

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

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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.

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FRIEND AND ENEMY

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[3] So says Leo Strauss in his famous commentary on Schmitt. See Strauss, Leo. 1996. 'Notes on Carl Schmitt.' In Carl Schmitt (translated by J. Harvey Lomax), *The Concept of the Political*, 85. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[4] For a detailed, empirically based description of its centrality to the Maoist revolution, see Dutton, Michael. 2005. *Policing Chinese Politics: A History*. Durham: Duke University Press.

[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.

[8] Schmitt, Carl (translated by J. Harvey Lomax). 1996. *The Concept of the Political*, 26.

[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.

[11] 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.

[12] 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.

[13] Remnants of this can still be seen in Chinese policy today in a form that Sebastian Heilmann has called ‘guerrilla style policy.’ Interestingly, in China, this guerrilla policy style comes from the flexibility offered by what Zhai Xuewei has called *tu zhengce* and which could be translated as ‘telluric policy.’ For more details on both these policy concepts which tie grassroots policy operations back to the days of the telluric partisan, see Heilmann, Sebastian. 2011. ‘Policy-Making Through Experimentation: The Formation of a Distinctive Policy Process.’ In *Mao’s Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*, edited by Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry, 62–101. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center; Zhai, Xuewei. 2013. *Renqing, mianzi yu quanli de zaishengchan* [Face, Favour, and Reproduction of Power], 219–31. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe.

[14] See *People’s Daily*, 2 June 1966.

[15] 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.

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

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IMMORTALITY

[1] From an interview with the journalist, popular historian, and social critic Dai Qing in *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*. 1995. Film. Directed by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon. Long Bow Group. tsquare.tv/film/transcript_open.php.

[2] Teiwes, Frederick C. 2010. 'Mao and his Followers,' 130. In *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, edited by Timothy Cheek, 129–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[3] Dai Qing in *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, cit.

[4] Hartman, Geoffrey. 2007. *Criticism in the Wilderness*, 248. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

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[6] Leys, Simon. 1999. *The Angel and the Octopus*, 16–17. Sydney: Duffy & Snellgrover.

[7] *Zhuangzi* 27:1. Translation by the author.

[8] I draw here on Charles Taylor's argument that language, in its constitutive dimension, makes possible through 'certain expressions or enactments ... certain meanings and ways of being.' See Taylor, Charles. 2016. *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity*, 47–48. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[9] Hu, Shi. 1998. 'Buxiu: Wo de zongjiao [Immortality: My Religion].' In *Hu Shi wenji [Collected Works of Hu Shi]*, Vol. 2, edited by Ouyang Zhesheng, 525–32. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe.

[10] *Ibid.*, 532.

[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.

[12] Yurchak, Alexei. 2005. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*, 250. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[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*).

[14] Schram, Stuart, Timothy Cheek, and Roderick MacFarquhar, eds. 2015. *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings*, Vol. 8, 616. London & New York: Routledge.

[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.'

[16] The essay by Mao was: Mao, Zedong. 1919. 'Minzhongde dalianhe [Great Union of the Masses]': *Xiangjiang pinglun* [*Xiang River Review*]. 21 July. This translation is from the transcript of: *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, www.tsquare.tv/film/transcript.html; The hunger strike manifesto 'Jueshi xuanyuan', 13 May 1989, is online at www.64wiki.com/viiv/viiv/eventinfo.php?id=484.

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[19] Arendt, Hannah. 1958. *The Human Condition*, 55. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[20] An annotated online copy of this poem appears on the *People's Daily* website at www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/8198/30446/30453/2220788.html.

[21] Mao, Zedong. 1958. 'Sixty Articles on Work Methods.' 2 February. www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-8/mswv8_05.htm.

[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.

[23] Quoted (among other places) in You, Heping. 2014. 'Mao Zedong zhongshi wenhua baohu [Mao Zedong Paid Attention to Cultural Preservation]': *Minzu fuxing wang* [*Ethnic Renaissance Net*]. 21 May. www.mzfxw.com/e/action/ShowInfo.php?classid=18&tid=8790.

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

[25] On Mao's influence and legacy in the first two decades after his death, see the absorbing study Barmé, Geremie R. 1996. *Shades of Mao: The Posthumous Cult of the Great Leader*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.

[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.

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[1] Garlan, Edward N. 1941. *Legal Realism and Justice*, 3. New York: Columbia University Press.

[2] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law: the Politics of Legal Regimes in China and Indonesia*, 29–30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[3] Tsou, Tang. 1976. 'Prolegomenon to the Study of Informal Groups in CCP Politics.' *The China Quarterly* 65: 98–114.

[4] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, Chapter 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, 103.

[6] *Ibid.*, Chapter 2.

[7] Hurst, William. 2011. 'Politics, Society, and the Legal System in Contemporary China.' In *Law, Wealth, and Power in China: Commercial Law Reforms in Context*, edited by John Garrick, 72–88. London: Routledge.

[8] Lubman, Stanley B. 1970. 'Methodological Problems in Studying Chinese Communist "Civil Law."' In *Contemporary Chinese Law: Research Problems and Perspectives*, edited by Jerome A. Cohen, 248–55. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[9] For instance, see Diamant, Neil J. 2001. 'Making Love Legible in China: Politics and Society during the Enforcement of Civil Marriage Registration, 1950–1966.' *Politics and Society* 29 (3): 477–80.

[10] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 61 and 89.

[11] For a discussion of the importance of defining enemies, and specifically *hostes* rather than *inimici*, see Schmitt, Carl (translated by George Schwab). 2007. *The Concept of the Political*, Expanded Edition, 28–30. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[12] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 113; Mühlhahn, Klaus. 2009. *Criminal Justice in China: A History*, 180–81. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[13] Bennett, Gordon. 1976. *Yundong: Mass Campaigns in Chinese Communist Leadership*. Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies Research Monographs; Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 57.

[14] Hurst, William. 2011. 'Politics, Society, and the Legal System in Contemporary China,' 80; Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 59.

[15] In the reform era, *heyiting* have often also included a 'people's assessor' (*renmin peishenyuan*) alongside the *shenpanzhang* and a second professional judge.

[16] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 60.

[17] *Ibid.*, 61.

[18] *Ibid.*, 119–23.

[19] Mühlhahn, Klaus. 2009. *Criminal Justice in China*, 215–19; Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 112–13.

[20] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 105–10.

[21] Liu, Sida, and Terence Halliday. 2016. *Criminal Defense in China: The Politics of Lawyers at Work*, 20–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[22] Hurst, William. 2018. *Ruling Before the Law*, 106–10.

[23] *Ibid.*, 125–26.

[24] *Ibid.*, Chapters 4 and 5.

[25] Biddulph, Sarah. 2007. *Legal Reform and Administrative Detention Powers in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Sapio, Flora. 2010. *Sovereign Power and the Law in China*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

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LABOUR

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[2] For examples of these practices, see Li, Huaiyin. 2008. *Village China Under Socialism and Reform: A Micro-History, 1948–2008*, 23–266. Stanford: Stanford University Press; U, Eddy. 2007. *Disorganizing China: Counter-Bureaucracy and the Decline of Socialism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Li, Huaiyin. 2017. 'Everyday Power Relations in State Firms in Socialist China: A Reexamination.' *Modern China* 43: 288–321.

[3] Lenin, Vladimir. 1993. *The State and Revolution*, 16–21 and 75–92. New York: Penguin.

[4] An early treatment of this facet of Mao era propaganda can be found in Schwartz, Benjamin I. 1968. 'The Reign of Virtue: Some Broad Perspectives on Leader and Party in the Cultural Revolution.' *The China Quarterly* 35: 1–17. For a similar trend in Soviet cultural production, see Stites, Richard. 1989. *Revolutionary Dreams. Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[5] On the urban–rural divide, see Brown, Jeremy. 2012. *City Versus Countryside in Mao's China: Negotiating the Divide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. On the welfare state, see Lu, Xiaobo, and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds. 1997. *Danwei: The Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe; Dillon, Nara. 2015. *Radical Inequalities: China's Revolutionary Welfare State in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[6] On work-points, see Li, Huaiyin. 2008. *Village China Under Socialism and Reform*, 35–36, 99–100, 187–91, 194–98. On industrial wages see Walder, Andrew G. 1986. *Communist Neo-Traditionalism*, 76–81; Frazier, Mark W. 2002. *The Making of the Chinese Industrial Workplace*, 143–51.

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[9] Marx, Karl (translated by Ben Fowkes). 1867. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*, 342, 989–90. Reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1976; Marx, Karl. 1849. 'Wage Labour and Capital.' *Collected Works, Vol. 9*, 213 and 215. Reprint, London, 1977.

[10] Pietz, David A. 2015. *The Yellow River: The Problem of Water in Modern China*, 130–257. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Li, Hou. 2018. *Building for Oil Daqing and the Formation of the Chinese Socialist State*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[11] On discipline and surveillance, see Walder, Andrew G. 1986. *Communist Neo-Traditionalism*; Bray, David. 2005. *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform*, 66–166. Stanford: Stanford University Press. On life chances, see Walder, Andrew G., Bobai Li, and Donald J. Treiman. 2000. 'Politics and Life Chances in a State Socialist Regime: Dual Career Paths into the Urban Chinese Elite, 1949 to 1996.' *American Sociological Review* 65 (2): 191–209.

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[14] Bauman, Zygmunt. 1991. *Modernity and Ambivalence*, 20. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

[15] Foucault, Michel. 2004. *Security, Territory, Population*, 125–30. New York: Picador.

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Engels, Friedrich. 1845. 'Speeches in Elberfeld.' In *Marx and Engels Collected Works* Vol. 4. marxists.anu.edu.au/archive/marx/works/1845/02/15.htm.

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[5] Qian, Shengzhi. 1958. 'Tan renmin gongshe hua tiaojian xia xian de chengshi guihua wenti [Discussing the Problem of Planning County Cities Under the Conditions of Communification].' *Caijing yanjiu [Financial Research]* 9: 15–18.

[6] Jin, Oubo. 1960. 'Architectural Design Needs to Reflect the New Form of the Urban People's Communes.'

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Tomba, Luigi. 2017. 'Finding China's Urban: Bargained Land Conversions, Local Assemblages, and Fragmented Urbanization.' In *To Govern China: Evolving Practices of Power*, edited by Vivienne Shue and Patricia M. Thornton, 203–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LINE STRUGGLE

[1] For a Japanese-language study on the early translation of the concept of 'line' in East Asia, see Eda, Kenji. 2013. 'Chūgoku Kyōsantōshi ni okeru honyaku gainen [Translated Concepts in the History of the Chinese Communist Party].' In *Kindai higashi Ajia ni okeru honyaku gainen no tenkai [The Development of Translated Concepts in Modern East Asia]*, edited by Naoki Hazama and Yoshihiro Ishikawa, 343–72. Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University. For an English-language study of the concept of 'line struggle,' see Dittmer, Lowell. 1977. "Line Struggle" in Theory and Practice: The Origins of the Cultural Revolution Reconsidered. *The China Quarterly* 72: 675–712.

[2] The term 'Li Lisan Course' first appeared in Ōtsuka, Reizō. 1931. 'Chūgoku Kyōsantō saikin no dōyō ni tsukite [On Recent Unrest in the Chinese Communist Party].' *Sōgō shiryō [Collected Materials]*, 18 February. Mantetsu Chōsaka. Within months it also appeared in the popular journals of the time: Tanaka, Tadao. 1931. 'Shina kakumei no gensei to Shina Kyōsantō no naikō [The Current Situation of the Chinese Revolution and Discord within the Chinese Communist Party].' *Chūō kōron [Central Review]*, April; Ōtsuka, Reizō. 1931. 'Shina kyōsantō no gensei [The Current Situation of the Chinese Communist Party].' *Kaizō [Reconstruct]*, July.

[3] Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Literature Research Office. 2011. *Mao Zedong sixiang nianbian, 1921–1975 [Chronicle of Mao Zedong Thought, 1921–1975]*, 366–67. Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe.

[4] Those ten line struggles were as follows: 1. Chen Duxiu's right-opportunist line; 2. Li Lisan's left-adventurist line; 3. Qu Qiubai's left-deviationist line; 4. Luo Zhangnong's splittist line; 5. Zhang Guotao's splittist line; 6. Wang Ming's first left then right opportunist line; 7. Gao Gang and Rao Shushi's anti-Party clique splittist line; 8. Peng Dehuai's right-opportunist line; 9. Liu Shaoqi's capitalist

headquarters; 10. Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique. See: Mao, Zedong. 1998. *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao, di shisan ce* [*Mao Zedong's Writings Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, Vol. 13*], 241–50. Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Hu, Qiaomu. 1999. 'Guanyu minzhu he zhuanzhengde wenti (1980 nian qi yue shiba ri) [On the Question of Democracy and Dictatorship (18 July 1980)]': *Hu Qiaomu tan zhonggong dangshi* [*Hu Qiaomu Discusses the History of the Communist Party of China*], 85–86. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe. This speech is a discussion of the drafting committee of the second resolution on history.

[7] Hu, Qiaomu. 1999. 'Guanyu "lishi jueyi" de jidian shuoming (1981 nian wu yue shijiu ri) [A Few Illustrations of the "Resolution on History" (19 May 1981)]': *Hu Qiaomu tan zhonggong dangshi* [*Hu Qiaomu Discusses the History of the Communist Party of China*], 85–86. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe. This speech was made at an Expanded Meeting of the CCP Politburo.

MASS LINE

[1] For a sampling of appreciation of the mass line in political theory in the West, see Lin, Chun. 2006. *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*, Chapter 3, 143–48. Durham: Duke University Press.

[2] Marx, Karl. 1875. 'Critique of the Gotha Programme,' Section I. www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/gotha/ch01.htm.

[3] Mao, Zedong. 1959–60. 'On the Soviet Textbook of Political Economy.' cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64185/189968/11568297.html.

[4] Marx, Karl. 1867. *Capital I*, 874–75. Reprint, New York: Penguin, 1976.

[5] Mao, Zedong. 1964. 'The Editorial Note on "Khrushchev's Phony Communism and its World Historical Lessons."' *Renmin ribao* [*People's Daily*], 14 July. His earliest warning in the similar wording was made in Mao, Zedong. 1962. 'Speech at the Extended Central Work Conference.' 30 January. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong Since 1949*, Vol. 10, 24–25. Reprint, Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, 1996.

[6] Xinhua. 2017. 'Highlights of Xi's Report to 19th CPC National Congress.' *People's Daily*, 18 October. en.people.cn/n3/2017/1018/c90000-9281682.html.

MASS SUPERVISION

[1] Sections of this chapter are based on chapters in a forthcoming book [Andreas, Joel. Forthcoming 2019. *Disenfranchised: The Rise and Fall of Industrial Citizenship in China*. Under Review] as well as a published chapter [Andreas, Joel, and Yige Dong. 2017. "'Mass Supervision" and the Bureaucratization of Governance in China.' In *To Govern China: Evolving Practices of Power*, edited by Vivienne Shue and Patricia M. Thornton, 123–55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press]. Yige Dong provided invaluable assistance in conducting the content analyses presented in the chapter. Research that informs this chapter also benefited from able assistance provided by Rachel Core, Chunyan Fan, Amy Han, Lingli Huang, Crystal Lee, Gloria Li, Peiyao Li, Yao Li, Yingyao Wang, Jaycee Yao, and Shaohua Zhan.

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[3] Scholarship on the CCP's internal apparatus to monitor and discipline party cadres includes: Barnett, A. Doak. 1967. *Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China*. New York: Columbia University Press; Lü, Xiaobo. 2000. *Cadres and Corruption: The Organizational Involvement of the Chinese Communist Party*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Schurmann, Franz. 1968. *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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[7] Li, Fangchun. 2012. 'Mass Democracy, Class Struggle, and Remolding the Party and Government During the Land Reform Movement in North China.' *Modern China* 38 (4): 411–45; Teiwes, Frederick. 1976. 'The Origins of Rectification: Inner-Party Purges and Education Before Liberation.' *The China Quarterly* 65: 15–53.

[8] Li, Fangchun. 2012. 'Mass Democracy, Class Struggle, and Remolding the Party and Government During the Land Reform Movement in North China.'

[9] National People's Congress. 1954. 'Article 17.' *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*. www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/wxzl/2000-12/26/content_4264.htm.

[10] On the Three Antis Campaign see Andreas, Joel. Forthcoming 2019. *Disenfranchised*; Gao, James Zheng. 2004. *The Communist Takeover of Hangzhou: The Transformation of City and Cadre, 1949–1954*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press; Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2009. *Revolution and Tradition in Tientsin, 1949–1952*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Lü, Xiaobo. 2000. *Cadres and Corruption*, 51–62.

[11] On the 1957 Party Rectification and the Anti-rightist Campaign, see Andreas, Joel. 2009. *Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class*, 32–41. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Andreas, Joel. Forthcoming 2019. *Disenfranchised*; MacFarquhar, Roderick. 1960. *The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals*. New York: Praeger; MacFarquhar, Roderick. 1974. *Origins of the Cultural Revolution, I: Contradictions Among the People, 1956–1957*. New York: Columbia University Press; Teiwes, Frederick. 1993. *Politics and Purges in China: Rectification and the Decline of Party Norms, 1950–1965*, Second Edition, 156–258. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.

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[15] CCP Central Committee, 1965. 'Nongcun shehuizhuyi jiaoyu yundong zhong muqian tichu de yi xie wenti'

[16] Andreas, Joel. Forthcoming 2019. *Disenfranchised*; Chan, Anita, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger. 2009. *Chen Village: Revolution to Globalization*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Friedman, Edward, Paul Pickowicz, and Mark Selden. 2005. *Revolution, Resistance and Reform in Village China*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Hinton, William. 1983. *Shenfan: The Continuing Revolution in a Chinese Village*. New York: Random House.

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[18] Mao, Zedong. 1996. *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao*, 220.

[19] Mao, Zedong. 1966. 'Bombard the Headquarters: My First Big-Character Poster.' *Peking Review* 33. Reprint, 1967.

[20] Scholarship that focuses on factional conflict in China's workplaces during the Cultural Revolution includes: Andreas, Joel. Forthcoming 2019. *Disenfranchised*; Forster, Keith. 1990. *Rebellion and Factionalism in a Chinese Province: Zhejiang, 1966–1976*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe; Liu, Guokai. 1986–87. 'A Brief Analysis of the Cultural Revolution.' *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 19 (2): 14–151; Perry, Elizabeth and Xun Li. 1997. *Proletarian Power: Shanghai in the Cultural Revolution*. Boulder: Westview Press; Walder, Andrew. 1996. 'The Chinese Cultural Revolution in the Factories: Party-State Structures and Patterns of Conflict.' In *Putting Class in Its Place: Worker Identities in East Asia*, edited by Elizabeth Perry, 167–98. Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California; Wang, Shaoguang. 1995. *Failure of Charisma: The Cultural Revolution in Wuhan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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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*.

[3] Laclau, Ernesto. 2014. *The Rhetorical Foundations of Society*. London: Verso.

[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

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[5] *Ibid.*, 408.

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[15] Mao, Zedong. 1974. 'Speech at a Supreme State Conference,' 94.

[16] Mao, Zedong. 1967. 'Gongzuo fangfa liushitiao [Sixty Work Methods]'; 5. Quoted in Starr, John Bryan. 1979. *Continuing the Revolution*, 159.

[17] Knight, Nick. 2007. *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought*, 225–26. Lanham: Lexington Books. See also Schram, Stuart. 1971. 'Mao Tse-tung and the Theory of Permanent Revolution, 1958–1969.' *The China Quarterly* 46: 221–44.

[18] Starr, John Bryan. 1979. *Continuing the Revolution*, 300; Knight, Nick. 2007. *Rethinking Mao*, 238.

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[20] Starr, John Bryan. 1979. *Continuing the Revolution*, 303–04; Schram, Stuart. 1971. 'Mao Tse-tung and the Theory of Permanent Revolution, 1958–1969,' 244. See also 1985. *Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi, guanyu jianguo yilai dangde ruoganlishi wentide jueyi zhushiben (xiuding)* [*Annotations of the Resolutions on Several Historical Issues of the Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China (Revised)*]. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe.

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[22] Dirlík, Arif. 2005. *Marxism in the Chinese Revolution*, 193. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. See also: Knight, Nick. 2007. *Rethinking Mao*, 219.

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[26] Comité Central Partido Comunista del Perú. 1988. *Entrevista al Presidente Gonzalo*, 5. Lima: Bandera Roja.

[27] Taylor, Lewis. 2006. *Shining Path: Guerrilla War in Peru's Northern Highlands, 1980–1997*, 9–20. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. On Mariátegui's thought, see Mariátegui, José Carlos. 1971. *Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*. Lima, Peru: Empresa Editoria Amauta.

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[33] Guzmán, Abimael, and Elena Iparraguirre. 2013. *Memorias desde Némesis*, 82–83. Lima: Punto De Encuentro; Roncagliolo, Santiago. 2007. *La cuarta espada: La historia de Abimael Guzmán y Sendero Luminoso*, 68–69, 78, 113–14, 119. Buenos Aires: Debate; Rothwell, Matthew. 2013. *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 9.

[34] Starn, Orin. 1995. 'Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History.' *Journal of Latin American Studies* 27 (2): 399–421. Carlos Degregori notes that on posters, Guzmán 'occupie[d] the center, dressed in a suit, wearing glasses, book in hand, surrounded by masses carrying rifles and flags,' so as to portray him as ever the intellectual and genius. Degregori, Carlos Iván. 1997. 'After the Fall of Abimael Guzmán: The Limits of Sendero Luminoso.' In *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy*, edited by Maxwell Cameron and Philip Mauceri, 181. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. Guzmán's lawyer and his 'ambassador' to London, Adolfo Olaechea, 'insisted that he [Guzmán] be addressed as Doctor Abimael Guzmán and that his status as an intellectual be recognized.' *La Republica* (17 September 1992), 2.

[35] Comité Central Partido Comunista del Perú. 1988. *Entrevista al Presidente Gonzalo*, 98. Emphasis added.

[36] *Ibid.*, 98–99.

[37] Starn, Orin. 1995. 'Maoism in the Andes,' 405.

[38] Anonymous, 'Oath of Loyalty (1989–90).' *The Peru Reader*, 351.

[39] Palmer, David Scott. 2014. 'The Influence of Maoism in Peru.' In *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, edited by Alexander C. Cook, 130–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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POETRY

[1] Xiao, Kaiyu. 1998. 'Yidian ganxiang [A Few Reflections].' *Jintian [Today]* 1: 213–15.

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

[3] Meng, Lang. 1997. 'Shiren zai "neibu" zhaoji [The Poet Is Restless Inside].' In *Goutong: miandui shijiede Zhongguo wenxue [Communicate: Chinese Literature Facing the World]*, edited by Zhi Wan, 131–32. Stockholm: The Olof Palme International Center; Hong Kong: Social Thought Press.

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

[5] The poem is included Qin, Xiaoyu, and Xiaobo Wu. 2015. *Wo de shipian: Dangdai gongren shidian [The Verses of Us: Contemporary Worker Poetry]*, 396. Beijing: Zuojia Chubanshe. Translation by the author.

[6] *Ibid.*, 396. Translation by the author.

[7] Guo, Jinniu. 2015. 'Pangdade danshu [A Massively Single Number].' In *A Massively Single Number*, edited by Lian Yang, 152–53. Bristol: Shearsman Books. Translation by the author.

[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.

[10] Citations from Xing Huangtian's series of poems 'Xinling Shijian [Spiritual Facts].' In Qin, Xiaoyu, and Xiaobo Wu. 2015. *The Verses of Us*, 147–50. Translation by the author.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] The poem, included in the 'Spiritual Facts' series can be found in Qin, Xiaoyu, and Xiaobo Wu. 2015. *The Verses of Us*, 149. Translation by the author.

[13] To use the expression put forward by Frank Ruda in his 2016 *Abolishing Freedom: A Plea for a Contemporary Use of Fatalism*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

[14] Xu, Lizhi. 2015. 'Wo jiu nayang zhanzhe rushui [I Fell Asleep Standing So].' In *Xin de yi tian [A New Day]*, edited by Xiaoyu Qin, 34. Beijing: Zuoja Chubanshe. Translation by the author.

[15] Marx, Karl (translated by Joseph O'Malley). 1970. *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'*, Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[16] The translations of Ji Zhishui's 'Rocks by the Road' and 'Migrant Workers' are both included in Goodman, Eleanor. 2016. *Iron Moon: An Anthology of Chinese Migrant Worker Poetry*. New York: White Pine Press, 170–71. Translation by Eleanor Goodman.

[17] Goodman, Eleanor. 2016. *Iron Moon*, 198. Translation by Eleanor Goodman, with a few adaptations by the author.

[18] Xu, Lizhi. 2015. 'I Fell Asleep Standing So.'

[19] Mi, Jiuping, 2018. 'I Am with Us' is here proposed in the translation that appeared on the website *Labor Notes*. www.labornotes.org/blogs/2018/11/jasic-detainee-1-story-w. Chinese text is available at [zhichishengyuan01.github.io/mjp](https://github.com/zhichishengyuan01).

[20] Xiao, Kaiyu. 1997. 'Risposte a un questionario.' In *Nuovi poeti cinesi*, edited by Claudia Pozzana and Alessandro Russo, 238. Torino: Einaudi.

PRACTICE

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[3] [Later attributed to Mao Zedong]. 1983. 'Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu lingdao fangfa de jue ding [Decision of the CCP Central Committee on Leading Methods].' In *Mao Zedong ji [Collected Writings of Mao Zedong]*, Second Edition, Vol. 9, edited by Takeuchi Minoru, 25–31. Tokyo: Suososha. See also Schram, Stuart. 1989. *The Political Thought of Mao Zedong*, 315–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[4] Mao's thought as infinite is from Alain Badiou, in Davidson, Miri. 2016. 'Alain Badiou: "Mao Thinks in an Almost Infinite Way."' *Verso Blog*, 16 May. www.versobooks.com/blogs/2033-alain-badiou-mao-thinks-in-an-almost-infinite-way. The Mass Line as an endless ascending spiral is from Cao, Dahua. 2017. 'Xin zhi xin jue: Xie hao xin jieduan de shijian lun [New Knowledge, New Consciousness: Writing On Practice for the New Phase].' *Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwenwang [CCP News]*, 17 August. theory.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0817/c40531-29475608.html.

[5] Anthony Garnaut, for example, raises this concern in 'The Mass Line on a Massive Famine,' published in *The China Story Journal* on 8 October 2014. www.thechinastory.org/2014/10/the-mass-line-on-a-massive-famine.

[6] Cao, Dahua. 2017. 'New Knowledge, New Consciousness.'

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

- [1] Marx, Karl. 1867. *Capital: Volume 1*, 874. Reprint, London: Penguin Books, 1990.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 876.
- [3] Karl, Rebecca E. 2017. 'The Economic and the State: the Asiatic Mode of Production.' *The Magic of Concepts: History and the Economic in Twentieth-Century China*, 40–72. Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- [4] On the 'Sprouts of Capitalism' debates, see Dirlik, Arif. 1982. 'Chinese Historians and the Marxist Concept of Capitalism: A Critical Examination.' *Modern China* 8 (1): 105–32.
- [5] Peng, Zeyi. 1962. 'Zhongguo ziben yuanshi jilei ruogan wenti de taolun [A Discussion of Several Questions Concerning the Primitive Accumulation of Capital in China].' *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 9 August.
- [6] For example, see Dirlik, Arif. 1982. 'Chinese Historians and the Marxist Concept of Capitalism,' 111.
- [7] Wen, Tiejun. 2014. Lecture at Renmin University of China. Beijing, 22 April.
- [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.
- [9] Wen, Tiejun, 2004. 'Minjian ziben yuanshi jilei yu zhengfu xingwei [Human Capital Primitive Accumulation and Government Behaviour].' In *Women daodi yao shenme? [What Do We Really Want?]*, edited by Tiejun Wen, 59–63. Reprint, Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe. Originally in *Jingjixue zhoubao [Economics Weekly]*, 1989. Originally in *Jingjixue zhoubao [Economics Weekly]*, 1989.
- [10] Wen, Tiejun. 2004. 'Guojia ziben zai fenpei yu minjian ziben zai jilei [State Capital Redistribution and Human Capital Re-Accumulation].' In *Women daodi yao shenme? [What Do We Really Want?]*, edited by Tiejun Wen, 35–57. Reprint, Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe.
- [11] *Ibid.*, 35.
- [12] Wen, Tiejun. 2008. *Sannong wenti yu zhidu bianqian [The Three Rurals Question and Systemic Change]*, 243. Beijing: Zhongguo Jingji Chubanshe.
- [13] I am grateful to Rebecca Karl for this observation.
- [14] Pun, Ngai, and Chris King-Chi Chan. 2008. 'The Subsumption of Class Discourse in China.' *Boundary 2* 35 (2): 75–91.
- [15] Qin, Hui. 1998. 'Yetan yuanshi jilei—you "xiandaihua xianjing" shuokai qu [Discussing Primitive Accumulation—Starting from "The Pitfalls of Modernisation"].' *Beijing zhengxie [Beijing Observation]* 8: 37–38.
- [16] For example, see Wang, Hui. 2008. 'Restructuring and the Historical Fate of China's Working Class: A Report on an Investigation into the Tongyu Textile Group of Jiangsu.' *Critical Asian Studies* 40 (2): 163–209.
- [17] Li, Changping. 2003. 'The Crisis in the Countryside.' In *One China, Many Paths*, edited by Chaohua Wang, 198–218. London & New York: Verso Books.
- [18] Holmstrom, Nancy, and Richard Smith. 2000. 'The Necessity of Gangster Capitalism: Primitive Accumulation in Russia and China.' *Monthly Review* 51 (9): 1–15.
- [19] For example, see: Wang, Yuqi. 1993. 'Xin "quandi yundong" yousi lu [Thoughts on the New Enclosure Movement].' *Qiyue jingji [Enterprise Economy]* 8: 4–7.
- [20] Qian, Forrest Zhang. 2015. 'Class Differentiation in Rural China: Dynamics of Accumulation, Commodification and State Intervention.' *Journal of Agrarian Change* 15 (3): 338–65.

[21] Andreas, Joel, and Shaohua Zhan. 2016. 'Hukou and Land: Market Reform and Rural Displacement in China.' *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 43 (4): 798–827.

[22] Friedman, Eli. 2017. 'Evicting the Underclass.' *Jacobin*, 6 December. www.jacobinmag.com/2017/12/beijing-fire-migrant-labor-urbanization.

RECTIFICATION

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

[1] 1988. 'Report of Activities of the Party Center According to the General Political Tasks of 1976, December 20, 1976.' Translated by David Chandler in *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Leadership Documents from Democratic Kampuchea, 1976–1977*, edited by David Chandler, Ben Kiernan, and Chanthou Boua, 183. New Haven: Yale Southeast Asia Monograph Series 33.

[2] Mao, Zedong. 1995. *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912–49, Vol. 3: From the Jingtangshan to the Establishment of the Jiangxi Soviets, July 1927–December 1930*. Edited by Stuart Schram and Nancy J. Hodes, 269. London: Routledge.

[3] Mao, Zedong. 1995. *Mao's Road to Power, Vol. 3*, lxiv, 587; Short, Philip. 2000. *Mao: A Life*, 267, 271. New York: Henry Holt.

[4] Guo, Xuezhong. 2012. *China's Security State: Philosophy, Evolution, and Politics*, 34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[5] Dutton, Michael. 2005. *Policing Chinese Politics: A History*, 46. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

[6] Short, Philip. 2000. *Mao*, 267 and 271.

[7] *Ibid.*, 279.

[8] Averill, Stephen C. 2006. *Revolution in the Highlands: China's Jingtangshan Base Area*, 391. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

[9] Guo, Xuezhong. 2012. *China's Security State*, 35.

[10] *Ibid.*, 38–39.

[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).

[12] Guo, Xuezhong. 2012. *China's Security State*, 42.

[13] Teiwes, Frederick C. 1994. *Politics and Purges in China: Rectification and the Decline of Party Norms, 1950–65*, Second Edition, 3. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.

[14] Mao, Zedong. 2015. *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912–49, Vol. 8: From Rectification to Coalition Government, 1942–July 1945*. Edited by Stuart Schram, Timothy Cheek, and Roderick MacFarquhar, xxxvi. London: Routledge.

[15] Mertha, Andrew. 2017. "'Stressing Out": Cadre Calibration and Affective Proximity to the CCP in Reform-era China.' *The China Quarterly* 229: 64–85; Huang, Haifeng. 2015. 'Propaganda as Signaling.' *The Journal of Comparative Politics* 47 (4): 419–38.

[16] Teiwes, Frederick C. 1994. *Politics and Purges in China*, 3–4.

[17] Guo, Xuezhong. 2012. *China's Security State*, 42.

[18] McDougal, Bonnie S. 1980. *Mao Zedong's 'Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art': A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, 13. Ann Arbor: Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies.

[19] Lifton, Robert Jay. 1963. *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of Brainwashing in China*. New York: Norton.

[20] Yang, Shangkun. 'Activities of the Trotskyite Wang Shiwei and Liberalism in the Party.' Dated 31 October 1942 and published in *Dangde shenghuo* [Party Life], it is translated in full in Dai, Qing. *Wang Shiwei and 'Wild Lilies'*, 135–45, as cited in *Mao's Road to Power*, Vol. 8, xliii.

[21] Mertha, Andrew. 2017. 'Stressing Out.'

[22] Although the Indochinese Communist Party/Vietnamese Communist Party was very heavily influenced and the Sino-Vietnamese rendering *chính phong* exists in ICP/VCP speak, it is only to talk about China. In Thai Communist speak, the term exists (*kār thāhīhthūk fāng*), 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.

[23] Chandler, David, Ben Kiernan, and Chanthou Boua. *Pol Pot Plans the Future*, xii. On the uses of medical terminology to assess the political health of the regime, see Sorace, Christian. 2017. 'Communist Immunology,' *Chinoiresie*, 20 June. www.chinoiresie.info/communist-immunology.

[24] Locard, Henry. 2004. *Pol Pot's Little Red Book: The Sayings of Angkar*, 210. Bangkok: Silkworm.

[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.

[26] Chandler, David. 2000. *Voices from S-21 Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[27] Mertha, Andrew. 2014. *Brothers in Arms: Chinese Aid to the Khmer Rouge, 1975–1979*, Chapter 2. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

[28] Short, Philip. 2000. *Mao*, 274.

[29] CNN. 1997. 'Pol Pot Reportedly on the Run after Slaughter.' *CNN World News*, 13 June. www.cnn.com/WORLD/9706/13/cambodia/index.html.

RED AND EXPERT

[1] China Youth Daily. 1957. 'Women de kouhao shi: You "hong" you "zhuan" [Our Slogan Is: Red and Expert]': *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 1 November: 2.

[2] Li, Zi. 1957. 'Tantan "hong yu zhuan" [A Discussion of "Red and Expert"]': *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 29 December: 7.

[3] MacFarquhar, Roderick. 1983. *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*, Vol. 2, 28. New York: Columbia University Press.

[4] Cao, Cong. 2013. 'Science Imperiled: Intellectuals and the Cultural Revolution.' In *Mr. Science and Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution: Science and Technology in Modern China*, edited by Chunjuan Nancy Wei and Darryl E. Brock, 122. Lanham: Lexington Books.

[5] Andreas, Joel. 2009. *The Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

[6] Sina. 2017. 'Jiaoyu buzhang: Peiyang you hong you zhuan de Zhongguo tese shehui zhuyi jiebanren [Minister of Education: Cultivate Red and Expert Successors for Socialism with Chinese Characteristics].' *Xinliang* [Sina.com], 9 May. news.sina.com.cn/c/nd/2017-05-09/doc-ifyeychk7193961.shtml.

[7] Ju xinglong meitan (pseud.). 2017. 'You hong you zhuan yi ci dai you xianming de wenhua da geming de yinji [The Phrase Red and Expert Carries a Clear Imprint of the Cultural Revolution].' *Baidu tieba* [Baidu Web Forum], 17 May.

[8] Wu, DD. 2017. 'Why Did China Just Hear One More Mao-Era Phrase?' *The Diplomat*, 12 May. thediplomat.com/2017/05/why-did-china-just-hear-one-more-mao-era-phrase/.

[9] Lin, Aiyue. 2017. "'You hong you zhuan" chonghui guanfang huayu tixi ["Red and Expert" Returns to Official Discourse].' *Chawang*, 13 May. www.cwzg.cn/politics/201705/35937.html.

[10] Mao, Zedong. 1992. *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* [The Manuscripts of Mao Zedong Since the Nation's Founding], 52. Beijing: Zhongguo Wenxian Chubanshe.

[11] 'Zhong shiyantian—you hong you zhuan de daolu [Plant Experimental Fields, the Red and Expert Way].' *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 15 February: 1.

[12] Xiao, Long, and Tang Maolin. 1958. 'Jiushan hong zahuan daxue [Jiushan Red and Expert University].' *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 23 June: 7.

[13] 1960. 'Quanmin ban kexue, geng kuai deng gaofeng [All the People Do Science, Scaling High Peaks Even Faster].' *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 7 June: 4.

[14] Schmalzer, Sigrid. 2016. *Red Revolution, Green Revolution: Scientific Farming in Socialist China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[15] Chambers, David Wade. 1979. *Red and Expert: A Case Study of Chinese Science in the Cultural Revolution*. Reprint, Victoria: Deakin University, 1984.

[16] *Ibid.*, 9.

[17] *Hongse Zhongguo*: redchinacn.net; *Chawang*: www.cwzg.cn.

[18] Yan, Zuolei. 2018. 'Jishu faming zhuti zhi zheng yu 1970 niandai de kexue wenti [The Struggle Over Technological Inventions and the Question of Science in the 1970s].' *Wenyi lilun yu piping* [Theory and Criticism of Literature and Art] 1: 99–107.

[19] Peng, Guangcan. 2012. 'Mao Zedong gongye guanli sixiang jiqi xiandai yiyi [The Industrial Management Philosophy of Mao Zedong and its Modern Significance].' *Hengyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* [Journal of Hengyang Normal University] 2: 47–52. Circulated on 6 October, 2018 on *Chawang* (cwzg.cn) and recirculated on *Red China* (redchinacn.net).

[20] Schmalzer, Sigrid. 2018. 'Toward a Transnational, Trans-1978 History of Food Politics in China: An Exploratory Paper.' *The PRC History Review* 3 (1): 1–14.

[21] Chen, Tianyuan, and Kaijian Huang. 2006. 'Canyushi zhiwu yuzhong yu kechixu liyong shengwu duoyang xing—yi Guangxi yumi wei li [Participatory Plant Breeding and Sustainable Use of Biological Diversity: The Case of Maize in Guangxi].' *Zhongguo nongxue tongbao* [Chinese Agricultural Science Bulletin] 22 (7): 490–94.

REMOVING MOUNTAINS AND DRAINING SEAS

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

[1] Shapiro, Judith. 2001. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[2] 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.

[3] Elvin, Mark. 2004. *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

[4] Shapiro, Judith. 2001. *Mao's War against Nature*.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Oi, Jean C. 1999. *Rural China Takes Off: Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press; Wright, Tim. 2011. *The Political Economy of the Chinese Coal Industry: Black Gold and Blood-Stained Coal*. London & New York: Routledge.

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[8] Economy, Elizabeth. 2004. *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press; Shapiro, Judith. 2012. *China's Environmental Challenges*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Weller, Robert. 2006. *Discovering Nature: Globalization and Environmental Culture in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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[10] Tilt, Bryan. 2010. *The Struggle for Sustainability in Rural China*; Van Rooij, Benjamin. 2006. *Regulating Land and Pollution in China: Lawmaking, Compliance, and Enforcement: Theory and Cases*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.

[11] Kostka, Genia, and Arthur P. J. Mol. 2013. 'Implementation and Participation in China's Local Environmental Politics: Challenges and Innovations.' *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 15: 1, 3–16; Van Rooij, Benjamin, Qiaoqiao Zhu, Na Li, and Qiliang Wang. 2017. 'Centralizing Trends and Pollution Law Enforcement in China.' *The China Quarterly* 231: 583–606.

[12] Lord, Elizabeth. 2018. *Building an Ecological Civilization Across the Rural/Urban Divide and the Politics of Environmental Knowledge Production in Contemporary China*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto.

[13] Chen, Jia-Ching, John A. Zinda, and Emily T. Yeh. 2017. 'Recasting the Rural: State, Society and Environment in Contemporary China.' *Geoforum* 78: 83–88; Lord, Elizabeth. 2018. *Building an Ecological Civilization Across the Rural/Urban Divide and the Politics of Environmental Knowledge Production in Contemporary China*.

REVOLUTION

[1] Lin, Chun. 2006. *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

[2] 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

[1] Oxford English Dictionary Online. 2018. 'Self-reliance.' en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/self-reliance.

[2] Xinhua Dictionary Online. 2018. 'Zili gengsheng [Self-reliance]'. xh.5156edu.com/html5/4214.html.

[3] Schoenhals, Michael. 1992. *Doing Things with Words in Chinese Politics: Five Studies*, 7–8. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

[4] Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi, ed. 1993. *Mao Zedong nianpu (1983–1949)* [*Chronological Biography of Mao Zedong (1983–1949)*], Vol. 2, 341. Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe.

[5] Mao, Zedong. 1939. 'Fantouxiang tigang [An Outline of Opposing Surrender]'. www.marxists.org/chinese/maozedong/1968/1-116.htm.

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AFTERWORD

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