their great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the Chinese Communist Party. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we, the Chinese people, defying the tight imperialist blockades and withstanding the terrific pressure from without, have built our country into a socialist State with initial prosperity by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and through self-reliance. It has been proved by facts that we the Chinese nation are fully capable of standing on our own feet in the family of nations.

"Taiwan is a province of China and the 14 million people who live in Taiwan are our fellow-countrymen by flesh and blood. Taiwan was already returned to the motherland after the Second World War in accordance with the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam proclamation, and our compatriots in Taiwan already returned to the embrace of their motherland. ...The spreading in certain places of the fallacy that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined' is a conspiracy to plot 'an independent Taiwan' and continue to create 'one China, one Taiwan', which is in effect to create 'two Chinas'. On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby reiterate that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory and the United States armed invasion and occupation of China's Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits cannot in the least alter the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China over Taiwan; that all the armed forces of the United States definitely should be withdrawn from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and that we are firmly opposed to any design to separate Taiwan from the motherland. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and no force on earth can stop us from doing so.

The Chinese people who suffered for a long time from imperialist aggression and oppression, have consistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported all the oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny. This position of the Chinese Government and people is in the fundamental interests of the peoples of the world and is also in accord with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. ..."

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- What references are there to China's having suffered at the hands of imperialism?
- What continuing problems and suggested solutions are mentioned?
- Are there any similarities between Chia Kuan-hua's point of view and the Chinese viewpoint interpreted by Harrison Salisbury?
- At what points do you agree with the Chinese line of reasoning? With which points do you take issue? Explain.
- Realistically, what steps can the United States take to improve relations with China?

MING TOMB WALL POSTER (See page 23)

This illustration is based on one of the several large permanent wall posters located throughout those chambers of the Ming Tombs which are open to the public. Like the antiquities of the Summer Palace and Forbidden City, the Ming Tombs were closed to the Chinese masses for many years. Today, these places are thronged by soldiers and workers on their holidays. (Most people have one day off in seven.) The underground rooms of the Ming Tombs were carved from solid rock by the forced labor of local peasants. The sign reproduced here is illustrative of many found throughout the tombs. This one tells how much peasant labor went into constructing the large cavernous room in which the sign is located. After students have studied and discussed the Ming Tomb Poster, have them draw posters which you feel illustrate the slogan: "Let the Past Serve the Present" for Chinese; for Americans.

- How would the Chinese poster differ from the American?

For those who wish to develop the concepts of propaganda, indoctrination and education at this point, see the Red Flag Canal guide, pp. 15-17, Bureau of Mass Communications, State Education Department, Albany, N.Y., for additional strategies.

The sign may be reproduced in dittoed form or as a transparency for classroom use.
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Why does the present government of China, which stresses socialist construction of a new China, permit and encourage people to visit ancient imperial sites like the Forbidden City and the Ming Tombs?

Is the sign primarily educational or propagandistic? Explain.

How does the sign illustrate the slogan "Let the past serve the present..."?

What phases of the history of the Chinese people are illustrated by the sign?

How does the sign reflect Marxist historical theory?

ARCHAEOLOGY IN CHINA

Various materials related to recent archaeological work in the People's Republic of China are available from China Books and Periodicals, 95 Fifth Ave., New York. Examples include the following:

- Pamphlets: Newly Found Archaeological Treasures.
- Picture postcards: Cultural Relics Unearthed in China.
- Sets 1 (87E-182) and 2 (87E-190) (12 postcards in each set, in color.)
- Postage stamps: "Bronze Vessels of the Yin Dynasty" (8 stamps, 1964)

Some communities have museums containing exhibits of Chinese artifacts that can be related to school activities or be the subject of field trips.

During the Cultural Revolution some museums in China were closed and museum cadres were sent out among the peasants to teach them the fundamentals of archaeology.

Why would disseminating a knowledge of basic archaeology be of interest to the regime?

(See also questions related to Ming Tombs wall sign.)

In addition, TIME, August 1973, has a well-illustrated article about the traveling exhibit of Chinese antiquities that is being loaned to several museums throughout the world.

USE OF LABOR IN CONSTRUCTING THE TING-LING TOMBS

定陵营建用工状况

IN 6 YEARS OF CONSTRUCTION, ALL TOGETHER 65,000,000 (65 MILLION) WORKERS WERE USED. (MEANING NOT CLEAR. PROBABLY MEANS 65 MILLION LABOR DAYS EXPENDED.)

EVERY DAY, 30,000 WORKERS WERE AT THE SITE.

当肘全国每户平均 6.6工

AT THAT TIME, THE NATIONAL AVERAGE OF LABOR POWER IN A HOUSEHOLD WAS 6.5 LABORERS.

每日用工数

DAILY LABOR FIGURES

平均每户出工数

AVERAGE LABOR POWER IN A HOUSEHOLD

28
THE MESSAGE: THE WAYS IT IS CONVEYED

TEACHER BACKGROUND: CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY ART

All forms of art have long been recognized as a useful means of social documentation. Art and literature can each provide ways of exploring an historical era or a culture.

Although not new in themselves, several Chinese art forms reflect changes in the way of life in the People's Republic of China. Their contemporary content can provide teachers and students with a Chinese perspective.

Admittedly much Chinese art carries a heavy propagandistic load. In the United States propaganda is a pejorative term which hints at deception and short-circuiting the thinking process. In China, propaganda is more nearly equated with education of the masses. As the member of a commune propaganda team explained it, propaganda means "let the people know."¹

The art forms of the People's Republic of China stress the exploitation of the old feudal order, the crushing impact of imperialism, the satisfaction of engaging in physical labor, the joy of serving the people, and the correctness of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

From a Maoist perspective, all art anywhere at any time is infused with propaganda, although that might not be recognized. Mao put it this way: "In the world today, all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."²

The art of China today is an avowed weapon of revolution which ultimately aims at serving the people. In a famous statement frequently used as a preface to many printed works of art, Mao Tse-tung states:

"All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants, and soldiers, they are created for the workers, peasants, and soldiers and are for their use."³

Weitzman, D.L., Chinese Popular Fiction, contains an extensive selection from Mao Tse-tung's writings on art and literature. (pp. 54-58.) See also: Seybolt, P.J., Through Chinese Eyes, Vol. 1, pp. 123-128 and 129-136, for selections contrasting present day Chinese literature with the traditional Chinese prose and poetry.

Lu Hsun, the famous Chinese writer who was a revolutionary but not a communist, observed elements of propaganda in the classic graphic art of

³Ibid., p. 300.
several cultures. In commenting on the art of Western civilization, he pointed out that:

"If you visit the Vatican, ... you will find that all the marvelous frescoes fundamentally tell stories from the Old Testament and Acts of the Apostles. When an art historian reproduces one of them under the title 'The Creation of Adam' or 'The Last Supper,' no one considers it vulgar or propagandistic. And yet the originals are fundamentally cartoons of a propagandistic nature." 4

Lu Hsun, who realized the educational value of visual things, made this observation in a defense of comics and picture story books.

Many Americans would probably agree in part with Mao's contention that art is linked with class and politics, although we might debate the extent to which the statement holds true. Some may regard the apochryphal stories about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln which have urged generations of Americans to aspire to a moral code characteristic of the dominant American social character as examples of his statement. These stories were not unlike the accounts of Lei Feng whom good Maoists seek to emulate in China today.

Before students investigate the relationship between Chinese art forms and the Maoist message have them consider the concepts of education, indoctrination and propaganda.

What distinctions do students draw between propaganda, education, and indoctrination?

Have students propose situations both American and non-American in which the differences between education and propaganda are not always clearly drawn.

- How does a society's values affect its government's use of education, indoctrination and propaganda?
- To what extent does all education take place in a formal school setting?
- How closely does any government supervise and direct education and, what is the purpose for this supervision and direction?
- What techniques can be used both for educational purposes and for propaganda?
- To what extent are any of these techniques good or bad in and of themselves?

Have students comment on the statement "To understand a culture, one must examine the manner of creative expression in the arts."


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The video tape, *The Red Flag Canal*, available from the Bureau of Mass Communications, State Education Department, can be used effectively to help students clarify a central theme or message which pervades activity in the People's Republic. The teacher's guide for this edited version of a Chinese documentary film provides a wide variety of suggested strategies in the use of the film. Teachers might wish to have a small group of students use several of these, then report to the rest of the class, in conjunction with the showing of the video tape.


The remainder of this volume will examine the Maoist message through (a) Chinese picture-story books, (b) Chinese paper cuts, (c) revolutionary opera and drama, (d) revolutionary songs and (e) propaganda posters and slogans. The teacher will want to choose a sampling from this section to meet the needs and abilities of students. It is not necessary to have students investigate each sampling. The teacher may assign separate segments to individual students or groups of students.

A. THE MESSAGE THROUGH THE CHINESE PICTURE-STORY BOOKS: A MODULE FOR VISUAL LITERACY

As an art form and as medium for conveying ideas, the Chinese picture story book has been around for a long time. Although similar in several ways to American comics, something like the present Chinese picture story books existed in China centuries ago. Today's Chinese picture story books are roughly the size of most American paperback books and contain a single picture with a caption on each page. The illustrations are usually pictures drawn by artists but some picture books use movie stills. The illustrations on the following pages approximate the size of the originals to facilitate their use in the classroom. Excerpts from two picture story books, *Fighting North and South* and *Tunnel Warfare* appear on the following pages. English language versions of the books were obtained in the People's Republic of China in July, 1973.

The accompanying excerpts from *Fighting North and South* are entertaining to us in part because they are so naive and moralistic. The story, originally a motion picture, is loaded with what we would consider propaganda. Commander Kao and Village Head Chao, a soldier and a peasant girl, are depicted as heroic figures, paragons of Maoist morality. The Kuomintang enemy, backed by sinister U.S. imperialism, is morally bankrupt and so bound to lose. And the way to success is through understanding and applying Mao Tse-tung Thought. It all strikes the Americans as rather funny, but if one reflects for a moment, he might ask himself just how foreign to him such
propaganda in art and entertainment really is. One might draw a number of parallels between *Fighting North and South* and films such as John Wayne's *The Green Berets*. If one can imagine John Wayne as Commander Kao and Jill St. John as peasant girl Chao, *Fighting North and South* may appear to have a quite familiar ring.

Other Sources of Picture Story Books

The total contents of several picture story books have been reproduced in *The People's Comic Book*, Garden City, Doubleday, 1973, 252 pp., $8.95. The introduction by Gino Nebiolo (translated from the Italian) contains background information on the picture story book as an art form and a propaganda device. Stories range from "San-yuan-li," an 1839 account of Chinese resistance to the British opium trade, to "Lei Feng," the story of a young soldier who was a paragon of Maoist virtues and about whom the famous dictum, "Learn from Lei Feng," was written by Chairman Mao himself. Also contained in this volume are "Red Detachment of Women" and "Bravery on the Seas," both of which deal with aspects of the "War of Liberation." "Letters from the South" reflects a Chinese perspective on the Vietnam War. Other stories deal with communal life and mobilization in a large city. As Nebiolo points out, part of the interest in these selections is due to their now being somewhat out of step with the Maoist line. The story of "The Red Detachment of Women," now a ballet and film, has been revised from its picture story origins to reflect the value of the writings of Chairman Mao. Unfortunately, the quality of reproduction of the pictures in this volume is not very good and they are much smaller than the originals. Transparencies of some pictures, which could be enlarged through projection, could constitute the basis for some class discussion.

The January 1973 issue of *Social Education* (Vol. 37, No. 1), edited by Bonnie Crown, contains nine pictures (close to the originals in size) from the "Red Detachment of Women." These pictures are large enough to make possible their reproduction for classroom use.

Summaries of factual background information on the People's Republic of China are contained in:

"People's Republic of China." Department of State Publication 7751, revised May 1972, in Background Notes series.


*Social Education*, Vol. 37, No. 1, January 1973. This includes a special section of contemporary writing from the People's Republic of China edited by Bonnie R. Crown, Director of the Asia Society's Asian Literature Program, and constitutes "a sampler of contemporary Chinese writing for the masses." Samples and commentary on poetry, picture story books (excerpts from "Red Detachment of Women"), cross talk, "clapper verse," songs, short stories, novels, and Peking opera (excerpts from "Song of the Dragon River" and a song from "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy") are included.
OBJECTIVES

Given only the pictures which relate a Chinese story of a crisis period, the student can:

- identify those graphic elements that portray heroism, cowardice, loyalty to the people, treachery.
- indicate the basic principles which the author of the visuals is trying to communicate.
- for any one visual, compare the message which the author intended to convey with that which a protagonist (non-Maoist) might attach to the same visual.
- for any picture, describe the feeling of those portrayed (whether members of the People's Liberation Army or the followers of Chiang Kai-shek).

Given captions and visuals for a Chinese story of a crisis period, the student can:

- citing examples in text and pictures, identify examples of heroism; cowardice; loyalty to the people; treachery.
- indicate the message given by this abridged version of the picture story book, Fighting North and South.
- for any picture, suggest dialogue which reflects the Maoist interpretation of the scene, and the non-Maoist interpretation of the scene.
- as a follower of Chiang Kai-shek, write a statement reflecting his/her feelings about the story.
- as a follower of Chairman Mao, write a statement reflecting his/her feelings about the story.

Strategies for Using Excerpts from Fighting North and South

Depending upon the instructional objectives selected by the teacher and the desired working groupings of students, several alternatives for use of the picture story are listed below.

Reproduction of Materials

If use of the pictures and text by individuals or by small groups of students is planned, have both sets of materials reproduced by means of a Thermofax machine or similar device, to make spirit masters for dittos. For total class involvement, transparencies made using these pages as masters, plus ditto reproduction of the text will be a satisfactory method of making the story available to the students.

Classroom Use

- Total class involvement
  - Show all transparencies consecutively, spacing their presentation to permit students to observe details, but not to raise questions or comments.
- In classroom discussion, raise a few questions concerning student reactions, to discern whether a story seems to emerge from the visual preview. If enough seem to sense a story, suggest that each student in the second showing jot down notes concerning (1) who ("friend" or "foe") is taking part in that scene, (2) what is happening (3) what else the student needs to know.

- Show the transparencies again, at a pace which permits the notetaking mentioned above.

- Using the chalkboard or newsprint, construct a brief outline of the story, as the majority of the students perceived it from the visuals.

- Distribute the text and show the transparencies again, permitting the students to compare the class text with the official text.

- Discuss elements in the graphics which help to portray the story without any text being given. Why has such a technique been important in China, particularly in the early days of the People's Republic? How important are the pictures in telling the story?

- Discuss the motivation of the storyteller; why has he shown "good guys" and "bad guys?" Would this approach be equally effective in a story book about the American Revolution to commemorate the Bicentennial?

Individual or small group activities

- The steps suggested above can be used in terms of analysis of pictorial, followed by comparison with text.

- Differentiate the observing-analysis tasks for individuals or groups, to provide different insights, which can then be shared and compared in total class discussion. Some alternatives include:

  (1) have some individuals or groups study just the pictures, some just the text, some both. In followup discussion each can describe the message of the story, discuss the reasons for the storyteller's efforts, and compare the effectiveness of visuals vs. verbal text, vs. combination of both.

  (2) Before reading/viewing pictures, individuals or small groups can be assigned a political/philosophical position through which to see the story. Points of view might include a young member of the PLA, an old peasant who is now a member of a commune, a university professor apparently acceptable to the Maoists, a Chinese refugee on Taiwan, etc. Each of these individuals or groups should tell the story in his own way, then prepare an opinion statement about it.

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5If student confusion is too great, distribute the text immediately and use discussion questions suggested at the end of this section.
(3) Using the pictures as a "story board" for a film director, have some individuals:
   - write a brief plot summary
   - give camera instructions for each scene (e.g., zoom in, fan out, pan left...)
   - suggest dialog
   - add additional frames to show more detail

In a debriefing session have individuals state reasons for their decisions, the effectiveness of what they did and how they might have made their message more effective.

(4) Using the pictures as a comic book, have students insert balloons, and write in their version of the dialog. Then in a debriefing session have students discuss the reasons for their insertions.

Additional pictures and text for another picture story, Tunnel Warfare, are given on the pages that follow. Some of the strategies used with Fighting North and South may be used with these, or they may be useful in a teacher-assigned evaluation exercise.

Additional Strategies Related to the Content of These Stories

Have interested students look through Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung for more detailed information on Mao's theories on warfare as hinted at in Fighting North and South. How does the story reflect the military strategy of Mao?

Have other interested students investigate, summarize, and report to the class on the main ideas of the tactics of guerrilla warfare. Have these students explain how the excerpts from Fighting North and South illustrate or at least suggest some of the concepts of partisan warfare. Refer those students gathering the information to "Tactics of Partisan Warfare" in Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, New York, Grove Press, 1961, pp. 297-305. This account of the essential rules of guerrilla tactics is from an interview with P'eng Teh-huai, a commander in the Red Army. The same interview is also quoted in Michaelis and McKeown, 20th Century Asia: An Anthropology, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969, pp. 310-312. See also "A Peasant Partisan" in 20th Century Asia: An Anthropology, pp. 303-310.

Following reports to the class on tactics and strategy of guerrilla warfare, discuss these questions:

- What are the advantages of guerrilla warfare in modern warfare?
- Under what circumstances would guerrilla activities be most successful?
- What are the disadvantages in trying to defeat guerrilla forces?
- How have guerrilla tactics and strategies been used by Communist forces in Southeast Asia?
Regardless of which of the above strategies are used or those devised by the teacher, this material must be seen as propaganda; this is issued by the government of the People's Republic of China for a specific purpose. It is not intended as browsing or leisure-time reading material for students.

A suggested resource to help the student view these materials with a more understanding of their controversial nature is the filmstrip, *Two Views of China*, which is a part of the set, "China" containing cassette tapes, filmstrips, maps, activity sheets, etc., prepared by A.J. Nystrom and Company.

**DISCUSSION QUESTION**

The discussion questions below can be discussed in a total class setting, or in small groups, with a follow-up fishbowl comparison exercise. (See p. 14 for reference.) These questions can be adapted for use with either set of Picture Story Book.

**Discussion Questions**

1. What is the historical setting for this story? How does the setting illustrate major themes in the recent history of China? (You may wish to have students refer back to the readings on pp. 15-22 of this guide.)

2. What is the significance to the reference to class consciousness?

3. What groups of people seem to be most cooperative in the story? How does this cooperation relate to Maoist thought?

4. What seems to be the motivational factors in this struggle? How does this relate to Maoist thought?

5. What are the various purposes served by this story? (as an educational tool; as propaganda?)

6. What lessons does it seek to teach?

7. What indications are there in the story of the changing role of women in the new China?

8. In what ways does the story make clear the difference between the "good guys" and the "bad guys?" Would these techniques be characteristic of American films and comics?

9. What specific elements in the story book come closest to what Americans call propaganda or slanting? Would the Chinese agree?
Synopsis

"This picture story book is based on the film of the same name. It is about the battles won by the China People's Liberation Army on all China's fronts in early 1947 against the Chiang Kai-shok bandit gang. The P.L.A.'s successes forced the enemy to shift from his all-round strategic offensive to attacks against key sectors in our northwest and east China liberated areas.

"Resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's strategic plan of mobile warfare, the East China army carried out a quick, strategic withdrawal despite the loss of a city or place. Chiang's gang mistook our strategic shift for headlong flight and deployed 25 divisions to converge on us from north and south in a pin-cers attack.

"In accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic plan, a unit of the East China army, effectively supported by the local militia and people, fought three successive battles of interception at Taotsun Village, Motienling Mountain and Chiangchunmiao railway station. By powerful manoeuvring, it pinned down the enemy and, with the co-operation of fraternal army units, exterminated the enemy forces, smashed their attacks against key sectors on the East China battlefield, and won a crucial victory.

"Early in 1947, our East China army of the People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.) carried out a rapid withdrawal according to Chairman Mao's strategic plan to smash the Chiang Kai-shok bandit gang's attacks. This strategic withdrawal followed our winning of successive victories in seven engagements in northern Kiangsu Province.

"Our troops marched along the highway from Kiangsu to Shantung provinces.

Picture 3.

"Experienced in long struggle, the people of the old liberated area in Shantung felt the now imminent storm of revolutionary war. Taotsun's young woman village head, Chao Yu-min, led the militia to transport goods across the river, helping to foil the Kuomintang reactionaries' attack by concerted action.

Picture 4.

"In the village, Commander Kao met Aunt Chao, who had come to welcome the troops. Three years before Aunt Chao and the villagers risked their lives protecting Kao, who had been wounded in a battle against the Japanese invaders.

"Kao replied with full confidence, 'Aunty, when we were fighting the Japanese three years ago, didn't we evacuate Taotsun in order to wipe out the enemy? Chiang Kai-shok won't be different from the Japanese. His evil days are numbered too. We'll be back in good time.'

"Aunt Chao understood.

"Kao replied with full confidence, 'Aunty, when we were fighting the Japanese three years ago, didn't we evacuate Taotsun in order to wipe out the enemy? Chiang Kai-shok won't be different from the Japanese. His evil days are numbered too. We'll be back in good time.'

"Aunt Chao understood.

Picture 5.

"Our legs must carry us quickly and far. Comrades, we're shortening our lines, just like fingers in a fist, while the enemy is spreading out over more and more territory and extending his lines. We can hit and destroy him anywhere with our fist. We'll not only fight our way back to northern Kiangsu but on to Nanking.'

"The political commissar rose to add a remark. 'So, our legs must carry us quickly and far. Comrades, we're shortening our lines, just like fingers in a fist, while the enemy is spreading out over more and more territory and extending his lines. We can hit and destroy him anywhere with our fist. We'll not only fight our way back to northern Kiangsu but on to Nanking.'

"(The cadres now appreciated more deeply Chairman Mao's far-sighted strategic concept and were confident the enemy would be completely
destroyed. Cadres and soldiers prepared for battle. Chao Yu-min, village head, was informed and she said she would mobilize the people at once to help the army men.

Picture 7.

"Meanwhile, in a smoke-filled hall of the enemy's headquarters, butchers whose hands dripped with the blood of revolutionary people were plotting their counter-revolutionary battle moves.

(At once stupid, cunning, and cruel, the enemy officers were endlessly barking at each other. Finally [the] higher authority ordered them to attack.)

Picture 8.

(When the attack came our fighters were ready and stood firm as a rock in the face of the enemy. Chao Yu-min's villagers worked around the clock to deliver ammunition and rescue the wounded. In days of fighting the enemy failed to advance before the wall of steel of our people's war.)

"Chang reported when Kao came to inspect that they'd beaten the enemy again.

'Fine! The division commander's just been to commend us and ordered our battalion...'

'To attack at once?'

'No, it's a new task. He wants us to withdraw at once.'

Picture 9.

"Head high, chest out against the storm, Kao set an example for his men.

(The withdrawing quickly, the troops marched long distances over rough terrain. The re-grouped forces were concentrated to wipe out the enemy units one by one. The cadres' and fighters' understanding of Chairman Mao's great strategic concept grew.)

Picture 10.

(When the Communist forces melted away, the enemy was left confused.)

"The worried enemy chief of staff also reported that their aircraft had reconnoitered over the entire area but discovered no trace of the Communists' main force. Tired and disappointed, the enemy corps commander dropped into an armchair.

(Fearful, the enemy decided to flee southward to safety. They thought that the wheels of their U.S.-made vehicles would allow them to out distance the iron legs of the Communist soldiers.)
TUNNEL WARFARE

Synopsis

"During China's War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945), the Japanese invaders in 1942 launched barbarous 'mopping-up' campaigns against the Communist-led base areas in central Hopei Province. But the people there, every man, woman and child, inspired by Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war, joined in the war effort, closely co-ordinating with the Eighth Route Army units to develop guerilla warfare over a large area, and creating the 'tunnel warfare' that has become so well known. Making good use of tunnels, the army and people fought the Japanese aggressors and their local puppets, using various strategems to wipe out the enemy's effectiveness. From an inferior force they grew into a strong one, going from the offensive over to the defensive at a time when the enemy was strong and we were weak. In the end the enemy 'mopping-up' campaigns were smashed and the aggressors suffered decisive defeats."

Picture 1.

(Periodically during 1942, the old bell sounds from a big locust tree in Kaochia Village, an anti-Japanese base in central Hopei Province. The bell is the signal to the villagers to evacuate, and the militia to assemble. The enemy emerge to burn, kill, and loot, devastating China's vast plains. This enrages the people. The district Party committee announces a decision: Mobilize the masses and rely on them, persist in the struggle till final victory.)

"[District Leader] Lao-chung has studied Chairman Mao's teachings and learned much. He calls a Party branch committee meeting that night at which he says, 'Comrades, in times of difficulty we must keep cool heads. ...'"

(With the thinking of Chairman Mao, "even if the sky falls we can find a way out," they read the words of Chairman Mao:)

"'To win victory, we must persevere in the War of Resistance, in the united front and in the protracted war. But all these are inseparable from the mobilization of the common people.'"

(Kao Lao-chung summarizes: "Chairman Mao says that we must rely on the masses in whatever we do. That way we'll certainly overcome any difficulty." The Party branch decides to mobilize the masses to excavate for tunnel warfare.)

Picture 2.

(During a Japanese sneak attack on the village, Lao-chung is caught sounding the alarm bell. The Japanese shoot at Lao-chung, wounding him.)

"Lao-chung fearlessly takes out a hand grenade and pulls the cord. ... 'We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood.' With these words of Chairman Mao on his lips, Kao Lao-chung hurls the hand-grenade and kills several of the enemy. Kao Lao-chung dies heroically for his people.

Picture 3.

(The fighting rages.)

"Decisive action is needed. Chuan-pao calls Lin Hsia and Kang for a Party branch committee meeting. They decide to emerge through the stove opening and launch a surprise attack to engage the enemy while the villagers get to safety.

Picture 4.

(The surprise counter-attack is led by Kao Chuan-pao, son of the heroic Kao Lao-chung.)

"Pushing the cauldron up, splashing soup all over the Japanese, Chuan-pao leaps from the hole and kills two enemy soldiers with a shot apiece.

(Chuan-pao fights his way out with militiamen following him. The Japanese are routed for the time being.)

Picture 5.

(Taking an avenging shot, Chuan-pao hits the Japanese leader in the "hip." With the Japanese temporarily driven off, the people view their devastated village and Chuan-pao vows revenge by the old locust tree where his father died.)

"District Leader Chao says: 'We must listen to Chairman Mao, who asks us to temper ourselves in the forge of hard and bitter struggle.' Before parting, he asks Chuan-pao to study Chairman Mao's essay On Protracted War.

Picture 6.

"Back home, Chuan-pao opens the red parcel left by his father and begins to read the book carefully.

"'Destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself.'"

Picture 7.

"He understands better as he reads, and calls the militiamen to study with him: 'The object of self-preservation is to destroy the enemy, and to destroy the enemy is in turn the most effective means of self-preservation.'"
"After reading from Chairman Mao's essay, Chuan-pao says: 'If we think only of sheltering and not fighting we'll end up taking the blows. We'll have to make the enemy's rear area into their front and give them no peace.' Chairman Mao's teaching raises the morale and confidence of all.

(Working late into the night Chuan-pao begins sketching plans for improving the tunnels and making them serve not only as shelters safe from water, gas, and penetration, but also as bunkers for striking back at the enemy.)

"After taking the plan to the masses and getting their suggestions, the Party branch leads the militiamen in starting to work.

The mass movement for improving tunnels starts, with every man, woman and child joining in the work.

(Finally the day comes when the Japanese are lured into the village...)

"Once in the village the aggressors are like a wild bull in a ring of fire. As Chairman Mao says: 'The flexible employment of his [a commander] forces is the most important means of changing the situation as between the enemy and ourselves and of gaining the initiative.' Kao Chuan-pao and some militiamen dive into the tunnel to take their positions, watching the enemy carefully.

When the enemy enter the village, Chuan-pao shouts through a bamboo communications tube: 'Attention every fighting group! Ready for independent combat. Change position after each shot. Make every bullet count.'

Niu-wa discovers enemy soldiers approaching and emerges from the tunnel through the feed trough. He tosses hand-grenades, which explode among the enemy.

"Kaochia Village becomes a fighting citadel and every villager a soldier-shooting at the enemy from all directions—from rooftops, trees, corners of walls, from behind houses, doorways, windows, the roadside and courtyard. The enemy are paralyzed.

(The Japanese intruders are defeated...and now it is our turn.)

"A bugle gives the signal for our men to pursue the enemy.

(Utilizing the wide network of tunnels built by the militia and the Eighth Route Army's armed work team...)

Thousands of our fighters appear on the plain as if from nowhere.

(A fierce battle rages as the people, with the tunnel warfare they have created, plunge the Japanese invaders and their puppets into a sea of people's war. The enemy are destroyed. Chuan-pao pursues the enemy leader. Finally...)

"Chuan-pao collars this Japanese fascist and holds him fast as he orders him sternly: 'Just open your eyes and take a good look!'"

The sun shines on the vast China plain as the Eighth Route Army and the militia sweep over it like a tidal wave. War has taught the people and the people have won the war."

B. THE MESSAGE THROUGH CHINESE PAPER CUTS: A MODULE ON FOLK ART AS SOCIAL DOCUMENTATION

The Chinese have long decorated windows and walls with paper cuts. Elaborate silhouette-like pictures and designs were painstakingly cut in fine detail from pieces of colored paper. The changes which paper cuts have undergone reflect the transformation which occurred in other art forms in the People's Republic. Essentially what happened with the folk art of paper cutting is this: the basic techniques of the art form, cutting pictures from paper, remained the same, but new themes which contrast strikingly with the old have been introduced. Flowers, birds, and butterflies are still to be found among the subject matter, but now they have been joined by tractors, bridges and People's heroes. The educational function of the old art form in the People's Republic is obvious. Today, contemporary paper cuts are in widespread use as illustrations among Chinese periodicals.

The accompanying illustrations were made from authentic Chinese paper cuts. Some of the paper cuts were obtained from stores throughout the People's Republic during the summer of 1973, others were purchased at a Chinese government outlet in Hong Kong, China Art and Crafts, during the same period. Traditional Chinese paper cuts are available in the United States from China Books and Periodicals, New York City. Also available from the same source is a set of 12 postcards, China Art and Crafts, 87E-20E.


OBJECTIVES

- Given the visuals the student can:
  - identify those elements that portray the traditional Chinese art form
  - identify those elements that indicate the educational message of the art form today
  - identify Western paintings that serve both an aesthetic and educational function
  - explain how the new Chinese, Maoist message is conveyed.

STRATEGIES

The nature and background of the art form may be explained to students by the teacher. Then while looking at copies or transparencies of several paper cuts, have students suggest titles for each picture. Students may also create some dialog/narration as in picture-story book activities. As students consider a selection of paper cuts they may be asked the following:

- Which illustrations are completely in the traditional mode?
- Which illustrations contain a mixture of old and new themes?
- What purpose do the new themes serve in the New China?
- How do some of the paper cuts illustrate Maoist ideals like "Serve the People?"
- What goals of the New China are reflected among the themes?

These illustrations of paper cuts can be used with students in a variety of ways. The pages containing these illustrations can be detached and used as originals for making either transparencies or spirit masters on a Thermofax machine or similar device. Transparencies of the paper cut illustrations can be projected by means of an overhead projector before an entire class. Duplicated copies can be used by individual students at their seats or in homework assignments.

The class may be divided into several groups of students with each group having copies of several paper cuts analyzed. After each group has discussed the paper cuts assigned to it, the findings of each group can be shared with the others as transparencies of the illustrations are projected in view of all students.

A number of themes and ideas are apparent in the accompanying paper cuts.

Students may be asked to determine what each paper cut shows and to relate this to what they know about China.

Among the themes, ideas, and goals reflected in the accompanying illustrations are the following:

- Changing role of women
- Glorification of physical labor
- Building the socialist state
- National pride (e.g., the Nanking Bridge)
- Moral teachings (e.g., "Serve the People")
- Inspiration (e.g., Norman Bethune)
- Anti-imperialism and support for struggles of liberation
- Celebration of Mao Tse-tung and Mao thought
- Anti-revisionism
- Other art forms (e.g., "The Red Detachment of Women," a revolutionary opera)
Paper Cut "A"

What does this depict?
What is the purpose of this paper cut?
Does this reflect older, dated values? Explain
[This paper cut was produced in 1973.]

Paper Cut "B"

What various ideas are presented by this paper cut?
How does it reflect change and some new values?
What different suggestions does it make concerning women?

Paper Cut "C"

What do these paper cuts show?
What might be inferred about the people who made these?

Paper Cut "D"

What is suggested by the design at the bottom of this paper cut?
What values and aspirations of the New China are reflected here?
Why should this object be the subject of a paper cut? What does the famous Nanking Bridge symbolize for the Chinese?
To teacher: National Pride; foreign advisors had indicated that a bridge could not be built at that point.

Paper Cut "E"

What do these paper cuts depict?
How do they reflect China in transition?

Paper Cuts "F" and "G"

What tasks are being performed in each illustration?
What is suggested in these paper cuts about peasants, workers, and women in the New China?
What ideals are advanced by these paper cuts?

Paper Cuts "H" and "I"

What is the message of these three paper cuts?
To what peoples and parts of the world does each paper cut relate?
What is noticeable about the individuals depicted in each paper cut?
What is the significance of the objects attached to or in the hands of the characters (e.g., broken chain, Chairman Mao's quotations, etc.)?

Paper Cut "J"

What famous reading related to the development of the People's Republic of China is illustrated by these paper cuts? Who is the foreigner? (See Hunter and Hunter, p. 203.)
What additional purposes do such paper cuts serve?
What Maoist values are illustrated here?

Paper Cut "K"

What revolutionary art form is depicted here?
What is suggested about the functions of art in China today by both these paper cuts and the art form depicted here?
What message regarding women in the New China might be inferred from these paper cuts?

Paper Cuts "L" and "M"

What are the various purposes of these paper cuts?
Who is the figure with the raised arm?
What might be the book in his other hand? Who might be represented by the figure under his foot?
Who and what are represented in the paper cut showing the figure with the raised hammer? (Note: Liu Shao-chi is the figure being smashed. What is the significance of this action?)
This is Liu Shao-chi
Long Live Chairman Mao!
Long May He Live!
Long, Long May He Live.
C. THE MESSAGE THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY OPERA: A PARTICIPATION MODULE

The following excerpts from the *Song of the Dragon River* suggest something of the nature of an art form which the Chinese term "modern revolutionary Peking opera." This model opera is a departure from Chinese operas of the past in the way in which it treats people. Mao saw the older form of opera as a reversal of history because it dwelled on the pampered upper classes. In reality, according to Mao, it is the people who make history and, therefore, art should focus on the people. From this point of view, revolutionary opera and ballet have restored historical truth. As in other art forms alluded to in this volume, a revolutionary opera and ballet reflect the goals, aspirations, and methods of contemporary Chinese society.

A knowledge of the story line and message of many of the revolutionary operas and ballets is widespread among the ordinary people of China. A peasant home is quite apt to have on the living room wall an inexpensive paper print depicting a scene from one or another opera or ballet. School children throughout China learn about these operas and ballets. The heroes and heroines of these stories are seen as models of courage and appropriate behavior. As a weapon of revolution, this art form seems to make a substantial impact on the people.

Contemporary revolutionary operas and ballets illustrate two important themes in the recent history of China. These two themes are the removal of the "two mountains" — imperialism and feudalism — which Mao said hang "like a dead weight on the Chinese people." (Mao Tse-tung, *Quotations*, p. 201.) From a Maoist point of view, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, a model Peking opera, illustrates the continuing struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism. The setting is Korea in 1953 and the enemy includes United States forces. The *White-Haired Girl*, another revolutionary opera, reflects the pre-Liberation struggle of the masses against the exploitive upper classes in China. The famous revolutionary ballet, *Red Detachment of Women*, also mirrors this theme. In a sense, the *Song of the Dragon River*, is a continuation of the theme of anti-feudalism following "Liberation." Much of the story line deals with socialist construction on a commune and reminds us that "People's Communes are Fine." We find a heroic model of the good Communist in the character of Chiang Shui-yung, party branch secretary of the Dragon River Brigade, and another selfless servant of the people in Mother Water-Seeker. There are also examples of enemies of the people of the sort that the people must be on guard against. There is Chang Fu, well off in the old society, still selfish, and therefore easily misled. There is also Huang Kuo-chung; an incorrigible long-time counter-revolutionary, he is another matter altogether: a hidden class enemy who must be exposed.

Many of the virtues of Maoist morality are reflected in the deeds of some of the opera's characters. They draw inspiration from Chairman Mao and the Party, are self-reliant and struggle arduously, link theory and practice, implement the mass line, and submit to criticism in their endeavor to go all out in supporting socialist construction. The morality of Mao Tse-tung, however, is made apparent by characters and events in this opera.
Some have tried to find parallels between Maoist morality and Christian morality, even suggesting that the role of Mao parallels that of Jesus. However, this analogy would be subject to question by both the Chinese Communists and Christians on many counts.6

The reading in Birch, D.R., Life in Communist China, pp. 48-49, gives a Westerner's reaction to theatre in the People's Republic.

Also available in graphic form are post card sets, in color, illustrating the following revolutionary operas and dance dramas:

- 87E-175 - Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy
- 87E-176 - The Red Lantern
- 87E-181 - Schachiapang
- 87E-177 - The Red Detachment of Women

Records of revolutionary opera: (the second number listed for each title contains selections from the operas and ballets)

- DM 6178-6180 and M 929-930 - Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy
- DM 6168-6170 and DM 6171 - The Red Lantern
- M 933-934 and DM 6172-6174 - Schachiapang
- M 922-923 - On the Docks (Selections only.)
- M 952-955 and M 931-932 - Song of the Dragon River
- M 939-942 and M 943-944 - Red Detachment of Women
- DM 6175-6177 and M 937-938 - The White Haired Girl

OBJECTIVES

As a result of playing a role in a revolutionary drama, the student can express the feelings of a member of the Dragon River Brigade, at the time of various crises in the drama, and at the final triumphant scene.

The student will be able to identify those actions and the various verbal expressions which reflect the cultural differences between life in the People's Republic of China and life in the United States.

STRATEGIES

Before students investigate the Song of the Dragon River, have them discuss the plot of an opera, musical or ballet that they have seen.

- How effective is the stage as a medium for propaganda? the screen? radio? T.V?

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6This statement, which may seem shocking and irreverent to Christians, is similar to the editor's comment concerning Maoism as religion in Seybolt, Through Chinese Eyes, Vol. II, pp. 69-72.
Although students can analyze the drama's story and message simply by reading the text, there are more effective ways to use it. Because the story seems so simplistic, the average American might find it comic. The emphasis should be placed upon developing understanding of the Chinese cultural factors demonstrated here.

A group of students might dramatize this abridged form of the opera for the rest of the class or several other classes. An important part of such an exercise would be the debriefing session, in which those taking part could be questioned by the student audience concerning their feelings at various stages of the drama. Such analysis should be in terms of simulated feelings (as a member of the Dragon River Brigade) and real feelings, (as an American teenager.) The more perceptive student may indicate an increased understanding of the Chinese peasant through such an exercise, without espousing the political beliefs of the People's Republic.

As an alternative procedure, slides can be made from pictures in the book, (available from China Books) and the story can thus be experienced through pictures plus the abridged text given here, or students can make their own picture-story book.

In the debriefing sessions have students explain such concepts, slogans and terms as: "general line," "great leap forward," "class enemy," "relying on the masses," "serve the people," within the context of the opera and the Maoist message.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- In what ways does this opera serve as an educational vehicle to advance practical ideas?
- What is the historical significance of water control and conservancy in the history of China?
- What American proverb corresponds to the Chinese saying that "Only one end of the sugar cane is sweet?"
- What important principle of the revolution is illustrated by the Dragon River Brigade not passing on its problems to higher authority?
- What similarity is there between the message of "Scene Two, Lose a Pawn to Save a Castle," and the strategic concept of retreat illustrated in Fighting North and South? How does the opera serve an educational function with regard to this matter?
- What are sideline activities on a commune? To what goals of Chinese society do they relate?
- What references are there to Marxist class theory and Marxist internationalism?
What inferences can be made from the opera about Maoist ideas regarding conflict and struggle?

According to Maoist values, to whom or what should one be loyal?

What transfer of loyalty is urged within the opera? To what extent does this represent a change from traditional Chinese values?

What is the difference between the character of Chang Fu and that of Huang Kuo-chung? Could either one be re-educated? Is either incorrigible?

In what ways is Shui-ying a model communist?

What Maoist virtues does "Mother Water Seeker" personify?

The following is an excerpt from a speech made by Shui-ying in the final scene of the opera. What is the significance of Shui-ying's words?

"For several years now my work has been a far cry from the Party's demands and the masses' expectations. I haven't done nearly enough. You and I are soldiers at the same post, tied by the closest class links. You can point out what I've done wrong in the fight against the drought. If I've made mistakes, you can criticize me. But where Chairman Mao's teachings, Party decisions, are concerned, we can't allow any reservations and we certainly mustn't go against them. ..."

Related Materials

Both China Pictorial and China Reconstructs magazines, available through China Books and Periodicals in New York City, sometimes features articles on revolutionary operas and dance dramas; for example, the No. 6 issue of China Pictorial in 1972 contains photographs of "Song of the Dragon River." The No. 5 issue of the same year contains pictures, two small plastic records, and a special supplement of sheet music from "The Red Lantern." The May 1972 issue of China Reconstructs has an article about "On the Docks." An entire issue of of China Pictorial, No. 10 in 1970, was devoted to "The Red Detachment of Women."

Records, postcards, posters, and books related to the various operas and dance dramas are also available from China Books and Periodicals.
D. THE MESSAGE THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY SONGS: AN EXPERIENCE MODULE

As in other cultures including our own, song is a vital component of music in contemporary Chinese life. Songs are also a useful weapon of revolutionary thought. The two songs contained here may well be the most frequently played pieces of music in the world. Both are from a package of four songs (in English) with musical scores which together are titled Revolutionary Songs of China, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1971. Another of the songs in the set, "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and Five Points for Attention," is contained in the January 1973 issue of Social Education, p. 36. Other songs and scores are contained in English language versions of several revolutionary Peking operas such as Song of the Dragon River and Red Detachment of Women are available in the United States.

OBJECTIVES

After listening to Chinese revolutionary songs, the student will be able to write two sets of accompanying lyrics from the People's Republic of China perspective and from the United States.

STRATEGIES

Tape only the music for the revolutionary songs. Play the tapes. As students listen, have each propose words to go along with the music from the perspective first of a student in the People's Republic of China and then as a student in the United States. (Students should draw on their previous experience with the Maoist message and with American folk songs.) Songs appear on p. 76 and inside back cover.

Now have students discuss the differences and similarities between the two sets of lyrics. Compare these two sets of lyrics to the actual lyrics of the revolutionary songs and the lyrics of an American revolutionary song such as "Yankee Doodle Dandy."

What conclusions do the students draw?
What makes a revolutionary song?
What spirit is reflected in each song?
What is the message of the actual lyrics?
How do the purpose and spirit of these songs compare with those of other art forms in this guide?

Have students write comparable songs on American leaders and discuss the results.

E. THE MESSAGE THROUGH PROPAGANDA POSTERS AND SLOGANS: A RELATIONSHIP MODULE

Contemporary Chinese painting is reproduced in a range of inexpensive paper prints. Sometimes depicting the traditional but more often reflecting modern socialist concerns, these prints may be the component of Chinese art with which Americans are most familiar. Since the purpose of these posters is to instruct, to instill pride, and to motivate, the posters reflect many of the goals, themes, and ideals of the People's Republic of China. The people depicted on the posters are heroic in stature and pose, and they embody the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.

The following list illustrates the kinds of Chinese posters and color prints available in the United States:

"A Tunnel Through the Clouds." Depicts workers constructing the Red-Flag Canal.
"New Achievements with Traditional Acupuncture." The old is retained with the new in medicine, thus illustrating the concepts of "walking on two legs."
"Chairman Mao Visits a Kwangtung Commune." Relates to Mao's teaching of the need to go among the people.
"Harnessing the Yellow River." Shows workers with the spirit of "the foolish old man who removed the mountains." (See page 7 for the story of the foolish old man.)
"Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. (The patriarchs of Communism and Mao Tse-Tung Thought hang in every school, factory, and government meeting room in the People's Republic.)

See page viii, Pt II, for the picture "This is Seaquill." Originally an oil painting, this print depicts a woman electrician of the Chinese People's Liberation Army checking a line in a rainstorm. The picture widely reflects the changing role of women and men in China today. China's women are "vast reserve of labour power (which)...should be tapped in the struggle to build a great socialist country." As new

7Records available from China Books and Periodicals include, The East is Red and Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman, (XM-1031).
8Mao Tse-Tung, Quotations, p. 278.
occupations, such as telephone repairmen, tractor drivers, radio broadcasters, etc. are generated through industrialization, efforts are made to insure that women as well as men attain in the new positions. (For additional strategies dealing with the changing role of women, see page 12 of The Red Flag Canal: A Teacher Guide.)

OBJECTIVES

- Given the propaganda posters and slogans:
  - the student will demonstrate an ability to analyze evidence by identifying the Maoist message in each item.
  - the student will demonstrate his/her perception of changing ideas and goals of the People's Republic of China as compared to pre-communist China.

STRATEGIES

The above posters and prints plus many others are available from China Books and Periodicals. The actual posters can be used in the classroom for display purposes or in conjunction with lessons. Because of their large size, the posters are easily photographed for making slides. Slides of the posters can be easily stored, handled, and rearranged. They can be projected individually for discussion or as part of more complex multimedia presentations.

A basic strategy for using the posters in the classroom is similar to that outline on pages 45-46 for using papercuts. Individuals, groups or the entire class can be engaged in analyzing the content and message of selected posters. If groups are used, a modified "fishbowl" approach may be employed. Students may be asked to determine what a poster shows and how it relates to the themes, ideas, and goals of Chinese society. The same list of themes on page 45 for use with papercuts can be used with posters. When analyzing a poster, students can relate their findings to items in the list, e.g., "This is a Seagull" reflects the changing role of women.

A similar approach to the use of posters involves relating the posters to slogans in recent or current use in the People's Republic of China. Students should first be provided with a list of such slogans with meanings clarified to the extent necessary. Many posters will suggest more than just one of the slogans. Because much of the meaning of a poster is usually apparent from the visual aspects alone, translation of captions is not really necessary. However, some posters contain captions in several languages including English.

Some of the slogans which can be related to posters include the following:

- Follow Chairman Mao's Teachings.
- Go With the Communist Party.
- Get Organized - This fundamental imperative is related to the ongoing attempts to organize the masses along socialist lines.
- Serve the People - Basic to Maoist morality, this slogan urges selfless services to the broad masses, especially the workers and peasants. It reflects the dignity of laboring peoples and the importance of manual labor in socialist construction. The lives of Lei Feng and Dr. Norman Bethune are frequently-cited in China as models of service.
- Never Forget Class Struggle - This slogan reminds one to be on guard against those who would restore the old exploitive system of the feudal landlords and capitalists: Taiwan remains under Chinese Nationalist rule and there also lurk hidden class enemies among the people (witness Lin Piao who was once heir apparent to Mao).
- Go Among the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers and Into the Thick of Struggle - This slogan reflects veneration of the people and the importance of the Communist Party's mass line. One should identify with the masses, immerse oneself among the masses, learn from the masses, and help raise political consciousness of the masses. There should exist a cycle of taking ideas from the masses, distilling the ideas, and taking the ideas back to the masses to carried through.


See Mao Tse-tung "Serving the People," Quotations. pp. 17-172. See also "Serve the People" and "In Memory of Norman Bethune" in Five Articles by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, pp. 1-10. These are also reprinted in Hunter and Hunter, We the Chinese, pp. 89-93 and 203-207.

People's Communes are Fine - This was a pronouncement by Chairman Mao early in the development of the first communes (1958).

In Agriculture Learn from Tachai - Tachai is a model production brigade on a commune in Shansi Province. The people of Tachai working largely on their own accomplished great feats of production such as creating farmland by moving hillsides. The "Spirit of Tachai" is characterized by "self-reliance and hard struggle."

Self-Reliance and Hard Struggle - While contributing to socialist construction, one should work hard, not ask for unnecessary help from others. This is the basis of the "Spirit of Tachai."

In Industry Learn from Taching - An oil field and refinery where workers accomplished outstanding success against staggering odds, Taching is the industrial equivalent of Tachai in agriculture.

Take Agriculture as the Foundation and Industry as the Leading Factor - As Chairman Mao has pointed out to the people, agriculture is the basis of the national economy. Therefore the human and material needs of agriculture must be met. Industry leads the way while providing the rural communes with machinery and fertilizers.

Politics in Command or Politics to the Fore - This reflects the Maoist belief that material production alone is not the most important thing. Greater production can not be justified at the expense of ideology. Politics not production, comes first. One must work hard because of socialist consciousness not because one will get greater material rewards.

Fight Self, Criticize Revisionism - This slogan emerges from the Cultural Revolution and wages criticism of the faulty revisionist line personified by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. By wrongly putting "production in command," the revisionist veered away from socialist thinking. The revisionists are seen as falling back on material rewards, a sin in terms of Maoist morality which calls for selfless service to the people.

Group Revolution, Promote Production - This slogan suggests the idea of keeping the revolution going while simultaneously increasing production. It also suggests that an understanding of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought is a practical means to solve problems and increase productivity.

Go all out, Aim High and Achieve Greater, Faster, Better, and More Economical Results in Building Socialism.

Walk in T'ao's Legs - Use the tried and proven old indigenous ways of doing things along with modern techniques.

Break down Foreign Conventions and Follow Our Own Road in Developing Industry. Link Theory and Practice.

Learn from Lei Feng - Lei Feng, a member of the PLA, was a paragon of Maoist virtues. Mao himself urged that everyone learn from Lei Feng.

Let the Past Serve the Present and Foreign Things Serve China.

Enable Every Woman Who Can Work to Take Her Place on the Labor Front - By freeing women from traditional household chores, millions of workers are freed to help with socialist construction.

Learn from the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

People's Militia is the Foundation of Victory.

12Pronounced DA-JEI


14Pronounced DA-JING


16See remarks of 2d Girl on page 32, Part II, Interview with Chinese Students.

17Birch, D.L., Life in Communist China, pp. 54-56, has illustrations of how this slogan and others have affected projects in China.

18See page 26, Part II, in the "Education" section.


Be Prepared Against War and National Disasters - This slogan reflects preoccupation with two historical factors which plagued the Chinese people and caused great destruction and loss of life.

All Imperialists are Paper Tigers - This slogan reflects the belief that imperialism cannot prevail in the long run because it is morally bankrupt. However, in the short run imperialists should be taken very seriously.

People of the Whole World Unite; Defeat American Imperialists and Their Lackeys - Slogans such as this sometimes are found on posters reflecting an anti-imperialist theme.

Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun.**

Related to this discussion of slogans and their effectiveness are the processes of self-criticism and other devices which encourage loyalty to Chairman Mao and the state. Some readings which describe this aspect of life in China today include:

- Hunter and Hunter, *We the Chinese*, pp. 261-279.

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