References

All references to Mao’s writings and speeches that are clearly identified in the text are omitted from the reference list in order to streamline the endnotes. We include citations to Mao in the endnotes only when the text is not freely available online. The public translations of Mao can be found in Mao’s Selected Works or by searching the online database www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/index.htm unless the translation was done by the author, in which case it is acknowledged. Finally, we adopted a consistent style throughout the text, including long-form quotations.

INTRODUCTION


AESTHETICS


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**BLOOD LINEAGE**


[3] There are multiple terms to describe genealogical and political groupings in Kazakh society (for example *ulus, ru, juz*). These terms are inconsistently translated in English and Chinese sources, and were influenced by early British anthropology’s ideological perceptions of the tribes and clans in Africa. The Chinese sources for this material used *buluo*, which in modern Chinese can be loosely translated as clan or tribe. However, as Morton Fried and Daniel Biebuyck argue, ‘tribe’ simplifies the innate complexity of a group’s terms for social organisation. See Fried, Morton. 1966. ‘On the Concepts of “Tribe” and “Tribal Society.”’ *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences* 28: 527–40; Biebuyck, Daniel P. 1966. ‘On the Concept of Tribe.’ *Civilisations* 16 (4): 500–15.


CLASS FEELING


CLASS STRUGGLE


COLLECTIVISM


CONTRADICTION


CULTURE

[1] Translator’s Note: The 'socialist new person' (*shehui zhuyi xinren*), or, in Lenin’s formulation from the early 1920s, ‘new Soviet person,’ was projected as the ideal figure who would create and emerge from the revolutionary remolding of human life and labour after the exploitative systems of capitalism were defeated: selfless, collective-minded, educated, seeking for equality, and so on. This became a central cinematic and literary motif in Chinese cultural production from the 1950s onwards.
[2] Translator’s Note: This formulation derives from Mao Zedong’s famous 1927 ‘Report on the Hunan Peasant Movement.’
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Pacific Affairs 59 (1): 5–27.


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**DATONG AND XIAOKANG**


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**DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM**


DIGNITY OF LABOUR


FORMALISM


FRIEND AND ENEMY


[2] After the Shanghai Massacre and the failure of the Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927, the remnants of the Communist fighting forces fled to the remote bandit-ridden hideaway of Jinggangshan. They reached there in late 1927 and the process of rustication began as this formally city-based Party had to adapt to rural habits and mores.


[5] For the Party’s own assessment, see ‘Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China.’ Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 27 June 1981. The idea of Mao coming down from a sacred pedestal is drawn from the 1990 Hunan Xiang Yishu Chubanshe disco album called ‘Cherishing your memories—Stepping down from the Sacred Pedestal of Mao Zedong.’ This album contained 13 songs commemorating or remembering Mao. Set to a disco beat, these songs were a significant come down for a Chairman who had once been treated in a god-like fashion. Nevertheless, it proved to be a huge hit with over 100 million copies sold and forming part of the trinketisation and commodification of Mao’s image that took place in the early 1990s Mao Craze.

[6] Just how influential this slogan was to the student movements of the 1960s is illustrated by the title of an article in the Asia Times celebrating the 50th anniversary of May 1968 by Pepe Escobar. The article was simply called ‘1968: The Legacy of Marx, Mao, and Marcuse.’ Just how far Mao has fallen in those 50 years is noted by Escobar when he writes: ‘Marx, arguably, may now be even more influential than Marcuse or Debord. It took a while for French intelligentsia to realize that then idealized Mao Zedong was a de facto rash Chinese emperor, issuing absurd edicts that destroyed the lives of millions.’ See Escobar, Pepe. 2018. ‘1968: The Legacy of Marx, Mao, and Marcuse.’ Asia Times, 12 May, www.atimes.com/article/1968-the-legacy-of-marx-mao-marcuse.

[7] The proliferation of comparisons of these dystopic figures has solidified the connection and is summed up well in the opening gambit of Ian Johnson’s 2018 piece entitled ‘Who Killed More: Hitler, Stalin, or Mao?’ This piece, written in The New York Review of Books, begins as follows: ‘In these pages nearly seven years ago, Timothy Snyder asked the provocative question: Who killed more, Hitler or Stalin? As useful as that exercise in moral rigor was, some think the question itself might have been slightly off. Instead, it should have included a third tyrant of the twentieth century, Chairman Mao. And not just that, but that Mao should have been the hands-down winner, with his ledger easily trumping the European dictators.’ See Johnson, Ian. 2018. ‘Who Killed More: Hitler, Stalin, or Mao?’ The New York Review of Books, 5 February. www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/02/05/who-killed-more-hitler-stalin-or-mao.


[9] Ibid.

[10] ‘The political is the most intense and extreme antagonism, and every concrete antagonism becomes that much more political the closer it approaches the most extreme point, that of the friend-enemy grouping.’ Ibid., 29.
According to Jan-Werner Müller, Schmitt insisted that the political was ‘purely a matter of intensity, so that any antithesis, if it was strong enough, could become political. Thus it was not the substance of enmity that mattered, but the intensity of an existential threat.’ Quoted in Müller, Jan-Werner. 2003. *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought*, 32–33. New Haven: Yale University Press.

In discussing the question of intensity and the partisan, Schmitt states that ‘with Mao there is still a concrete factor with reference to the partisan, whereby he came closer than Lenin to the core of the matter which made it possible for him to think the partisan through to the end. In short, Mao’s revolution was more telluric.’ See Schmitt, Carl (translated by G. L. Ulmen). 2007. *The Theory of the Partisan: Intermediate Commentary on the Concept of the Political*, 57. New York: Telos Press.


See *People’s Daily*, 2 June 1966.

Recent research by University College London makes the claim that the colonisation of the Americas at the end of the fifteenth century killed so many indigenous people, it disturbed Earth’s climate, causing a ‘Little Ice Age.’ See Koch, Alexander, Chris Brierley, Mark M. Maslin, Simon L. Lewis. 2019. ‘Earth System Impacts of the European Arrival and Great Dying in the Americas after 1492.’ *Quaternary Science Reviews* 207 (1): 13–36.

I offer a detailed elaboration of these points and other points in my new book, *The Book of Politics* (forthcoming).

GLOBAL MAOISM


IMMORTALITY


[11] In 1984, Orwell wrote: ‘Every record has been destroyed or falsified, every book has been rewritten, every picture has been repainted, every statue and street and building has been renamed, every date has been altered. And that process is continuing day by day and minute by minute. History has stopped. Nothing exists except an endless present in which the Party is always right.’ See Orwell, George. 1983. *1984*, 147. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.


[13] This is likely because of the depth of identification with Mao’s words that people had acquired in their formative years, through their memorisation and internalisation of quotations from Mao in the *Little Red Book* (‘treasured red book’ hongbaoshu).


[15] One popular parody of the motto in the 2000s and since takes the form of the question: ‘Are you serving the people or …?’ with the blank filled in by words such as ‘Party,’ ‘corrupt officials,’ ‘leaders,’ and ‘yourself.’


[22] Minzhu renshi is a Mao-era term referring to people who, during the Republican period, joined other political parties or were without political affiliations but who were 'patriotic' supporters of the Chinese communist cause. The year 1954 was also when Mao denounced Hu Shi and attacked Hu's former associates. Mao had, in earlier decades, admired Hu's writings.


[24] My thanks to Warren Sun and Han Gang for providing this information.


[26] Quoted and translated in Barmé, Geremie R. 2018. 'Homo Xinensis: Drop Your Pants! The Party Wants to Patriotise You All Over Again (Part iii).' China Heritage. 31 August. chinaheritage.net/journal/homo-xinensis.

JUSTICE


[5] Ibid., 103.


LABOUR


LARGE AND COMMUNITARIAN


[2] Ibid.


[7] Ibid.


LINE STRUGGLE


[5] Ibid.


MASS LINE


MASS SUPERVISION


MOBILISATION


MUSEUM


AFTERLIVES OF CHINESE COMMUNISM 373

[13] Ibid.

NATIONALITY


NEW DEMOCRACY

[*] The author wishes to acknowledge Chen Yaxiong for his excellent research assistance.


[8] Ibid., 8. Hu was quoting Mao’s report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee.


**PAPER TIGER**

[1] The first appearance of the term is in the ‘Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong’ (August 1946); another in an excerpt from a ‘Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties’ (18 November 1957); and the final in Mao’s declaration at a ‘Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held at Wuchang’ (1 December 1958). All quotations in the chapter come from Mao, Tse-tung. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.* Beijing: Waiwen Chubanshe. www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works.


**PEASANT**


[7] Ibid., 27.


[16] Ibid., 137, 187–89.


PEOPLE’S WAR

[1] Translator’s Note: Mao was responding to the reporter’s question of what would happen if the United States uses the atom bomb against the Soviet Union (see also Balso’s essay in the present volume). Mao, Zedong. 1946. ‘Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong.’ August. www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-4/mswv4_13.htm.

[2] Translator’s Note: The author uses different terms for ‘subject’ to inflect the shift from passively being ruled *chenmin* to the agent of rule *zhuti* effected through Rousseau’s concept of popular sovereignty *zhuquan zaimin*.


[4] Translator’s Note: These are song lyrics from the Xibaipo period (1947–48) where the CCP established its base after leaving Yan’an. It is a place laden with revolutionary significance.

[5] Translator’s Note: The ‘three-thirds system’ was the creation of a united-front government combined of one-third Communists, one-third non-Communist left, and one-third middle/other elements, in order to fight the Japanese.

[6] Translator’s Note: Nanniwan is a gorge southeast of Yan’an where the Eighth Route Army experimented in self-sufficient agricultural production in response to economic blockades in 1941; two years later, a popular revolutionary song was written about it.
PERMANENT REVOLUTION


[5] Ibid., 408.


[36] Ibid., 98–99.


POETRY


[2] Yang Lian raised this point in many interviews and lectures.


[4] Forced to shut down in 1980, the group was re-founded abroad in June 1990.


[8] Ibid.

[9] The poem can be found in Qin, Xiaoyu, and Xiaobo Wu. 2015. The Verses of Us, 170–72. Translation by the author.


**PRACTICE**


PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION


[2] Ibid., 876.


[8] The version of universalist history now deployed was based on liberal modernisation theory, the ideology underpinning global capitalism, rather than a Marxist version of history rooted in class struggle. See Karl, Rebecca E. 2017. ‘The Economic and the State,’ 40–72.


[13] I am grateful to Rebecca Karl for this observation.


RECTIFICATION

[*] I thank the editors and Steve Heder for comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. Any remaining errors are mine.


[7] Ibid., 279.


[11] Dutton, Michael. 2005. Policing Chinese Politics, 54–67. Indeed, Dutton suggests that ‘had it not been for the final success of Jiang Jieshi’s fifth extermination campaign forcing the evacuation of the base camps and a reevaluation of Party policy, Mao’s wry comments to Zhang Dingcheng about “cutting our own throats” may well have become prophetic’ (66).


[22] Although the Indochinese Communist Party/Vietnamese Communist Party was very heavily influenced and the Sino-Vietnamese rendering chinh phong exists in ICP/VCP speak, it is only to talk about China. In ‘Communist speak, the term exists (kăr thãññhõk ñăng), but similarly was never part of anything that was implemented. It is also in CPK-speak as dtomrong dtis, but again was not part of some intra-party campaign. I thank Steve Heder for this observation.


[25] The Associated Press. 2006. ‘Ta Mok, Khmer Rouge Head Facing Genocide Trial, Dies.’ The Associated Press, 21 July. I changed the wording to the more scatological term because Ta Mok would never use the word ‘dung’ when ‘shit’ would do.


RED AND EXPERT


[16] Ibid., 9.


REMOVING MOUNTAINS AND DRAINING SEAS

[*] I thank the editors and Coraline Goron, Elizabeth Lord, and Yvan Schulz for their feedback on this piece.

It seems that the expression was first uttered by Xi in 2005 when he was Secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee. See www.cecep.cn/g3621/s7631/t39494.aspx. Since then, it has been repeated on several occasions. For instance, see Xi, Jinping. 2016. 'Enhanced Partnership for Greater Momentum of Growth.' Keynote Speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the APEC CEO Summit, Lima, 19 November. www.globaltimes.cn/content/1019023.shtml.


[1] Translator's Note: The 'countryside surrounding the city' was Mao Zedong's revolutionary strategy of the 1930s and 1940s; the 'united front' refers to the policy of cross-class alliance in the War of Resistance against Japan (1937–45) (see De Giorgi's essay in the present volume); the mass line refers to Mao's hallmark theory of mass democracy (see Lin Chun's essay in the present volume).
[3] Translator’s Note: John King Fairbank (1907–91) was an historian of China based at Harvard University, known for the ‘impact [of the West]–response [of China]’ paradigm, which now is largely abandoned by historians. The point the author is making here, is that if ‘impact-response’ were a viable paradigm for thinking about modern Chinese history, then for the Chinese Revolution, one would have to expand the paradigm into ‘impact-appropriation-response;’ that is, there was not a clean acceptance of ‘Western’ or Soviet or Chinese traditional experience, but rather creative adaptations of all of it, thus an ‘appropriation.’

[4] Translator’s Note: The Paris Commune was a political and social revolution in 1870 in France. Its radical political and social egalitarianism became a touchstone in January 1967, during one of the high-tides of the proletarian commitment to the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai. This is known as the ‘January Revolution’ or the ‘January Storm.’

[5] Translator’s Note: Self-reliance and self-sufficiency in food were two of the major ‘delinking’ aspects of the Maoist years, intended to prepare China to survive global isolation, any nuclear or other devastating attack, or a US-led embargo (See Yang’s essay in the present volume).

[6] Translator’s Note: ‘Successors’ refers to what was called the ‘revolutionary successors’ problem: who or which social class was going to be the successor to the Mao Zedong-era of revolutionary activists? Was it going to be the technocrats (experts)? Or true believers (reds)? And who was going to train them?

[7] Translator’s Note: There were sweeping efforts through the 1950s and 1960s to bridge the cultural-educational gap between rural areas and cities by allowing peasant children to ‘enter the cities’ while encouraging urban intellectual youths to ‘return to the villages.’ This effort reached its apogee during the Cultural Revolution.

[8] Translator’s Note: Tang Tsou (1919–99) was a political scientist. Born in China, he made his career at the University of Chicago as an interpreter of Chinese politics. In 1986, he was recognised by Beijing University with an honorary position. Critical of the Communist Party but also a nationalist, Tang Tsou is one of the favoured ‘Western-educated’ Chinese often cited in Mainland China today. For Tang Tsou, ‘all-round society’ refers to what he deems to be the unindividuated nature of Chinese life, where state power and community lifeworlds interpenetrate in a way that is undifferentiated.

[9] Translator’s Note: This was one of the opening documents of the Cultural Revolution in the form of a letter Mao wrote to Lin Biao, then the leader of the People’s Liberation Army. In this directive, Mao Zedong indicated that the army was to become the ‘great school of socialism’ and that, essentially, education was to be productive and school-based, intellectual and manual.

[10] Translator’s Note: Song-Ming neo-Confucianism was an abstruse set of textual doctrines and practices as well as a boiled-down, socially practical mode of instruction for the non-literate; it was propagated at the social levels through oral village instruction. The idealism of Wang Yangming (1472–1529) points to the unity of knowledge and action promoted by the philosopher and taken up by his followers ever since. It emphasises personal morality as the highest social good. It has been revived in recent years, with the retreat of Maoist collective ethics and the new ideological emphasis on individual responsibility.

[11] Translator’s Note: Yao and Shun were mythical emperors of prehistorical times, to whose perfection all superior humans should aspire. The poem by Mao mobilises this thought to underscore the malleability and mutability of all human beings, if given the correct socio-political conditions in which to transform themselves. The poem from which this line derives was written in 1961.

[12] Translator’s Note: The ‘gentleman’ or junzi ideal was a Confucian construction of the all-round moral, ethical human being; in Confucianism, this was only expected to be achieved by literate superior men.
[13] Translator’s Note: Wang Meng (1934– ), is a major literary and cultural figure; he also served as China’s Minister of Culture (1986–89). His works always skated along the line between officially sanctioned and prohibited. His legacy is thus quite complex, with some accusing him of Party sycophancy and others of heretical thinking. ‘Avoiding glory,’ for him, indicated the 1980s and 1990s trend towards intellectuals relinquishing the social responsibility with which Mao had tasked them and becoming individuals again.

[14] Translator’s Note: The economy as ‘embedded’ is an interpretive phrase derived from Karl Polanyi’s *The Great Transformation*, which is a favoured text among some Chinese commentators, who are critical of capitalism but also of the Maoist economy that came before. Polanyi has seen a great revival among those looking for leftist but not Marxist analyses. See Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.

[15] Translator’s Note: *Datong*, introduced above, is appropriated from Confucian thought to re-animate in today’s China a collective ideal. It is not always meant to be equivalent to socialism (see Craig A. Smith’s essay in the present volume), although Cai is here marking that possible equivalence. It has become a newly fashionable way to speak about a nativist socialist stream of thought that could become relevant again, even if Marxist socialism is no longer on the agenda.

**SELF-RELIANCE**


**SEMIFEUDALISM, SEMICOLONIALISM**

[*] Acknowledgement and gratitude to Aminda Smith for her kind reading of this essay.


[14] The Maoist position on ‘identity’ appears in ‘On Contradiction,’ in which ‘identity of contradiction exists only under certain necessary conditions’ without which there ‘can be no identity whatsoever’ (47).


**SENDING FILMS TO THE COUNTRYSIDE**

[*] The photography and research of this collaborative project (with Tina Chen and Thomas Lahusen) was funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada between 2012 and 2016.


**SERVE THE PEOPLE**


SOCIALIST LAW


SPEAKING BITTERNESS


[16] For the full listing of ‘classic’ speaking-bitterness stories, see Jin-Cha-Ji Military District Political Department, ed. 1947. Suku fuchou [Speaking Bitterness and Seeking Vengeance], 1–32.

[17] Ibid., 44–45.


SUGARCOATED BULLETS


SUPERSTITION


[18] Ibid., 20–25.

**SURPASS**


THIRD WORLD


[8] Translator's Note: The term *zonghengshu*, often translated as the ‘School of Diplomacy’ or the ‘School of Vertical and Horizontal Alliances’ refers to strategists of the Warring States Period. The ‘vertical’ supporters envisioned an alliance of the weak against the strongest state, while the ‘horizontal’ supporters encouraged the hegemony of the strongest state over the weaker states.


THOUGHT REFORM


TRADE UNION


[8] The definition of the union is taken from the first article of the 1950 Trade Union Law; the definition of the CCP as vanguard of the Chinese working class is enshrined in the first line of the Party Constitution.


[22] Ibid.


UNITED FRONT


UTOPIA


**WOMEN’S LIBERATION**


[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.


[39] Ibid., 270.

[40] Ibid., 282.

WORK TEAM


WORK UNIT


**AFTERWORD**


