

MUSIC AND *CHINA'S LITTLE RED BOOK*

By

VICKI LU

(Under the Direction of Jean Kidula)

ABSTRACT

Chairman Mao Zedong imposed propaganda tactics to illustrate what it means to be Chinese. One of his most famous texts, *Quotations from Mao Zedong* influenced the types of music and visual propaganda that was being spread throughout China. Music was central in implementing Mao's ideologies in his two most prominent projects: The Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) and The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The historical, economic, and political implications of Mao's reign left considerable footprints in the musical scene even after his death in 1976. In this project, I discuss how the musical interpretations of propaganda during and after Mao's reign contributed to defining Chinese identity. Ultimately, this undertaking aims to show the continuing proliferation, through music and other arts, of Mao's ideologies on contemporary society in China and in the Chinese diaspora globally.

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INDEX WORDS: Mao Zedong, *Quotations from Mao Zedong*, Little Red Book, Chinese Music, Chinese Revolutionary Music, Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: MUSIC AND *CHINA'S LITTLE RED BOOK*

“你们不是要消灭国家权力吗?”我们要，但是我们现在还不要，我们现在还不能要。为什么?帝国主义还存在，国内反动派还存在，国内阶级还存在。我们现在的任务是要强化人民的国家机器，这主要地是指人民的军队、人民的警察和人民的法庭，借以巩固国防和保护人民利益。”

“Don't you want to abolish state power?” Yes, we do, but not right now. We cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus - mainly the people's army, the people's police, and the people's courts - in order to consolidate national defense and protect the people's interests.

Chairman Mao Zedong
From The Little Red Book
Translated by Anonymous
“On the People's Democratic Dictatorship” (June 30, 1949)
Selected Works, Vol. IV, p.418.

China's Little Red Book also known as *Little Red Book* (红宝书) and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*¹ (毛主席语录) was an identity symbol for several generations of Chinese citizens since the 1960s. The book gained its name from its bright red cover as well as its compactness to fit within a person's pocket. It consists of 427 of Mao Zedong's quotations and speeches which are dispersed through thirty three chapters. Hundreds of thousands of copies were created during Mao Zedong's reign (1949-1967). Every household was required to have their own copy of the book. Children and military personnel had to carry it with them at all times. *China's Little Red Book* acted as one major form of propaganda for Mao's re-education

¹ *China's Little Red Book* has also been termed the “Mao Bible.” (Leese 2011, 2).

movement. Not only was the book a symbol of what it meant to be Chinese, but it helped give a sense of belonging and purpose in life, which was especially needed when China went through political and social hardships. *China's Little Red Book* was one way through which Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party² influenced a large population and were able to surveil the entire country while implementing their thoughts and beliefs.

I was introduced to Chinese music and culture by my mother. She is a huge advocate of Chinese arts and music especially after she immigrated to the United States. Being in a new and foreign country and not being able to speak the language, my mother found solace in the music that she grew up with. As I grew older, my mother started to share stories about her time in China, and I was introduced to *China's Little Red Book* and China's politics. I am not just telling my mother's story, but also explaining a part of my upbringing and musical experiences. Part of this research process made me shocked, and it made me realize the deeper impact that politics has on music. I am trying to come to terms with what *China's Little Red Book* and China's politics means to me. As a performer who takes these pieces onto a stage, I question whether or not music and politics can ever be separated, or if they are forever intertwined. This study will be the first step into a lifelong journey of researching the impacts of China's revolutionary music.

My mother was born in 1970, towards the end of Mao's reign. She would tell me about the nationalistic songs that she sang in school. Many of the songs' lyrics pertained to how great of a leader Mao Zedong is, and the great impact he made on the country. I would always ask her: "Do you believe that Mao Zedong was that great of a leader?" She would respond back with: "Back then I believed it." She told me that the more people sang about Mao Zedong, the more she believed the stories and the impact he made. When she moved to the United States, she

² I will utilize the abbreviation CCP for Chinese Communist Party for the rest of the paper. The Communist Party of China (CPC) is the ruling party/government party of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

continued to pass down Mao's ideologies in our household. Rather than using mere words, my mother utilized songs to teach my brother and I stories and life lessons. The songs she played were about working hard and being prideful of our Chinese heritage. I did not know until recently that these songs were influenced by *Mao's Little Red Book*.

Many Chinese immigrant parents who moved to the USA during the 1970s-2000s also passed down these songs to their children. Children thought nothing of it but little did they know, they were being morphed into China's ideal citizens. These Chinese-Americans now pass these songs down to their children. Thus, though some of Mao's ideologies were dismantled by subsequent leaders, there is little doubt that songs and other visual, literary, and performing arts continue his legacy.

Objectives

My objective is to investigate the different meanings that have accrued over time from songs and other kinds of music emanating from *Quotations from Mao Zedong*. I will analyze song lyrics and music from Mao's two political projects: The Great Leap Forward and The Cultural Revolution to comprehend the specific musical scene of China during Mao's reign. Because music and politics are married, it would be a difficult task to try and separate them. I have chosen pieces that I believe reflect what was happening politically during Mao's reign and in the aftermath of his death.

I was motivated to delve into how these songs resonate not just in the Chinese diaspora, but more specifically when Chinese-American of my generation whose parents, like mine, grew up during Mao's reign and have passed their musical legacy to us in the dispersion. I speak from first-hand experience as a performer on several Chinese instruments, who was born in the United State, unlike my mother who was born in China. These songs and music were inculcated in her

daily life and musical training. She lived and experienced the impact of Mao, and went through an identity crisis when she relocated to the United States. She was not fully aware of the indoctrination that was happening in China and was completely shocked when she was given an opportunity to create her own individualism. I, therefore, did not relate to the songs in the way she does. While being instructed at home in Chinese musical aesthetics by conservatory-trained Chinese music performers, I was at the same time being exposed to Western classical music, eventually opting to study western flute and music education for my undergraduate degree. I therefore, hope to provide a different lens from which to examine, discuss, and interpret some of the songs my mother exposed me to formally and informally. Though I have traveled to China several times, I did not fully immerse into and experience the after effects of Mao's reign or his ideologies because my visits were very short. Yet, through my mother's experience, I notice how music incepted during Mao's era has affected me in ways that I am unable to comprehend fully due to my lived experience.

Limitations

This study would have benefitted from more robust fieldwork both in the United States and in China. Sadly, due to the global pandemic of COVID19, it was impossible to travel to China or around the United States to meet scholars and musicians. The lack of real-life experience and personal connection with these individuals can only place my gaze at a distance.

I am fluent in written and spoken Mandarin Chinese. I chose to translate the texts from my knowledge of Chinese in part to test out my objectives. That of course presents its own limitations. In addition, many words' meanings are lost through translations due to having different meanings and/or not existing in another culture. The direct meaning is even more

complicated for idioms in music. Music has multiple interpretations and it can be difficult to depict which exact meaning is the most correct at a given time. However, I also informally consulted with other Chinese language speakers in Atlanta as I will explain in the methodology section. Since they are not formally trained linguists, that also presents its own limitations.

Not only were some of the lyrics difficult to translate, but the history of Mao Zedong was also difficult to decipher. There is sensitivity among Chinese scholars when it comes to researching him. Some information was lost or even rewritten to tell a different story. Mao's history and events have also been re-translated numerous times, with some 'lost in translation.'

Most of the sources in the study are derived from English language writings. I consult very few resources in the Chinese language from mainland China or other spaces where affected the Chinese peoples are dispersed. I purposed to provide a Chinese-American gaze with English language literature to substantiate my positioning as outlined in the objectives above and in the methodology section below.

The broad scope of my study is also a limitation. I was unable to cover all the materials in depth and provide ample musical examples. There is a mine of information about China's history and its music but, I was only selected a few texts and strategic musical examples for my study given the limitations imposed by COVID and other factors that I will briefly touch on in the methodology section and in the literature review.

Research Questions

These limitations led me to certain types of research questions. In order to address Mao Zedong's politics and music in China, I asked the following questions:

- What is *China's Little Red Book*?

- What ideologies were spread in China through *China's The Little Red Book*?
- How did music advance the purposes of *China's Little Red Book*?
- What was music like before Mao's intervention during the Great Leap Forward (pre-1949)?
- What was music like during Mao Zedong's rule (1949-1976)?
- Who was involved in musical creations under Mao's reign?
- How did Chinese identity change during Mao's years and how did it manifest?
- What was music like after Mao Zedong's death (1976-present)?

My paper does not seek to justify which side is more correct, or that Chinese and Western scholars only think in their own spheres. These perspectives provide a multi-dimensional meaning behind the history and pieces, which makes me wonder about what is real and what has been rewritten in history and music? By providing the translations and perspectives as I have, I want to show that song and history present different hermeneutical interpretations in different times. My goal in providing my own and others' translations is to showcase another perspective on how Mao and the CCP utilized ideas from *China's Little Red Book* to shape the music and arts in order to surveil and control the Chinese population.

Methodology

Materials were gathered from historical, archival, and online music sources taken from musicians, historians, political scientists and other scholars. I was fortunate to find translations of texts from online resources and informally solicited help from native Chinese speakers in Atlanta, Georgia. In particular, Yang Chun, an Atlanta Erhu³ professional musician, helped me with these translations. Not only did she live in China during Mao's last few years, she learned

³ Chinese 2-stringed bowed lute. It has also been referred to as a Chinese fiddle and/or violin.

these pieces in school. Even after his death in 1976, Yang Chun continued to study these pieces at the Sichuan Music Conservatory. Her experiences in studying, performing and teaching the pieces provided me with a broader range of hermeneutical possibilities. These translations and meanings offer another perspective far beyond just the lyrics. As a Chinese-American, I can only provide a distanced reading of these lyrics, so the views of Chinese native speakers and translators helped provide a broader perspective to each song.

Literature Review

A study of this nature requires a review of multiple branches of information that led down to the base of the tree- that would be most prominently, information about Mao Zedong. The information base turned out to be Edgar Snow, an American journalist. He was one of the few Americans that personally interacted with Mao Zedong. Snow's interview of Mao in 1936 was iconic, because it had "the status of a classic in both China and the West" as these "were the first public comments by Mao about himself and his life" (Snow 2002, 183). As Snow's writings were published and well received by the West, the Chinese also translated their interactions. "Mao proves himself a brilliant storyteller, and Snow a faithful transmitter" and Mao would tell his "own story about his youth and the activities in the Red Army in the late 1920s and early 1930s" (Snow 2002, 183). Mao shared his history with Snow, but I only used it as a historical context rather than a primary source.

For my purpose, I wanted to look at the interpretations people took from their Snow and Mao's encounter. As Snow was an American in China while Mao was Chairman, there are specific things that could not be said or had to be altered, especially when translated into both languages. These are things we cannot know for sure, because Mao placed his trust in Snow to

write his biography and Snow had to protect his safety in a foreign country. Cognizant that my fundamental information is derived from Snow, I reviewed literature based off of my research questions. I have placed my literature review into three categories: Mao Zedong and *Quotations from Mao Zedong*, China's History, and China's Songs.

Literature Review about Mao Zedong and *Quotations from Mao Zedong*:

The writings of Ross Terrill⁴, Alexander V. Pantsov⁵, and Steven I Levine⁶ helped me address the following questions:

- What is *China's Little Red Book*?
- How did music advance the purposes of *China's Little Red Book*?
- What ideologies were being spread in China through *China's The Little Red Book*?

These scholars helped me find another perspective of Mao Zedong outside of my own. They offered their own opinions in translating Mao's history by placing a Western gaze to Snow and Mao's interaction. These sources were helpful in letting me know Mao in different lenses. Not only did I examine Mao's biography from different angles, I saw the power of translation from different people. Even though Snow translated Mao's history in English, these other scholars provided their interpretation to that interaction.

Literature about China's History

⁴ Ross Terrill, a historian is a China specialist and Associate Researcher at Harvard University's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies.

⁵ Alexander V. Pantsov is a professor of history and the Edward and Mary Catherine Gerhold Chair in the Humanities at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio.

⁶ Steven I. Levine is a retired professor of Chinese politics and history.

I relied heavily on works by Frank Dikötter⁷, Thomas Bernstein⁸, and Peng Xizhe⁹, Natascha Gentz¹⁰ who had their own experiences obtaining information about China's history.

These scholars helped me answer these research questions:

- What was music like before Mao's intervention during the Great Leap Forward (pre-1949)?
- What was music like during Mao Zedong's reign (1949-1976)?
- What was music like after Mao Zedong's death (1976-present)?

Frank Dikötter has published multiple books that pertain to China's communism. He is versatile in *The Great Leap Forward*, *The Great Famine*, as well as *The Cultural Revolution*. He speaks about different demographics of people rather than subjecting everyone into a collective. Moreover, he is not afraid to talk about the tortures that occurred in China during Mao's reign. While this is a touchy subject, Dikötter provides details on the cruel punishments that occurred in that era. He even shared these findings in *The New York Times*.

Thomas Bernstein provided statistics about *The Great Leap Forward*. He utilized Chinese sources like China's Newspaper, *The China Quarterly*. He also provided his own interpretation to why he believed *The Great Leap Forward* ended. He called it the "five winds." His breakdown of these five winds helped provide broader perspectives and reasoning about why *The Great Leap Forward* was unsuccessful.

Peng Xizhe provided an economic and political viewpoint of *The Great Leap Forward*. Though there were many scholars who wrote about *The Great Leap Forward*, his writing was forthright about the failure of this catastrophic event in different provinces. It allowed me to see a

⁷ Frank Dikötter is a Dutch historian who specializes in modern China.

⁸ Thomas Paul Bernstein is an American political scientist who also specializes in the Chinese political economy and communist systems.

⁹ Peng Xizhe is a professor of Population and Development at Fudan University in Shanghai, China..

¹⁰ Natascha Gentz is the Chair of Chinese, and Director of the Confucius Institute for Scotland at University of Edinburgh.

magnified regional perspective of this event rather than a general overview. It is also interesting to find a Chinese scholar who is upfront about the effects of The Great Leap Forward. During my research, I found that The Great Leap Forward is a rather sensitive topic for many Chinese citizens and scholars due to the fact that the traumatic event killed millions. Peng controls his emotions while he talks about The Great Leap Forward, and rather finds factual details to demonstrate the decline and failures of this catastrophe.

Literature Review on China's Songs

There were many theses and dissertations by Chinese students around the world that analyzed Chinese songs under Mao's reign. Two of these studies are Cherie Gu's thesis: "Between Villain and Victim: Jiang Qing and Women's Roles in Revolutionary Model Opera During the Cultural Revolution (2018)" and Linda Longley's thesis: "Jiang Qing and The Cultural Revolution (1996)." Both Gu and Longley's works aided in the interpretation of music that was created by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing during The Cultural Revolution. They provided multiple musical examples for comparative analysis. Throughout the study, I reference them as well as other theses and dissertations in my musical examples. These sources helped me answer questions such as:

- Who was involved in musical creations under Mao's reign?
- How did Chinese identity change during Mao's years and how did it manifest through music?
- What types of music were being spread around China?

The works also provided musical examples that I had never heard of and allowed me to understand these pieces for the first time. I heard the political and personal struggles that these

scholars faced when they wrote their projects. They emulate the identity crisis they faced and what their parents endured when they chose to study in the USA. I have taken their emotional struggles as Chinese citizens under political duress into consideration as I word my thesis.

Natascha Gentz provided insight into Jiang Qing. She placed Jiang Qing on a pedestal above Mao Zedong and showed her accomplishments and involvements as a woman in China. Many other sources pertaining to Jiang Qing referenced her mostly as Mao's wife and secretary, but did not highlight the empowerment she placed on the arts and music. Gentz presented Jiang Qing as an important icon in China's politics and provided insight on Jiang Qing's *yangbanxi* and musical creations during The Cultural Revolution.

Whether immersing themselves by traveling to China, learning the language, or through research, these scholars elevated my thinking and perspective. They helped me understand what was happening in China both politically and musically. Their knowledge of Chinese studies, politics, and language helped broaden my project.

Additional Information: 简谱 (Jianpu Notations)

Each musical example that is discussed will have a score in Jianpu and in staff notation. *Jianpu* is a Chinese system of musical notation. I have broken *jianpu* notation down into three sections: first, the pitches; second, the articulation; and third, the rhythms.

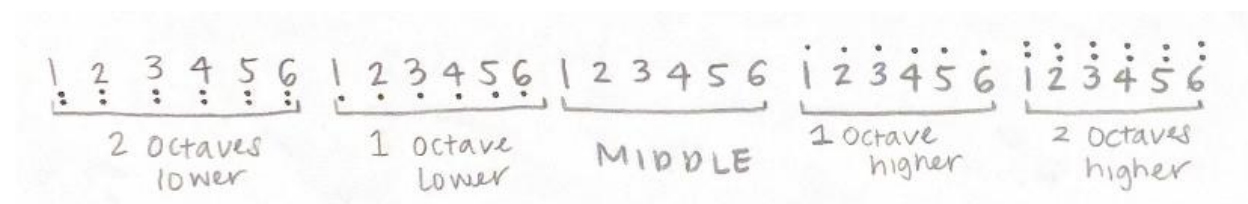
Jianpu notes are written as numerical musical notations ranging from scale degrees 1-7 (do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti). Each number could be conceptualized as a white key on the piano. *Jianpu* notation is versatile, meaning that the first note 1 (do) is moveable depending on the key. Before reading each piece, the top of a score will place a 1= and the key of the piece. (For

example: 1=C or 1=Bb). Once the key is established, then the remaining notes, 2-7 can be built.

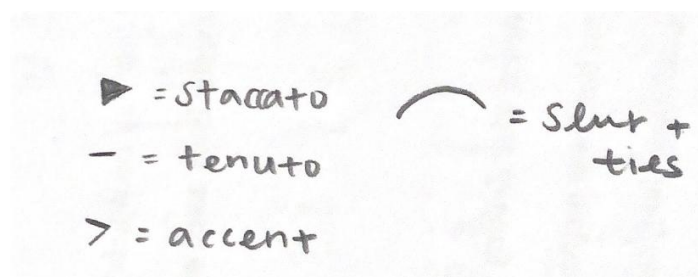
Below is a key to help understand what each number represents in the Western notation:

Scales:	1 (do)	2 (re)	3 (mi)	4 (fa)	5 (sol)	6 (la)	7 (ti)
C	C	D	E	F	G	A	B
F	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	E
Bb	Bb	C	D	Eb	F	G	A
Eb	Eb	F	G	A	Bb	C	Db
Ab	Ab	Bb	C	Db	Eb	F	G
Db	Db	Eb	F	G	Ab	Bb	C
Gb	Gb	Ab	Bb	C	Db	Eb	F
B	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	A#
E	E	F#	G#	A	B	C#	D#
A	A	B	C#	D	E	F#	G#
D	D	E	F#	G	A	B	C#
G	G	A	B	C	D	E	F#

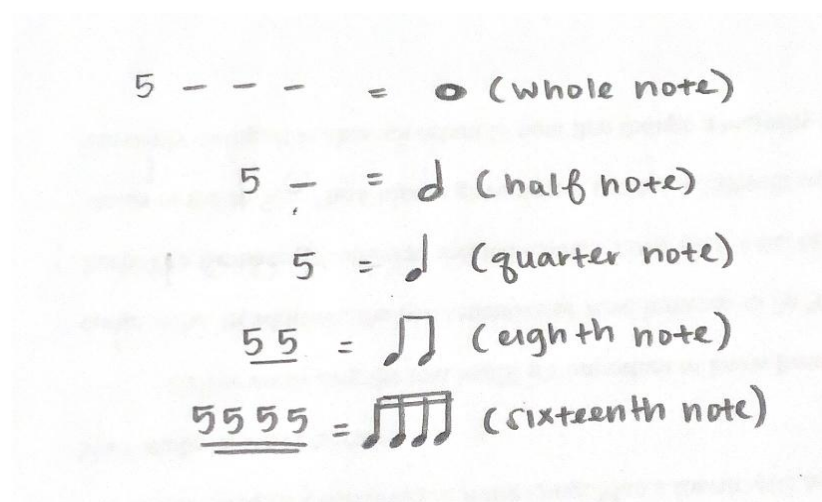
To decipher whether or not a note is high or low, dots will be placed below or on top of a note. A group of notes that have the same number of dots will be in one octave range. If the *jianpu* number does not have a dot, then that note sits right in the middle range. The *jianpu* range is exemplified in the diagram below:



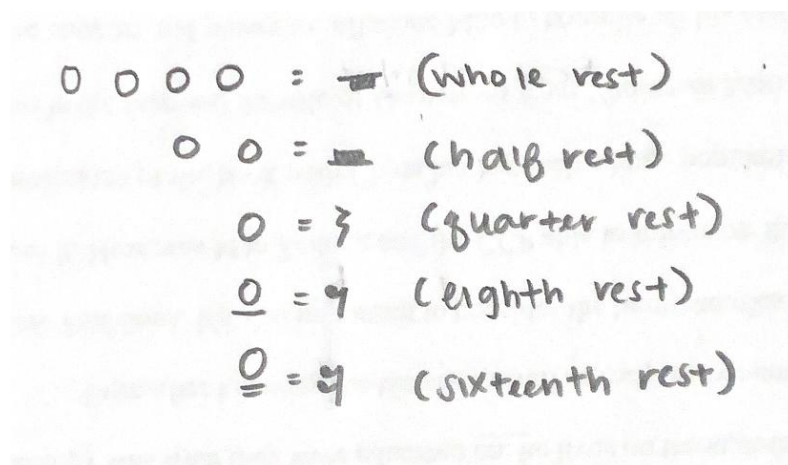
Though the example only displays the highest and lowest notes with two dots, dots can be added to demonstrate more octaves. Not to be confused with the staccato delivery, Chinese *jianpu* notation does not use dots to represent articulation. Rather, they utilize the notations below.



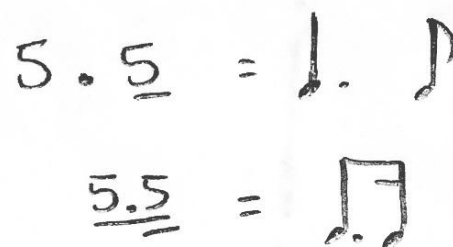
Rhythms are notated as thin lines below the *jianpu* notes. The whole note is represented by the note and 3 proceeding dashed lines. Each dash represents one beat. For a quarter note, there are no dashed line. The note itself without any lines indicates one beat. One line represents an eighth note, two lines a sixteenth note, and so on and so forth. See examples below:



Rhythmic rests are notated as the number zero (0). The example below shows the rests:



Dotted rhythms are considered as more technical. Dots are placed to the right of the note that needs to be extended for a longer duration. Be cautious that the dots next to the *jianpu* notes are rhythmic, and the dots below and above notes are for octaves/range of notes. Below are the dotted rhythms:



Using *jianpu* and Western staff notation in my musical analysis exposes the musical translations and interpretations to an array of audiences. These two types of representation will also enable access to both Chinese and Western readers. The *jianpu* notation has been placed in the appropriate location within the body of the text. Western notation can be referenced in the Appendix (pg. 121). Although *jianpu* notation utilizes numerals, the accuracy of these notes are subject to the instrument or performer and is it played on. For instance, the intervals between each scale degree can be larger or smaller on Chinese instruments than on Western instruments.

This can be due to the overtones and timbres from the Chinese tuning system, as well as and the material these instruments are made of.

The beauty of *jianpu* is how the score acts as a guide to how the performer can interpret the music. In this case, placing the *jianpu* within the chapters allows readers a wider lense for interpreting these songs as per longstanding Chinese aesthetic preferences. While transcribing these scores, ornamentations were included in the phrases or notes where they are mostly realized. The ornamentation has to be realized where it is indicated but its performance practices may vary. As each instrument has their own techniques, they will display those skill sets in the ornamentations. Proper knowledge of performance practice guides the general sound of these pieces on particular Chinese instruments.

Organization of Chapters

In chapter two, I will provide an introduction to Mao Zedong life and his ideologies. I will then provide a short synopsis of what music was like during the Chinese imperial times, and then how music evolved under Mao's reign. Lastly, I will provide an introduction to *China's Little Red Book*.

The rest of my study is formulated in chronological order and I will explore the historical, economic, political, and musical scenes of *China's Little Red Book* in three segments: The Great Leap Forward (1958-1962), the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and after *China's Little Red Book* was expunged (1976-2022). These dates were chosen specifically because they follow the timeline in which the book was created, how the book impacted the public during Mao's reign, and finally what happened to the citizens once the book was no longer required by the Chinese government. This historical timeline can help identify how socio-political changes helped

influence the types of music that were produced and performed during each time frame and how the songs helped define Chinese identity. I have divided each timeline into subsections to help give an expanded perspective of important and pertinent topics within that time frame.

Specifically, I will analyze The Great Leap Forward in three different environments: music in schools, working songs, and love songs. Many of the songs created during this time aimed to uplift the morals of workers in harsh working conditions, steer young adults towards Mao's political narrative, and project the sensual idea of romance. For The Cultural Revolution, I will analyze Jiang Qing and her influence in creating eight model *yangbanxi* (样板戏)¹¹ as a form of entertainment and political education. There will also be a focus on the types of music that were banned during The Cultural Revolution and also works that were inspired by *China's Little Red Book*. Lastly, we will see how music evolved after Mao's death in 1976 and its lasting effects on the contemporary musical scene. Each subsection has musical examples where I provide hermeneutical translations of the lyrics. The questions I ask in analyzing the pieces are:

- How did Mao collate the many different types of niches into a collective thought?
- Why was this song important and how did it carry Mao's ideologies?
- How did these same songs create rebellion against and hate of his ideologies?

Though propaganda can be implemented through many forms, I will focus mainly on music and the arts.

¹¹ This is Jiang Qing's model opera before Peking opera.

CHAPTER 2

QUOTATIONS FROM MAO ZEDONG

中国共产党是全中国人民的领导核心。没有这样一个核心，社会主义事业就不能胜利。

“The Chinese Communist Party is the core of the leadership of the whole Chinese people.
Without the core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.”

Chairman Mao Zedong
From The Little Red Book
Translated by Anonymous
Talk at the general reception for the delegates to the Third National Congress of the New
Democratic Youth League of China (May 25, 1957)

Introduction

This chapter is organized into four sections: Who is Mao Zedong, What are his ideologies, What was happening musically in China before he was in power, and lastly what is *China's Little Red Book*? These four sections set a foundation for understanding the later chapters. In order to understand Mao Zedong and his ideologies, it is imperative to know that his history has been written and translated from many perspectives. Every scholar has nitpicked information, thus I selected certain chronological events in his life that I felt influenced the ideologies he imposed on citizens. Many of Mao's beliefs came from international leaders, so we will see how he intermingled different schools of thought into his ideology: Maoism.

Furthermore, music before Mao was much different from when he was in power. Music was previously only performed for leisure and for the rich during the era of the Chinese dynasties. I will examine what types of music and instruments were performed and played during

these imperial times. Beginning in the mid-1930s, Mao gained power and control over China. This will lead to my last section, *China's Little Red Book*. This book placed Mao's ideologies and speeches into one compact space that was accessible to all citizens. Since they read and used this text every day, it helped give them instructions for their daily tasks. We will understand the importance of *Quotations from Mao Zedong*, and what happened to those who rebelled against it.

Background

In many parts of the world, music is a way for people to express themselves freely through an imaginative process. However, there are some parts of the world where the freedom of creativity is prohibited. The performance of music and other arts is censored, and/or even banned. In the case of China, music and arts could be performed, but only under the strict surveillance of Chairman Mao Zedong. He was the final deciding factor as to whether a song, dance or show could be performed on stage for the general public. "In Mao's theory, all music (and other art) must state an official message. This implies there can be no 'innocuous' music" (Perris 1983, 2). "Mao also discussed the dilemma in raising the cultural standards of the masses while creating art that they could immediately understand" (Perris 1983, 7). Perris continued to state that although Mao wanted to raise cultural standards, he promoted popular works that tended to be on the simpler and plain end, so they could be more widely accepted and understood by the broad masses of people (Perris 1983, 7-8). His goal was to foster a strong sense of nationalism onto Chinese people. Moreover, "As all Chinese creators of literature and art were under the subjugation of Mao's ideology on the proletarian revolutionary line" and that is why during the Mao's Chinese revolutionary music, pentatonicism was encouraged that also involved, "narrow register, four-measure phrases, two-four time, simple rhythms, and texts" with "different

permutation of not more than a hundred characters.” (Run 1991, 123). Run further shows that the music performed under Mao's control had specific guidelines to prevent any freedom for the musicians at the time. Though China now has developed a more complex musical system after Mao's passing, what did music under Mao Zedong sound like? And, to what extent was the reason Mao placed strict regulations on the music created in China?

First, before continuing this discussion, who is Mao Zedong? I will provide a brief, general history focused on his experiences to help provide an understanding of Mao's thoughts and ideologies. Now known as the Chairman of China from 1949-1976, when in his life did he decide he wanted to be a part of the political party scene, and what experiences made him so set on the ideologies he ingrained into Chinese citizens while they were under his power?

Mao Zedong

Mao was born on December 26th, 1893 on a rural farm in Shaoshan¹² and was one of four children born to his father, Mao Yichang, and mother, Wen Qimei (Sinha 2022, 3). Though his family started off poor, his family's economic status grew comfortable during Mao's boyhood (Terrill 1999, 32). “His household consumed about two and one quarter tons of rice per year and he had three and a half tons left over for sale...The Mao farm came to look quite well set up, with a cowshed, a storage house for grain, a pigsty, and a small mill” (Terrill 1999, 32). By Mao's adolescence, he was considered better off than most around his village members. Many families around him experienced hunger and economic hardships.

According to Panstov and Levine, from a young age, Mao's relationship with Mao Yichang,¹³ his father was rocky. The two did not get along, and it seemed that the pair constantly

¹² Shaoshan is located at the center of Hunan's Province.

¹³ Mao's father goes by two names: Mao Yichang and Mao Shunsheng.

bickered. Mao would often “deploy quotations from Confucius in his private disputes with his father, who constantly cursed his son for being disrespectful and lazy. Sometimes Mao won out, but usually, the disputes ended badly for him. His father, who prized filial piety above all other Confucian principles, would thrash his son when he dared to contradict him” (Pantsov and Levine 2013, 15). These principles were established by imperial China, and thus Mao’s father was disciplined at a young age to follow this way of life. Mao questioned his father’s traditional Chinese ways by arguing against his father’s ideas of autocracy and superstition. What angered his father was Mao’s thoughts on modernity in both the political and social sense. He would ask to learn from Western countries and their traditions. He believed in progress, and in order to do that, one had to learn from those who were moving in that direction.

Not only did Mao’s father thrash out at him, but he also got physical with his siblings and mother. His mother protected him and his siblings which made Mao become someone with compassion and yet stubborn. His father can be described as autocratic and despotic. Fearing for their safety, Mao’s mother and siblings were compliant with Mao Yichang. Thus, Mao’s mother “‘criticised any overt display of emotion and attempts at open rebellion against the Ruling Power [his father]. She said it was not the Chinese way.’ Yet when Mao defied this maternal counsel and explicitly confronted his father, he was pleasantly surprised to discover that this proved far more effective than adherence to a ‘Chinese way’ of indirect attack” (Dittmer 1987, 317-318). Mao was frustrated by his father’s unsteady temper so much that as he grew older, he became “‘increasingly harsh, bitter, and headstrong” (Pantsov and Levine 2013, 15-16). Terrill states that Mao’s personality could be compared to that of a tiger and a monkey and that he had both a “ruthless side and quixotic side” (Terrill 1999, 29). Terrill adds that though Mao had a calm persona, his temper was something he could not leave out (Terrill 1999, 29). His father’s

towering persona created fear and rebellion in Mao but out of respect for his elders, Mao obeyed his father. This restricted his individuality, personality, and beliefs, creating a desire to rebel. His father's traditional beliefs in filial piety led him to punish Mao anytime he was disobedient. Mao Yichang would "beat Zedong often, shamed him before others, mocked his driving desire to learn from books, did his best to wither the boy with a sense of his own alleged 'laziness' and 'uselessness'" (Terrill 1999, 42). Yichang wanted to imbue his thoughts of the ideal son he wanted onto Mao, and whenever Mao fell short of those expectations, he was punished. He sought to distance himself from his father's personality, but the more he tried to avoid his father's persona, the more he became like him.

Mao eventually married against his will at age fourteen to Luo Yixiu (羅一秀)¹⁴ and "refused to recognise the latter as his wife, and instead moved out temporarily" (Sinha 2022, 2). This self-exile was motivated by "an inner compulsion to vindicate himself in the eyes of his father, to grow into a fuller, better version of his father, in the service of the worthier goals. Behind Zedong's expressed hatred of his father was an unacknowledged identification; he was driven to become an authoritarian like his father, and on a far grander scale" (Terrill 1999, 44).

Mao felt the responsibility as the son to take care of his family and work on their family rice farm. He also felt the necessity to further his education past primary school. At sixteen, he eventually left Shaoshan and ventured into different institutions including: "a police academy, a soap-production school, a law school, an economic school, and the government-run Changsha Middle school" (Sinha 2022, 2). The political air in China was unsteady due to those who wanted to rebel against imperial dynastic rule. Mao and his friends wanted to dismantle hundreds of years of monarchical rule. Because all men during the Machu¹⁵ government were forced to wear

¹⁴ Luo Yixiu (羅一秀) was Mao's first wife and 6 years older than him. Sinha states that Luo did a local disgrace in 1920 and thus, Mao left her.

¹⁵ The last imperial power before the Chinese moved towards communism.

their hair in one long braid, a strong sign of disobedience towards the Manchus would be to cut their braid. This action was one of Mao's first rebellious involvements with the government.

Mao's experiments in different work fields did not fit with his personality, and thus he made the decision to become a teacher. In his secondary education, he enjoyed studying philosophy and was "elected president of the Students' Society, ... organized community service projects" and even "formed a student group, the *Xinmin Xuehui* [新民學會], or 'New People's Study Society'" where they would "discuss self-improvement, strengthening moral and spiritual understanding, and social reform. In the early days, the group was not aligned with any political party, but eventually Mao began to use group meetings for radical political activities" (Stewart 2005, 28).

"In June 1918, at the age of twenty-four, Mao graduated with a teaching degree (Stewart 2005, 28). Mao took his love for politics and leadership to the next level by traveling around and joined the government of the People's Republic of China. He was then introduced to the concept of socialism and liked how it broke barriers for his friends and went against what they studied at school. He would take these ideologies and implement them when he became China's Chairman in 1949.

Mao came into power in 1949. He disliked many ideas from the imperial times, and the concept of filial piety. He embarked on imposing change on Chinese citizens. These changes included revoking class status and promoting equal opportunity amongst everyone. These changes took time but ultimately led to the events of The Great Leap Forward and The Cultural Revolution. Though it seemed like China was the only country undergoing cultural and economic changes, their neighbor the Soviet Union was too. They had been going through their own cultural revolution from 1928-1931. Soviet Union leader Vladimir Lenin tried to diminish

class division to better help evolve an enlightenment period (David-Fox 1999, 182-183).

Relationships between the two countries grew since they shared similar cultural revolutionary concepts. “More than any other Chinese politician, Mao epitomized China’s long obsession with the Soviet Union” (Pollack 1978, 30). I bring up the relationship that Mao had with other countries because his ideologies were an outgrowth of his interactions with other communist leaders around the world. The Soviet Union is just one example of how Mao was influenced.

Mao’s Ideologies

While new political ideas were developing and new leaders were rising around the world, Mao was able to venture and decide on which aspects of each ideology fit what he believed in. “Leninism¹⁶ was also the theory of communism in power and dictatorship, whose policies and actions were invariably justified by reference to its hallowed texts, organizational practices, and strategies injunctions” (Harding 1996, 2). “It promised to create an entirely new pattern for the allocation of material rewards, power and status that would put an end not only to the exploitation of man by man but, eventually, to all domination and subordination within society” (Harding 1996, 2). Mao favored the thought of breaking social status, which had once been implemented in China for thousands of years. The social chain created inequality among Chinese citizens and generated hate among those who fell on the lower social ladder. As Mao’s family’s upbringing was not the worst, he experienced an imbalance between his father, mother, and siblings. He wanted to dismiss these traditions.

¹⁶ Leninism was developed by Russian Marxist revolutionary Vladimir Lenin.

Marxism¹⁷ on the other hand is a theory that “...refers to the system of thought created by Marx which provides the main theoretical basis for modern socialism and communism” (Sayer 2021, 379). Thus, it

“...entails a coming to terms with the exploitation intrinsic to the capitalist system, exploitation which is carried out on a day-to-day basis, and which constitutes that ‘religion of everyday life’ marked by the market and its functioning, underpinned by explicit and implicit assumptions. In this context, the concept of ideology, as an expression of social processes and the concealment of social contradictions and powers, is of paramount importance to a critical social psychology that seeks to foster autonomy and the liberation of individuals and groups” (Dobles 1999, 407).

Sayer (2021) asserts that one must find their purpose for the aspects of Marxism they embrace. In the case of Mao, he was drawn to the importance of inclusivity within Marxism. He believed that the coming together of the masses rather than creating more individuality would create a strong sense of nationalism within China. Mao’s plan was to foster an environment community and inclusion exceeded beyond the immediate family. A way for him to achieve this was having citizens calling one another Brother (哥哥 or 弟弟) and Sister (姐姐, 妹妹). The use of Brother and Sister was to nurture the political ideologies of communes. These terms would later be exemplified through music to imply a lover and not an immediate family member.

Mao was indoctrinated into Confucianism through his father who followed its rules and demanded filial piety. He read Confucious literature at a young age. It was not that Mao disliked Confucious thought but was frustrated by it. “At times, he condemns Confucius, or what the name ‘Confucius’ stood for, and at other times he seeks to understand Confucius and his role in modern China” (Boer 2015, 37-38). His incongruencies with Confucianism were one of the largest contributors to Mao’s conflicts with his father. His experiences in secondary school introduced him to ideologies outside of China. Mao pursued interest in Western and Eastern philosophies while in school, and from then on Mao’s particular beliefs started to flourish.

¹⁷ Marxism was developed by a German philosopher Karl Marx.

His mind “was still a patchwork of Western and Chinese ideas, [these ideas can be described as] a mixture of liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism” (Goldman 1968, 563). He soon left for Peking where he was introduced to Li Dazhao¹⁸, the father of Chinese-Marxism and co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party.¹⁹

After the end of the imperial rule, China embarked on new political and cultural movements. Intellectuals like Li Dazhao would advocate for Marxism and communism to be bestowed on the country. “Li’s political ideas during the first years of the republic [China after imperial rule] consisted of a rather uncertain mixture of Confucian moral precepts and Western liberal constitutional theory. He expressed a faith in the efficacy of good rulers and a belief that China needed a political system that would express the ‘will of the people’” (Meisner 1967, 8). Li’s ideals helped Mao strengthen his nationalism, “which made it possible for him to be both a Marxist-Leninist and a Chinese nationalist, and strengthening his voluntaristic inclination, which was to become so strikingly characteristic of Mao’s approach to problems”²⁰ (Schram 1965, 80). So what does this mean, and how is it possible for Mao to encapsulate all these political characteristics? Mao’s pride in his country is emulated through the power of the masses, but why could not Mao embrace either Leninism or Marxism?

For instance, Meisner described that “Mao was understandably more attracted to Lenin, who like himself, was essentially a man of action, concerned primarily with revolutionary strategy and the conquest of power” (Goldman 1968, 564). The ideology of Marxism was systematically complex to understand and “Mao’s understanding of it was more simplistic than comprehensive” (Sheng 1997, 6). He fundamentally decided on bringing these two theories

¹⁸ Li Dazhao’s name is also spelled as Li Ta-chao (1889 – 1927). He was known for bringing Marxism into China.

¹⁹ Li Dazhao worked closely with Chen Duxiu during the May Fourth movement prior to the emergence of communism in 1921 (Ip 1944).

²⁰ This quote was taken from Mao, *Maoism and Mao-ology* by Rebe Goldman from page 564.

together by “borrowing [them] into ‘something which is not only different, but has its own characteristic unity, ‘going beyond Lenin in making it possible for the party to substitute itself for an almost nonexistent proletariat in leading a revolution’” (Goldman 1968, 565). “To him, Marxism-Leninism was a ‘philosophy of struggle’” and thus, Mao’s creation of Maoism would focus on “‘class struggle ideology’ or ‘class struggle outlook,’ with the realization of possible simplification of the complicity of Maoism as a system of its own” (Sheng 1997, 6).

Leninism influenced Mao to look beyond socialism and peer into the ideology of struggle between socio-economic classes. Leninism influenced Mao to look beyond socialism and view the ideology of struggle between socioeconomic classes. For instance, Mao eventually spent his lifetime diminishing “the struggle between the rulers and the ruled, the oppressors and the oppressed” by instituting a communist society that advocated for equality throughout the entire country (Sheng 1997, 5). And through instituting a communist society, Mao’s communist ideals would “not only represent the interest of the majority underdogs in the world” but also inevitably uphold “the universal value of human society in the future” (Sheng 1997, 7). This would suggest that Mao and the CCP believed that in order to have strong nationalism, China would have to wrestle with its social and economic system in order to move the country as a whole towards a strong Chinese identity.

As Mao spread his ideologies of Maoism, many Chinese citizens found that the equality idea provided them with opportunities that they had never been able to achieve before. Specifically, unlike the situation during the Chinese imperial periods, the chances of climbing the political tower were now more likely than ever. It can be inferred that propaganda normalized Mao’s ideologies and enticed citizens to follow obediently. The collectivity of one thought would

thus create China's national identity. This leads me to believe that Mao Zedong acted as a puppet master and instructional manual to help morph China into a society compliant to his principles.

Music Before Mao's Reign

Before Mao came into power in 1949, music and arts were utilized for aesthetic purposes based on Confucian thoughts. During the Han Dynasty (202 BC- 220 AD), aesthetic music was thought to exaggerate “the function of practicality and enlightenment, establishes a music implementation process of ‘move people with emotions’, and provides materialistic explanation for the basic musical aesthetic issue that music can express people's emotions” (Zhang 2018, 578). While aesthetic music would provide illumination in personal life, Zhang would go on and explain how aesthetic music would also lay its foundations for the “idea of ‘music’ and political communication” (Zhang 2018, 578). This is because aesthetics allowed artists and performers to delve into their individuality and allow their audience to create a variety of interpretations based on their performance. Because of this, aesthetic music would seem to be unique for both the audience and artists. Not only did aesthetic music serve as an outlet of creativity for artists and performers, but it also provided a cultural exchange that helped facilitate even more creativity by branching out into different resources from other geographical locations. During the aesthetic music era, the Silk Road provided “the cultural exchanges and continuities across vast tracts of inner Eurasia” that would introduce goods and riches such as spices, fragrances, and religions to different parts of Asia (Millward 2005, 10). Particularly, the Silk Road would introduce rare and uncommon musical instruments to performers such as “the *pipa* lute, possibly the *sanxian* three-string lute, the *yangqin* hammer dulcimer, various spike fiddles collectively known as *huqin*, the *dizi* transverse flute, the double-reed *suona*, and several small percussion instruments”

that would enhance the creativities of these individuals (Thrasher 2000, 36-56). However, the market for creativity brought by the Silk Road would not be long-lasting. The idea of aesthetic music would be frowned upon, by Mao, as his ideologies contradicted the function of practicality and enlightenment: China as one.

An example of a well-known piece that depicts China's imperial period is 春江花月夜 (Blossoms on a Moonlit River in Spring). This piece, with a history that stretches over 2,000 years was composed by a Chinese poet during the Tang Dynasty, Zhang Ruoxi (張若虛). It is currently usually performed on solo qin and by Chinese orchestras. The piece depicts “the beautiful scenery of a spring river on a moonlit night”, “[weaves] nostalgic feelings and thoughts of life with descriptions of natural scenery, and then switched the poetic focus over to a romantic picture of a lady missing her lover” (Jiang 2018, 153). Musicians during the Tang Dynasty used ancient Chinese instruments like the *qin*, and created music to highlight ideologies of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism (Mitani 1981, 123). Though Mao liked Confucian ideas, they ultimately incited rebellion against the authority embedded in these philosophical premises. Mao wanted the Chinese to be harmoniously one, thus he instigated new ideologies, transmitted them in a compact book known as *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* and utilized music to help implement them to the entire population.

China's Little Red Book

Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong were originally made for the People's Liberation Army in the 1960s. Lin Biao was a political officer of the CCP and “incorporated the study of Maoist texts into daily drills and encouraged the emulation of moral exemplars such as the model soldier Lei Feng” (Cook 2014, 2). As Heracles is a well-known hero in Greek mythology, Lei

Feng was seen as communist China's role model for all citizens. Lei Feng was the image every young Communist citizen wanted to become, thus Mao proclaimed him the shining star in Communism's pantheon. "[Lei Feng] was selfless, loyal, and true. According to the legend, he fixed military trucks, he darned his compatriot's socks, [and] he read Mao's Little Red Book by candlelight" (Hacker 2013, oral recording). The CCP wanted to stamp the exemplary image of Lei Feng on their soldiers through *China's Little Red Book*.

Mao and the CCP found that *China's Little Red Book* compelled Chinese people to become more disciplined under the eyes of the Chinese government. Though *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* is filled with theories and thoughts from the chairman himself, the original idea of the book came from Lin Bao, a Chinese military general. In fact, Lin Bao acted as the catalyst for the rise of Mao's cult (Cook 2014, 2). Mao's cult grew to respect and admire him for his charismatic character. This love flourished especially when Mao's ideologies started to bring the country together (Schram 1967, 384). China's Red Guard members were told to carry the "famous little red book of quotations containing the leader's words,... with them day and night, and [keep it] by their side as they slept" (Schram 1967, 387).

Not only was this book copied and spread throughout China, "China's Foreign Languages Press²¹ translated *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, into dozens of languages and arranged for the global distribution of the book. In eight months from October 1966 to May 1967, the International Bookstore successfully sent copies to more than a hundred countries" (Xu 2014, 76). This text served as an "invaluable contribution to socialist internationalism and to the development of global revolution" (Xu 2014, 76). As I searched online I found more translations

²¹ "The Foreign Languages Press was originally one part of the International News Bureau (Guoji xinwen ju), which was established in October 1949. The main purpose of the International News Bureau was to publicize New China globally, including editing news in foreign languages for international use, establishing journals for foreign readers, and regulating foreign journalists in China" (Xu 2014, 77).

than the ones created by China's Foreign Language Press including free versions, with different editors, and translators. What's even more interesting is that even countries outside of China utilized Mao's *China's Little Red Book* as a stepping stone to establish their own government system. These countries include Peru, Tanzania, India, and even the Soviet Union. Alexander C. Cook's book, *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* shows how countries interpreted the text and how they adapted it specifically for their countries.

China's Little Red Book has political and cultural statements based on speeches and writings of Chairman Mao Zedong which were eventually evolved into sonic and visual propaganda. It was part of Chinese citizens' "mandatory ritual of worship[ping]" Mao, as they were required to do daily readings from the text (Leese 2011, i). China utilized *China's Little Red Book* to shed light on the personality and worshiping cult of Mao (Leese 2011, i). It provided several generations with a manual for Chinese identity. The book targeted "people who were politically between the radical leftist and the rightist" (Xu 2014, 77). It solidified the thoughts of those who were unsure of Mao and his ideologies. Once the Chinese government utilized the book as a re-education tool, the entire country developed a strong sense of nationalism.

China's Little Red Book helped give Chinese citizens an identity, functionality, and solace. It also allowed anyone and everyone to climb the social hierarchy ladder regardless of their status. Mao promoted equality and wanted everyone to have the same opportunities. This would suggest egalitarianism between men and women, and most importantly, generational equality. Although Maoism promoted this idea of equality, developing an image of self-identity was restricted. The control that Mao wielded created fear in the citizens. Those who defied Mao or questioned his thoughts were given punishments such as ex-communication, imprisonment, or even execution. I suspect that many Chinese citizens have emotionally and physically blocked

these memories from their minds. This may present itself as a rationale for why *China's Little Red Book* is still present even in today's society. Because the older generation only knew how to live by this book, their sense of belonging has been in limbo even 60 years after the book was expunged. In the present generation, parents are subconsciously and unknowingly teaching their children Mao's ideologies. But as Mao's ideology was what they were educated on, he lives on through the daily functions of their lives.

Even after knowing the history as well as the positive and negative effects of *China's Little Red Book*, it is also important to consider the hermeneutical interpretations and translations from it. How was Mao Zedong and the CCP able to minimize the number of interpretations and translations of the book with China having such a huge population? Though it may seem that Mao is the face and the title of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*, it was the CCP who gave support and power to influence Mao to compile his ideologies into one compact book. In Chapter 4, I will discuss Jiang Qing, Mao's fourth wife and her influences in helping Mao.

Conclusion

I heard Mao Zedong's name multiple times in eighth grade world history class and from my parents, but I was mostly oblivious to who he was nor what he did for China. During my research, I encountered contradicting opinions about Mao and his actions. Mao was well-respected in China by government officials and Chinese citizens due to the power that he had over them. Mao believed that citizens needed guidance after imperial rule, and he controlled and regulated that vision. The ideologies and speeches he gave around China were compiled together into *China's Little Red Book*. This book was a formal way to jot down Mao's stories and pass them on to the citizens at the time and to future generations. Though *China's Little Red*

Book was not formally used by the general Chinese public until the 1960s, Chinese citizens were already practicing his ideologies in the early 1950s.

In my next chapter, I will discuss The Great Leap Forward and introduce three environments for musicking: songs in schools, working songs, and love songs. As Mao tried to implement one of China's first economic changes, music helped to motivate the citizens. Songs were created in different environmental spaces to fit certain niches. Thus, Mao and the Chinese Communist Party created a variety of pieces to reach diverse communities throughout China.

CHAPTER 3

THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD (1958-1962)

我们应当相信群众，我们应当相信党，这是两条根本的原理。如果怀疑这两条原，那就什么事情也做不成了

“We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the party, these are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles we shall accomplish nothing”

Chairman Mao Zedong
From The Little Red Book
Translated by Anonymous
On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation (July 31, 1955)
3rd ed., p.7.*

Introduction

I will analyze Chinese music from The Great Leap Forward and provide historical context, discussing what led up to it as well as its aftermath. I will then introduce three genres of music: music taught in schools, love songs, and working songs. For each song, I will provide multiple hermeneutical perspectives outside of the direct translation of the lyrics like the political, generational, and gender perspectives surrounding the songs. This chapter will hopefully provide a better understanding of Mao's influence on his people, and how sonic propaganda acted as one path of subliminal messaging outside of *Mao's Little Red Book*.

Historical Background

The Great Leap Forward (*dàyuèjìn*, 大跃进) was implemented in 1958 by Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party and lasted until 1962. The goal of The Great Leap Forward was to create communions to increase grain production. This project is also acknowledged as one

of China's biggest disasters that ultimately led to millions dying from hunger and exhaustion. Frank Dikötter's research through his "...gradual opening of Chinese archives has revealed the appalling truth about Chairman Mao's genocidal rule" (Today's History, August 2016). This venture demonstrated the incongruency within the CCP and Mao Zedong's failure to quickly respond to over-exhaustion and famine that his citizens experienced over this four-year period.

Before The Great Leap Forward plan was implemented, China's economic status was heavily based on agriculture and family life. Though this lifestyle allowed for a traditional and simple life, the CCP wanted to move forward and modernize the country. They didn't believe that a fully agricultural lifestyle would be sustainable in the long run. Moreover, China faced competition from countries such as the Soviet Union and Great Britain which were moving away from the solely agricultural lifestyle towards a combination of industrialization and urbanization. Peng states that "Chairman Mao Zedong proposed the goal for China of overtaking Great Britain in industrial production within 15 years" (Peng 1987, 639) suggesting that even with the strong pride that Mao had in himself and his country, he feared falling behind, even if it meant breaking long held traditions established during the imperial dynasties. Leaders in the CCP like Chen Yun (Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council) and Zhou Enlai (Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council) didn't want to fully eliminate agriculture. They reasoned that in order to have a successful industrial development, agricultural growth was vital. They all agreed that due to the years of hunger, creating more food was the first priority. "Agriculture is in fact the traditional base of the economy" for many regions in China (Domenach and Selden 2019, 4). To keep up with the demand for food, Chinese people had to increase their agricultural production.

Mao and the CCP decided to launch the Great Leap Forward. The plan was to alter China's agricultural lifestyle into communion groups by industrializing grain production. The overall goal was to diminish the class division between the rich and poor and create a more unified and equal country. All duties would be done together in service to, and by the government. Dikötte stated in *History Today* that “In pursuit of the utopian paradise, everything was collectivized. People had their work, homes, land, belongings, and livelihoods taken from them. In collective canteens, food, distributed by the spoonful according to merit, became a weapon used to force people to follow the party’s every dictate” (Dikötte, August 2016). Those who were poor appreciated the equality that was bestowed across the country, but those who were rich did not. As valuables were confiscated and turned in, there were many who kept them hidden. “*Gongren Ribao*”²² (November 4, 1958) typically reported that people were trying their best to preserve the few things in their possession for fear of possible confiscation” (Shih 1994, 283). As many valuable possessions are passed down from generation to generation, these items had sentimental and ancestral value (Hsu 1971, 482). As precious items were targeted by the CCP, citizens sensed that the government was taking away their existence and identity. By hiding their valuables, they were protecting their individualism within Mao’s re-education system.

A *chengyu*²³ that the Chinese government used to describe the aims of The Great Leap Forward is 三面红旗 (Sānmian hóngqí, Three Red Banners) which means “Going all out, aiming high and achieving more, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism”²⁴ (Hsing 1960, 1). The proverb was not only repeated constantly to citizens, but it also became deeply ingrained, and ultimately formulated the communist government’s goal for each worker.

²² *Gongren Ribao* (工人日报) also known as Worker’s Daily was Beijing, China’s newspaper publication in the 1940’s. They published works on political and social events.

²³ *Chengyu* (成语), also known as idioms, are four-word-phrase expressions used in Chinese language.

²⁴ This quote is from a translation by Su Tsing from the Chinese-language newspaper People’s Daily (Jen-min Jih-pao) by Peiping (February 25, 1960, pg. 7). Hsing translated it under the auspices of the U. S. Government. It was distributed for scholarly use to library repositories.

Controlling the basic necessities of Chinese citizens made them reliant upon and docile towards the CCP. This also imposed strict surveillance on the people, thereby preventing citizens from rebelling against the communist government. Even with the CCP's strict control and the rhetoric of equality, many Chinese citizens did not agree with the principles of The Great Leap Forward. Changes made were for example "...small and scattered shops and factories in the cities ... amalgamated, their operations unified, and their structure rationalized" (Andors 1976, 38). "Many Chinese capitalists and bourgeois technical personnel were still influenced by traditional Confucian notions of authority, obedience, and discipline" (Andors 1976, 38). The breaking of heterogeneity and streamlining of all businesses into one structure angered older generation Chinese. Many did not agree with taking away the status that they had worked hard on for generations to just dissipate.

Despite high hopes and expectations, the strict punishments, rebellion within communions, and austere working conditions by the CCP leaders ultimately made The Great Leap Forward a disaster. Workers were forced to work more than what was best for their health, and machinery and factories were run all day and night. With the government denying its citizens rest, many workers started to fall ill from over-exhaustion. Dikötter stated that those who were

"... accused of not working hard enough were hung and beaten; sometimes they were bound and thrown into ponds" and those who were to rebel against the Chinese government, or could not maintain the work standards that Mao implemented during The Great Leap Forward would ultimately face public humiliation and punishments. "Punishments for the least violations included mutilation and forcing people to eat excrement" (New York Times, December 15, 2010).

Those who did not support Mao were purposefully displayed to embed fear and intimidation to the rest of the public. Throughout China's provinces, teachers, professors and farmers were publicly shamed and punished (Dikötter 2013, 182.) "Over a hundred middle-school students

were arrested and tortured” for not believing in Mao’s plan for The Great Leap Forward (Dikötter 2013, 89). Age did not matter; as long as the beliefs were against what Mao wanted, the CCP placed harsh consequences on those individuals. I was unable to see the correlation between what type of punishments were handed for what crime, but most of these ended in imprisonment and death. This was a way the government controlled and managed anyone who did not believe in Mao’s ideologies and morals. Even with such a large population and vast provinces, the harsh punishments still made their way through word of mouth. In summary, if

“...leaders acted as if communism was worth pursuing, development could be attained with spiritual devotion, and the masses could be successfully reeducated. The masses were morally and politically forced to participate, placing trust in Mao’s leadership... The GLF was considered as a good policy not just because it was labor intensive, but also because it was culturally attractive, morally irresistible, and ostensibly politically feasible” (Shih 1994, 281).

Meanwhile

“In China, the world’s most populous country that was barely self-sufficient in food supply, the unthinkable happened: National grain output plunged by 15 percent in 1959 and by another 16 percent in the following two years. The government, which ran a closed economy, neither requested nor accepted international assistance. Famine soon raged across China” (Li and Yang 2005, 841).

The Great Leap Forward led to The Great Famine (1959-1961) and the death of millions of people. It became one of China’s most horrific and devastating plans implemented by the communist government. This event has become a sensitive topic for Chinese people because of its unsuccessful outcome. Even now, it is rarely talked about in schools, and the number of deaths due to The Great Leap Forward is constantly under reported to downplay the traumatic event.

Combating Hardship Through Music

“Communist theory, at least the Maoist version, may be summarized in the following propositions: economic development hinges on young people’s commitment to certain cultural or political values...The successful management of economic factors involves the management of psychological impulses through such media as popular culture” (Blake 1979, 41).

Not only was the Chinese government industrializing the country, but it was also trying to compile and unify art and literary workers. “Zhou Enlai intended to rally artists from different backgrounds and prioritize the production of ‘popular’ art that would ‘serve the people’” (Geng 2018, 2). The push for modern and pop art was more prevalent in the younger generation, and it brought liveliness to older generations too. The CCP “encouraged songwriters to express values that would promote compliance with Great Leap goals” (Blake 1979, 41). Thus, by the mid-1950s,

“... the emphasis in music creation was on songs because at that time songs were the only sort of the music the workers, peasants, soldiers, and laboring people could appreciate and accept, and all the more so when the lyrics were very clear expressions of political tasks and Party loyalty. By the mid to late 1950s and the early 1960s, some instrumental music and large-scale orchestral works had started to emerge, and these were really the first big wave of the New Music creation” (Liu 2010, 305-306).

The songs created during this time helped bring people together, and communicated a sense of what it meant to be Chinese. By allowing the liberty to compose and perform music, many citizens were eager to be compliant with political ideologies. This plan would mask the yearning of Chinese citizens wanting their own individualism.

As there was a “call to collect folk songs in early 1958, ‘several million were collected’ in Shanghai alone, of which two thousand were published” (King 2011, 52). We cannot even fathom the number of pieces that were lost during this time or even the strict selecting process when choosing the tunes to be published. The chosen songs ranged in different genres but were

ultimately used to collectivize Chinese citizens. Now there are two main points of view that researchers have stated about China's coming into modernity through the arts. Both sides agree that Mao did dictate the music that was being created but what differed was the influences that came from the Western world. One author writes that, the government

“urged [Chinese composers] to create greater pieces than those written by the great masters of the 19th century in the western world. [They] were indoctrinated with the belief that ‘Mozart is nothing, Beethoven is nothing; they all belonged to the past ages, have nothing in common with the great proletarian masses!’...We were to write music that praised agriculture and steel-smelting” (Run 1991, 113).

Yet, another states that:

“Chinese people can comprehend, love, and value Mozart's great arts as can the rest of the world. Chinese composers, like their counterparts in the West, have been influenced by Mozart's music, whose compositional features have enriched their own works. After the founding of the PRC in 1949, Mozart's works were more widely introduced to the [Chinese] people than before, and our younger generation performed Mozart's operas with the deepest gratitude²⁵” (Yang 2007, 6-7).

These scholars reveal that China wanted to take influences from the West, but did not desire to become the West. They wanted to take the aspects that they favored such as the modern musical forms and fashion them according to Chinese tastes (Sinicization). It is almost as if the CCP wanted Chinese composers to allude to great Western composers without sounding like them and without the West discerning that they were borrowing from them.

Both scholars quoted above allude to the famous composer Mozart, but have contrasting thoughts on him. Run indicates a strong distaste for Mozart, but Yang sees the benefits of learning from Mozart. Yang says “comprehend, love, and value Mozart's great arts as can the rest of the world.” Here I imagine that comprehension may have not been meant for all Chinese citizens and maybe only for composers. Citizens had to follow the strict restrictions of Mao's ideologies without deviation. It leads me to conclude that as China was transitioning through the

²⁵ Also quoted from MA Sicong, “Jinian Mozhatte dansheng erbai zhounian” [commemoration to mark the 200th birthday of Mozart], *Renmin Yinyie* (July 1956: 6-7).

Great Leap Forward, there was still some leeway for individual thought and expression before it was further constricted by the Cultural Revolution. Music was utilized as a tool to re-educate citizens in China, but its beginning stages allowed individuals to be creative.

Music Taught in Schools

During imperial times, being a musician was considered high on the social ladder. Musicians had to have the funds to buy an instrument, study with a professional, and be by the side of royal families. But as the imperial system was disbanded, so did the ideologies behind status within musicians. By the early 1900s, the social status of musicians was sidelined. The drive to learn music started to lessen, and many lost the motivation to continue pursuing music. Even though many musicians quit, plenty of individuals continued down the musical path.

By the 1940s, China only had three advanced music schools, and a single combined high school and elementary school for music (Liu 2010, 203). In Jingzhi Lui's *A Critical History of New Music in China*, he discusses different Chinese communist composers and the difficulties they encountered when writing tunes for the Chinese government. Lui cited Li Huanzhi (1919-200), a well-known Chinese composer, theorist, and conductor who was a part of the PRC stating that

“...some teachers found that the selection of teaching materials in this new situation was difficult, and there was little material available for singing since they were uncertain whether the songs they had used before were appropriate now or not; some teachers felt that they had lost direction and needed guidance because they had no idea what the New Music education was for; others felt that since everything old had not been rejected, and the new material (although it was meant to serve the people and the Party's policies) was still stuck at the stage of principles and theories, they did not know what they were supposed to do” (Liu 2010, 297).

These difficulties as well as fear of the Chinese government made it hard for musicians to teach, compose, and perform without having free reign. As a musician, the freedom to interpret is of

incredible importance, but when that is taken away, the basis of music is stripped from its meaning. Nonetheless, it is suggested that there were persistent and successful musicians who were able to still follow the strict regulations that Mao implemented. Below are two examples of the types of music that were taught in school while under Mao's reign. I will analyze the lyrics as well as the style/form of the music to show what the predominant style during this time was and how these songs taught young students about collectivism and togetherness.

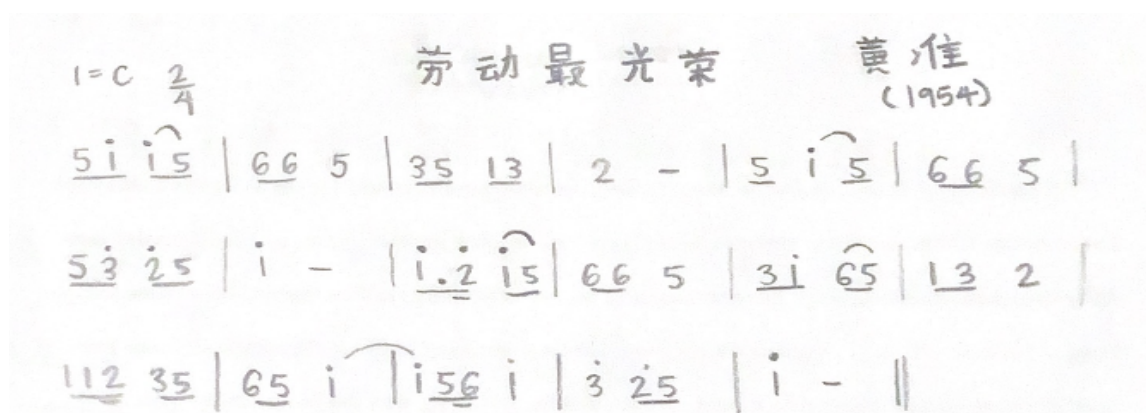
劳动最光荣 (*Glorious Labor*), 1954



Figure 3.1: “劳动最光荣 (*Glorious Labor*), 1954” Picture extracted from <https://dribbble.com/shots/2682165-Labor-is-the-most-glorious>

Glorious Labor was composed by a female composer, Huang Zhun (黄淮) in 1954. It is important to point out that women during this time feared men and feared the government. There is a Confucian proverb, 三从四德, 男尊女卑 (Sāncóngsidé, nánzūnnǚbēi) where women are to be subordinate to men, and with that, there were very few female musicians that were recorded as composers (Mingqing and Tsang 2018, 234). I tried to find a few pieces by female composers during this time frame, but there seems to be a lack of attention to women composers prior to the 1940s. During this time many women composers would not take credit for their pieces and even used pen names when publishing them. Also due to women facing backlash from men and the government they stayed away from writing music.

Mao called for equality during the Great Leap Forward, prompting a push for women's rights during the 20th century. This would lead to the Women's Liberation Movement that provided the first generation of Chinese female composers like Huang (Mingqing and Tsang 2018, 234). Huang had the courage to lead other Chinese female composers into a new musical system of acceptance. One of the most famous pieces she created is called *Glorious Labor*, composed in 1954. The CPC "carried out ideological education, teaching that 'labour is the most glorious' (*Láodòng zuì guāngróng*, 劳动最光荣)," also the title of this song (Ai 2020, 35).



Musical Example 3.1: Jianpu notation of 劳动最光荣 (*Glorious Labor*), 1954

This is a popular tune that is still sung by young children in China. Since the song's title translates to *Glorious Labor*, it is a common tune that parents used to teach their children about working hard and never giving up. However, also because of the Women's Liberation Movement, this song was utilized "...to encourage rural women to participate in agricultural work" (Ai 2020, 35). The phrase 劳动最光荣 is also a "value-loaded phrase originally used to promote a hard-working ethos for the rebuilding of the new nation (PRC) in the 1950s. The slogan was also the title of a once well-known children's song for their moral education" (Dong 2021, 5)." Its goal was to make labor have a deeper meaning past

"... mere survival strategy, and by relating it to the glorious ideals of national liberation and the process of making history, this discourse about the working class fit the

requirements of both socialist ideology and industrialization. Being the most-advanced class, the Chinese working class should be able to shoulder the historic task of industrializing and modernizing China. To accomplish this, workers should all try their best to become the so-called new socialist workers who will devote themselves to great working-class careers without reservation” (Li 2015, 195-196).

As it is sung to children, plants and animals narrate the story, giving it a fictional storybook feeling. Starting the piece with: “花儿醒来了, The flowers are awake, 鸟儿忙梳妆, The birds are getting ready” gives the same notion as a children’s fairytale story: Once Upon A Time. What made *Glorious Labor* so popular was how it expressed Mao’s ideologies of working hard to the younger generation. The lack of idioms, simple lyrics, and straightforwardness made it understandable to younger children. Though the lyrics do not explicitly state Mao’s name or the communions, the piece still has something eerie about it.

Glorious Labor was taught in schools and is now commonly sung by parents to their younger children. Many of these parents today were young children during The Great Leap Forward and did not understand what type of hard work Mao was promoting. The historical background in this piece glorifies parents leaving home to work endless and tireless shifts. To make children understand their parents' devotion towards their country, more of these types of songs were composed. Educating the younger generation to become good citizens of China, meant learning about the correct morals that they needed to embody when they became adults.

But another interpretation can be taken from this song through its historical perspective. Younger children were not told about their parents’ working conditions and were made to believe their parents are working hard to provide them with a great future. Little was told to the children about how many people did not make it through the working conditions. “Official Chinese sources, released after Mao’s death, suggest that 16.5 million people died in the Great Leap

Forward²⁶ (Ball 2016, 1). Because *Glorious Labor* is written with such an ecstatic melodic line and paired with a youthful accompaniment, the song is easy to memorize. The catchiness of the song downplays the lost lives of Chinese citizens during The Great Leap Forward. When sung today, parents seem to forget the living and working conditions of that time. Therefore some parents are still subconsciously passing some of Mao's morals through this song. There are other pieces that do similar labor that I will discuss in later chapters. I want to show that beyond the translated lyrics, there are other perspectives to these pieces. Below, I have provided my translations of these song lyrics and where possible, translations from other scholars.

Lyrics to 劳动最光荣 (*Glorious Labor*), 1954

花儿醒来了, 鸟儿忙梳妆	The flowers are awake, The birds are getting ready
小喜鹊造新房, 小蜜蜂采蜜糖	Little magpies are making a nest, little bees are gathering honey
幸福的生活从哪里来, 要靠劳动来创造	Where does a prosperous life come from, You have to rely on hard work to create
青青的叶儿红红的花儿, 小蝴蝶贪玩耍	Green leaves and red flowers, little butterflies playing around
不爱劳动不学习, 我们大家不学它	If we don't work hard and don't study, then we will not all learn
要学喜鹊造新房, 要学蜜蜂采蜜糖	We have to learn how to make a new nest like the magpies, learn how to gather honey like the bees
劳动的快乐说不尽, 劳动的创造最光荣	Working hard is brings endless joy, the creation of working hard is what is glorious

(Lyrics translate by Vicki Lu)

²⁶ This statistic was “released during an ideological campaign by the government of Deng Xiaoping against the legacy of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution” (Ball 2006, 1).

Love Songs: Woman

Mao Zedong was striving for unity within China. This meant that he wanted equality beyond gender. Chinese traditions harked on the younger generation respecting their elders, but Mao wanted to strive for equal respect across an age spectrum. Prior to The Great Leap Forward,

“...Women were brought into a family for the purpose of bearing its offspring and they were literally bound by their feet to the domestic sphere. Men were somewhat freer to pursue their amours outside the social structures as long as they did not threaten the economic well-being of their families” (Blake 1979, 42).

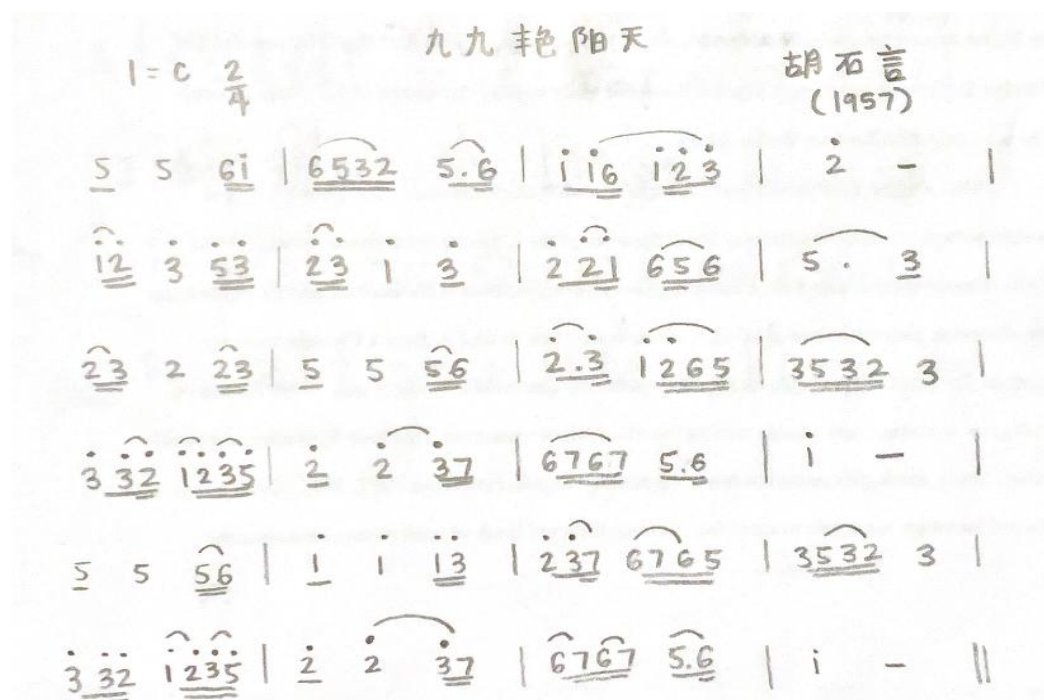
The CCP’s push for industrialization broke traditions and urged for as many women as possible to join the workforce. The positive effect of women in the workplace was that it allowed for “...the emergence of women as an equal force in production, and equality, and shared purse as a basis for romantic love” (King 2011, 54). No longer were women standing by and waiting for men to take action, nor were they going to condemn arranged marriages. Women were encouraged to be proactive in their love life and move beyond previous expectations.

As other countries around the world were still combating gender inequality, it was fascinating that China had moved away from traditional outlooks and pursued the movement toward the future. Women now could take part in political office like Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing, and were able to do the tasks that men also performed. The two pieces below, 九九艳阳天 (*Everlasting Sunny Day*), 1957 and 蝴蝶泉边 (*Butterfly Spring*), 1957, show women as a power status. In these pieces, the ideas of a woman pushed against men’s prior opinions and thoughts about them. Women were usually seen as trophies that men wanted to acquire. As the songs are meant for an older audience, the lyrics utilize more idioms, mature language, and inferences about romance without stating it blandly. These two pieces depict romances between the male and female genders while also showing the initiative of women pursuing relationships with men.

The love songs written during this time were still vetted by the CCP and Ministry of Propaganda,²⁷ to ensure that the music being created acted as a form of promoting The Great Leap Forward and Mao's strict ideologies. The two pieces were written in the late 1950s and acted as a prologue to the Cultural Revolution.

九九艳阳天 (*Everlasting Sunny Day*), 1957

Everlasting Sunny Day was composed by Hu Shiyan (胡石言) and Huang Zongjiang (黄宗江) in 1957.



Musical Example 3.2: Jianpu notation of 九九艳阳天 (*Everlasting Sunny Day*), 1957

The song comes from a true account called the *Story of Liu Bao* during the Maoist era and is still widely known in China today (Gu 2017, 9). The story begins with a young soldier who goes to battle but never returns to his beloved. Though the true story has a tragic ending, composers Hu and Huang changed the lyrics to give the song a happier ending. The infamous

²⁷ The Ministry of Propaganda is a section in the CCP charged with spreading Mao's ideologies.

and cliché happy ending of these types of romances pushed young men to enlist themselves in the army and fight for their country while also knowing that they have a loved one to come home to. What made this song particularly interesting was how the male protagonist hovered between choosing romance or enlisting himself in the army. The male sings:

“风车呀跟着那个东风转哪, East wind blows the windmill
哥哥惦记着呀小英莲, Brother is thinking about Little Yinglian”

The first phrase shows his certainty and love that he has towards his loved one Yinlian. The use of brother here is not in the intention of a sibling, but rather “gentlemen.” The connotations of ‘brother’ (哥哥) describe the boy as someone who is mature and responsible. These were a few of the features that girls considered when they looked for a man. The second phrase states:

“风向呀不定那个车难转哪, Which direction is the wind blowing the windmill
决心没有下呀怎么开言, His heart cannot decide”

It appears that the boy has lost sight of the direction of the choices he wants to make. He cannot decide between going to the army or staying with his loved one. This song could be problematic to the CCP because of the ambiguity of the storyline. As China started building its army, it needed young men to enlist in the army without having sentimental feelings towards home. The government did not want women to hinder the growth of China’s military system. Another interpretation is in China’s push for individuals to participate in The Great Leap Forward. The last stanza leaves a higher emphasis on the man, by pushing him to go to the army.

“只要你不把我英莲忘呀, As long as you never forget me
只要你胸佩红花呀回家转, As long as you wear a red flower on your chest coming home.”

The flower on the chest represents heroism, those who return from the army in a dignified way, will be given a flower to show their commitment fighting for their country. This became a goal men wanted to pursue. Similar to superhero films, directors wean the storyline to romance at the end. The boy always gets the girl, which is what would happen when the male elected to enlist into the army.

There were many citizens that were supportive of Mao's ideologies, but there were also those who were not. *Everlasting Sunny Day* depicts the struggle between individualism and unification. Chinese citizens had to choose the path of unification to avoid harsh punishment.

Lyrics to 九九艳阳天 (*Everlasting Sunny Day*), 1957

<p><u>男声领唱:</u> 九九那个艳阳天来哟, 十八岁的哥哥呀坐在河边</p> <p>东风呀吹得那个风车儿转哪, 蚕豆花儿香啊麦苗儿鲜</p> <p><u>男声合唱:</u> 风车呀风车那个咿呀呀地个唱呀, 小哥哥为什么呀不开言</p> <p><u>男声领唱:</u> 九九那个艳阳天来哟, 十八岁的哥哥呀想把军来参</p> <p>风车呀跟着那个东风转哪, 哥哥惦记着呀小英莲</p> <p><u>男声合唱:</u> 风向呀不定那个车难转哪, 决心没有下呀怎么开言</p> <p><u>女声独唱:</u> 九九那个艳阳天来哟, 十八岁的哥哥呀想把军来参</p> <p>风车呀跟着那个东风转哪, 哥哥惦记着呀小英莲</p>	<p><u>Male Lead Singer:</u> Everlasting sunny day, 18-year-old Brother sitting by the river</p> <p>East wind blows the windmill, The seeds are aromatic and wheat seedlings are fresh</p> <p><u>Male Chorus:</u> The windmill spins happily, why is the little Brother not happy?</p> <p><u>Male Lead Singer:</u> Everlasting sunny day, 18 year old Brother wants to enlist in the army East wind blows the windmill, 18 year old Brother is thinking about Little Yinglian</p> <p><u>Male Chorus:</u> Which direction is the wind blowing the windmill, his heart cannot decide</p> <p><u>Women Lead Singer:</u> Everlasting sunny day, 18-year-old Brother wants to enlist in the army</p> <p>East wind blows the windmill, brother is thinking about Little Yinglian</p>
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<p>风向呀不定那个车难转哪, 决心没有下呀怎么开言</p> <p><u>男声独唱:</u> 九九那个艳阳天来哟, 十八岁的哥哥呀告诉小英莲</p> <p>这一去呀翻山又过海呀, 这一去三年两载呀不回还</p> <p>这一去呀枪如林弹如雨呀, 这一去革命胜利呀再相见</p> <p><u>女声领唱:</u> 九九那个艳阳天来哟, 十八岁的哥哥呀细听我小英莲</p> <p>哪怕你一去呀千万里呀, 哪怕你十年八载呀不回还</p> <p><u>女声合唱:</u> 只要你不把我英莲忘呀, 只要你胸佩红花呀回家转</p>	<p>Which direction is the wind blowing the windmill, his heart cannot decide</p> <p><u>Male Chorus:</u> Everlasting sunny day, 18-year-old Brother goes to Little Yinglian</p> <p>If I go, it will be over mountains and pass the sea, If I go I will not return for 2 to 3 years If I go there will be plenty of bullets falling like rain. If I go I will not return until victory is bestowed on this country by the Revolution.</p> <p><u>Women Lead Singer:</u> East wind blows the windmill, 18-year-old Brother listen to Little Yinglian</p> <p>If you go for thousands of miles, even if you don't ever return</p> <p><u>Women Chorus:</u> As long as you never forget me, As long as you wear a red flower on your chest coming home.</p>
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(Translated by Vicki Lu)

Lyrics to 九九艳阳天 (*Everlasting Sunny Day*), 1957

Last Male Chorus

<p>九九那个艳阳天来哟 十八岁的哥哥呀告诉小英莲</p> <p>这一去呀翻山又过海呀 这一去三年两载呀不回还</p> <p>这一去呀枪如林弹如雨呀 这一去革命胜利呀再相见</p>	<p>On a sunny day in the Spring, The eighteen-year-old Brother tells you, little Ying Lian I will go across mountains and oceans I will go for a long journey for two or three years, I will go through storms of shots. We can only meet each other again after the victory of the revolution.</p>
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(Translated by Yizhong Gu, 2017)

蝴蝶泉边 (*Butterfly Spring*), 1957

Since women's rights were being advocated during The Great Leap Forward, Mao empowered women to go into the workforce. The piece, *Butterfly Spring* illustrates the different work fields that “beautiful women” could pursue. Butterfly Spring is also known as Five Golden Flower (五朵金花). The term Golden Flower was used to describe a beautiful woman. The piece was composed by Lei Zhenbang (雷振邦) and is derived from a famous Chinese film called Five Golden Flower (Wǔ duǒ jīn huā) that was directed by Wang Jiayi in 1959²⁸.

Handwritten musical notation for "Butterfly Spring" (蝴蝶泉边) by Lei Zhenbang (雷振邦, 1957). The notation is in Jianpu (numbered notation) style, featuring a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The score is written for a female voice (女声) and includes a male voice part (男声) starting at the bottom. The notation uses numbers 1-7 with various accidentals and rests, typical of Jianpu notation. The title "蝴蝶泉边" and the composer's name "雷振邦 (1957)" are written at the top.

Musical Example 3.3: Jianpu notation of 蝴蝶泉边 (*Butterfly Spring*), 1957

“In the film, a young man from the *Bai* ethnic group, Ah Peng, sets out on a trip to the Cangshan commune in the Dali..., Yunnan Province, in search of his beloved Jinhua (literally,

²⁸ Composer and lyrics were found at <https://baike.baidu.com/item/蝴蝶泉边/22947> a Chinese website.

‘Golden Flower’) - a young woman he met and fell in love with the year before at a traditional *Bai* festival. ‘Jinhua,’ however, is such a common name for local *Bai* women that along the way Ah Peng encounters four different *Jinhuas* (all model socialist workers of different vocations)” (Zhang 2018, 151). This film was liked because it gave individuals the hope for a romantic lifestyle. Though this was not the intention of the CCP, the film *Butterfly Spring* allowed for freedom of choice. The freedom I am inferring is the possibility for men and women to find someone they are compatible with. The government did not necessarily control who individuals could date or marry, but they did place those strict restrictions and expectations on family life.

The purpose of the film was to

“... unfold a shared history of suffering from and resistance to class oppression, exploitation, foreign invasion and colonization among Han and ethnic-minority people. In this way, such films supplant ethnic differences and hierarchy with social class identification and values of liberation and well-being that transcend ethnic differences. This inclusive multi-ethnic cultural project was aided by the PRC’s ethnic-minority politics, which were distinctly anti-assimilationist, supporting equal rights among all ethnic groups and encouraging the development of ethnic minority culture” (Zhang 2018, 154).

Barriers started to be broken as Chinese minority groups began to re-educate themselves about other beliefs and lifestyles. This film was one of many that ushered ethnic cultures onto the big screen and in the performing arts. As the goal of the CCP was to highlight minority groups, we can decipher what is true and what is false about the culture. One inference can be seen in the dialect. The song is sung in mandarin rather than the *Bai* dialect, ‘thus the linguistic gap too is bridged. With such a sound practice, comprehensibility and national unity outweigh local cultural authenticity” (ibid, 156). As speaking out was avoided due to punishment, minority groups could not decipher whether or not the statements being portrayed in these movies were true or false. It is hard to even now to get an honest opinion since some of these individuals still fear the Chinese government today.

As Jinhua is used to describe beautiful women, the film highlights them as “all model socialist workers of different vocations, including a fertilizer collector, a cattle breeder, a steel worker, and a tractor driver” (Zhang 2018, 151). This specific song talks about the encounter with the steel worker Jinhua. The song switches between a female lead singer and a male lead singer as if the two are having a conversation. The song is set in the popular Chinese operatic singing style, where the woman has a more nasally and higher pitched sound associated with Beijing “*jingxi*”²⁹ style. The singing style indicates the “social reality that singing was an important and integral part of the Bai people’s daily life expression and communication” (ibid, 156).

Each stanza speaks to each singer’s affection towards the other but does not clearly demarcate the type of regard. For example, calling one another brother and sister shows the closeness that the two feel towards each other. In Chinese culture, 妹妹(meimei), little sister, and 哥哥 (gege), big brother is used whether you are actually related or not. It shows how members regard their community as a part of a “big family” rather than as strangers. This is also an implication suggested by Mao, as many pieces during this time utilized the terms: aunt, uncle, brother, and sister to infer more homogeneity and a family-like environment in China. Thus, *Butterfly Spring*’s use of the lyrics, 阿妹 (A-mei, sister) and 阿哥 (A-ge, brother) not only brings in a touch of the Bai minority’s dialect, but it brings a familiarity to Chinese citizens.

The romance that is depicted in this piece is not so much stated openly, but rather with more prevarication and caution. This piece speaks in riddles and idioms. For example, the first stanza states:

“大理三月好风光哎, In March Dali is a beautiful place
蝴蝶泉边好梳妆, Butterfly spring is great for getting ready

²⁹ The Beijing Opera style is also known as Peking opera or called Jingxi in Chinese.

蝴蝶飞来采花蜜哟, Butterflies come to gather nectar
阿妹梳头为哪桩? Why is sister combing her hair?"

The first two lines help establish the location and timeframe of the song, but then the lyrics juggle between butterflies and a woman combing her hair. Without knowing the entire piece, it can be confusing and misinterpreted. The next stanza is sung by the male lead singer:

“蝴蝶泉水清又清, Butterfly Spring is clear
丢个石头试水深, Throw a stone to see how deep the water is
有心摘花怕有刺, Wanting to pick flowers but fear of thorns
徘徊心不定啊伊哟, She waits”

Sister is getting ready for her day by combing her hair before she meets Brother. Brother wants to pick flowers for her, but is afraid of hurting himself from the thorns. There is a stronger sense of romance when the couple exchange ‘love tokens’ with one another “(a steel knife handcrafted by Ah Peng, symbolizing the faithfulness of his love, and a pouch with embroidered folden camellias made by Golden Flower)” (Zhang 2018, 156).

Lyrics to 蝴蝶泉边 (*Butterfly Spring*), 1957

<p><u>女声领唱:</u> 哎,哎! 大理三月好风光哎 蝴蝶泉边好梳妆, 蝴蝶飞来采花蜜哟, 阿妹梳头为哪桩? 蝴蝶飞来采花蜜哟, 阿妹梳头为哪桩?</p>	<p><u>Female Lead Singer:</u> Hey, Hey! In March Dali is a beautiful place, Butterfly spring is great for getting ready Butterflies come to gather nectar, Why is sister combing her hair? Butterflies come to gather nectar, Why is sister combing her hair?</p>
<p><u>男声领唱:</u> 哎, 蝴蝶泉水清又清,</p>	<p><u>Male Lead Singer:</u> Hey! Butterfly Spring is clear,</p>

<p>丢个石头试水深, 有心摘花怕有刺, 徘徊心不定啊伊哟.</p> <p><u>女声领唱:</u> 哎, 有心摘花莫怕刺哎,</p> <p>有心唱歌莫多问, 有心撒网莫怕水哟, 见面好相认.</p> <p><u>男声领唱:</u> 阳雀飞过高山顶, 留下一串响铃声, 阿妹送我金荷包哟, 哥是有情人啊伊哟!</p> <p><u>女声领唱:</u> 燕子衔泥为做窝, 有情无情口难说,</p> <p>相交要学长流水哟, 朝露哥莫学啊伊哟!</p> <p><u>男声领唱:</u> 祖传三代是铁匠, 炼得好钢锈不生, 哥心似钢最坚贞, 妹莫错看人.</p> <p>送把钢刀佩妹身, 钢刀便是好见证, 苍山雪化洱海干, 难折好钢刀.</p> <p><u>女声领唱:</u> 橄榄好吃回味甜, 打开青苔喝山泉,</p> <p>山盟海誓先莫讲, 相会待明年.</p>	<p>throw a stone to see how deep the water is, Wanting to pick flowers but fear thorns, She waits.</p> <p><u>Female Lead Singer:</u> Hey! If you want to pick flowers don't be afraid of the thorns, If you want to sing don't question, Don't be afraid of the water casting the net, We will recognize each other when we meet.</p> <p><u>Male Lead Singer:</u> A yangqu³⁰ flies across the mountain, Sounding like a bell, Sister gifted me a golden bag, Brother loves you!</p> <p><u>Female Lead Singer:</u> Swallow uses mud to create its nest, not being about to express love through words Take our time like the river to know one another, Don't learn from Brother Chaolu.</p> <p><u>Male Lead Singer:</u> Three generations were steel workers, Steel was so strong, it would not rust, Brother has a heart of steel, Sister don't stray away to other people.</p> <p>Gifting a steel knife to sister, The knife has a good meaning, Cangshan snow melts Erhai dry, The steel is hard to break.</p> <p><u>Female Lead Singer:</u> Olives are ripe and sweet, Peer through the moss and drink mountain spring, The mountains and ocean do not speak, Until next year.</p>
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³⁰ Yangqu is a type of bird in Chinese.

明年花开蝴蝶飞, 阿哥有心再来会, 苍山脚下找金花, 金花是阿妹, 苍山脚下找金花, 金花是阿妹.	Next year, the flowers will blossom and the butterflies will fly. Brother's heart will come back again, Looking for his Golden flower at Cangshan, Golden Flower is sister, Looking for his Golden flower at Cangshan, Golden Flower is sister,
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(Translated by Vicki Lu and Yang Chun)

Working Songs

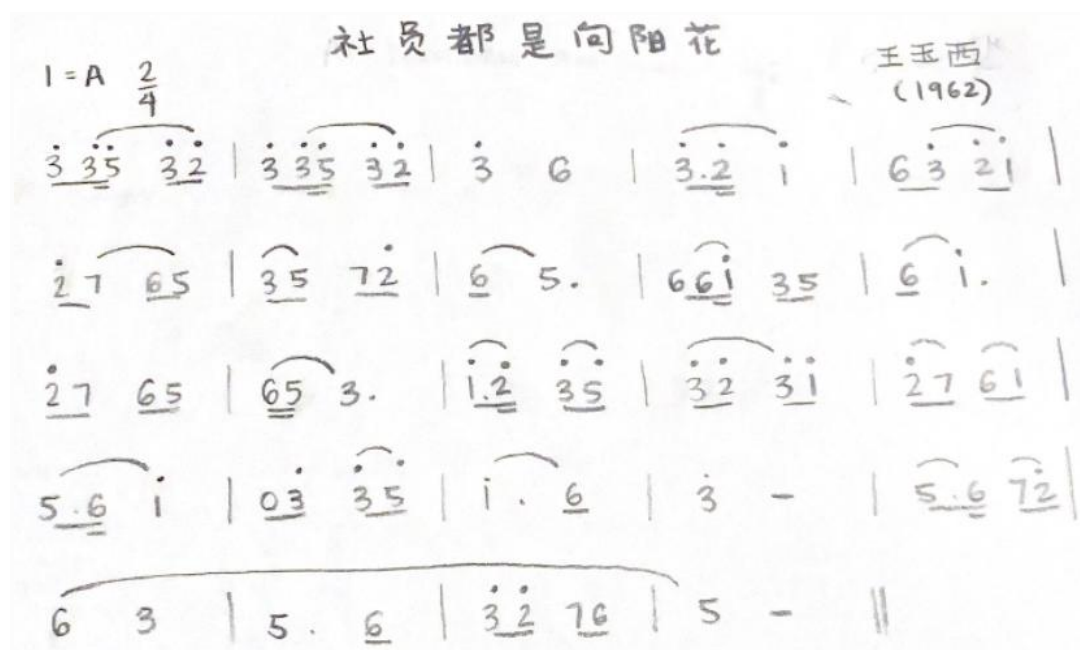
As many songs are known as simply work songs, I utilized the title 'working songs' to state that these were sung while citizens worked. Not only did these songs enable Chinese citizens to work endless hours during The Great Leap Forward, but the pieces also were physically sung repeatedly. It helped give motivation and purpose to workers but also aided the passage of Mao's ideologies around the workplace.

Working songs were the primary pieces performed during the Great Leap Forward. While being worked to exhaustion, many workers sang to help build confidence and strength. The songs are performed with such high energy in order to provide a placebo effect for citizens so they could push through the long work days. Two pieces in particular that emerged are 社员都是向阳花 (*All Members are Sunflowers*), 1962 and 我们走在大路上 (*We All Walk the Big Road*), 1962. The songs do not come out of *China's Little Red Book* but act as predecessors to future songs in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*. Both songs are well known for depicting a patriotic citizen while also highlighting China's great leader, Mao Zedong. Historically speaking, the Great Leap Forward was a time of confusion and distrust between the Chinese citizens and the CCP. Though the economic plan ultimately failed and led the country down a spiral, there were still many Chinese citizens who had faith in their leader. Each song talks about the positive

aspects of the Great Leap Forward and how Mao and the CCP helped move the Chinese people to modernity through industrialization.

社员都是向阳花 (*All Members are Sunflowers*), 1962

All Members are Sunflowers was composed by 王玉西 (Wang Yuxi) and the lyrics were created by 张士燮 (Zhang Shixie)³¹.



Musical Example 3.4: Jianpu notation of 社员都是向阳花 (*All Members are Sunflowers*), 1962

The lyrics specifically focus on farmers right at the end of the Great Leap Forward and are sung in a Chinese operatic voice by a woman. Though it was believed the communions made workers lose incentives in working, this song simulates the togetherness and unification effects the communions. The beginning lyrics are:

“公社是棵长青藤, The communion is an evergreen ivy
社员都是藤上的瓜, The people are the melons attached to the vine.”

³¹ Composer and lyrics were found at <https://baike.baidu.com/item/社员都是向阳花/1100421> a Chinese website.

The lyrics capture how evergreen ivy ties people together, and their successes and hard work create more opportunities. Evergreen ivy can also symbolize the eternal commitment the people have made to the communist party. It can also imply that the government has a grasp on its people. In the middle, the lyrics state: “集体经济大发展: Together the economic development will grow and bloom.” This implies the successful agriculture work of the communions, rather than dwelling on the failures of grain production during The Great Leap Forward. The word 'bloom' shows that the country is going to flourish because the CCP and Chinese citizens are working together in harmony. Chinese citizens had been compelled to place their trust in the government and work towards the goal of bettering the country. Later, the lyrics again show the happiness of the Chinese citizens and their love of the Chinese government.

“家家爱公社, Everyone loves the communion
人人听党的话, Everyone listens to what it has to say,
幸福的种子发了芽, The seeds sprout happiness.”

These lyrics provide another hermeneutical standpoint on what was happening at the time.

Although history states The Great Leap Forward brought hardship to the citizens, 社员都是向阳花 (*All Members are Sunflowers*, 1962), music created during this time conveyed otherwise.

They show the excitement that citizens felt when job opportunities were open for both genders.

Thus, this song not only hid the famine but also declared how great the economy was.

Lyrics to 社员都是向阳花 (*All Members are Sunflowers*), 1962

公社是棵长青藤, 社员都是藤上的瓜 瓜儿连着藤, 藤儿牵着瓜	The communion is an evergreen ivy, The people are the melons attached to the vine.
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藤儿越肥瓜儿越甜, 藤儿越壮瓜儿越大	The melons hold onto the vine and the vine holds onto the melon
公社的青藤连万家, 齐心合力种庄稼	The fatter the vine, the sweeter the melon, the thicker the vine the bigger the melon
手勤庄稼好, 心齐力量大	The evergreen ivy communion has many families that help cultivate the crops
集体经济大发展, 社员心里乐开花	Laborious hands will help crops flourish
公社是颗红太阳, 社员都是向阳花	Together the economic development will grow and bloom, citizens will be happy
花儿朝阳开, 花朵磨盘大	The communion is a red sun, all members are sunflowers
不管风吹和雨打, 我们永远不离开她	Flowers face the sun and floom, flowers are big
公社的阳光照万家, 千家万户志气大	Regardless of the wind and rain, we will never leave her
家家爱公社, 人人听党的话	The sunshine from the communions help give great ambitions
幸福的种子发了芽, 幸福的种子发了芽	Everyone loves the communion, everyone listens to what it has to say
	The seeds sprout happiness, the seeds sprout happiness

(Translated by Vicki Lu)

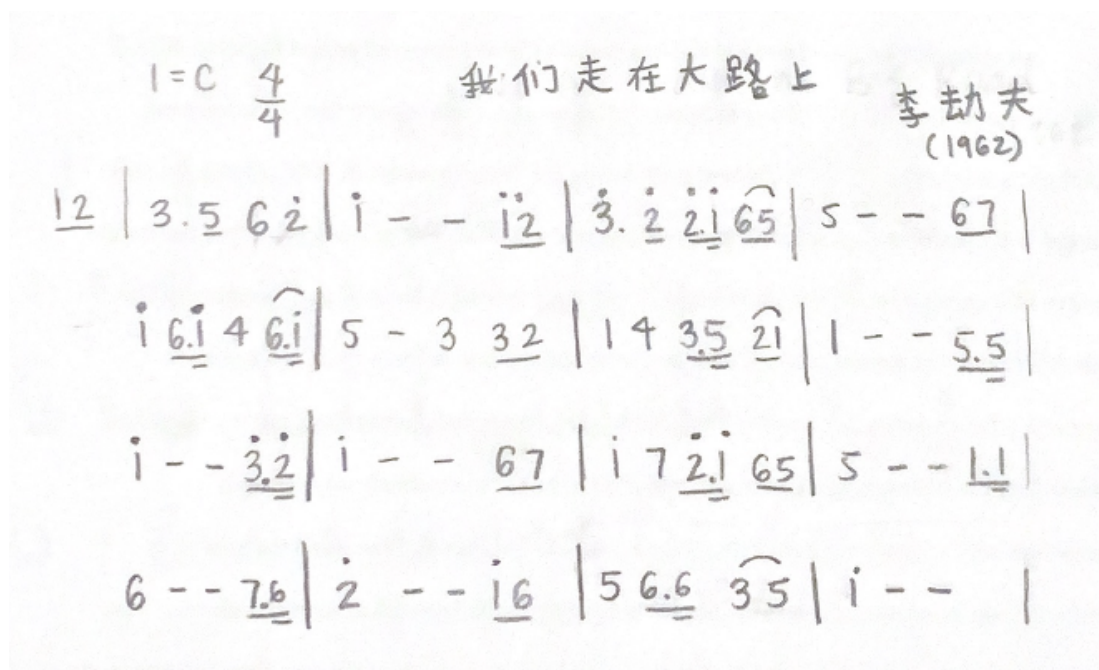
我们走在大路上 (*We All Walk the Big Road*), 1962

We All Walk the Big Road focuses less on the people and centers on the government.

Specifically, composer 李劫夫 (Li Jiefu)³² wrote the song to tell the people to trust the government and its ideas of socialism. In fact, the title states that people should be taking the big road toward socialism. Through economic hardship, the Chinese people should believe that the

³² Information from Chinese website: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/我们走在大路上/3143218>

CCP will lead the country on the right path to success. This song was rewritten twice, one for The Great Leap Forward and another during the Cultural Revolution to fit within the economic and political situation of the time.



Musical Example 3.5: Jianpu notation of 我们走在大路上 (*We All Walk the Big Road*), 1962

The lyrics “向前进! 向前进! Forward, move forward!” are declared by both male and female voices declaring the unification, trust, and strength that the people of China felt towards Mao Zedong and the CCP. These types of ‘revolutionary mass songs’ not only conveyed phrases in praise of Mao but were also “invariably march-like and the dynamics *forte* in order to spur on the ‘revolutionary sentiments’ of the people” (Run 1991, 108-109). Furthermore, the choir is made up of both genders, but they sing the same line in unison without additional decorations. What differentiates this style of singing from the previous song, *All Members are Sunflowers* is that it invokes an almost Westernized opera sound. Influences from other countries seeped into China due to the Sino-Japanese war, and China's relationships with the USSR. The song's title also suggests that the big road allows partnership with these big countries.

Lyrics to 我们走在大路上 (*We All Walk the Big Road*), 1962

(The Great Leap Forward rendition)

<p>Verse 1: 我们走在大路上, 意气风发斗志昂扬, 毛主席领导革命队伍, 披荆斩棘奔向前方。</p> <p>向前进! 向前进! 革命气势不可阻挡, 向前进! 向前进! 朝着胜利的方向。</p> <p>Verse 2: 三面红旗迎风飘扬, 六亿人民奋发图强, 勤恳建设锦绣河山, 誓把祖国变成天堂。</p> <p>向前进! 向前进! 革命气势不可阻挡, 向前进! 向前进! 朝着胜利的方向。</p> <p>Verse 3: 我们的朋友遍天下, 我们的歌声传四方, 革命风暴席卷全球, 牛鬼蛇神一片惊慌。</p> <p>向前进! 向前进! 革命气势不可阻挡, 向前进! 向前进! 朝着胜利的方向。</p> <p>Verse 4: 我们的道路多么宽广, 我们的前程无比辉煌 我们献身这壮丽的事业, 无限幸福无上荣光。</p>	<p>Verse 1: We all walk the big road, we are all energized Chairman Mao leads the revolutionary army, forwards they push</p> <p>Forward! Move forward! The army is unstoppable Forward! Move forward! To the direction of victory!</p> <p>Verse 2: Three Red Banners blow in the wind, 600 million citizens work diligently Diligence helps build rivers and mountains, this makes our land into paradise</p> <p>Forward! Move forward! The army is unstoppable Forward! Move forward! To the direction of victory!</p> <p>Verse 3: Our friends are all around the world, our voices travel in all four directions The revolutionary army walks the world, bulls, spirits, snakes are frightened</p> <p>Forward! Move forward! The army is unstoppable Forward! Move forward! To the direction of victory!</p> <p>Verse 4: The road we are taking is so broad and wide, our future is bright We are committed towards this cause because it brings us happiness and joy</p>
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向前进! 向前进! 革命气势不可阻挡 向前进! 向前进! 朝着胜利的方向	Forward! Move forward! The army is unstoppable Forward! Move forward! To the direction of victory!
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(Lyrics translated by Vicki Lu)

The End The Great Leap Forward: The Great Famine

The Great Leap Forward left many Chinese citizens scarred for several generations. These rigorous years would be known as China's biggest disaster occasioned by the Chinese Communist Party. The government's failure to react quickly to the exhaustion and hunger that citizens were facing placed a huge strain on the country. The overwhelming number of deaths that occurred during The Great Leap Forward was pushed under the rug for many years, and Mao "...not willing to acknowledge that only abandonment of the GLF could solve these problems, he did strongly demand that [the unexpected deaths] be addressed (Bernstein 2006, 421). A chart from *The China Quarterly* shows the estimated number of deaths by the thousands from 1957-1962 (Bernstein 2006, 422).

Rural Death Rate per 1,000 People	
Year	Death rate per 1,000
1957	11.07
1958	12.50
1959	14.61
1960	28.58
1961	14.58
1962	10.32

Source:
Zhongguo tongji nianjian, 1984 (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1984), p. 83.

Figure 3.2: China Quarterly: Estimated Deaths During The Great Leap Forward (1957-1962)

From this chart, the deaths are not solely from the extreme exhaustion and famine Chinese citizens died from, but these are the accumulation of deaths that just happened during the years 1957-1962. This includes those who died due to old age, or due to punishment, and more. Regardless, the deaths show the urgency to finally halt The Great Leap Forward. Bernstein states that there were “five winds” that brought The Great Leap Forward to its ends: (1) wind of communism, which “destroyed peasant incentives,” (2) wind of blind directives, which was setting unrealistic expectations and production targets, (3) wind of commandism, which meant following what the government told them to work endless hours, (4) wind of cadre special privileges, which meant “appropriating food during food shortages, and (5) wind of exaggeration of output, which lead to devastating increases in state grain procurements based on false data” (Bernstein 2006, 422-423). Bernstein summarized these winds clearly and concisely. These five winds would ultimately be the leading reasons for the government’s shortcomings. The number of deaths is still unknown to this day.

Conclusion

The analysis of music taught in school, love songs, and working songs are examples of how individuality was restricted. There’s a particular way these pieces were written and their lyrics depict certain feelings and emotions which may act as a way of Mao directing them to feel that way. These musical examples are chosen and have many interpretations. I have provided some of my own standpoints alongside those of other scholars. The point I am trying to make is that music has many perspectives beyond song lyrics. I do not mandate a specific translation for interpreting this song, but rather the reader can decide from the different opinions presented.

Though lyrical translations may provide some understanding, other perspectives also emerge from people’s individual experiences. I have personally performed some of the pieces I

chose, and some I had never heard of prior to doing this research. This analysis allowed me to see other emotive meanings. My translation comes from an overseas point of view, providing a distanced gaze and historical context. What I have discovered is that these examples are designed to educate the younger generation while also inculcating older generations into a new way of thinking. Mao utilized songs as a form of sonic propaganda to engrain his thoughts into his citizens. The simple melodic lines and intriguing lyrics made it easy for audiences to hum or even sing subconsciously.

A brief understanding of China's history between 1958-1962 and an analysis of a few musical pieces from The Great Leap Forward allows for a better understanding of Mao's ideologies. The Cultural Revolution provides even more forms of propaganda that Mao used to indoctrinate his citizens.

CHAPTER 4

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION (1966-1976)

我们的文学艺术都是为人民大众的, 首先是为工农兵的, 为工农兵而创作, 为工农兵所利用的。

“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.”

Chairman Mao Zedong
From The Little Red Book
Translated by Anonymous
“Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art” (May 1942),
Selected works, Vol. II, p. 84.

Introduction

I will examine the political crisis that occurred during The Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution allowed for more sophisticated forms of propaganda through music and images. *China's Little Red Book* acted as a catalyst for propagating Mao's ideologies. *The Little Red Book* became almost an instruction manual on how to function and become docile citizens. I will also analyze how Mao Zedong's fourth wife, Jiang Qing became a large influence on Mao and the musical scene in China. She had a great impact on the music scene as she was part of the Central Steering Committee for the film industry. She created model operas known as *yangbanxi* (样板戏), which were a form of entertainment throughout the Cultural Revolution. These model operas taught citizens about China's identity and instilled national pride. As I did in the previous chapter, I will analyze and interpret songs from *China's Little Red Book*, *yangbanxi* that were directed by Jiang Qing, as well as songs that were banned during The Cultural Revolution.

As previously stated, The Great Leap Forward was initiated as an “attempt to attain Communism overnight, whose chief institutional expression was the people's communes” due to

China not producing enough grain and food for their citizens (Hutchings 1999, 20). The Great Leap forward plan was not only initiated to help fight starvation in the country but it was a stepping stone towards modernity and nationalism. Job opportunities and equality were legislated, but due to the excessive working, it became counterintuitive to Mao's goals. "Up to thirty million people lost their lives in an episode which ranks among the chief horrors of the twentieth century, but which remains a largely taboo subject in the People's Republic" (Hutchings 1999, 20). The exhaustion and malnourishment caused a rift between the citizens and the Chinese government. Thus, The Great Leap Forward caused distrust amongst the citizenry. This catastrophic event was a catalyst necessitating The Cultural Revolution.

China's Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution occurred between 1966-1976. The plan was to revive what was lost and help recover the economic loss from the Great Leap Forward. It

"... aimed to transform illiterate workers and peasants into revolutionary political subject capable of exercising the 'four great freedoms' (sida ziyou)- speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big character posts - the Post-Mao project of cultural construction seems designed chiefly to refashion ordinary Chinese citizens into the compliant subjects and refined citizen-consumer of a consolidated and stable CCP-led regime" (Thornton 2019, 56).

The project became a way for citizens to gain more education since Mao was encouraging the younger generation to be more politically active in his policies and ideologies. Mao believed that if the younger generation were given the proper education, it would create a legacy of knowledge and belief in his ideologies in years to come. The CCP, therefore, pushed especially the younger generation to pursue an education. However, The Cultural Revolution agitated many citizens. There were still "beneficiaries and supporters of The Great Leap's reforms" and those who progressed with Mao's Cultural Revolution" (Thornton 2019, 59). Individuals started to have

more prominent opposing opinions towards Mao's philosophies. The results of The Great Leap Forward left many leaders and citizens hesitant about Mao's Cultural Revolution plan, as they believed and feared that it would also end in turmoil.

The lenses in Hutching's article and Powell & Wong's writing describe this venture as an internal-government fiasco. Hutching states that The Cultural Revolution was

“... the Chairman's second cosmic attempt to establish China's independence and identity- this time on the basis of 'pure doctrine' in opposition to both the imperialism of the West and the 'social revisionism' of the Soviet bloc. This tumultuous episode, whose origins, course and consequences also remain beyond permitted discussion, plunged China into international isolation and pitted its people against each other in the struggle of ideological chimeras” (Hutchings 1999, 20).

Powell and Wong on the other hand assert that the Cultural Revolution was known as 无产阶级文化大革命 (*Wúchǎn jiējí wénhuà dàgémìng*); "...the culmination of a power struggle between Mao and other leaders in the politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, who were led by 刘少奇 (Liu Shaoqi)” (Powell and Wong 1997, 777). Because The Great Leap Forward ended with hunger and starvation, China faced a regression and there was tension within the country's political leadership. Both authors however show how resistance started to build, but their understanding of the outcome is different; overall Mao's ideologies are jeopardized.

Liu Shaoqi was “the president of the People's Republic and official head of state, [he] was Mao's apparent successor as party chairman and also chief economic planner for the country (Powell and Wong 1997, 777). Although Liu followed closely behind Mao's every step, the two did not get along nor have the same ideologies. While “Mao promoted ideological orthodoxy and relied on the revolutionary spirit of peasants, workers, and soldiers to ensure economic prosperity, Liu pursued a more pragmatic economic development policies” (Powell and Wong 1997, 777). In other words, “While Mao preferred rapid development based on the labor of the

Chinese masses, Liu preferred slower growth, placing economic reliance on a small nucleus of technical experts” (Cheng 2009, 1342).

The two had the same idea of helping the country, but the process would contrast greatly. Their differences were eventually exposed to the rest of the country. Because Mao was higher in power than Liu, he asserted his dominance by displaying his distaste towards Liu through visual propaganda in order to influence the rest of the country.



Figure 4.1: “Energetically Criticize the Chinese Khrushchev’s Politics, Ideologies, and Theories”
Picture extracted from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24451816?seq=1>

The goal of these images was to make a spectacle of anyone who went against Mao’s ideologies, but they also acted as an educational tool on how to become an exemplary Chinese citizen. In figure 4.1, “Energetically Criticize the Chinese Khrushchev’s Politics, Ideologies, and Theories,” Mao dubbed Liu as ‘the Chinese Khrushchev’³³ to categorize him as a national enemy. Although these are not exact comparisons, China and Russia were going through similar governmental issues. As Mao is to Stalin, we could also compare Liu to Khrushchev. Mao and Stalin both had strong communist ideologies. They were both driven by ‘pure nationalism and naked power’ of their own, they were more antagonists than comrades” (Sheng 1997, 3). “Mao saw China’s problems as based in class struggle” and “regarded ‘communism’ as a continuing process”

³³ The use of Khrushchev was to reference the former premier of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev.

(Longley 1996, 11). Liu and Khrushchev both followed closely behind their successors but did not agree on their ideology of communism and a singular power controller. “Nikita Khrushchev had launched a series of far-reaching, although generally unsuccessful efforts to reshape the Stalinist system and replace it with something less oppressive and more humane” (Filtzer 1993, 1). Similarly, Liu clashed with Mao due to the effects of the economic policies from The Great Leap Forward. “Liu determined that the damage to the Chinese economy was 70 percent due to human mistakes (meaning economic policy) and 30 percent due to natural disasters. Liu saw class struggle as corruption among local cadres” and that he was “incline[d] to a Soviet view, [and] believed that the principles of communism would result in a stable society” (Longley 1996, 11). In 1962, Liu Shaoqi made an important speech at the seven-thousand-person congress in Beijing. His report did not please Mao....[thus] At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Liu was accused of ‘taking the capitalist road,’ having committed ‘counter-revolutionary crimes,’ and being ‘China’s Khrushchev’ (Cheng 2009, 1342).

The punishment of Liu for not following Mao’s ideals led to his imprisonment in 1968 and soon after, he died in 1969. Little is to be known of what happened to him in prison, but it can be assumed that harsh and violent punishments were bestowed on him. These actions left a lasting effect and took his life within a year. By placing Liu in prison, Mao eliminated his chief political rival, and he used poster propaganda to ensure popular support from the general public (Powell and Wong 1997, 778). This example further depicts the surveillance that Mao conducted on people and the punishment meted out if one refuted his beliefs. The lack of freedom and thought outside of Mao placed everyone in a cell where they could not think beyond themselves. In order to ensure that there were no more power struggles within the Chinese Communist Party, Mao only allowed the Red Guard members to be recruited into the party. Thus,

“..absolute loyalty to Mao Tse-Tung, absolute loyalty to Mao Tse-Tung’s ideas and absolute loyalty to Mao Tse-Tung’s revolutionary line were the three criteria which had been openly proclaimed as the basis of the current reorganization of the party. The process will culminate in a new party Congress that will legalize Mao Tse-Tung’s coup d’etat” (Singh 1968, 330).

Those who were recruited into the Red Guard were generally adolescents who were educated through Mao’s ideologies from a young age (Heaslet 1972, 1032). The older generation was not disregarded, but it seemed that Mao looked for students, so then they could indoctrinate the next generation. Mao did not want to allow any more mistakes and wanted to ensure leaders that he could trust spread his ideologies. Thus, The Gang of Four (四人幫) was formed during The Cultural Revolution. The Gang of Four included Mao’s most trusted disciples: Mao’s wife Jiang Qing (江青), Wang Hongweng (王洪文), Zhang Chunqiao (张春桥), and Yao Wenyuan (姚文元). The name, Gang of Four was instituted by Mao in July 1974, “to admonish four members of the radical political faction of the CCP for their alliance against other members in the party” (Pozzi 2018, 198). The Big Four were constantly by Mao’s side and continued to stay loyal to his efforts. Of these four leaders, Mao’s fourth wife Jiang Qing was the most involved in Mao’s plans beginning with their first political interaction in 1938³⁴.

Mao Zedong’s Fourth Wife: Jiang Qing³⁵

Some of Jiang Qing’s history is lost due to her name changing multiple times during her lifetime. Jiang Qing, widely known as Madame Mao in the West, was born in Chuangcheng, Shantung in 1913 (Lee 1967, 19). During her lifetime she was given three names, Li Yun-ho/Li Shu-meng, Lan Ping, and Jiang Qing. These name changes occurred during her most decisive

³⁴ Mao and Jiang Qing met informally when Mao gave a speech at Lun Xun Academy of Arts on April 28, 1938.

³⁵ Jiang Qing is Mao Zedong’s fourth wife and is called Madame Mao by Chinese citizens. Her name is also spelled as Chiang Ching by many scholars.

moments in her lifetime. She was born to the name Li Yun-ho³⁶ and Li Shu-meng. She lived “her early years in very modest circumstances with her mother and sister in Tsinan” and attended a Normal School to be trained as an elementary school teacher (Lee 1967, 19). “When the Statung provincial government moved back once more to Tsinan in 1929, after the brief Japanese military occupation of the city, a provincial academy of dramatic arts with established under the dictatorship of a well-known Chinese playwright, Chao Tai-mu, for the purpose of reforming traditional Chinese opera” (Lee 1967, 19). Li Yun-ho changed her name to Lan Ping (Blue Apple) once she became a performing actress in Shanghai. She later gained popularity through the Shanghai press (Lee 1967, 19).

During her time in Shanghai, Lan Ping not only participated in the performing musical art scene, but she was also involved in the government and politics of China at this time. Prior to Mao and communism, the ideology and functionality of communism were not so welcomed in China. Longley states that

“Her Shanghai years indicate a continuing interest in Communist left-wing activity. Communist affiliation was at the time no small matter, as fear of reprisal, persecution, and even death were well founded. Communist activity was carried out secretly and underground. Jiang Qing was herself imprisoned in 1934 by the Nationalist Government forces of Chang Kai-shek” (Longley 1996, 2-3).

Even then, imprisonment did not stop her from participating in the communist political movements.

Lan Pin met Mao during her involvement with underground communist groups. During Mao’s speech in Yan’an in 1939, “JQ sat in the front rows at these appearances, and responded enthusiastically to his speeches. It was apparent that she and Mao did not meet by chance, but by JQ’s design” (Longley 1996, 3-4). It is interesting to see that Jiang Qiang purposefully made herself known to Mao. It may not be because she was attracted to the man, but rather to his

³⁶I also found her name spelled as Li Yun-He.

ideologies. She was mesmerized by the way he was able to move others around him while also standing confident in his thoughts and ideas for the country. Moved by Mao's words, Jiang Qing wanted to help him pursue his goals and plan for China and her people. Once she and Mao exchanged thoughts, the two entered into a marriage in November of 1938. This was when Lan Ping changed her name officially to Jiang Qing. Their marriage caused

“...resistance within the CCP leadership in Yan'an. According to the rules and stipulations, the Central Party Committee had to approve divorces and marriages of leading cadres. It was decided that Jiang Qing was not to appear in public as 'wife of Mao Zedong' but as 'Comrade Jiang Qing'” (Gentz 2017, 211).

It was also believed that some communist leaders suspected Jiang Qing was a spy and thus, she ended up being Mao's secretary for about 20 years before she came out publicly as his spouse. There are many oppositions against the decisions that she made during the ten-year Cultural Revolution. Some saw her reviving and upholding China's superiority through music. Other scholars have portrayed her as evil and harsh to Chinese citizens. For example, Barlow depicts Madame Mao as being “...*the* super-duper Cultural Revolution scapegoat: demonic, asexual, slutty, a usurper, a silly idiot, a housewife, an imperial faker, feudal maternalist, iron girl revolutionary, and so on” (Barlow, 2017, 1). Regardless of these distasteful comments from scholars and her citizens, it can still be argued that Madame Mao was a big advocate and supporter of Mao's ideologies. Mao eventually appointed her as a “member of the Central Steering Committee for the film industry under the Ministry of Culture” in 1950 (Chu 1967, 149). While in this position, there are two ways to interpret her actions, one is that she created hostility within the Chinese music community by banning and converting older songs and operas, but others find that her changes are what made China's music more concrete. She became the control panel in defining Chinese Music in the mid 1960s.

Firstly, she “started to work on ‘revolutionizing’ Peking Opera, advocating for the replacement of traditional content with modern works featuring contemporary and revolutionary themes, which was in line with the official policy to suspend ghost themes, and generally criticize ‘feudal’ and ‘reactionary’ drama” (Gentz 2017, 211). This was China’s form of modernity through music, a move away from older traditions and progress towards themes that spoke about what China was experiencing. The revolutionary themes introduced big groups of people singing together about their love for China and Mao Zedong.

“...In July 1964, at the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes, she gave her first public speech, ‘On the Reform of Peking Opera,’ endorsed by Mao Zedong, and from then on developed model operas *yangbanxi*, for which she is probably most known” (Gentz 2017, 211).

Revolutionary Music

*Yangbanxi*³⁷ is the successor to Beijing opera. It consisted of “ten operas, four ballets, two symphonies, and two piano pieces” that would “monopolize China’s theatrical and musical stages for a decade” (Mittler 2003, 53).

“...The model operas were a selection of dramas of different genres, which under the guidance of Jiang Qing were remodeled into revolutionary splits with heroic roles and melodramatic pathos. Only these dramas were to be played during the Cultural Revolution, and thus permeated the entire country over several years as the only form of entertainment. In February 1966, Jiang Qing was officially and publicly commissioned ‘advisor on questions in literature and art of the People’s Liberation Army’” (Gentz, 2014, 221).

Out of these compositions, eight were the most well-known and were revised multiple times: four revolutionary modern Peking Operas (Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, The Red Lantern, Shachiapang, On the Docks), two revolutionary symphonic music Shachiapang, and the piano music version of The Red Lantern with Peking Opera singing (Yang 1971, 261). Jiang Qing’s philosophy for these operas was to serve as a form of propaganda and spread Mao’s

³⁷ Translated as “model operas.” They helped set the standard of Beijing opera.

ideologies. Jiang Qing utilizes *Quotations by Mao Zedong* to help influence the model works. Her *yangbanxi* would “reproduce and remodel Cultural Revolution propaganda” (Mittler 2008, 472). In order for these pieces to speak to the audience (Chinese citizens) the composers as well had to be among the people and live with the masses, so then they could “obtain first-hand knowledge of their subjects” (Wilkinson 1974, 164).

The genre that most *yangbanxi* were performed in was called *yangge*.³⁸ *Yangge* derived from the Shansi and Shensi provinces, combining “dancing and singing in a simple seven-beat cadence” (Wilkinson 1974, 165). This type of music has a lot of energy and power. Its most common form is performed on festive and special occasions:

“... with between twenty and thirty dancers to a group. Male and female danced faced each other in two lines; The leader sang the verse and the dancers changed in answer. The songs were most love themes of congratulatory addresses in question-and-answer form” (Wilkinson 1974, 165).

The reason why *yangge* was favored by Mao was because of how it was able to speak to the masses. The music was not considered sophisticated and high class, rather more as “peasant literature,” as stated by Wilkinson. *Yangge* “included both singing and dialogue. The songs were in the vernacular and, although newly arranged by musicians, were based on recognizable and popular tunes” (Wilkinson 1974, 168). Though China didn’t want to take influences from anyone outside of the country, *yangge* opera borrowed the form of Western operas and choral singing, but Mao still considered it to be China’s own, China’s leaders did not want to exhibit influences from the West, because they did not want to incite curiosity in Chinese citizens. They therefore disguised these concepts by placing these musical ideas subtly into the opera.

The plot and themes of these performances entail heroic characters, working citizens, romance, strength, and unity to help influence Chinese citizens about the type of lifestyle they

³⁸ This can also be spelled as *yangko*. They are known as plantation songs.

should live. “They carried out messages of class struggle, continuing revolution, the teachings of Maoism” and became “a cultural centerpiece in” China (Longley 1996, 14). These would be the only dramas performed during the Cultural Revolution. I will analyze two *yangbanxi*, *The White Haired Girl* and *The Red Lantern*. Below I explain the plot and also select a tune that I feel best represents Mao’s ideologies and what was happening historically and culturally during the Cultural Revolution.

The White Haired Girl: 北风吹 (The North Wind Blows), 1941

The White-Haired Girl is still a popular ballet that is staged in China today. It has been performed at China’s Spring Festival Gala on China Central Television (CCTV) and even in the United States. This ballet is taught in schools in China and in many university Chinese film language courses. The ballet intrigues people, because of how it was able to place Mao on a pedestal without him being explicitly stated and present in the performance. We will further discuss how this was done by analyzing the song *The North Wind Blows*.

‘The White Haired Girl’ was written by He Jingzhi (贺敬之) and Ding Yi (丁毅) in 1944, and produced by the students of Lu Hsun College (Wilkinson 1974, 168). Though the piece was written before The Cultural Revolution, it was rewritten multiple times to fit each subsequent particular historical timeline in China. Little is said about the specific revisions that were made to the tune, but the plot was based on a “true story from northern Hebei during the anti-Japanese war (1937-1945)” (Kang 2014, 133). The goal of the ballet was to demonstrate the “crucial role in the success of the Communist land reforms of 1946-1947 as well as the creation of the cult of Mao during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976” (Jia, Kang, and Yao 2014, 1).

To summarize shortly, the story has four characters: Xi'er (the main character), Yang Bai-lao (Xi'er's father), Huang Shiren (the landlord), and Wang Dachun (fiance and neighbor of Xi'er). Both Xi'er and her father are poor peasants, Xi'er is sold to their landlord Huang Shiren, who then kills her father, Yang Bai-lao. Huang Shiren abuses Xi'er, causing her to grow a strong hatred towards him. She found an opportunity to flee away into the mountains from Huang Shiren. While in the mountains, Xi'er contemplates the form of the revenge she wants to take on Huang Shiren. Yet, she faces starvation and hardships which turn her hair white. At this time, her fiance returns from his time in the Eighth Route Army³⁹. She also joins the communist army with her fiance, and the two go to get revenge on Huang Shiren. They find out that the landlord is guilty of many crimes aside from abusing Xi'er and killing her father. He is then assigned the death penalty and revenge is taken care of. At the end of the ballet, the village celebrates Xi'er, Wang Dachun, and the Eighth Route Army returning home.

The opera was a large production that needed many composers and arrangers. These composers included: Ma Ke (馬可), Zhang Lu (張魯), and other team members: Qu Wei (1917-2002), Xian Yu (1912-1968), Li Huanzi (1919-2000), Chen Zi (1919-1999), Liu Chi (1921-1998). Ma Ke (1918-1976) and Zhang Li (1917-2003) composed one of the most famous pieces in the ballet is *The North Wind Blows* (Li 2022, 13-16).

³⁹ They are an army troupe that fought against the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese war.

1 = D $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ 北 风 吹 馬可 (1944) 張魯

*Parenthesis indicate
instrumental accompaniment

Musical Example 4.1: Jianpu notation of The 北风吹 (North Wind Blows), 1941

“The theme song ‘North Wind’ gained its wide popularity precisely because it appealed to family values of the traditional ethnic order, rather than because of its ideological overtones” (Cheung 2010, 94-95). The song is first heard in the exposition of the ballet when Xi’er enters the stage. This song will act as a leitmotif every time Xi’er is on the mainstage. Cheung states that the family views are depicted through Xi’er and her father’s close connection. As it is the new year, Xi’er is waiting for her father to return after hiding away because of their debt:

“爹出门去躲帐, 整七那个天, Dad left home to hide for seven days
三十那个晚上还没回还, It is New Years and he is still not home
大婶给了玉交子面 Auntie gave me flour,
我盼我的爹爹回家过年, I hope for my father to come home to celebrate the New Year”

The song continues about the hardships Xi’er and her father face while in debt. Xi’er’s father has to sell tofu in order to buy two pounds of flour, so the two can make dumplings together for the

New Year: 卖豆腐赚下了几个钱, I sold tofu to make some money.” Moreover, Xi’er’s father was not able to afford flowers to put in Xi’er’s hair, like other families did:

“人家的闺女有花戴, Other family’s daughters have flowers to wear
你爹我钱少不能买, Your father [does not] have enough to buy.”

But, even though the two are financially struggling, the happiness and joy they have in finding their own way of celebrating the New Year is evident, for instance when Xi’er’s father substitutes flowers for two ribbons and ties them in her hair:

“扯上了二尺红头绳, I take two red ribbons
给我扎起来, I help my daughter Xi’er tie in her hair.”

The two appreciate the bonding memories they create. The Shanbei and Shanxi regional characteristics of *yangge* music bring out the emotional aspect of the characters and its lyrics are relatable to the audience. Further insights can be gained through Cheung’s article on interpretation of bitterness in *The North Wind Blows* (2010). Cheung brings to light the various interpretations evident in this song. She focuses on feelings of bitterness in the music. Firstly, bitterness and deprivation can be heard in

“...the rises and falls in the song melody, the accompanying instrumental sounds, and simply the ‘grain’ of singer’s voice are sensual deliveries of peasant bitterness... [Bitterness] not only involves experience and memory of pain and frustration, but also a sense of losing hope of continuing happiness once experience as real” (Cheung 2010, 99).

According to Cheung bitterness is further enhanced with the dialogue, speech, acting, and music to “reach the audience in a more powerful dimension” (Cheung 2010, 99).

Aside from the bitterness, there is also the view of joy in this piece. “The sentiments that ‘North Wind’ expresses are complicated. The song text does not tell about tears and anger that commonly fill with the *suku* assemblies; it even ends with a joyous image” (Cheung 2010, 99).

As Chinese New Year is one of the biggest holidays celebrated in China, the coming together of villagers and family members helps bring emotional warmth. The lyrics state how though Xi'er's father is not home to celebrate with her, those around her are taking care of her: 大婶给了玉交子面, Auntie gives me flour." She is well supported by the community and those around her even during these harsh times. Family values are seen through villagers helping one another during the holidays. Mao's ideologies clumped citizens together by masses, and this created the sense of a large family. This is even seen through the working of "大婶", Auntie. Though not related by blood, Auntie describes an elder woman. These terminologies help bring out a strong sense of family ties, but also strength through unity. Thus, regardless of the snowy and lonesome New Years day, Xi'er is filled with love from those around her with and with food.

From a political point of view, Mao despised class splits, hence he enhanced the class division between Xi'er (a poor peasant) with Huang Shiren (a rich landlord). Mao wanted to show the heightened "class opposition between peasants and landlords" (Cheung 2010, 92). This ballet therefore proves how class division harms the harmony between people, which is shown through Huang Shiren physical and mental abuse of Xi'er. This is resolved when Xi'er joins the Eighth Route Army and takes revenge. Mao subtly conveyed to citizens that those who join the communist army will find the strength to combat their hardships. This motivated citizens to join the army for personal benefits and equality. Lastly, the inclusion of romance between Xi'er and Wang Dachun acted as a way to pull the audiences' heartstrings. The romance in the ballet brought realism into the character, which then made it even more relatable to Chinese citizens.

Lyrics to 北风吹 (*The North Wind Blows*), 1941

Xi'er solo: 北风那个吹, 雪花那个飘	Xi'er solo: The north wind blows, The snowflakes float
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雪花那个飘飘, 年来到
爹出门去躲帐整七那个天
三十那个晚上还没回还
大婶给了玉交子面
我盼我的爹爹回家过年

Yang Bai-lao (Xi'er's father) solo:

卖豆腐赚下了几个钱
集上我称回来二斤面
怕叫东家看见了
揣在这怀里头四五天

Xi'er solo:

卖豆腐赚下了几个钱
爹爹称回来二斤面
带回家来包饺子
欢欢喜喜过个年
哎 过呀过个年

Yang Bai-lao (Xi'er's father) solo:

人家的闺女有花戴
你爹我钱少不能买
扯上了二尺红头绳
我给我喜儿扎起来
哎 扎起来

Xi'er solo:

人家的闺女有花戴
我爹钱少不能买
扯上了二尺红头绳
给我扎起来
哎 扎呀扎起来

(Together)

门神门神骑红马
贴在了门上守住家
门神门神扛大刀
大鬼小鬼进不来
哎 进呀进不来

The snowflakes floating, New Years is coming
Dad left home to hide for seven days
It is New Years and he is still not home
Auntie gives me flour
I hope for my father to come home to celebrate
the New Year

Yang Bai-lao (Xi'er's father) solo:

I sold tofu to make some money
I went to go buy 2 pounds of flour
I am scared the landlord may see
It kept it hidden in my pocket for four to five
days

Xi'er solo:

Father sold tofu to make some money
Father brought back 2 pounds of flour
He brought it back to make dumplings
Happily celebrating the new year
Happily celebrating the new year

Yang Bai-lao (Xi'er's father) solo:

Other family's daughters have flowers to wear
Your father does not have enough to buy
I take two red ribbons
I help my daughter Xi'er tie in her hair
I help her tie it her hair

Xi'er solo:

Other daughters have flowers to wear
My father does not have much, so he cannot buy
He takes two ribbons
He helps me tie it in my hair
He helps me tie it in my hair

(Together)

Door protector is riding a red horse
It is stuck on the front door
Door protector is carrying a sword
Big ghost, small ghost cannot come in
They cannot come in.

(Translated by Vicki Lu)

Lyrics to 北风吹 (*The North Wind Blows*), 1941

(First Stanza)

北风那个吹 雪花那个飘 雪花那个飘飘, 年来到 爹出门去躲帐整七那个天 三十那个晚上还没回还 大婶给了玉交子面 我盼我的爹爹回家过年	The North wind blows The snowflakes whirl A flurry of snow bring in New year Dad's been hiding a week because of his debt, Though it is New Year's Eve, he is still not back Aunty's given me maize flour, and I am waiting For Dad to come home and spend New Year
--	---

(Translated by Ho and Ting, Yang trans., 1954, 1)

红灯记 (*Legend of the Red Lantern*), 1970

Legend of the Red Lantern was another famous *yangbanxi* that was performed during The Cultural Revolution. Unlike *The White-Haired Girl*, *Legend of the Red Lantern* brought “forth a new kind of piety and loyalty towards the Communist cause rather than the insular family. It breaks away from the traditional notions of family loyalty and highlights the importance of loyalty to the party” (Gu 2018, 61). The plot of the film can be summarized as a “story of undercover agents of the revolution disguised as railway workers in Hulin during the Japanese occupation” (Sidebottom 2018, 9). The undercover agents are

“a family of revolutionaries, the Li family, working with a network of underground communists to guard and pass on secret codes, using a red lantern, in order to win the fight against the Japanese. In the most dramatic moment, which occurs in mid-narrative, the Li family is revealed to share no actual biological relation. After the father and grandmother are executed by Japanese forces, the granddaughter, who has now come to realize she is not related to them by blood, willingly chooses to carry on their fight and continues the revolution in their wake” (Xiong 2022, 139).

This *yangbanxi* was well received and gained popularity with its storyline and loyalty to Mao Zedong. To spread Mao's ideologies of equality, director Chen Yin ensured that the film

depicted three generations of characters in the Li family. The story emphasizes that all people, no matter their age or gender could live under Communist ideology where they can only find liberation through Maoism. *Legend of the Red Lantern* acted as an instructional manual on what thoughts the Chinese could have about the Japanese. Even 50 years later, the relationship between China and Japan is strained.

Shortly after its release, *Legend of the Red Lantern* was ultimately banned for a short time. Even though the storyline depicted the people's loyalty to Mao, *Legend of the Red Lantern* opened up the concept of betrayal. The betrayal of Mao, performed by secret agents, could potentially incite citizens to rebel against Mao. The curiosity that arose from this perspective led to the film being banned right after its release. After its ban, the storyline was then altered to focus on the Li family's commitment to communism. *Legend of the Red Lantern* was not the only piece banned during the Cultural Revolution. Other songs and films were banned and/or never premiered. Due to music and the arts being restricted and under high strict surveillance, it was imperative that no outside influences impede Chinese citizens' loyalty to Mao Zedong. Thus the arts underwent strict regulations and checkups to determine whether or not they should be banned or revised.

Banned Music during The Cultural Revolution

There were many music and arts that thrived during The Cultural Revolution, but there were also plenty that were banned. Communist China exercised "the most rigid form of theater censorship in the world" (Yang 1971, 258). As Jiang Qing dictated the musical aspects of musical creation, she would also control the production of pieces. Many pieces were banned due to their counter-political views, but also because of their influences from the West.

“Subjects to total proscription were those having: (1) superstitious themes; (2) erotic content; (3) exaggerated movement and speeches insulting the proletarian class; and (4) feudalistic moral standards” and ghost plays were also included (Yang 1971, 259). Moreover, to not show weakness, music that pertained to a hero surrendering to the enemy was changed or banned, but stories pertaining to a hero dying for their country were highly encouraged (Yang 1971, 259).

What about the music scene? What types of music and composers were banned from China? Mittler states that

“Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms were condemned due to their ‘bourgeois’ background or upbringing, Schoenberg and Debussy were considered ‘formalists,’ Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninoff were said to be (pre-) representatives of the ‘revisionist’ Soviet regime and thus could not be performed” (Mittler 2003, 54).

There were also bans on certain instruments due to their association to China’s past before Mao. For example, the Chinese zither, guqin was unacceptable as it was “associated with the ‘aristocratic’ literati of ‘feudal’ China. It is important to state that not all Western influences were banned from China (Mittler 2003, 54).

Chinese operas were said to have too many ‘emperors and ladies,’ too few ‘workers, peasants, and soldiers onto the stage” (Mittler 2003, 54). Mao wanted the music to represent the Chinese citizens on a more realistic level. By choosing characters that lived the same lives as Mao, citizens could relate to and find relevance to the music and performance. Again, music was greatly regulated during this time, meaning it would

“...depict the Chinese people’s determined struggle against outer and inner enemies, they glorify the close cooperation between the People’s Liberation Army and the common people, and they emphasize the decisive role of Mao Zedong and his thoughts for the final victory of socialism in China” (Mittler 2003, 54).

黃河鋼琴協奏曲 (*The Yellow River Piano Concerto*), 1969

The Yellow River Piano Concerto is an example of a piece that was banned during the Cultural Revolution. The piece is now considered a symbol of Chinese nationality and unity, but

why was it dismissed during The Cultural Revolution? The concerto was derived from “a previous composition - the *Yellow River Cantata* (1938) by Xian Xinghai (1909-1949)⁴⁰. The two pieces are important because they displayed the importance of China’s Yellow River.

“At more than three thousand miles in length, the Yellow River is second only to the Yangtze River as China’s longest waterway. The yellowish-brown hue that gives the river its name comes from the massive amount of silt (loess) picked up as the waters rush eastward to the sea. Called ‘Mother River of the Chinese Nation’ and ‘the cradle of Chinese civilization,’ the Yellow River is as vital a resource for China as the Nile is for Egypt” (Hong 2009, 1).

It is an important landmark in China because its banks were credited with the beginnings of civilization and life in China. Chinese citizens respected the river. Not only did it produce life, but the strong flow and speed of the river represented the power of Chinese people.

Unlike the concerto, *The Yellow River Cantata* was not banned in China. The cantata was “originally written to stir up feelings of nationalism and patriotism during China’s struggle against Japanese oppression”⁴¹ (Hong 2009, vii-viii). During the harsh and suffering war conditions that happened during the Second Sino-Japanese war, Xian Xinghai wanted to create a composition to uplift citizens. The result was a seven to nine movements’ work ranging from forty-five to a one hour performance.

The Yellow River Piano Concerto was arranged by a group of four composers: Yin Chengzong (b. 1941), Chu Wanghua (b. 1941), Sheng Lihong (b. 1926), and Liu Zhuang (b. 1932) during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) ” (Tham 2009, ii). It was banned due to the use of a Western instrument: the piano. It was not only because the piece was for a Western instrument, but also due to the fact that it centralizes that particular instrument. The piano was not considered a traditional instrument in China, and being in the spotlight displayed its

⁴⁰ Composer and lyrics were found at <https://baike.baidu.hk/item/黄河钢琴协奏曲/7750852> a Chinese website.

⁴¹ The Second Sino-Japanese War happened in 1937 and did not end until World War II.

anti-unity stance. Mao wanted evenness and so the concerto was banned. Similar to what the Soviet Union had done earlier, Communist China largely suppressed artistic creation during the Cultural Revolution and the piano was banned as a symbolic representation of Western capitalism and the bourgeois class in 1966 and early 1967 (Yu 2019, 3).

China was pushing towards modernity but fighting the urge of being influenced by other countries. China faced an identity crisis. There were instances when they did not want to utilize Chinese instruments, like the guqin because of its association with the times of filial piety and imperial China. But, the use of Western instruments like the piano, would steer the Chinese away from their roots. Not all Western influences were banned from China. Jiang Qing “realized that Western instruments could sometimes serve the music better than Chinese traditional instruments due to their greater volume” (Melvin and Cai 2004, 255). Composer Yin Chengzong disregarded choosing between Western and Chinese instruments, and emphasized the fusion of both pieces. It indicates China embracing their culture, while also moving into a new change with Westernized instruments. Yin believed that the tune’s meaning would travel further than the instrumentation that was being utilized. Sadly, it was not performed until after Mao’s death in 1976.

Propaganda in China: Little Red Book

Propaganda started far before the Cultural Revolution. “Mao started to produce Communist political propaganda starting as early as 1942, before he gained national power (Gu 2018, 4). Propaganda images were created for different scenarios and for different generations to fit the country’s growing population and needs. These images were placed on the streets, in stores, and in educational books. Once Mao gained more power, propaganda during The Cultural Revolution became more sophisticated and thrived (Gu 2018, 4-5). Propaganda became more

than just the printing of posters. By the 1960s, China's government had a meticulous plan to ensure the control and continuation of indoctrinating the entire Chinese population. David

Shambaugh stated that among the many techniques Mao and the CCP used were:

“... mass mobilization campaigns the construction of ‘models’ to be emulated; the creation of study groups and ideological monitors throughout society; incarceration for the purpose of ‘brainwashing’; the promulgation of a steady stream of documents to be memorized; control the subject matter to be taught throughout the education system control the content of newspaper articles and editorials; development of a nationwide system of loudspeakers that reached into every neighborhood and village; domination of the broadcast media; the use of propaganda teams (xuanchuan dui) to indoctrinate specific segments of the population and other methods” (Shambaugh 2007, 26-27).

There were other forms of re-educating used by Mao, but these were the most common. Mao and the CCP acted as the control board to ensure that there was as little outside influence in China.

Revolutionary Songs as Propaganda

Mao's Little Red Book was a specific piece of propaganda. Not only was it used as an instructional guide on how to act, but the book itself strongly suggests how citizens should think. The book was used on a daily basis by students, military members, and citizens. The book was held to such a high standard, there were propaganda images that showcase the book itself. For example, the images below show *China's Little Red Book*. These images have led me to infer the placement of the book being held close to the heart or lifted high up symbolizes their devotion to, and worship of *China's Little Red Book* and Mao Zedong. Moreover, the prideful nationalistic attitude is evident in how the citizens smile and look up to the book.



Figure 4.2: Long Live Mao Zedong! Long life, Long Long Life
Pictures extracted from <https://chinese-posters.net/themes/mao-cult>



Figures 4.3: The Red Guard Loves Studying Mao's Little Red Book
Pictures extracted from <https://chinese-posters.net/themes/mao-cult>



Figure 4.4: "The boat is sinking, but the crew is calm and united. As they help each other into life jackets, radio man Huang Wei-chao dashed on deck, holding high the treasured book, *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (Fitzgerald 1969, 397).

Mao's propaganda team printed thousands of copies of these images, as well as *Mao's Little Red Book*, and spread them across the country. These images reiterated the pride and what it meant to be Chinese. Aside from the visual propaganda in the images above, Mao and the CCP also created sonic propaganda to spread his ideologies. Mao utilized quotations from *China's Little Red Book* to create songs that acted as sonic propaganda during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Even today, many Chinese citizens sing these melodies by heart with the lyrics, because of how far they were ingrained into their everyday life.

延边人民热爱毛主席 (*People of Yanbian Love Chairman Mao*), 1971

An example of Mao's quotation that was turned into a song is 延边人民热爱毛主席 (*People of Yanbian Love Chairman Mao*, 1971).



Musical Example 4.2: Jianpu notation of 延边人民热爱毛主席 (*People of Yanbian Love Chairman Mao*), 1971

As 55 minority groups make up China, each ethnic group was required to sing songs to show why they loved Mao Zedong. The goal was to portray Mao as promoting multiculturalism within the communist system. Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture is located far northeast of China and has a high Korean population. Many songs in this area had influences from Korean culture. *People of Yanbian Love Chairman Mao* was composed by Jin Fenghao (金凤浩) and first performed by a Korean singer, 黄仁顺 (Huang Renshun) in Korean then later translated into Chinese⁴². The song portrayed the people of Yanbian's love towards the “Red Sun, also known as Mao Zedong.” The song's lyrics state that:

“我们无限热爱您, We warm-heartedly love you,
您的教导牢记心上, Your teachings will stay with us,
延边人民祝愿您, People of Yanbian wish for you,
万寿无疆, 万寿无疆, To live a long life, live a long life.”

These lyrics are intended to display the full love and devotion all minority groups felt towards Mao. Regardless of whether minority groups disliked Mao, they were not allowed to portray that through their music. Thus throughout Mao's reign, there was minimal if any opposition against him. The fear that citizens harbored towards the government and military pushed them into a corner of obedience and docility to do what they were told.

Lyrics to 延边人民歌唱毛主席 (People of Yanbian Love Chairman Mao), 1971

延边人民歌唱毛主席 李谷一演唱 我们心中的红太阳 照得边疆一片红 长白千里歌声嘹亮	Yanbian People sing about Chairman Mao Li GuYi sings The red sun in our hearts The horizon is cascaded in red Voices can be heard miles away
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⁴² Derived from Chinese Website: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/延边人民热爱毛主席/1659447>.

海兰江畔红旗飞扬 千条江河	Red flag is waving by the Hailan River and thousands of other rivers
归大海万朵葵花向阳开	Ten thousand sunflowers blossom to the Sun as they head back to the sea
延边人民纵情歌唱	Yanbian people sing passionately
我们心中的红太阳, 哎 毛主席, 我们无限热爱您 您的教导牢记心上 延边人民祝愿您	The red sun in our hearts, hey Chairman Mao, We warm-heartedly love you Your teachings will stay with us Yanbian People wish for you
万寿无疆万寿无疆 天安门上红太阳	To live a long life, live a long life The red sun shines on Tiananmen
光芒万丈照四方 站在边疆望北京	It shines in all four directions Standing and looking towards Beijing
心潮澎湃情谊深长 万支赞歌献给您	The heart is full of growth Thousands of songs given to you
颗颗红心向着党 各族人民紧跟您	Sewing red stars to face the CCP People from different ethnic groups will follow closely
奔向胜利的前方, 哎 毛主席, 我们无限热爱您	Leading towards victory, hey Chairman Mao, We warm-heartedly love you
您的教导牢记心上 延边人民祝愿您	Your teachings will stay with us Yanbian People wish for you
万寿无疆万寿无疆	To live a long life, live a long life
千条江河	Thousands of other rivers
归大海万朵葵花向阳开	Ten thousand sunflowers blossom to the Sun as they head back to the sea
延边人民纵情歌唱	Yanbian people sing passionately
我们心中的红太阳, 哎 毛主席, 我们无限热爱您	The red sun in our hearts, hey Chairman Mao, We warm-heartedly love you

您的教导牢记心上 延边人民祝愿您 万寿无疆万寿无疆, 哎 毛主席, 我们无限热爱您 您的教导牢记心上 延边人民祝愿您 万寿无疆万寿无疆	Your teachings will stay with us Yanbian People wish you To live a long life, live a long life Chairman Mao, We warm-heartedly love you Your teachings will stay with us Yanbian People wish for you To live a long life, live a long life
---	--

(Translated by Vicki Lu)

Conclusion

The Cultural Revolution was a time of political turmoil between China's CCP and Mao Zedong. The Great Leap Forward led many Chinese citizens to lose their faith in the country, but also made it more of a reason for them to rely upon the government. They were looking for guidance. The government realized that they needed to move quickly after the failures of the Great Leap forward. Sonic and visual propaganda became necessary political tactics.

Mao's wife, Jiang Qing did more than “personally supervise the creation and revision of several ‘model revolutionary theatrical works’” (Yang 1971, 261) she also operated as a figurehead in Mao's decision-making. This can be seen through *yangbanxi* and her role as Mao's secretary for over twenty years. Though she could not officially act as Mao's successor, she was his second hand, aiding him mentally through political conflicts and disputes. It leaves me to believe that there may be moments when Mao took credit for Jiang Qing's ideologies. It is hard to pinpoint exactly which ideas were credited to Jiang Qing, but with her large influence on the arts and music, I believe that the production of these operas, ballets, and symphonies acted as re-education tools. Performances were a form of entertainment that many preferred over reading political books. It was enticing for audiences to rewatch these *yangbanxi*.

Many musical creations made during the cultural revolution depicted China's unity and strength, but there were also compositions that showed rebellion against Mao's ideologies. The

use of Western instruments became a push-and-pull conversation. Some believed that the modernity in music needed Westernization since the west was developing quickly. But, others thought that moving away from traditions would diminish the pride of the Chinese.

Mao's health started to deteriorate towards the end of The Cultural Revolution. His death in 1976 signaled the end of The Cultural Revolution. In the next chapter, I will discuss the musical compositions that are still being performed after Mao's death and how they continue to subtly spread his ideologies today.

CHAPTER 5

LIFE AND MUSIC AFTER MAO ZEDONG (1976-PRESENT)

看一个青年是不是革命的, 拿什么做 标准呢? 拿什么去辨别他呢? 只有一个标准, 这就是看他愿意不愿意、并且实行不 实行和广大的工农群众结合在一块。愿意 并且实行和工农结合的, 是革命的, 否则 就是不革命的, 或者是反革命的。他今天 把自己结合于工农群众, 他今天是革命的; 但是如果他明天不去结合了, 或者反过来 压迫老百姓, 那就是不革命的, 或者是反 革命的了。

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a nonrevolutionary or a counter revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a nonrevolutionary or a counter revolutionary.

Chairman Mao Zedong
From The Little Red Book
Translated by Anonymous
“The Orientation of the Youth Movement” (May 4, 1939)
Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 246.

What Happened After Mao's Death in 1976?

On September 9, 1976, Mao Zedong passed away. This day could be seen as both a blessing and a curse to the Chinese citizens. From one perspective, Mao's *Little Red Book* was disbanded and the younger generations could be more selective about what they wanted to become. However, the older generations felt a sense of being lost. They were stripped of the only identity that they knew. Mao's tactics through sonic propaganda had been a success.

Mao's death meant that China had two options. The first was “to continue with Mao's revolution, and the other was to find a new course” (Li-Owaga 2022, 125). His successor, Hua

Guofeng tried to fuse together a new notion, while continuing Mao's legacy. Hua came up with five tracts: "the purge of the 'Gang of Four' and their followers, the rehabilitation of veteran cadres, institutionalization, relaxation of restraint on thinking, and the transition of the party's key task" (Li-Owaga 2022, 125).

Hua encouraged citizens to talk and think freely about themselves. He wanted to liberate citizens and was open to criticism directly towards his actions for the country. Moreover, he wanted to push the country towards modernity again. Unlike Mao's The Great Leap Forward, Hua created his own version called "Western Leap Forward" (Li-Owaga 2022, 126). He visited Western countries and learned from their economic developments. Hua's quick changes led to the first 1976 Tiananmen protest in response to the death of China's well-respected military leader, Zhou Enlai. This protest led to political confusion as many banded together to dispute The Gang of Four's actions that sought to tarnish their individualism and freedom. This protest became a cry for help. Hua then initiated the purge of the Gang of Four. Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four were immediately

"... arrested and accused of perpetrating all of the atrocities that occurred during the years of the Cultural Revolution. [Jiang Qing's] legacy has thus been tied with the political failures of the Cultural Revolution and as the Chinese Communist Party declared, that Jiang Qing was the one to blame. As a way to protect Mao's legacy after his death, Jiang Qing was painted as the political instigator and power grabber" (Gu 2018, 5-6).

In order to keep Mao high on a pedestal, Jiang Qing took the blame for Mao's wrongful actions. She did not fight against going to jail. She believed that her calling in life was to be loyal to her husband. At the trial, Jiang Qing's famous quote to show her allegiance towards Mao is: "我是主席的一條狗，主席叫我咬誰就咬誰。" This can be translated as: 'I am the Chairman's dog, when the chairman tells me to bite, I bite.' The quote has been altered throughout history, to read: "我是毛主席的一條狗，叫我咬誰就咬誰! (I am Chairman's Mao's dog, He tells me who to bite,

and I will bite”. Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four placed strict surveillance on Chinese citizens and once Hua placed them into solitary confinement, he was then able to “have a freer hand in ideological issues” (Li-Owaga 2022, 126).

However, Hua’s plans started to spiral downhill. The modernization that Hua planned for the country was too advanced both economically, and ideologically for China. With Mao’s death being so new, Chinese citizens had little guidance about freedom from Mao’s ideologies. There were those who supported it, but instruction and direction was what the people needed the most. Hua lost his place as chairman, and Deng Xiaoping succeeded him. Deng’s ideologies were similar to Mao Zedong. He integrated Marxism and Leninism, and wanted to develop the country in the same fashion as Mao had. He was not as strict as Mao and did not surveil as intensely, but he still wanted to honor the late leader.

Music After Mao Zedong

Mao's death finally allowed musicians to write in styles that they liked. There were still some restrictions but generally, musicians were given much more freedom. Without Mao’s controls musicians started to draw influences from traditional Chinese music, Peking Opera, classical Western music, and pop music from other countries. A new musical era emerged and older traditions were resurrected. The CCP has little involvement with music. Since Jiang Qing was no longer in charge of strict musical creations,

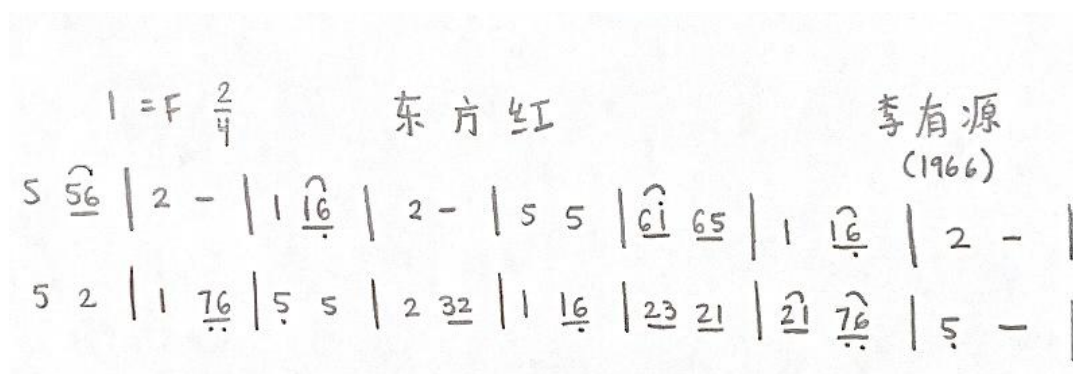
“... members of these units knew little about music; they merely examined the title and its programs. As long as the title was revolutionary, the program Mao-praising, the music loud and arousing, and the rhythm fast and invigorating, the composition stood a good chance of being approved” (Run 1991, 122).

While there was a drastic change in the musical scene, there were still older generation Chinese who feared punishments from Mao's previous regime. Regardless of the political change Csomel

musicians wanted to maintain the traditions instituted by Mao. They continued to perform the same music even after his death. This generation was steeped in Mao's structure even after Deng Xiaoping took over. For example, the revolutionary song, 东方红 (East is Red), 1966 continued to flourish past 1976 because it gave Chinese people a sense of belonging.

东方红 (*East is Red*), 1966

Originally, the song was the anthem of the PRC during the Cultural Revolution in 1960. Composer 李有源 (Li Youyuan) was inspired after seeing the “rising sun in the morning of a sunny day” (Smithsonian Music 2019).



Musical Example 5.1: Jianpu notation of 东方红 (East is Red), 1966

The singing style of this song is a Western operatic style between the male and female voices in the manner previously discussed in *We All Walk the Big Road*. Both voices sing in unison and the energy generated can be interpreted as prideful and strong as the tempo is moderate⁴³. The song is energetic in its forte orchestration and march-like style. The song's lyrics alludes to Mao's name, but also states how Mao and the CCP are like the sun that guides the Chinese people out of the darkness in the lyrics:

“東方紅, The east is red,
太陽升, The sun is rising,

⁴³ The basis of my analysis is the youtube video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YulfqCJYN6U>

中國出了個毛澤東, China has brought forth Mao Zedong,
 他為人民謀幸福, He strives for the people's happiness,
 呼爾嗨哟, Hurrah hurrah,
 他是人民大救星, He is the people's great savior”

Through these lyrics, the politically, the first two lines can imply the historical Red Scare (1947-1957) movement that was bestowed during the Cold War. During the Red Scare, United States citizens were wary of the rise and power of communism in the Soviet Union. Though the seat of communism at the time was with the Soviet Union, the Eastern hemisphere's rise of communism shocked the world. China's rise in communism would also be initiated during the time frame of the Red Scare.

“It permeated every aspect of American culture. The red scare induced hyperbolic Cold War rhetoric and action, intensified nationalistic sentiment, fueled what President Eisenhower named "the military-industrial complex," and contributed to the ascendancy and preeminence of corporate America. Ingeniously, capitalism, consumerism, and hedonism constituted the conceptual rebuttal of communism. At a time of increasing affluence, the argument was compelling” (Foster 2000, 11).

The power that these Eastern block countries held during the Red Scare created fear in citizens. Thus, the lyrics: “東方紅, The east is red,” is a definite statement of arrogance that not only symbolizes the color red as the Soviet Union flag and China's flag, but also the implications of the pervasive spread of communism. The next lyrics: “太陽升, The sun is rising,” symbolizes a new day and a new start. As the sun can represent the circle of life as it rises and falls, it is a representation of the rebirth of a new nation and a start of something new, communism. Mao Zedong is then compared to the sun as: “中國出了個毛澤東, China has brought forth Mao Zedong.” Similar to the sun, it can be inferred that the citizens of China look up to Mao Zedong as their leader. The Sun is the brightest entity that we have and the fact that the sun shines across all nations and areas, shows the power that Mao wanted to have over his people.

Mao strove to bring forth the best lifestyle of his citizens. The lyrics: “他為人民謀幸福, He strives for the people's happiness,” show this role. Again, when the sun is out, the people are happy, and as Mao is present the people look up to him for that joy and happiness. The last line of this stanza: “他是人民大救星, He is the people's great savior,” strongly suggest how he is able to provide safety and consolation for his citizens. The sun is seen as a savior for the world, because it provides life, necessary resources and vegetation to humanity. Mao Zedong is portrayed as doing the same for his citizens in China. Ultimately, this song solidified Mao's ideals of socialism and a united country during and after the Cultural Revolution.

Lyrics to *East is Red* (东方红, 1966)

东方红, 太阳升, 中国出了个毛泽东	East is Red, The sun rises, China has brought forth Mao Zedong
他为人民谋幸福, 呼儿嗨哟, 他是人民大救星	He strives for the people's happiness, “hurrah hurrah”, He is the people's great savior
他为人民谋幸福, 呼儿嗨哟, 他是人民大救星	He strives for the people's happiness, “hurrah hurrah”, He is the people's great savior
毛主席, 爱人民, 他是我们的带路人	Chairman Mao Zedong loves his people, he is the leader.
为了建设新中国, 呼儿嗨哟, 领导我们向前进	For the sake of new China, “hurrah hurrah”, We move forward with him
为了建设新中国, 呼儿嗨哟, 领导我们向前进	For the sake of new China, “hurrah hurrah”, We move forward with him
共产党, 像太阳, 照到哪里哪里亮	The CCP, like the sun, where ever it shines it is bright,
哪里有了共产党, 呼儿嗨哟, 哪里人民得解放	Wherever there is the CCP, “hurrah hurrah”, that is where the people are liberated.

哪里有了共产党, 呼儿嗨哟, 哪里人民得解放	Wherever there is the CCP, “hurrah hurrah”, that is where the people are liberated.
东方红, 太阳升, 中国出了个毛泽东	East is Red, The sun rises, China has brought forth Mao Zedong
他为人民谋幸福, 呼儿嗨哟, 他是人民大救星	He strives for the people’s happiness, “hurrah hurrah”, He is the people’s great savior
他为人民谋幸福, 呼儿嗨哟, 他是人民大救星, 大救星	He strives for the people’s happiness, “hurrah hurrah”, He is the people’s great savior, great savior

(Translated by Vicki Lu and Yang Chun)

Reminiscing about Mao Zedong

In a 2019 article, The Washington Post reported that Chinese citizens still have feelings of nostalgia towards the Maoist era even past the Cultural Revolution (Ding and Javed 2019). Iza Ding and Jeffrey Javed interviewed Chinese citizens from 2015 to 2018 and concluded that a majority of the older generation who lived during the Cultural Revolution still reminisce over Mao even though they faced negative political experiences under him. Present-day China is still being run by the CCP, but under Xi Jinping. The same article stated:

“The Xi era has seen a revival of ideology and a cult of personality, both hallmarks of Maoist rule. In 2017, Xi enshrined ‘Xi Jinping Thought’ in the Chinese constitution, alongside the ideological doctrines of Mao and Deng Xiaoping. At the beginning of 2019, the party launched a cellphone app ‘Study the Great Nation’ to promote Xi’s ideology. Party members and civil servants across the country must log a certain number of points a day in the app, which some have dubbed the ‘Little Red App,’ in reference to Mao’s ‘Little Red Book’ of political wisdom” (Ding and Javed 2019, Washington Post).

Again, the concept of *China’s Little Red Book* is being resurrected after Mao’s passing. The nostalgia for a country’s former leaders like Mao also resonates in countries like Russia as

Russians seek to revive the ideologies and thoughts of their past leader, Stalin (Luhn 2019). This shows that China is not the only country trying to revert to a former political regime by a dominant leader. Older generations are still facing hardships in assimilating into the Chinese government without the aid of Mao and his Little Red Book. This shows that Mao's strict surveillance of the Chinese people is still present in today's society.

Conclusion

This chapter allowed me to look at the influences of *China's Little Red Book* beyond Mao's death and discuss how it affects citizens in today's society. When I traveled to China in 2016 and 2018, I felt that the country was not how my mother had explained it to me. There were no restrictions other than the VPN blocking a few apps. Little did I know that the government was trying to control what citizens were allowed to see. Though citizens are not carrying *China's Little Red Book* like they used to in the 1960s, they are now the embodiment of his quotes from older generations passing down his policies informally.

Though small in size, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* was one form of propaganda that hugely impacted Chinese people. Mao and his speeches helped structure musical creations during his time as Chairman, but also after his death. The CCP continued to use songs to control China's large population in ways similar to what is described in Foucault's theory of Panopticism⁴⁴. The fear of falling out of line was instilled through the public punishment of 刘少奇 (Liu Shaoqi) and other political figures, which made it easier for the government to

⁴⁴ Foucault's Panopticism states that people are controlled when they believe that they are being surveilled or watched even when someone is not watching. In the case of China, even after Mao's death, Chinese citizens felt that they were being watched by him and the CCP. They continued to be docile to his ideologies even when they were given some individual freedom. (Source from Discipline and Punishment by Michel Foucault)

manipulate the general public. The fear of harsh punishment also limited the interpretations that could be formed from reading *China's Little Red Book*. Musically,

“As all Chinese creators of literature and art were under the subjugation of Mao's ideology on the proletarian revolutionary line, the subject matter of any work produced could not be other than limited and barren and the artistic media dull and crude, because any deviation therefrom would endanger the author in numberless ways” (Run 1991, 123).

Through historical changes, one can see the positive and negative impacts that the political and social changes in China have on the people. This can also be seen musically. Mao created music during political hardships to counter the emotional stress that citizens were facing.

Mao's Little Red Book gave structure to those who needed it. The songs created during Mao's reign during The Great Leap Forward, The Cultural Revolution, and after his death provided Chinese people with a vision of what it means to be Chinese. Even after the Red Book was taken away, Mao's quotations are still heard beyond his grave.

CHAPTER 6

FINAL THOUGHTS

我们必须向一切内行的人们(不管什么人)学经济工作。拜他们做老师，恭恭敬敬地学，老老实实地学。不懂就是不懂，不要装懂。

We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learning from them respectfully and conscientiously. We must not pretend to know when we do not know.

Chairman Mao Zedong
From The Little Red Book
Translated by Anonymous
“On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship” (June 30, 1949)
Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 423.

Future Research Questions

I realize that there is so much more information that leaves me asking more questions than when I started my project. I can see how much politics influences the musical scene, and I am still curious about the aftermath of Mao’s death in today’s society. I ponder on what ideas are still being taught and implemented in schools. But, I am also interested in finding statistics on this type of information. I hope that I will gain future opportunities to conduct fieldwork in China and in the Chinese dispersion globally to respond to the following questions:

- How are Chinese still being affected by Mao Zedong in contemporary society?
- What internal struggle do Chinese immigrants face regarding their identity?
- How are Chinese citizens finding a sense of belonging after Mao’s death?
- How is Mao’s legacy still being implemented in China in schools and conservatories?

- Which of Mao's ideologies have been taken out of school and work curricula?
- Can music and politics be divorced?

What was left out?

This study only touches the surface of what was happening in China during Mao's reign. I was not able to dig as deeply as I would have liked to. Continuing this research in the future, I would like to provide greater depth on the political history of China in each of the sections: The Great Leap Forward, The Cultural Revolution, and After Mao's Reign. The more I researched, the more angles I found on these histories. These perspectives left me perplexed but also created a desire to conduct more research.

As many of my sources were through the Western gaze, I would like to further investigate scholarly works from Chinese scholars in the Chinese language in China and from the Chinese diaspora. This can further enhance the research by displaying another realm of interpretations.

Moreover, I did not include as many additional examples as I wanted to support the discussions in each chapter to further interrogate the different types of pieces that were performed in a particular timeframe or environment, as well as explore other hermeneutical translations of lyrics. I will broaden my song selections and scope to other different musical environments and themes.

Additional Study Areas and Plans for the Future

I would like to visit and interview more musicians. I need to connect with these individuals, so I can gain a better understanding of their perspectives and adjust my own biases. This topic has created more interest for me in Jiang Qing's *yangbanxi* and I would like to analyze all eight revolutionary model operas from a Chinese-American perspective. I also want to delve

more into the music education system in China to see how the system has evolved since Mao's ideologies were implemented in schools to what is being presently taught. Lastly, I would like to study more about Chinese music as it is practiced in the United States and the evolution of Chinese instruments through the Western gaze. I have been involved in creating musical compositions with guzheng and non-Chinese instruments, and I want to see how audiences react to these types of compositions and also how Chinese composers and performers have morphed these traditions.

Concluding Thoughts

This research has been a rollercoaster of emotions for me. I have grown as a musician, a researcher, but also as an individual. I gained knowledge and understanding of my culture, and grew closer to my heritage and even the Chinese community in Atlanta. I am able to better connect and sympathize with my mother while understanding how much music meant to her and why she felt this was the only career path she could take. The research process has not been an easy one, and I know that it is imperative to continue learning and adding to my research in order to enrich both my personal identity and my musical experience.

As a music educator, performer in both the Western and Chinese traditions, and an ethnomusicologist, I am now better able to understand the older generation of Chinese, Chinese immigrants, and Chinese-Americans. Though there is still much to learn, this study helped me become more open-minded about how their identities were challenged due to the political and social struggles. I also learned about the complications of translation.

As I continue my journey teaching students about Chinese music on Chinese instruments, I will not avoid these types of pieces. Due to the nature of these pieces, I have to be cautious of the politics that are embedded into these pieces that I perform for audiences, as there is also a

large Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese population in Atlanta, Georgia. For the education aspect, I will educate my students about the histories of these pieces. I will have to be cautious about where and to whom I perform these pieces. Depending on the age range, I have to be cautious on the way I deliver that information, but I want to continue the storytelling tradition like how my mother did for me. I want my students to be able to know where their songs came from and why it should be performed a certain way.

There is still a long road ahead of studying music and politics during and after Mao Zedong's reign. Not only have I been introduced to this era of music and politics, but it has also sparked an interest in this area of study. As I continue to research this topic, my plan is to develop a better understanding and ultimately utilize this understanding to further my pursuit in this field.

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APPENDIX: WESTERN STAFF NOTATION OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Glorious Labor (劳动最光荣, 1954)

Huang Zhun (黄准)



Everlasting Sunny Day (九九艳阳天, 1957)

Hu Shiyan (胡石言) and Huang Zongjiang (黄宗江)



The North Wind Blows (北风吹, 1941)

Ma Ke (馬可) Zhang Lu (張魯)

*Parenthesis indicate
instrumental accompaniment

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The People of Yanbian Love Chairman Mao

(延边人民热爱毛主席, 1971)

Jin Fenghao (金凤浩)



East is Red (东方红, 1966)

李有源 (Li Youyuan)

