

“NEW SONGS OF THE BATTLEFIELD”:
SONGS AND MEMORIES
OF THE CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

by

Lei Ouyang Bryant

BA, Macalester College, 1997

MA, University of Pittsburgh, 2001

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FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Lei Ouyang Bryant

It was defended on

April 13, 2004

and approved by

Nicole Constable, Professor of Anthropology

Mathew Rosenblum, Associate Professor of Music

Wenfang Tang, Associate Professor of Political Science

Andrew Weintraub, Assistant Professor of Music

Dissertation Director: Bell Yung, Professor of Music

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Lei Ouyang Bryant, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2004

This dissertation focuses on a five-volume anthology of songs published from 1972 to 1976 known as “*Zhandi Xinge*,” literally “New Songs of the Battlefield.” The songs represent a significant portion of the limited musical expression during a period in China known as the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Published and approved by the Chinese Communist Party, the anthology appeared at a time when artistic and musical activities were extremely restricted. The government utilized this particular musical form for multiple goals, including the propagation of political ideologies, stimulation of party support, and education of the masses.

Based upon original research and personal interviews, the dissertation provides the first documentation and analysis of the anthology in any language. Analysis focuses on the official ideology as situated in its socio-historical context, and an examination of individual reception and memory. The study begins with an introduction to the Cultural Revolution period, followed by an investigation of the composition, editing, compilation, themes, texts, and musical characteristics of the anthology. The dissertation concludes with an analysis of the contemporary memory of Cultural Revolution songs while considering concepts of music, memory, and nostalgia. The analysis reveals that the major factors influencing how the music is remembered

and who remembers it, is dependent upon a combination of features including music and memory, generational imprinting and changes in contemporary Chinese society.

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1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on a five-volume anthology of songs published from 1972 to 1976 known as “*Zhandi Xinge*,” literally “New Songs of the Battlefield.” The songs represent a significant portion of the limited musical expression during a period in China known as the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Published and approved by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the anthology appeared at a time when artistic and musical activities were extremely restricted. The government utilized this particular musical form for multiple goals, including the propagation of political ideologies, stimulation of party support, and education of the masses.

Based upon original research and personal interviews, the dissertation will provide the first documentation and analysis of the anthology in any language. Analysis focuses on the official ideology as situated in its socio-historical context, and an examination of individual reception and memory.

1.1.1. The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution

At the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee held in 1966, Chairman Mao received the support of the Party’s Central Committee to launch the “Great Proletariat Cultural

Revolution” (Harding 1997: 150). The movement is characterized by historians today as Mao’s attempt to reassert his influence through a mobilization of the masses in a social movement against capitalism. According to official pronouncement at the time, the heart of the ideological movement was an attack of the four olds: old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking (Spence 1999: 575). In the sixteen point decision of the Eleventh Plenum, Mao established the guiding principles emphasizing continual revolution, education of the masses, and following the party line (Hinton 1980: 1565-9).

For the following decade, the entire nation suffered great setbacks and hardships as the party attempted complete social and political reformation (Meisner 1999: 315). The spirited youth quickly joined in the movement; organized as the “Red Guards,” they often exercised violence as they carried Mao’s “revolution” to an extreme degree.

In the cultural sphere, literature and arts received great criticism and restriction as all art was to undergo a “socialist purification” (Spence 1999: 571). On November 22, 1966, the Cultural Revolution Group was appointed under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), with Mao’s wife Jiang Qing as First Deputy head of the group (Asia Research Center 1968: 419). Jiang Qing joined with Yao Wenyuan, Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen to take complete control of the arts throughout the Cultural Revolution. These four were later labeled as the “Gang of Four” and put on trial after an attempt to take power following the death of Mao in 1976. Their fall from power, along with Mao’s death, signaled the end of the Cultural Revolution.

1.1.2. “New Songs of the Battlefield”

The anthology, “New Songs of the Battlefield,” “New Songs” hereafter, consists of over five-hundred songs; the anthology initially began as a commemoration to the thirty-year anniversary of the 1942 publication of Mao Zedong's “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art.” In accordance with Mao’s principles set forth in the influential talks from the early days of the Chinese Communist Party, the songs were hailed as being created by and for the masses. “New Songs” along with the eight Model Revolutionary Operas (“*Yangbanxi*”) permeated the social life of the masses and became two popular channels of political propaganda. Both forms strictly perpetuated Mao’s belief that all art was designed to serve the masses and that all art is political.

The “New Songs” anthology is a compilation of songs selected from various sources including members of the state music departments as well as amateur groups from throughout the country. The creative processes employed in the selection and composition of the songs resulted in an anthology that was set apart from other artistic and musical forms during the early years of the Cultural Revolution. The marked difference of the anthology is the return to softer, lyrical styles and greater attention to artistic value in addition to political and ideological promotion. Revolutionary songs from the beginning of the Cultural Revolution had simply set Mao’s quotations to militaristic music from abroad, thereby neglecting any traditional or local identity markers. The incorporation of folk, regional, and minority music in the anthology marks a return to the “traditional Chinese” elements more familiar to the masses; this may be considered as a continuation from early 20th century Chinese music composition. The selection and compositional processes appear to be discretely situated within a multitude of political, artistic,

and ideological discourses in accordance with CCP policies of the time designed to promote the model socialist society and popularize political campaigns.

1.1.3. The Role of “New Songs” in the Development of Revolutionary Music in China

The selection of songs included in the anthology is indicative of the particular historical condition at the end of the Cultural Revolution as Zhou Enlai and Jiang Qing supervised a move away from the violent and militaristic music that had taken off in the early days of the Cultural Revolution. As for the development of revolutionary music in China, the “New Songs” anthology embodies the characteristics of earlier revolutionary music, especially of the initial period after liberation. In this way, the “New Songs” anthology continued a long-standing tradition of using music as a political tool, yet developed the practice further through the heavy use of ‘traditional’ music.

The compilation processes employed in the “New Songs” anthology strongly reflect Mao’s ideology on the form and content of revolutionary music. The collection contains a combination of songs composed by both professional music workers and the masses. Professional (*zhuanye*) music workers are mainly government and/or military members with some formal musical training that compose revolutionary music under the direct orders of the government. Amateurs (*yeyu*) included various groups of the masses such as residential or labor groups with little to no formal musical training who submitted songs to be included in the anthology. The published volumes are thus unique combinations of using both professional and amateur compositions for official promotion at the national level.

1.1.4. Contemporary Chinese Society

In the decades following the Cultural Revolution, economic and political reforms have drastically affected contemporary Chinese society. Major economic reforms began as early as the late 1970s, though Deng Xiaoping's market reforms of the early 1990s brought Chinese consumption to new levels. Changes in the Chinese economy produced higher wages and noteworthy increases in goods, consumption, media, and communication. For example, urban income in the year 2000 was nearly three times what it was in 1985 and retail sales increased by nearly four times during the fifteen year period (see Tang and Parish 2000). Media and communication channels experienced marked changes throughout the 1980s and 1990s as modern technology allowed such items as televisions and phones to become increasingly prominent in individual households; additionally, by the 1990s the number of publications available to the public had also increased considerably.

The implications of the changes upon society provide ground for multiple areas of analysis; yet in relation to the current study a number of main trends are observed. Stated simply, the shifts in society have resulted in a dramatic increase in consumption, both of material goods and media; furthermore, the changes in media and consumption have also resulted in a shift in concentration from group centered activities to that of individual activities. Technological advances allow individuals to entertain themselves in the comforts of their own homes and increased buying power allows individuals to consume items individually rather than collectively.

1.1.5. Individual Reception and Memory

Despite fervent efforts to educate and mobilize the masses during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the individual reception of revolutionary music often strayed greatly from its original political intentions. At times, music provided an outlet from the hardships and served as a means for group participation and defining one's identity. Today the songs often trigger powerfully emotional, and often positive, reflections for certain individuals who directly experienced the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution was a time of heightened and spirited political activity, particularly for the generation that came of age during this tumultuous period; this intensity may help to explain why today the songs evoke such powerful and emotional memories.

This dissertation will situate the anthology within its socio-political context, providing original documentation of the songs through an analysis of themes, lyrics, and music; the study will also analyze the variety of meanings developed through the "New Songs" anthology based on interviews, public opinion surveys, and additional fieldwork conducted in China and the United States. The main questions that the dissertation addresses include: 1) how is the "New Songs" anthology situated within the development of revolutionary music in contemporary China? 2) What is the thematic, textual, and musical construction of the "New Songs" anthology? 3) How and why do the songs today continue to trigger specific moments and emotions in an individual's memory? 4) How and why do different generations construct meanings of memory and nostalgia associated with the songs? And 5) How is it that songs from a tragic period in modern Chinese history now inspire overwhelming nostalgia?

1.2. CHAPTER OUTLINE

The dissertation encompasses eight chapters and an appended catalogue in order to address the main questions of the dissertation. Chapter one serves as an introduction by offering a rationale for the study, surveying the state of current research, and providing information on sources and methodology. Chapter Two outlines the history of the Chinese Cultural Revolution including historical developments, governmental policies, and their impact upon various artistic genres.

Chapter Three introduces the “New Songs” anthology addressing the processes of composition, compilation, and editing. Chapter Four offers an analysis of thematic and textual content to demonstrate the official ideologies promoted through the songs and the presentation of a model socialist society. In Chapter Five, I provide the general musical characteristics and musical examples to demonstrate the variety of “New Songs” compositions.

Chapter Six examines the contemporary knowledge of, and attitude toward, the revolutionary music today. Additional issues include changes in the dissemination and production of music, and the influence of contemporary Chinese society. Chapter Seven situates these results within contemporary discourses of music, memory, and nostalgia. I offer an analysis of how the songs are remembered today, who remembers them, and provide insight into how and why contemporary nostalgia for the “new songs” anthology has developed. In conclusion, Chapter Eight proposes answers to the original research questions of the dissertation.

Supplementary materials appear in a series of appendices. Characters for Chinese terms discussed within the text appear in the Glossary along with the names of composers and lyricists mentioned (characters for historical and political figures are not included). The original Chinese

language survey appears in Appendix A with English translation in Appendix B. English translations of the prefaces and postscripts to the anthology are provided in Appendix C. Appendix D includes original Chinese lyrics for song texts discussed within the text of the dissertation and Appendix E presents photographs of original song books, scores, and recordings. Appendix F is the song catalogue including the translation and transliteration of titles with thematic index. Appendix G presents the original responses to survey question #21 with corresponding English translations in Appendix H.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Analysis of both content and context are integral to studies of music and culture; the works of twentieth century scholars such as Charles Seeger (1940), Alan Meriam (1964), and John Blacking (1973) are often cited to demonstrate the importance of recognizing key relationships between music and its social, political, historical, and cultural context. In order to explain the contradiction of official goals and individual reception in the contemporary legacy of Chinese revolutionary songs I provide three levels of analysis. First, I introduce the Cultural Revolution context, its historical and political developments, and the role of arts within the particular period. Understanding the particular historical and political atmosphere of the Cultural Revolution is integral to the study of the “New Songs” anthology as well as to the individual reception of the songs. Identification of key political developments and cultural policies explains how the “New Songs” anthology was produced and provides the rationale for the official goals of the anthology. Furthermore, individual reception of the “New Songs” anthology is directly

related to the particular means of music production, dissemination, and consumption during the Cultural Revolution period.

The second level of analysis provides original documentation of the thematic, textual, and musical content of the “New Songs” anthology. The analysis situates the “New Songs” anthology within the context of the Cultural Revolution to unveil how the cultural policies of the time were realized. As a political tool for promoting and propagating official ideology and policies, the “New Songs” popularized new CCP policies and presented models of the ideal socialist society. The songs educated the masses in political campaigns and also presented simplified images of good and evil. Linguistic metaphors and additional textual analysis would show that the anthology could serve as an historical document of CCP political campaigns and ideology for the period 1972-1976.

One of the main trends in Chinese political ideology prevalent during the Cultural Revolution and continuing today is to promote a sense of national unity amidst diversity. Chinese leaders have been challenged by the great ethnic and geographic diversity of China in nearly every chapter of Chinese history. Therefore, constructing an imagined community to popularize through representation in “New Songs” was an overwhelming task. Mao orchestrated the collection of regional and minority nationality folksongs in the 1920s period of CCP establishment and the collection continued throughout the following decades. By the time of the Cultural Revolution, a small portion of revolutionary songs drew from the folksongs of minority nationalities. Based upon Mao’s 1942 talks, the masses should be able to see themselves represented in music and in order for the music to serve its revolutionary purpose. In the 1972 volume of “New Songs,” a group of eleven songs appears as “newly composed songs” representing different ethnic nationalities and subsequent volumes continue the practice.

In addition to the representation of ethnic nationalities, select pockets of society were also identified in an attempt to promote images of a model socialist society to the masses. “*Gongnongbing*,” (the workers, peasants, and soldiers) are the subject of the largest part of the songs found in the anthology. Furthermore, songs identifying specific work groups such as steel laborers, tree-felling groups, and young red soldiers make up another considerable portion. Missing from these images are the “outcast” groups of society (such as intellectuals and merchants) who were severely criticized during the Cultural Revolution as perpetuating the bourgeoisie class and a capitalist society. The intentional inclusion of model citizens in revolutionary music offers a point of identification for the particular groups of society that represents a model socialist society; simultaneously, the intentional exclusion of the condemned groups of society further perpetuates their denouncement.

The CCP’s carefully constructed presentation of a model socialist society may be supported by Benedict Anderson’s concept of “imagined communities” (Anderson 1991). Anderson suggests that the nation is not a concrete political identity but rather an idea that exists in the minds of its people. Therefore, the people are connected through a shared or common idea of an “imagined community.” Furthermore, Anderson stresses the importance of print media in promoting a national consciousness. Thomas Turino applies Anderson’s concept specifically to music in order to address the “music nationalism” that is employed by governments and other political groups in order to promote official ideologies through cultural system (Turino 2000). The “New Songs” anthology exemplifies the CCP construction and presentation of an “imagined” community in its promotion of national unity and providing identity markers for the model socialist society. Moreover, the publication of the “New Songs” anthology allowed the national consciousness to be distributed and promoted throughout the country.

The third level of analysis examines the “New Songs” anthology in its contemporary consciousness; analysis includes an investigation into the contemporary knowledge of, and attitude toward, the “New Songs” anthology. Contemporary discourses of memory and nostalgia are examined in order to conceptualize the actual individual reception of the songs.

Key concepts include the semiotic function of music, music and memorability, generational imprinting and the context of contemporary Chinese society. The semiotic function of music allows individuals to construct additional meanings to sound; the ability to aid in memorization as well as to attach powerful emotional meanings are two concepts central to the contemporary legacy of the “New Songs” anthology. Music and memorability is a continuation of this, examining how meanings are constructed and by whom. Inevitably one’s age and association with a particular generation effect the construction of memory leading to the discussion of generational imprinting; and lastly, the context of contemporary Chinese society must also be addressed in examining individual and collective memories of various generations and their attitude toward the “New Songs” anthology.

1.4. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.4.1. History of the Cultural Revolution

There is an overwhelming amount of secondary sources dedicated to Chinese history in general, and the period of the Cultural Revolution in particular. In my research, I have utilized surveys of contemporary Chinese history by the following China specialists for general reference: John King Fairbank (1987), Immanuel C. Y. Hsu (1995), Roderick MacFarquhar

(1993) and Jonathan Spence (1990). MacFarquhar published a three volume series (1998, 1983, 1974) dedicated to the Cultural Revolution that provides a socio-political context to the development of the Cultural Revolution.

Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution (Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao 1996) is a comprehensive testimony specifically addressing the Cultural Revolution. Yan and Gao are former members of the political science institute and institute of sociology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Their detailed account of the Cultural Revolution was originally published through a Hong Kong publishing press in 1986, followed by a 1990-revised edition published in Taiwan and finally the 1996 English translation published in the United States. Yan and Gao have been criticized for their pro-democratic activities; therefore, their text has been met with mixed response. Chinese sources have informed me that their book is banned by the Chinese government and was groundbreaking at the time of its original publication.

Extant literature on the major figures of the Cultural Revolution is equally abundant. Maurice Meisner (1999, 1982, 1977) and Geremie Barmé (1999 and 1996) have published on Mao and his cult of personality. Roxanne Witke (1977) has written the leading biographical account of Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, based upon personal interviews. Ross Terrill published biographical accounts of both Mao (*Mao: A Biography*, 1980) and Jiang Qing (*Madame Mao: A White-Boned Demon*, 1999).

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, personal narratives of the Cultural Revolution have been increasing in number. For the present study, I will only refer to two such narratives for their unique contributions to my research. First is a collection of articles written by Chinese-American women who came to the United States after the Cultural Revolution and are now active in a variety of academic disciplines. *Some of Us: Chinese Women Growing Up in the Mao*

Era (Zhong, ed. 2001) stands apart from other narratives in the unique perspective of these women. Through their personal stories, the women attempt to provide an alternative perspective of the Cultural Revolution to Western readers. Without overlooking the tragedies and hardships of the period, the authors aim to present the highly energetic spirit of the particular environment; furthermore, they demonstrate how the ideological trends of the Cultural Revolution helped to define who they are today.

Red China Blues: My Long March from Mao to Now by Jan Wong (1996) offers yet another new perspective on Cultural Revolution China through stories from her adolescence and young adult life as a Chinese-Canadian who chose to participate in the Cultural Revolution as a student. Wong's unique angle and experience offer a powerful narrative of the Cultural Revolution and is enhanced by the time spent as a journalist in Post-Cultural Revolution China.

The sources listed here represent a mere handful of extant literature. The surveys of contemporary China, along with the sources on major figures of the Cultural Revolution are commonly cited as leading authorities in contemporary Chinese studies. Yan and Gao's detailed account of the Cultural Revolution in particular, is a controversial work both inside and outside of China. *Some of Us* and *Red China Blues* are cited as examples of a contemporary shift that I have observed in English language writing on the Cultural Revolution. These two sources stand apart from a long list of literature emphasizing the role as a victim during the Cultural Revolution and present a new discourse that examines the personal impact of the period as adolescents. Chinese language sources were not focused upon at this level for a number of reasons, largely dependent upon the researcher's linguistic limitations as well as issues of accessibility. Chinese language sources were, however, focused upon at the next level

concerning music and arts of contemporary China and most prominently with primary source material.

The presentation of these specific viewpoints aims to offer a general overview of Chinese history with a particular examination of the Cultural Revolution period. The surveys of Chinese history and biographies of major figures during the Cultural Revolution are presented as the works of leading scholars in Chinese studies; the selected works are in no way fully representative of extant literature on the topic but serve as guiding posts to additional sources. *Some of Us* and *Red China Blues* provide examples of an alternative interpretation of the impact of the Cultural Revolution upon adolescents that is similar to my interpretation of the impact of the “New Songs” anthology.

1.4.2. Music and Arts in Contemporary China

Chinese and Western scholars have published several surveys of contemporary Chinese Music. In this dissertation, I focus mainly upon the works of Chinese scholars, Liang Maochun (1993) and Ju Qihong (1993). Both Liang and Ju provide surveys of contemporary Chinese music that include brief introductions to the music from the Cultural Revolution and the “New Songs” anthology in general.

Thus far, the only other published source on the “New Songs” anthology that I have identified is an article published in the Journal of Ezhou University by Wei Jun of Wuhan Conservatory of Music, Hubei Province. Wei’s article traces the historical origins of “New Songs” and analyzes its development. Through the demonstration of historical origins, Wei suggests that the “New Songs” anthology were heavily influenced by two prominent periods in contemporary Chinese history: the War of Resistance against Japan and the early days after

liberation (post-1949). Wei presents historical, political, and musical analyses as evidence to support her claims.

The Chinese language journal, *Renmin Yinyue* [People's Music], has published a variety of articles on revolutionary music during the period leading into the Cultural Revolution. Over the past three decades, articles on the subject of music from the Cultural Revolution have increased, though they largely emphasize the Model Revolutionary Operas.

A fair number of English language publications are devoted to the relationship between arts and politics in contemporary China. *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979* (Mc Dougall, Ed. 1984) provides a multi-faceted examination of this integral relationship through a compilation of articles that address multiple facets of literature and performing arts leading into, as well as during, the Cultural Revolution. The works of Holm (Folk art and Propaganda), Wong (Revolutionary Songs), and Yung (Model Revolutionary Opera) provide contextual background for my research.

Available in English translation, Liu Chingchi's article "Revolutionary Model Works During Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)" also provides documentation and references to cultural policies of the Cultural Revolution as they relate specifically to the "Eight Model Works" (Liu 1997).

Mackerras (1981), Kraus (1989), Mittler (1997), and most recently, Baranovitch (2003) provide studies of art and politics in contemporary China with considerable reference to the influences of the Cultural Revolution period. Mackerras' discussion of the performing arts is relevant in the attention given to social and political context. Kraus and Mittler also provide a contextual analysis; however, their works have a stronger emphasis on the influences of Western Music in contemporary Chinese art music. Though Baranovitch examines issues of ethnicity,

gender and politics within popular music of 1978-1997, he frequently references the Cultural Revolution and the continued impact of the period in contemporary music and society.

Further works on specific areas of arts and literature during the Cultural Revolution include Xiaomei Chen's work on political theater and popular drama (Chen 2002), Joe He and Hua-Yuan Li Mowry's examination of Model Revolutionary Operas (He 1992 and Mowry 1973), Stefan Landsberger's study of Propaganda Posters (Landsberger 2001), and Vivian Wagner's analysis of Red Guard Songs (Wagner 2001).

In 2003, the Long Bow Group released a documentary focusing specifically on the high-school generation from the Cultural Revolution. The film, "Morning Sun" was produced and directed by Carma Hinton, Geremie R. Barmé, and Richard Gordon and written by Geremie R. Barmé and Carma Hinton. Barmé is an established China scholar (see Barmé 1996 and 1999) and Carma Hinton, also a China scholar, was born in China and experienced the Cultural Revolution during her youth. I have not been able to view the film as of yet, however, a website [<http://www.morningsun.org>] is continually being developed that contains information on the film and the Cultural Revolution period in general. The website includes information regarding the origins and history of the period along with specific multi-media presentations of daily life with particular emphasis upon music and film.

In regard to general popular culture Gregory Lee (1995), Sheldon Lu (1996), Geremie Barmé (1999), and Mercedes DeJunco (2002) all situate their research within the context of Post-Modern China and address economic and political developments of the 1990s that inspire recent trends in popular culture. Lee uses the revival of the revolutionary songs "East is Red" to examine concepts of commodification, hybridity, and nationalism; Lu mentions the contemporary revival of revolutionary songs as part of a larger discussion of trends in post-

Tiananmen China; and DeJunco addresses the 1990s Mao fad in her discussion of popular music in contemporary China. These analyses of contemporary Chinese society and popular culture are relevant to my research for their consideration of past socio-political history in exploring elements of contemporary popular culture. The sources all reference music as the subject within larger discussions of prevalent issues in, and interpretations of, contemporary Chinese society. The works of these scholars provide additional perspectives on the contemporary legacy of revolutionary music.

1.4.3. Music, Memory, and Nostalgia

Music, memory, and nostalgia may be examined in isolation as well as in regard to the various relationships that exist between them. Studies of these key concepts take a variety of approaches and cross multiple disciplines.

Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs' (1950) *The Collective Memory* remains as an original source for collective memory theory. Halbwachs stresses the impact of the present upon how we remember the past; he also emphasizes the significant role of the group, in addition to the individual, in memory construction. A shared experience, and thus a shared memory, is somehow more powerful than an individual experience or memory on its own. Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott (1989) developed upon Halbwachs' theory to incorporate the impact of age in collective memory. Their studies present data that identify and explain the effect of generational imprinting. *Memory, History, and Opposition Under State Socialism* (Watson 1994) presents a particularly relevant slant in the examination of the relationship between memory and history within the context of socialism.

Music, Imagination, and Culture (Cook 1990) and *Music and Mind* (Storr 1992) both address the power of music upon the human mind and further issues regarding the psychology of music. *Soundtracks: Popular music, identity and place* (Connell and Gibson 2003) provides an interdisciplinary investigation into the role of music in globalization and discusses issues of memory and nostalgia as well as the construction of meanings. The discussions present insight into the psychology of music and articulate the powers of music and emotion, music and the mind, and music and memory. The detailed examinations of these powers of music offer a basis for understanding the issues of music, memory and nostalgia.

Recent studies of music, memory, and nostalgia include Sant Cassia (2000), Mageo (2001), Romero (2001), Waxer (2002) and, most notable to my research, Yano (2002). Yano's theory of Japanese nostalgia and the *Enka* song tradition provide a relevant framework for defining nostalgia and understanding how memory is constructed. Yano identifies how and why individuals construct images of the past and how the relationship of that construction to the individual's present context.

Popular discourses of nostalgia often cite Svetlana Boym's work *The Future of Nostalgia*, an investigation of memory and nostalgia in the Eastern European context (Boym 1994). Boym deconstructs the complex layers of nostalgia and discusses the relationships with numerous concepts including modernity, popular culture, history, memory, and tradition. As a prominent scholar on nostalgia, Boym offers detailed definitions and discussions of nostalgia that provide a framework for understanding the nostalgia found in the contemporary legacy of the "New Songs" anthology.

1.5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Fieldwork research for the dissertation was conducted initially during summer 2001 at the Music Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Arts in Beijing, China. Additional fieldwork was conducted in Beijing and Shanghai, China in winter 2002-2003. Additional research was carried out during residence at the University of Pittsburgh. Sources include primary and secondary written sources, formal and informal personal communication, audio and visual sources, and data collected from a public opinion survey.

1.5.1. Written Sources

I obtained a complete set of the five original publications of the “New Songs” anthology through contacts at the Music Research Institute in Beijing (see Appendix E for photographs of original songbooks). In the archives of the Music Research Institute I was able to conduct library research of primary sources including Chinese language newspapers, journals, and additional songbooks. Many of the primary sources were most easily obtained in China, most notably the recent works of Chinese music scholars. Additional library research was conducted at the University of Pittsburgh with the generous assistance of the East Asian Library and interlibrary loans. Many of the secondary sources are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain in China.

Dozens of bibliographies and collections of official documents from the Cultural Revolution have been published outside of China, mainly in the United States and Hong Kong. These English language sources provide translations of official publications in Chinese

newspapers as well as historical speeches during the Cultural Revolution. I have utilized these sources as evidence for political and ideological trends and events during the Cultural Revolution. Song Yongyi and Dajin Sun compiled the most comprehensive bibliography (including sources in English, Chinese and Japanese) on the Cultural Revolution in 1998 in association with the Harvard-Yenching Library (Song, Sun 1998). Song expanded this research and released a CD-ROM in 2002 containing 10,000 historical documents with search options and index in Chinese and English translation.

1.5.2. Audio Visual Sources

I located original recordings of the “New Songs” anthology at a flea market in Shanghai, China (see Appendix E for photographs of original phonographs). Contemporary recordings of the “New Songs” inundate the Chinese music stores; therefore the original 33 1/3RPM records that I purchased are invaluable to my research. Though some of these original recordings may be located in libraries and sound archives outside of China, it is extremely difficult to obtain access to the state run television and broadcast station archives where they are held within China. Additionally, I collected many of the new contemporary versions of the “New Song” anthology as well as other contemporary productions of Chinese revolutionary music.

I referred to Stephan Landsberger’s website for convenient access to Propaganda Posters of the Cultural Revolution and to the “Morning Sun” website for additional still images. Numerous websites with audio and visual sources exist; however the “Morning Sun” and Landsberger pages are the most organized and complete.

1.5.3. Personal Communication

1.5.3.1 Beijing Sources. During the summer of 1999, I stayed at the Beijing Music Research Institute (MRI), Chinese Academy of Arts as a visiting scholar. I met with Professor Ju Qihong and Professor Zeng Suijin on a regular basis for a period of two months. Our meetings consisted of lectures, discussions, and interviews regarding my research of “New Songs.” I recorded all of my meeting with Professors Ju and Zeng with a Sony Handycam.

In addition to my formal meetings with Professors Ju and Zeng, I interacted with a number of other faculty members at the MRI on a casual basis. The faculty were all very eager to discuss my research and often offered personal narratives of their experiences during the cultural revolution. Through these casual conversations I discovered the emotional memories associated with the “New Songs.” I had similar encounters with local contacts outside of the MRI as well.

I returned to Beijing during the winter of 2001-2002 and the MRI was in the midst of renovations and relocating thus displacing the scholars and the archives. I met with Professors Qiao Jianzhong, Zeng Suijin, and Chen Xiaomei from the MRI as well as Professor Liang Maochun at the Central Music Conservatory. I also conducted informal interviews with a variety of Beijing and Shanghai residents comprising of students, professionals, workers, merchants, and retired individuals. All formal interviews were recorded on a Sony portable MiniDisc Recorder.

1.5.3.2 US Sources. I have been meeting regularly with Professor Yu Yueming at Carnegie Mellon University since the fall of 2001. Professor Yu was an English Professor in Beijing during the Cultural Revolution and is currently a member of the Modern Languages faculty at CMU. Initially I met with Professor Yu as a language tutor to assist in my translations; however, she

has been of extraordinary assistance in my research on a variety of levels. Professor Yu has shared with me her personal accounts of the Cultural Revolution as well as the political and historical context of the themes, slogans, and policies mentioned throughout the “New Songs” anthology.

Similarly, I have discussed my research both formally and informally with a number of Chinese currently in the United States who have eagerly shared their personal knowledge of and experiences with, the “New Songs.”

1.5.4. Public Opinion Survey

My research of the “New Songs” anthology has relied heavily upon formal and informal interviews. Both scholarly and non-scholarly literature regarding the anthology is nearly nonexistent; therefore, the first-hand accounts of the compilation and dissemination of the anthology are central to my research. I conducted roughly two dozen formal interviews with scholars, government workers, professionals, students, composers, and members of the military in Beijing and Shanghai, China as well as with many scholars, professionals, and students currently in the United States. Additionally, I have spoken informally with countless individuals in both China and the United States.

Access to individuals willing to be formally interviewed in China was dependent upon my personal and professional contacts, therefore resulting in a somewhat narrow group of scholars and professionals, often closely (or directly) associated with the Chinese government.

Due to this imbalance, in addition to the formal interviews, I hired a Chinese marketing research company (Horizon) to conduct a public opinion survey to test the knowledge of, and attitude toward, the anthology based upon an even sampling of contemporary Chinese society.

The survey polled 499 individuals¹ evenly distributed among urban and suburban Beijing and Shanghai; the sampling was also evenly distributed among four age groups to reflect how the Cultural Revolution affected each generation in a different manner.

Initial design of the survey was completed under the guidance of committee member Dr. Wenfang Tang (Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh). Dr. Tang has extensive experience conducting public opinion surveys throughout China and introduced me to representatives at Horizon, a leading marketing research company in China. I continued to develop the survey with Horizon representatives, based upon their knowledge and experience in conducting public opinion surveys. I relied heavily upon the expertise of Dr. Tang and the Horizon representatives for the construction of the survey due to their expertise in the area. The survey could have been conducted and designed in an endless combination of variables and the particular design of the survey itself greatly impacts the eventual results; a detailed explanation of the methodology utilized in designing the survey appears preceding analysis of the data collected in Chapter six. The complete original Chinese language survey appears in Appendix A with English translation in Appendix B.

Extensive statistical analyses of the data, along with the level of survey design necessary for such a project, are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Yet an elementary analysis of the data does provide significant observations addressing the main questions of the dissertation. The survey results are not at all intended to provide a completely objective statistical record. The results, however, support the findings from my personal interviews to a remarkable degree; in this way, the broader demographic pool of the formal survey provides (what I believe to be) valid confirmation of my data collected from the personal interviews. In other words, despite the

¹ The survey was intended to poll 500 individuals; however, due to data error only 499 results were collected.

narrow scope of the individuals personally interviewed, their responses do in fact appear to be representative of a broader section of Chinese society.

1.5.5. Transcriptions, Translations, and Transliterations

All transcriptions, translations, and transliterations are by the author unless noted otherwise. Transcriptions are based upon cipher notation; all expressions printed in the original scores appear in the transcriptions. Transliterations are all based on the pinyin system used in the People's Republic of China. English translations of song lyrics appear within the text of the dissertation, however, the original Chinese lyrics for all songs discussed appear in Appendix D. (The only exception to this is the Red Guard song on page 54 as the original text was unavailable).

2. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND ITS MUSIC

2.1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Scholars today are still attempting to unravel the complex political and historical accounts of the Cultural Revolution and continue to debate what it is exactly that prompted the ten years of chaos. The majority of leading scholars² repeatedly cite specific incidents and trends in the first two decades under Chinese Communist Party rule that appear to have instigated the start of the Cultural Revolution. These incidents and trends may be categorized into four major waves that follow a loose chronological order leading up to the formal launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

The first wave developed in the 1950s as China's relations with the Soviet Union began to crumble. The deterioration of relations is largely due to the ideological conflicts between Josef Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, and China's leader Mao Zedong. In 1956 (three years after Stalin's death) Khrushchev gave a landmark speech denouncing Stalin as a tyrant and criticized the cult of personality that had developed. Mao began to question Khrushchev's ideology and theory and from that point on the two leaders grew apart. During 1957-1959, Mao visited the Soviet Union once and Khrushchev made two visits to China; the meetings did not go well as the leaders criticized one another's policies and campaigns. Furthermore, Khrushchev was

² See Fairbank (1987), Harding (1993), Hsu (1995), Meisner (1986), Spence (1990), and Yan and Gao (1996).

irritated with Mao's policies and actions leading to the Taiwan Straits crisis of 1958 and refused to support China. By the mid-1960s, Khrushchev pulled out all Soviet technicians from China and broke the agreement to provide China with an atomic weapon.

The second wave developed from the fallout after a series of Chinese Communist Party campaigns failed during the late-1950s and into the 1960s. Most often cited are the "Three Red Banners of Socialist Construction" that includes the general line, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune Movement. At the Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress in May of 1958, Mao's general line, "Go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" was adopted and the Great Leap Forward Movement was launched. The movement was an attempt to boost industrial production to surpass Britain in fifteen years or less. Related to the Great Leap Forward, the People's Communes reorganized peasant life in an attempt to utilize and control all rural labor power to increase production (Li, K. 1995: 372-375).

The movements brought about great economic decline and devastation resulting in a growing criticism of Mao and his ideologies. In the late summer of 1959, the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress met in Lushan to discuss, among other things, how to "correct the mistakes of the Three Red Banners" (Yan and Gao 1996: 3). Several leading officials commented on the failures of the Three Red Banners and suggested a shift away from the political and ideological emphasis; suggestions were made regarding Mao's policies and ideological approach. Mao circulated a letter written by Defense Minister Peng Dehuai that addressed issues of Socialist transformation and the failures of certain campaigns. As many leaders began to agree with Peng's statements, Mao felt threatened by the growing support for

Peng and began criticizing Peng as a revisionist. The criticisms escalated, and led to the eventual dismissal of Peng, who was then replaced by Lin Biao.

In the following years, the country continued to suffer from declines in agricultural and industrial production, poor weather, and the removal of Soviet technicians. The Ninth Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress was called in early 1961 to address the country's concerns. Mao proposed further investigation and stated, "...to protect the Three Red Banners, China must war with the rest of the world, including large numbers of the opposition group and the skeptical group within the Party" (Yan and Gao 1996: 5). Mao began to raise concerns of the return of capitalism and leaders supporting Soviet Revisionism. Liu Shaoqi was soon perceived as one of the leaders of the revisionists amounting to growing tension between Mao and Liu. These power struggles and increased tension within Chinese leadership are identified as the third major wave leading up to the Cultural Revolution.

The fourth major wave surfaced amid growing tensions and division within Chinese leadership. In 1962, the Socialist Education Movement was launched to address economic problems but also contained an overarching emphasis on promoting class struggle. The movement became a focal point for the battles between Mao and Liu; the two leaders went back and fourth for the next few years and Mao continued to question Liu and his "revisionist" followers.

Mao believed that 'revisionists' and their 'counter-revolutionary' plots were already permeating not only the Chinese leadership, but the arts, literature, and educational system as well. Mao began dismissing and demoting those labeled as "revisionists," all the while strengthening his own power in an attempt to weaken the support of Liu.

At the end of 1965, major criticism surrounding the play, “Hai Rui Dismissed From office” sparked a string of debates regarding arts and politics. On November 10, 1965, Yao Wenyuan, editor-in-chief of the *Liberation Army Daily* wrote a scathing editorial of the play written by the deputy mayor of Beijing and academic, Wu Han.

Historian Immanuel C.Y. Hsu identifies the editorial as the firing of, “the first salvo of the Cultural Revolution” (Hsu 1995: 696). The editorial criticized Wu for the play’s allusions to Mao as a greedy and unfair emperor dismissing an honest official (Defense Minister Peng). In the following months, Wu Han, along with many others, were denounced for criticizing Mao and his policies in their writings. Targeting Wu Han was a powerful move for Mao since Wu was both a public official and a leading intellectual. Furthermore, through circles of connections the accusations could be traced back to Liu Shaoqi as well. The tension continued to rise and culminated in the formal launching of the Cultural Revolution on August 8, 1966.

2.2. “THE GREAT PROLETARIAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION”

At the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee held in 1966, Chairman Mao received the support of the Party’s Central Committee to launch the “Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution” (Harding 1997: 150). In the sixteen-point decision of the Eleventh Plenum, Mao established the guiding principles emphasizing continual revolution, education of the masses, and following the party line (Hinton 1980: 1565-9).

While building the Socialist economy, Mao sought to attack the “revisionists” and prevent the return of capitalism. Moreover, Mao utilized the arts, literature, and educational institutions to transform the “ideological realm” of the masses (MacFarquhar 1993: 248).

Though a Central Cultural Revolution Group³ was initially established in 1964 to carry out the revolution in literature and the arts, the group submitted a report in February of 1966 that was rejected by the Central Committee. This led to the establishment of a new Cultural Revolution Group led by Chen Boda and included advisor Kang Sheng, Vice-Directors Jiang Qing, Wang Renzhong, Liu Zhijian and Zhang Chunqiao, and members Xie Tangzhong, Yin Da, Wang Li, Guan Feng, Qi Benyu, Mu Xin, and Yao Wenyuan.

In August of 1966, the Central Committee gave the group the “authority responsible for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution” (Li, K. 1995: 584) and renamed Jiang Qing as Acting Director during Chen Boda’s absence. The group took over the duties of the Political Bureau and Secretariat and exerted great power throughout the Cultural Revolution by establishing cultural revolutionary groups, committees, and congresses at all levels (Li, K. 1995: 583-4).

In addition to the Cultural Revolution Group, the spirited youth played a major role, particularly in the early years of the Cultural Revolution. The “Red Guards,” as they became known, answered Mao’s call to smash the four olds (old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking) (Spence 1999: 575). Also known as the “revolutionary successors” or “revolutionary rebels,” the energetic youth overwhelmed the nation through acts of violence and chaos as they carried out Mao’s directives.

As the revolution began to take off, Mao’s directive regarding the structure for seizing power, known as the “Three-in-one combination” (*sanjiehe*) was re-ordered. The directive called for all revolutionary committees to be representative of the revolutionary cadres, the

³ The original Group included Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, Kang Sheng, Zou Yang and Wu Lengxi.

revolutionary masses, and delegates from the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The factional feuding within and between the various groups escalated, particularly with the Red Guards. By mid-1968 the conflicts spiraled out of control; Mao ordered the PLA to intervene and restore order and the Red Guards were reprimanded.

The Cultural Revolution was declared victorious and officially over at the Ninth Party Congress (April 1969). At the same time, significant changes began in appointed leadership as well as within the general structure of the party and government. For starters, Mao was unanimously voted Chairman of the party and the Central Committee, and Lin Biao was appointed sole vice-chairman (Hsu 1995: 702). The shift to a new centralized leadership was most significant in that the constitutional provision appointing a sole vice-chairman designated a successor in central leadership (MacFarquhar 1993: 228). Additionally, military membership in the Central Committee nearly doubled following the meeting of the Ninth Party Congress (Ibid: 249-50).

The years following the Ninth Party Congress brought upon intense escalation of power struggles within Chinese leadership. Despite the official declaration marking the end of the Cultural Revolution, many of Mao's radical policies continued to be carried out by the military and other members of his faction; the majority of which lead back to Jiang Qing and other leading members of the Cultural Revolution Committee later designated the Gang of Four.

By 1969, Mao had begun to criticize Lin Biao, and over the next two years the two struggled for power as they argued on key issues. Mao was not pleased with Lin's support of increased military involvement and the two differed in opinion on matters of foreign affairs. Rumors of a planned military coup began to surface and in September of 1971 Lin Biao and his family died in a plane crash during an alleged attempt to escape the country.

With Lin Biao's death, Mao felt pressured to find a new successor to lead China after his own ultimate death. The successor was expected to be chosen from one of three groups surrounding Mao, whom MacFarquhar refer to as, the "radicals," the "survivors," and the "beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution." The radicals consist of Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four; this group was making a noticeable attempt to succeed Mao and was continuing to carry out the radical policies that fueled the Cultural Revolution. The "survivors" were senior officials, including Premier Zhou Enlai, who despite opposing much of the Cultural Revolution remained faithful in their support of Mao. The "beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution" included many military figures that rose up to the top at the expense of the downfall of their superiors.

In 1973 Mao surprised everyone by overlooking all of those around him and introducing a young worker, Wang Hongwen, first to the Politburo and months later, appointing him third in line after Mao and Zhou Enlai (MacFarquhar 1993: 280-281). Wang was an ideal model, representative of the Cultural Revolution ideology; he had worked his way up from the bottom in both power and status.

Meanwhile, as Wang joined the ranks, Premier Zhou Enlai headed a number of policies to, "...stabilize administration and encourage production" (MacFarquhar 1993: 282). The policies attempted to restore order in industry and agriculture in order to recover from the devastation of extreme leftist actions of the Cultural Revolution. Furthermore, Zhou also made attempts to restore order in the educational system and scientific research.

Zhou's anti-leftist policies infuriated the radical Gang of Four and in 1974, Jiang Qing launched "The campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" as a vehicle to criticize Zhou Enlai. The campaign was similar to the "four olds" campaign of the early Cultural Revolution

years in that it criticized the old ways of thought and custom and emphasized the need to eradicate them in order to move forward. “The Campaign to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius” (*pi lin pi kong yundong*) differed, as it was Jiang Qing’s means to criticize the senior official, Zhou Enlai, and foster support to become Mao’s successor.

Leading up to the campaign, Zhou had fallen gravely ill to cancer and his health was quickly deteriorating. Mao was forced to remove Zhou from the daily operations of the party and, much to the dismay of the radicals, appointed Deng Xiaoping to take the position of first vice-premier. Deng had been targeted as a traitor for following the capitalist road at the onset of the Cultural Revolution but had since been rehabilitated. As Mao attempted to weaken the military’s involvement in politics, Deng appeared as a strong leader with the support of the military behind him. Deng’s appointment outraged the Gang of Four and their hopes to take over leadership upon Mao’s death began to crumble.

Even with Mao’s support, Deng’s rational policies soon left him out of favor with Chinese leadership once again. In late 1975, an ideological battle between Deng and Mao resulted in the second round of criticism against Deng. At Qinghua University some radical followers were stalling Deng’s attempts to restore the educational system. As word traveled to government officials, the incident developed into what Mao perceived as a threat of division within Chinese leadership and criticism of the Cultural Revolution.

Mao was required to make a definite decision regarding his successor when Zhou Enlai passed away on January 8, 1976. Clearly, Deng was no longer a candidate, as it appeared that Deng would not continue in carrying forth Mao’s ideologies. On the other hand, any of the radicals would create an unstable succession of power and leadership. Mao turned to a long-time

reliable beneficiary of the Cultural Revolution, Hua Guofeng, much to the rage of the Gang of Four.

At the time of Zhou's death, the Gang of Four maintained strict control of the media. Public mourning for the popular leader was banned and the Gang attacked the late Premier's policies when public support for him continued to rise as the annual "Tomb Sweeping Festival" (an annual holiday to pay respect to ancestors) approached. Students, workers, and soldiers alike all began to place wreaths and other objects in commemoration of the late Premier at the foot of the Heroes' Monument in Tiananmen Square. The outpouring of public support for Zhou made all of Mao's supporters, both radical and beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution, extremely nervous. The Gang quickly ordered all of the objects to be removed and when observers came the day after the holiday they were met with soldiers and police guarding a closed off square stating that the square was being cleaned (MacFarquhar 1993: 304). Crowds gathered and riots ensued; though most individuals followed orders to disperse, those who remained into the evening were met with violence when troops marched in at 9:35pm. Ten minutes later the confrontation ended as individuals were taken away for questioning (MacFarquhar 1993: 304-305).

Nineteen seventy-six continued on to be a devastating year for China. Another veteran soldier, Zhu De passed away in July and a devastating earthquake hit Northern China a month later. Agricultural and industrial production fell dramatically and the country was in a state of disarray with all of the natural disasters and economic and political instability. The Gang of Four and beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution began plotting against each other vying for power.

Immediately following Mao's death on September 9, 1976, Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four began presenting themselves as the successors to Mao's ideological crusade and began their attempt to seize power. The Gang had military support of the Shanghai militia, but could not stand up against the beneficiaries support and control of the People's Liberation Army. As the Gang's plan for a forceful takeover of power became increasingly apparent, the beneficiaries (advised by Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying) agreed to stop the attempted coup and arrested the Gang of Four on October 6, 1976. Their arrest marked the end of the Cultural Revolution.

2.3. IMPACTS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ON CHINESE SOCIETY

The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was Mao's attempt to mobilize the masses in a large-scale social revolution that would aid in developing a solid Socialist economic base while transforming the ideology of the people. The revolution certainly stressed economic and political reform; however, the strong emphasis on the transformation of ideology through the arts, literature, and education is perhaps how the movement got its name.

Furthermore, the Cultural Revolution targeted intellectuals and criticized the arts to an extreme degree. Many scholars today emphasize the devastating effects of the Cultural Revolution on the scholars, writers, and intellectuals in particular (see Harding, Hsu and Meisner). As Hsu states, "Poignantly, the Cultural Revolution turned out to be anti-cultural, anti-intellectual, and antiscientific; for knowledge was considered the source of reactionary and

bourgeois thought and action” (Hsu 1995: 703). In addition to the loss of creative and artistic production during the Cultural Revolution, many historical cultural artifacts were also destroyed.

Though it is difficult to rank the degrees of impact, perhaps the next significant impact of the Cultural Revolution is in regards to education. Though some educational reforms benefited the education system overall, the cessation of classes during the Cultural Revolution resulted in, what many refer to today as, the “Educated Youth” [*zhishi qingnian*]. Also labeled the “Lost Generation,” or “Sent-Down Youth” this generation of youth was sent out to the countryside to serve the revolution through menial labor and in turn learn from the peasants. Adding up the loss in creative, artistic and scientific production of the older generations, the lack of education in the generation of the “Sent-Down Youth” and the subsequent lack of trained teachers for the following generations results in a damaging effect upon three entire generations (Hsu 1995: 703).

Alternatively, some of the reorganization of the curriculum and methods during and after the Cultural Revolution provided increased opportunities for rural, non-elite people (Wang 1998). However, standards within the educational system declined because of the increased, and less rigid, access; students were selected for their class background as opposed to academic merit, the curriculum was highly politicized, and the length of schooling was reduced severely and replaced with menial labor (Harding 1997: 241).

The Cultural Revolution not only increased access to the rural communities in terms of education, but also in medicine and health care. In the early 1960s, health care was concentrated in the urban areas and rural areas had limited access to medicine and trained health care providers. Mao criticized the imbalance and called for more emphasis to be placed upon common health care, rather than the advanced research being conducted in the cities (Meisner

1986: 378-9). As a result, trained health professionals gave rudimentary instruction to the youth, many of whom were peasants, and sent them out to the rural areas to care for the masses. Despite the increased access to health care in rural communities, the level of expertise must also be taken into consideration when assessing the development. Many of the young peasants (labeled “barefoot doctors” [*qijiao yisheng*] as a designation of their peasant class background) administered basic medicine and health care after minimal training.

Viewpoints concerning the impacts upon labor, industry, and agriculture vary. Scholars such as Harding and Meisner outline some of the gains and losses during the Cultural Revolution, yet inevitably remark that the Cultural Revolution policies were largely reversed in subsequent years therefore having little long-term impact. On the other hand, some scholars, such as Hsu, focus upon the disruption and losses in labor, industry, and agriculture during the Cultural Revolution years. The divergence demonstrates how imperative it is that historical interpretations of the period are considered when analyzing the Cultural Revolution.

2.4. HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Nearly all scholars insert some sweeping statement pointing to the extreme levels to which the movement was taken in their analysis of the Cultural Revolution. Harding describes the period as, “one of the most extraordinary events of this century” (Harding 1997: 148); Fairbanks cites it as, “China’s ten lost years” and “the most bizarre events in history” (Fairbank 1987: 316); whereas Yan and Gao depict a more somber tone in his generalization of the period as, “a colossal catastrophe” (Yan and Gao 1996: 529).

Scholars today continue to unravel the complex sequence of events leading into and throughout the Cultural Revolution. Though accounts and interpretations vary, the discrepancies are largely those of tone, suggesting a political bias or personal assertion. The common themes that frequently do surface in historical critiques of the period include the overall “experience,” devastation, and failures.

The overall “experience” refers to an emphasis on the lived experience of the period. China endured the Cultural Revolution, but the memory of the period remains physically and psychologically in the individuals who survived. Fairbanks comments, “statistics alone can not convey the ‘experience’ of the revolution” (Fairbank 1987: 335-337); Meisner asserts, “Besides the dead, millions of Chinese limped away from the battles and repression of the Cultural Revolution physically and psychologically scarred” (Meisner 1986: 372); and the “experience” is emphasized in Harding’s words as, “the images of the Cultural Revolution remain vivid” (Harding 1997: 148). Clearly, the continual reference to the individuals lived “experience” demonstrates the deeply personal impact of the Cultural Revolution upon individuals. An overwhelming outpouring of personal memoirs beginning in the 1980s (in both Chinese and English language publications) validates the profound mark that the Cultural Revolution has left upon Chinese society.

The devastation of the Cultural Revolution that scholars refer to most commonly addresses the number of individuals persecuted to death, tortured, or enduring other great suffering. The disruption to the country’s infrastructure, as well as culture and society, are also commonly noted. The consequences of Mao’s political failures fell directly upon the individual, which in turn led to catastrophic outcomes on the larger stage of society in general. Harding suggests that Mao misinterpreted the country’s problems and thus led China into great failures

(Harding 1993: 233); the tragedy of Mao's errors, however, became a "tragedy for the nation" (Ibid: 149).

Today, the official CCP summary of the Cultural Revolution reads as follows:

The "Cultural Revolution" was the consequence of going astray in the effort to explore China's own road in building socialism; it was an incorrect practice carried out under the guidance of an incorrect theory. It fully revealed, in very stark forms, the defects of our Party and state, both in respect to their work and structure. It also presented profound lessons to be learned so that a serious mistake like another "Cultural Revolution" or any similar disastrous upheavals would never be repeated. A scientific summing up of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution" will help us to find the correct road to build socialism with Chinese characteristics and march triumphantly along this road (Hu, S. 1994: 716).

The impetus for the Cultural Revolution, its impacts upon society, and historical interpretations of the period will inevitably continue to be debated and discussed. Still, the introductory sketch provides a necessary backdrop in the investigation of revolutionary music.

2.5. HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY⁴ MUSIC: OFFICIAL CULTURAL POLICIES

Using music as a political tool certainly predates Mao and the Chinese Communist Party in Chinese history, however, the development that occurred under Mao's direction plays a large role within modern Chinese history. The use of songs as a political tool in educating the masses is a long-standing practice advocated in the earliest classics; in recent centuries, the practice has been documented from the Taiping Rebellion of the 1850s up to the very recent past.

Songs used for educating the masses are generally simple tunes with texts serving educational and political means (Wong, I. 1984). Revolutionary songs since the nineteenth century are generally based on a combination of Western and traditional Chinese folk music and are sung at political rallies and public assemblies to promote support of the state and specific political movements, directives, and policies (Ibid: 112).

During the Taiping Rebellion of 1851-1864, Protestant hymns were adapted for the dissemination of political campaigns. Following the 1911 Nationalist revolution, songs with socio-political messages were incorporated into both primary and middle school curriculum (Ibid: 115-6). Over the next decade, intellectuals began to look toward the Russian Revolution, Marxism, and Leninism; in 1926, the CCP published a collection of songs for the revolution that included both Russian and Chinese revolutionary songs (Ibid: 121).

One of Mao's earliest cultural policies was introduced at the 1929 Gutian Conference in which Mao declared the incorporation of songs into the training curriculum and established committees to collect and compose songs for the revolution (Ibid: 122). At the conference,

⁴ I will define my own use of "revolutionary" music as such for its use as a political tool in the social revolution, and not as in vanguard or ground-breaking fashion.

Mao and other party members outlined the two main objectives for effective propaganda as “time quality” (*shijian xing*) and “local quality” (*difang xing*). “Time quality” recognizes the annual cultural and agricultural cycles and events for individual regions; and “local quality” refers to the placement of propaganda within terms familiar to local issues and customs as well as utilizing local dialects and other cultural markers. In this way, it was believed that the masses would be more apt to identify with the national messages if they were presented in regionally and culturally specific styles already familiar to them (Holm 1984: 6-7). The direct emphasis upon “local quality” initiates the focus of targeting specific sections of the population by utilizing their regional/local forms (Ibid). Thus began propaganda aimed at certain individual pockets of society in the attempt to create a sense of national unity.

During the 1937-1945 War of Resistance against Japan, the political use of mass songs was developed further through such mass media as war films and demonstrations (Wong, I. 1984: 124). The songs composed during this period were full of revolutionary spirit, aimed at inspiring a sense of unity. Furthermore, in the struggle against Japanese invasion music was used as a political tool to serve the battle; the use of music as an ideological weapon, along with the emphasis upon utilizing music of the masses is a practice that was continued in the latter years of the Cultural Revolution (Wei, J. 2000).

Mao Zedong’s 1942 “Talks at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art” is perhaps one of the most influential markers in revolutionary song development. In his speech, Mao established guiding principles for the development of literature and arts as the “cultural army” for the revolution:

Our meeting today is to ensure that literature and art become a component part of the whole revolutionary machinery, so they can act as a powerful weapon in uniting and educating the people while attacking and annihilating the enemy, and help the people achieve solidarity in their struggle against the enemy (McDougall 1980: 58).

In order to implement the use of literature and arts as a political weapon, Mao definitively stated that art and literature were to serve and be utilized by the masses, more specifically the workers, peasants, and soldiers (Ibid: 59-60). Expanding upon the 1929 Gutian Conference emphasis on “local quality” and “time quality,” Mao continued to promote the investigation of local and regional forms so that they could be reformatted into propaganda for educating the masses. Mao instructed composers to be sent out to collect regional folksongs and in the process experience the everyday lives of the masses; in this way the composers would be more capable of representing and understanding the masses (Ibid: 60). The composers and musical workers labored and lived with the masses throughout the 1950s agricultural drive, including the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s and continued throughout the Cultural Revolution (Wong, I. 1984: 130-131). The principles established in Mao Zedong’s 1942 “Talks at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art” were implemented throughout subsequent decades; however, they were ultimately taken to radical extremes during the Cultural Revolution.

In August 1963, Premier Zhou Enlai presented an audience of music and art workers with a new policy to be applied to all socialist music, dance, and art. The policy expanded Mao’s outline for the new democratization of culture published in his 1954 text *On New Democracy* [*xin minzuzuyilun*] in which he describes how culture should be scientific, national, and popular (among the masses) [*kexuede, minzude, dazhongde*] (Ju 1993: 73). Zhou applied Mao’s policy

directly to the arts and presented “three processes of transformation” [*sanhua*], a three-part scientific summary of characteristics for Socialist artistic forms. The processes may be roughly translated as “revolutionize” [*geminghua*], “nationalize⁵” [*minzuhua*], and “popularize” [*qunzhonghua*].

The policy identified three points of transformation to be considered together as a fundamental principle or guiding policy in socialist culture. The first process, “to revolutionize,” is reminiscent of Mao’s Yan’an Talks in which he stated, “What we demand, therefore, is a unity of politics and art, a unity of content and form, a unity of revolutionary political content and the highest artistic form possible” (McDougall 1980:78). From the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party and continuing throughout the Cultural Revolution, Mao promoted the use of music and the arts as part of the “cultural army” to serve the revolution. Inherent in the process of “to revolutionize” is an attempt to change the function of music so that it serves the revolution, a goal that was carried out by continuing the tradition of politicizing music. In addition to the transformation of the function of music is the transformation of the content of music; by “revolutionizing” music, all music was to contain a revolutionary message presented in a revolutionary spirit. The process of “revolutionizing” was therefore, implemented by means of transforming the role of music as well as the actual content of music itself.

The second process, “to nationalize” addresses Mao’s emphasis on making music *of* the people; in his 1942 Yan’an Talks, Mao encouraged the use of existing forms familiar to the masses to serve the revolution “...we must use what belongs to workers, peasants, and soldiers themselves” (Ibid: 68-9). Mao favored a return to “Chinese,” as opposed to foreign, musical

⁵ The Chinese term *minzu* has no direct English translation, the term encompasses English language concepts of ethnicity and nationality. Though I have translated *minzuhua* as “to nationalize” I conceptualize the term in its Chinese meaning, incorporating elements of both ethnicity and the nation. The concept of *minzu* has been problematized by many scholars, most notably Crossley (1990), Duara (1995), Gladney (1994), Harrell (1990) and Khan (1996).

styles; in this way, the music would truly represent the people in content, form, and style. “Nationalizing” music also allowed additional opportunities to promote images of the model socialist society; for example, drawing from the traditions of ethnic nationalities not only presented music that is “Chinese,” but the promotion of many minority nationality traditions as being “Chinese” placed them within the concept of the “nation.” As a result, “nationalizing” music utilized existing forms while simultaneously providing identity markers for various ethnic nationalities as model citizens.

The third process, “to popularize,” places emphasis upon music that is truly representative of the masses, as opposed to music of the elite or intellectual classes. In terms of the implementation, music was to be simple in composition and form in order for the workers, peasants, and soldiers to be able to learn, sing, and perform them. This process may also be translated as “to make (in this case music) *of* the masses” emphasizing the popularization of music in the context of representation rather than dissemination.

Chinese scholars frequently mention the “three processes of transformation” when discussing the “New Songs” anthology, yet they all fail to clearly define the individual processes.⁶ Wei Jun cites *sanhua* as “a standard” for the “New Songs” anthology but does not provide any further explanation (2000: 16). Liang Maochun cites *sanhua* as producing, “great influence upon song composition of this (Cultural Revolution) time” (1994:14). Liang elaborates to say that the policy resulted in a great number of composers studying folk music and incorporating the traditional styles into their music as a result of the process “to nationalize.” However, the process “to revolutionize” was taken to such an extreme that the content and form

⁶ One point for consideration is that while the “three processes of transformation” provide a direction for the role, function, and content of music, it was perhaps derived from critiques of what music ought not to be; for example, music should be for the revolution and not for entertainment, music should be Chinese and not foreign, and music should be for the masses and not just for the elite.

of music became narrowly defined to the eventual point when all music was singing in praise of the leader, the party and other symbols in this vain (Ibid). Similarly, Ju Qihong cites the *sanhua* policy as promoting the prosperous development of Chinese music and art composition though there was some deviation in the application and execution of the policy (Ju 1993: 74).

2.6. MUSIC OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The music of the Cultural Revolution carried forth the ideology of Mao's 1942 talks as well as the systematic structure of the 1963 political policy to "revolutionize, nationalize, and popularize." Both amateurs and professionals appointed by the Chinese Communist Party joined in developing revolutionary music resulting in various forms and styles. Leading Chinese music scholars generally characterize the music of the Cultural Revolution as a specific phenomenon extremely indicative of the particular political, social, and historical context (see Ju 1993 and Liang, Maochun 1993). The music of the Cultural Revolution is often divided into three stages that follow the main political shifts during the Cultural Revolution: 1966-69, 1969-72, and 1972-1976 (Liang, Maochun 1993: 17)

2.6.1. 1966-69: the early years

Leading up into the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, began reworking traditional plays and operas to serve the revolution. A former Shanghai actress herself, Jiang presented a speech at the 1964 Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes where she proceeded to criticize the present state of theater:

The theatre is a place for educating the people, but nowadays all we get on the stage is emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, talented scholars and beautiful young ladies, all a load of feudalistic stuff, all a load of bourgeois stuff. Such conditions cannot provide protection for the basis of our economy, but may on the contrary serve to destroy the basis of our economy (Dolby 1976: 252).

In the same year, the song and dance production “East is Red” (*Dong fang hong*) set the stage for Cultural Revolution arts. Premier Zhou Enlai directed some seventy musical workers and over three thousand performers to pull off the large-scale production. The show consisted of music, dance, and theatrical sketches that together summarized the history of the Chinese Communist Party since 1921. The production was a commemoration in celebration of the fifteenth year of the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party and utilized much of the traditional music and dance found throughout China. Historic revolutionary songs from previous periods were also included, along with ten newly composed songs more reflective of the Cultural Revolution period. The show promoted an ideology of China and the Chinese Communist Party, having overcome great hardship through numerous battles and invasions, emerging victoriously and triumphantly moving forward (Ju 1993: 76). The following is a thematic sketch of the original titles for the various scenes depicted in the “East is Red” production:

I. “Dawn in the East:”

“East is Red,” “Old China,” “October Winds from the North,”
“The Peasant’s Song,” and “Worker, Peasant and Army Unite!”

II. “A Single Spark Can Set a Prairie Fire:”

“The Blood of Revolutionaries,” “The Autumn Harvest Uprising,”
and “Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Rules of Attention,”

- III. “Crossing Thousands of Mountains and Rivers:”
 - “The Red Army Soldiers Miss Chairman Mao,”
 - “The Red Sun Shines Over Tsunyi,” “Taking the Tatu River,”
 - and “Crossing the Snow Mountain”
 - IV. “The War of Resistance against Japan:”
 - “To Resist or Not,” “Arise,” “Yan'an-Shrine of Revolution,”
 - “The Graduation Song,” “The Song of the Guerrilla,”
 - and “Inside the Liberated Area”
 - V. “Bury the Chiang Kai-Shek Dynasty:”
 - “Unity is Strength,” “The Decisive Battle,”
 - “The March of the Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army,”
 - “Crossing the Yangtze,” and “A Day in the Liberated Area”
 - VI. “The Chinese People Stand Up:”
 - “The Chinese People Have Stood Up!”
 - “Without the Communist Party, There Would Be No New China,”
 - “National Minorities Celebrate” and “Song of the Motherland”
- [<http://www.morningsun.org>]

The production begins during the early days of the Chinese Communist Party and continues through the development of the Party, including the War of Resistance against Japan and the Civil war against Chiang Kaishek’s Nationalist Party. The final chapter of the production is an inspiring suite promoting the strength of the Chinese people, the Chinese people’s dedication to the party, the promotion of national minorities and finally the dedication to the nation.

By 1967, Jiang had established Eight Models including five “Model Revolutionary Operas,” two “revolutionary modern ballets,” and one symphony⁷ (Ibid.). The plays and ballets maintained many traditional elements such as gestures, acrobatics, and musical/percussive

⁷ The Eight models include the five model operas: *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strateg*, *Sea Harbour*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, *Shajiabang*, and *Red Lantern*; the two ballets: *Red Detachment of Women* and *White-Haired Girl*; and the symphony *Shajiabang* (Dolby 1976: 252-253).

accompaniment for dramatic effect; yet the models also contained many new additions. To begin, the elaborate sets were a drastic departure from the sparse set of traditional Chinese opera that relied heavily upon imagery. Costumes, themes, and characters were all modernized to portray contemporary images of extreme heroism or evil. Characters' roles were greatly simplified to present clear pictures of good and evil. In addition to the simplification, the characters themselves were dressed in either bright or dark colors (for heroes or villains respectively) enhanced by lighting and staging effects where heroes appeared in bright lights and villains lurked in the shadows. Musically, a Western orchestra was added to play along with a traditional Chinese orchestra.

The following is the official English language synopsis of one of the most popular Model Revolutionary Operas, "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" also known as "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy:"

It is winter, 1946, in the Mutankiang area in China's Northeast, during the early period of the War of Liberation. Our army has won brilliant victories on the battlefield. A group of Kuomintang-organized armed bandits, routed by our army, flee into the dense mountain forests to make a last stand. They go about harassing our rear area. Burning, killing, and looting, they arouse the deep hatred of the local inhabitants. A Chinese People's Liberation Army detachment of 36 men, acting on **Chairman Mao's instruction to "build stable base areas in the Northeast,"** penetrates into the snowy forests, mobilizes the masses, wipes out the bandits and consolidates the rear area, so as to coordinate with the field army in smashing the U.S.-Chiang attacks.

The opera provides a vivid account of the struggle in which the detachment, fearing no sacrifice and surmounting every difficulty, succeeds in taking Tiger Mountain (the bandits' den) and wiping out the Eagle* gang. The heroic images of revolutionary proletarian fighters like Yang Tzu-jung, Shao Chien-po and others are strikingly portrayed, displaying to the full the P.L.A. men's lofty spirit of whole-hearted devotion to the people. The opera is a tribute to the great strategic thinking of Chairman Mao on people's war.

* "Eagle" is a nickname of the bandit chief.

(Taking Tiger Mountain by strategy: the story of the modern Peking opera.1972)

The "Eight Models" were broadcast continuously throughout the Cultural Revolution. In addition to the regular broadcast, the "Eight Models" and particularly the "Model Revolutionary Operas" were published in a variety of scores, books, posters, and additional media to thoroughly circulate the ideological models throughout the masses (Dolby 1976: 255-6).

While the Model Revolutionary Operas were being disseminated, revolutionary music was simultaneously developing along the political and ideological lines of the Cultural Revolution context. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, the writings of Chairman Mao were set to music and disseminated throughout the country; these "quotation songs" (*yulu ge*) appeared at the early stage of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) when Lin Biao was promoting the personality cult of Chairman Mao. The "Read Everyday" campaign (*tiantian du*) ordered the masses to set aside time everyday to study Mao Zedong thought (Li, K. 1995: 447-8) and the "quotation songs" were often employed in this fashion. Lin Biao had collected Mao's quotations to create the well-known "Red Treasure Book" (*hongbaoshu*) and Lin himself stated,

“One of Chairman Mao’s words is more valuable than 10,000 of others” (Li, H. 1997: 63).

On September 30th, 1966, the nation’s newspaper, the People’s Daily (*Renmin Ribao*), dedicated the entire edition to “quotation songs” with the editor’s note that, “The songs and quotes of Mao will resonate all over the country” (Ibid.). The popularization and dissemination of the “quotation songs” escalated rapidly as newspapers and broadcasts spread the songs throughout the nation; for the next three years all of Mao’s important speeches and quotes were quickly constructed into “quotation songs” (Liang, Maochun 1993: 18).

Since the political doctrines were the emphasis of the quotation songs, the artistic form was usually rather simple, and often rudimentary (ibid.). The tunes were often coarse, with a rigid rhythm and jumbled syntax. In reference to the aesthetics and artistic quality of “quotation songs,” Chinese music scholar, Liang Maochun, writes that the songs are, “an exact reflection of the time” (Liang, Maochun 1993: 18) and they reveal a true picture of the social atmosphere during the Cultural Revolution

Figure 2.1 is one of the most well-known “quotation songs,” “The Force at the Core Leading our Case Forward is the Chinese Communist Party” (“*lingdao women shiye de hexin lilian shi zhongguo gongchangdang*”) composed by Li Jiefu and published in the *People’s Daily* newspaper on September 30, 1966 (Liang, Maochun 2003: 48). Numerous composers wrote the “quotation songs” though the Chinese composer, Li Jiefu is credited as the individual composer for the majority of these songs (ibid: 18). The first two lines are a direct quotation from Mao’s opening address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on September 15, 1954; the last three lines are popular slogans chanted at public rallies and other events.

ling dao wo men she ye de he xin li liang shi zhong guo gong chang dang._____

9 zhidao wo men si xiang de li lun ji chu shi ma-ke-si lie ning-zhu yi.

17 gong chan dang wan sui! mao zhu xi wan sui! gong chan dang wan sui!

20 mao zhu xi wan sui! wan sui, wan sui! wan wan sui!

(Liang 2002: 48)

Figure 2.1: “The Force at the Core Leading Our Case Forward is the Chinese Communist Party”

Lyrics⁸:

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the
Chinese Communist Party.

The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.

Long Live the Communist Party! Long Live Chairman Mao!

Long Live the Communist Party! Long Live Chairman Mao!

Long Life! Long Life! Long, Long Life!

In addition to the “quotation songs,” the CCP disseminated a number of highly aggressive and militaristic songs either in praise of Chairman Mao and the party or in opposition to the enemies. At the same time, the Red Guards began to compose their own revolutionary songs that borrowed from historic and popular revolutionary songs.

Many of the songs drew from quotation songs, military songs, and other revolutionary music. One of the most characteristic types of Red Guard songs are the folksongs (*geyao*) that

⁸ See Appendix D, Number 1 for original Chinese lyrics.

were often self-composed to sing or chant political slogans. These songs were particularly vulgar and rude and utilized exaggerated styles and metaphors. The following lyrics are typical of an extremely violent Red Guard song:

Anti-imperialism requires anti-revisionism	[<i>fandi bi fanxiu</i>]
Smash the dog's heads of Soviet revisionists	[<i>zalan suxiu goutou</i>]
Step on them with one foot	[<i>tazhe yizhi jiao</i>]
Never let them free themselves!	[<i>rang ta yongshi bu de fanshen</i>]
Liu Shaoqi, who cares about you	[<i>Liu Shaoqi ni suan laoji</i>]
Today I will seize you!	[<i>jintian laozi yao jiu ni</i>]
I'll make your muscles cramp	[<i>chou nide jin</i>]
Take off your skin	[<i>bo nide pi</i>]
Play soccer with your skull!	[<i>ba nide naoke dang qiuti</i>]

(Wagner 2001: 6)

The two main tasks of the Red Guards in the countryside were to disseminate political news and orders and to provide general agitation (Wagner 2001: 7). To this end, the Red Guards utilized songs as one of their main weapons or tools. Scholar Vivian Wagner notes the lack of several main humanistic concepts of friendship, comradeship, and freedom in the songs and cites a former Red Guard: "...singing was the most important method of propaganda, a propaganda team would take a bunch of kids, teach them a song and then ask them to spread it further-snowball effect! Without any further assistance of the team, propaganda would work by itself!" (ibid.).

When Mao introduced the concept of using music as a weapon in his famous 1942 Yan'an talks, the target of the cultural army was a foreign enemy. However, by the time of the

Cultural Revolution, the enemy was no longer foreign; the battle had shifted from targeting foreign invaders to that of internal offenders, emphasizing the internal struggle for power.

2.6.2. 1969-1971: silence

The Red Guard songs were identifiable by their violent and crude language which resulted in great disapproval. In 1969, Jiang Qing criticized the state of revolutionary songs in general for being obscene and inappropriate resulting in an abrupt halt to most music production including the quotation songs (Li 1997:64). In a number of speeches, Jiang specifically cited the vulgarity of the Red Guard songs and referred to the quotation songs as “obscene and decadent” and relied too heavily upon slogans alone (Ibid). For the next two years, the publication and dissemination of revolutionary songs were limited to the “Eight Models” and four historic historic revolutionary songs: “The East is Red,” “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman,” “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention,” and “Internationale” (Liang, Maochun 1993: 19).

2.6.3. 1971-1976: return to tradition

In 1971, Mao turned over the central daily work of the CCP to Zhou Enlai who immediately criticized the harsh and abrasive qualities of revolutionary songs based solely upon slogans. Zhou called for a return to the traditional melodies and softer musical qualities as material for revolutionary songs. Traditional music from throughout the diverse nation began to be collected by government workers in order to create a new type of revolutionary music that was softer and more lyrical (Li, H. 1997). Zhou began working on a compilation of

these new revolutionary songs that were published in 1972 as “New Songs of the Battlefield” (*Zhandi Xinge*); the success of the first anthology resulted in annual publication through the remainder of the Cultural Revolution.

3. INTRODUCTION TO THE ANTHOLOGY

The Cultural Revolution was an incredibly politically charged period in modern Chinese history; families were torn apart, children denounced their parents and entire generations and classes of people were criticized, punished, and sometimes killed for their political “errors.” Though scholars both inside and outside of China have begun to explore this turbulent era, the subject matter remains sensitive and controversial.

While conducting my fieldwork I encountered three main obstacles. First, attempts to conduct interviews with individuals involved with the anthology was a challenging process as many of the individuals have passed away, are advanced in age and/or unwilling to discuss the period with me. Secondly, those who did agree to meet with me often did so reluctantly, and the majority of them requested anonymity in any publication of my research. Thirdly, many of the informants spoke with great hesitation and reserve; they were extremely cautious in disclosing information and usually began the interview by trying to glean what others may have already told me.

Given the political and emotional sensitivity surrounding the Cultural Revolution, the following chapter is an attempt to describe the compilation and editorial processes of the “New Songs” anthology as an informative depiction of the context, rather than an historical account identifying the specific political power and actions of individuals. In order to respect the wishes of my informants and maintain consistency, I have chosen not to identify any of my informants

individually. Though pseudonyms will replace actual surnames, I identify general profession and/or role within the anthology as told to me. Additionally, I will provide explanation of the dissemination of songs and general organization of the songbooks.

I present the following chapter as one synthesis of primary source materials including Chinese language publications and personal interviews conducted in China during summer 2001 and winter 2002-2003. I begin with an overview of the foundation and compilation of the anthology, a general introduction including editorial and compositional processes followed finally by a discussion of dissemination. Upon this, I turn to the stories of the editors and composers in order to gain insight into the composition and editing of the “New Songs” anthology.

3.1. FOUNDATION AND COMPILATION

The preface to the 1972 volume of “New Songs” marks the publication as a commemoration to the thirty-year anniversary of Chairman Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art.” The first page cites Mao’s quotation that the arts and literature are to serve the masses and that they are created for, and to be utilized by, the workers, peasants and soldiers (*Zhandi Xinge* 1972). The anthology was compiled by a carefully selected team of editors comprised of government workers with varying degrees of musical training. Information regarding the compilation of the anthology remains politically charged; informants provide contradicting information regarding the specific members of the editorial committee as

well as who was ultimately in charge. The exact identification of individuals and the positions they held within the editorial and compositional staff of the anthology remains unknown to me.

The idea for the anthology began as a call for songs for commemorative ceremonies celebrating the 30-year anniversary of Mao's Yan'an speech. According to informants, calls went out to the entire nation asking for newly composed songs for the revolution. Amateur musical troupes submitted songs to their local committee that were then passed along through the county seats before reaching the provincial capitals. Each province would select a number of songs to submit to the Central Committee in Beijing where the final decisions were made. What began as a small collection quickly turned into a much larger project.

The editorial committee was comprised of roughly a dozen members with one or two chief editors. The committee changed slightly with each volume; however, informants confirm that several of the members worked on multiple volumes. For several months, workers would collect the scores and recordings of the submitted songs and the editorial committee would listen for several hours each morning. Songs were selected first and foremost for their political content and then secondly for their artistic merit. The committee aimed to provide a display of all songs from all provinces as well as an even distribution of thematic content. Several categories were mandatory; the two main categories being 1) songs in praise of Mao, the party and the motherland, and 2) songs of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Often times, the background of an amateur musician would be fully investigated before the song was allowed to be broadcast or published.

As the songs were compiled, any gaps either in regional representation or thematic content would then fall in the hands of resident composers, or the musicians associated with the editorial committee. For example, if after sifting through submissions there were not any

approved songs from Tibet, lyrics would be drafted and then passed along to an approved composer in Beijing to quickly produce the necessary composition. According to several composers and editors, musical production during the Cultural Revolution was extremely fast; often times a composer would be given lyrics at the end of one workday and be expected to have a composition ready to submit by the following morning.

Another key element in the compilation process of the “New Songs” anthology is the editing of songs. As the political content of a revolutionary song was of primary concern, the lyrics of songs were scrutinized to a great extent in order to achieve the ideal balance of revolutionary content and linguistic brilliance. Having attended all of the daily editorial meetings, a woman who organized materials for the third volume of the “New Songs” anthology said, “I learned so much about writing and revising lyrics by sitting in on the meetings, I was constantly amazed at how much effort was put forth to select the most appropriate words; I learned a lot in general from the entire experience.”

3.2. FORMAT AND ORGANIZATION

In 1972 the first volume of “New Songs of the Battlefield” was published under the direct supervision of Zhou Enlai with a new volume published annually until the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 (Liang, Maochun 1993: 20). The entire five volume series contains a total of five-hundred and fifty-six different songs.⁹ The general format remains consistent throughout the five years of publication with the exception of minor changes in inclusion of

⁹ This number includes four songs that each appear twice within the five volumes.

preface/postscript, individual recognition of composers, and editorial committee titles (to be addressed individually within corresponding sections).

The five songbooks are uniform in general layout and organization. The phrase, “In commemoration of the 30 year anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao’s ‘Talks at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art’” appears on the left hand edge of the cover of the original volume and this phrase reappears on each of the subsequent volumes with the anniversary year adjusted as time elapses.

Each volume begins with quotations from Mao Zedong printed in red ink; the selected quotes serve as an introduction to how the songs are to be used, in addition to how and why they were developed. For example, the quote to the first volume is in specific reference to Mao’s principles for the creation of revolutionary art and literature (see Appendix C for English translation of Prefaces and Postscript):

Quotations of Mao Zedong

Our literature and art is to serve the masses,
first is to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers,
they are created for the workers, peasants, and soldiers,
and for the workers, peasants, and soldiers to utilize.
Since our literature is fundamentally to serve
the workers, peasants, and soldiers,
what we call “popularization” means to make it popular
among the workers, peasants, and soldiers;
what we mean by “improvement” is from the improvement
of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.
I hope there will be even more good pieces of literary works that come forth.
(*Zhandi Xinge* 1972)

This quote is directly from Mao Zedong's 1942 "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art." The Mao quotations that appear in subsequent volumes are all similarly in reference to Mao's policies on revolutionary literature and art.

The title pages of all five volumes are also consistent in layout and information presented. At the top of each title page, the volume is introduced in commemoration of the publication of Mao's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art" and then the title "New Songs of the Battlefield" appears in large font. In the original volume, the phrase, "Song Anthology of New Compositions since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution" appears under the anthology title; this subtitle is subsequently replaced with "sequel," "volume three," "volume four," and "volume five" accordingly. Below the subtitle appears the name of the editorial committee, followed by the publisher, year and place of publication.¹⁰

Volumes I and III include a preface and Volume II includes a postscript; these short paragraphs state the rationale for the anthology and refer to the political climate of each particular year. The preface to the first volume introduces the anthology as follows:

In commemoration of the thirty year anniversary of the publication of the great leader Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on arts and literature," we offer to the broad masses of the workers and peasant soldiers this selection of songs composed since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution.

This book has selected revolutionary songs newly composed since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution and ten folk songs on revolutionary history.

¹⁰ All volumes are published in Beijing. Volume one does not list a publisher; volumes two and three are published by the People's Literary Publishing House [*renmin wenxue chubanshe*] and volumes four and five by the People's Music Publishing House [*renmin yinyue chubanshe*].

Flowers on the battlefield are more fragrant. Since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, the broad masses and amateur composers from revolutionary workers, peasants, and soldiers, guided in line with Chairman Mao's Revolutionary thought on art and literature and illuminated by the Yan'an speech, take as model the revolutionary model operas, and persist in working to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers and the proletariat politics; they have composed and produced a great quantity of outstanding revolutionary songs. This anthology of songs attempts to show the great achievements in order to promote the creation of revolutionary songs and the singing activities to satisfy the needs of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

(Zhandi Xinge 1972)

The preface continues on to explain how the selected songs come from all regions of the country and how they truly reflect the spirit of the masses. Mao's teachings, "political standards first, artistic standards second" and "Strive for the unity between revolutionary political content in the perfect artistic form" are referenced as a guiding principle of composition and additional paragraphs provide an outline of the subject matter and form of the songs.

The postscript that appears in volume three, published in 1973, offers the sequel to "satisfy the needs" of the workers, peasants and soldiers. The postscript paints an optimistic forecast for socialist construction and revolution and emphasizes how, "At present, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature, the mass movement is in full swing for the creation of arts and literature" *(Zhandi Xinge 1973)*.

The preface in the third volume (published in 1974) makes specific reference to the "Campaign to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" [*piling pikong yundong*] campaign of that year. Furthermore, the landlord and bourgeoisie classes are targeted and accused of promoting the "black line" of literature and arts:

In the fierce struggle between the two roads on the literary and artistic battlefield, same as the entire field of infrastructure, exists two classes. People of the landlord and bourgeoisie classes, not easily accepting their failure, always try by every possible means to fight for the cultural thought battleground. Revolutionary songs are also no exception, if the proletariat will not go to capture it, the bourgeoisie will seize it and restore the ancient ways; in the territory of music the appearance of the tendency to worship the foreign and the dissemination of bad songs in certain areas are good examples. This is an expression of the resurgence of the black line of literature and arts and we must give it a firm and resolute counter attack.
(*zhandi xinge* 1974)

In general, the anthology is presented as an offering to the workers, peasants, and soldiers to be used in the Cultural Revolution; furthermore, the anthology and all of the songs are in praise of Mao Zedong, his ideologies, and his campaigns. All of the entries cite Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art" as the inspiration for the anthology and reiterate the main ideas of his orders to use arts and literature as the "Cultural Army" to advance in the revolution. The first exception in format consistency is that volumes IV and V lack any sort of preface or postscript; justification for the omission is not available yet does not appear to suggest any significant impact.

The second exception in format consistency over the course of the five volume anthology is the individual recognition of composers, lyricists, and editors. The composer(s), lyricist(s), and where appropriate, editor(s) are identified for each individual song. Identification includes individual names, multiple names, and/or group names. Composers and lyricists are most commonly recognized individually, whereas editors are usually listed as "committee." The first volume contains significantly more group names for lyricists, composers and editors, but then

gives way to individual and multiple name recognition in the remaining volumes. In addition to this gradual increase in individual recognition, the fourth volume is the only volume to identify all composers, lyricists, and editors (whether individuals or groups) within the table of contents. In all other volumes, the names of composers, lyricists, and editors are only listed on the musical score itself.

3.3. COMPOSERS, LYRICISTS, AND EDITORS

The composers, lyricists, and editors of the anthology consist of a large number of named and unnamed individuals and groups. In the initial volume of the anthology, many of the individual composers, lyricists, and editors were not individually named, hidden behind general names for committees or work troupes. Based upon personal interviews, the government music composers and lyricists often worked in teams. Frequently multiple composers are credited to one particular song, as well as multiple songs credited with the same pairing of specific composer and lyricist.

The composers and lyricists include a combination of trained and untrained individuals; trained individuals make up the majority of government music workers and are considered “professionals” [*zhuanye*], whereas “amateurs” [*yeyu*] are usually untrained individuals or groups identifiable as workers, soldiers, and/or peasants. Revolutionary art troupes, art and literature groups, work units, and other artistic collectives composed many of the “amateur” songs.

All of the editors were government music workers usually with some degree of musical training. As mentioned above, some editors are individually recognized for their work on particular songs, but most often recognition is given to an editorial committee or group. At a higher level are the editorial committees that orchestrated the compilation and editing of each individual volume. According to personal interviews, the members of the editorial committee differed from each volume to the next. However, the individual members of each of the editorial committees are not listed in any publication and remain a topic of hearsay among those who were directly involved¹¹. The only information available regarding the editorial committee are the official titles of each editorial committee as published in each volume. In total, there are three different names for the editorial committee used in the five volumes; the names and volume number(s) are as follows (see Glossary for Chinese characters):

Volumes I & II:

Revolutionary Song Collection Task Force,
Cultural Affairs Office under the State Council
[*guowuyuan wenhuazu geming gequ zhengji xiaozu*]

Volume III:

Literary and Artistic Creation Leadership Task Force,
Cultural Affairs Office under the State Council
[*guowuyuan wenhuazu wenyi chuangzuo lingdao xiaozu*]

¹¹ My attempts to construct a list of editorial committees and positions within each committee were fruitless as information presented to me from various individuals was incomplete and often contradictory.

Volumes IV & V:

“New Songs of the Battlefield” Editorial Committee

[“*zhāndì xīngē*” *biānxiān xiǎozǔ*]

(Translations provided by a member of the Chinese Foreign Ministry in Beijing, China)

Evidently, changes occurred in the third, and then again in the fourth volume; it would appear as though the initial charge of “Revolutionary Song Collection” was expanded in the third volume to that of “Literary and Artistic Creation Leadership,” but then reduced again, even more specifically to “New Songs of the Battlefield” for the last two volumes of the series. The change in committee titles presents support for claims of shifts in committee membership and power, however, additional significance is incomprehensible from the titles alone.

In terms of the editing process itself, all of the songs included in the anthology underwent an extreme level of censorship and revision. Government music workers and/or members of the editorial committee usually revised and edited the songs submitted by the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Specific assignments given to the government music workers were likewise subject to a critical process of revision. The official publication does not indicate the majority of these revisions and editorial adjustments; however, the changes made to the old songs included in the anthology are noted in detail. These old classics were updated in order to meet the current political scene of each year of publication. To this end, the detailed indications of revision and editing include a list of terms roughly translated in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Editorial Terms

Rough Translation	Original Chinese
"arranged"	<i>bian</i>
"revised"	<i>gai</i>
"revised anew"	<i>chong xin gai</i>
"rewritten lyrics" (typically with some musical adjustments)	<i>tianci</i>
"rewrite lyrics anew" (typically with some musical adjustments)	<i>chong xin tianci</i>
"straightened out"	<i>zhengli</i>
"revised arrangement"	<i>gaibian</i>
"corrected and revised"	<i>xiugai</i>

Several sources confirm that though these indications may appear to be similar and redundant in meaning, the slight linguistic difference in nuance indicates the attitude toward the original composition. In this way, a composition originally accredited to a composer no longer in line with the party would need to be "straightened out" or "revised" whereas a composition associated with a composer still in favor with the party would merely need a new "arrangement" or some "corrections." Subtle intricacies such as this are indicative of the political climate throughout the Cultural Revolution.

3.4. DISSEMINATION

During the Cultural Revolution, all major literary publications ceased and the state had complete control of the content of mass mediated art and literature. Dissemination of revolutionary songs (including the “New Songs” anthology), includes the media, formal groups, and informal groups. Media dissemination includes cable radio broadcast, wireless radio broadcast, television broadcast, films, newspaper publication, songbooks, audio recordings, anniversary meetings and public performances; formal group dissemination includes school and work units; informal group dissemination includes family and friends.

Dissemination of revolutionary songs overwhelmed the multiple channels of media throughout the Cultural Revolution. During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, evening radio broadcasts played a primary role in disseminating messages from the party. Most families had a cable radio wired into their dwelling, or would gather with their neighborhood or work unit to listen to the broadcasts. As the political campaigns changed at a rapid pace, keeping current on political agendas was mandatory in order to maintain one’s status with the local community. Mao’s evening speeches would reappear the following day in slogans, posters, and songs; younger generations would immediately memorize Mao’s new quotations and promote the political movement of the moment. Television and films were viewed mainly in group contexts since most individuals and families did not individually own television sets.

Newspaper publications were another main channel for media dissemination; daily newspapers published multiple songs from the “New Songs” anthologies as well as other revolutionary favorites such as historic revolutionary songs and military songs (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Select Songs Published in *People's Daily*, January 1967

1-Jan	“Chairman Mao is the Red Sun in our Hearts”	“ <i>Maozhuxi shi women xinzhong de hongtaiyang</i> ”
5-Jan	“We Have Arrived Along Side of Chairman Mao”	“ <i>Women lai daole Maozhuxi shenpang</i> ”
6-Jan	“Our Hearts Face Chairman Mao	“ <i>Women xin xiang maozhuxi</i> ”
21-Jan	“Thoroughly Crush the Reactionary Line's New Revolt”	“ <i>Chedi fensui chan jieji fandong luxian de xin dong</i> ”
28-Jan	“Firmly Support the Proletariat Revolutionary Rebel Faction”	“ <i>Jianjue zhichi wuchanjieji geming zaofanpai</i> ”
31-Jan	“Unite under the Red Banner of Mao Zedong Thought	“ <i>Zai Maozedong sixiang hongqi xia lianhe qilai</i> ”

Songbooks and audio recordings were also available for purchase, though many individuals could not afford such items. Based upon personal interviews, audio recordings were too expensive for individual purchase and were thus usually purchased by groups such as work or military units. The final channel of media dissemination is that of anniversary meetings and other public performances. State-sponsored events were, and continue to be, a frequent channel for official dissemination of media. Both small and large scale productions are approved and organized by the Central Committee and tour throughout the country.

Formal group dissemination of revolutionary songs includes school, work, and residential units. During the Cultural Revolution an individual's identity was recognized by the group to which that individual belonged. For political discussion and education, these groups met regularly on a daily basis and revolutionary songs were commonly sung as part of these group meetings/gatherings. Often times multiple groups would meet for mass rallies and revolutionary songs were also sung on these occasions to show dedication and allegiance to the Chinese Communist Party. Many individuals reported that at group gatherings, before a meeting was to begin, individual groups would each sing new songs of the revolution and competitions would

break out to see which group was the most revolutionary in spirit, or rather, which group could sing a new song the loudest.

Informal group dissemination of revolutionary songs includes family and friends. As a popular means of expressing faith in the Chinese Communist Party, revolutionary songs were often sung in informal gatherings. Though the “New Songs” anthology was published once a year during 1972-1976, one woman told me: “Not everyone could afford to buy the songbook when it came out so whenever someone bought a copy they would let all of their friends copy down the scores by hand.” Additional testimonies suggest that informal oral transmission was particularly popular among the youth of the Cultural Revolution and served as a common pastime.

Sources for media dissemination are largely limited to newspaper publications of songs and broadcast listing; documentation of formal and informal group dissemination is even more difficult to obtain. For this reason, I included questions on the public-opinion survey to gather data on how songs were learned, where they were heard, and where they were sung. The distinction between learning, hearing, and singing provides further insight into not only the dissemination of songs, but how individuals interacted with the songs as well.

According to data collected in the public opinion surveys, respondents learned the songs largely through school or work units (35%) or friends and family (14%). Where songs were heard and sung, however, relies more heavily upon the media and other formal channels of dissemination. Cable Radio (42%) and Wireless Radio (22%) appear as the overwhelming majority of where songs were heard in the past (third largest response is 8% reported learning songs from family/friends). As for where songs were sung, 32% reported singing songs at school or work unit activities, 19% reported singing by oneself, followed by 16% at work unit meetings.

3.5. CREATING THE “NEW SONGS” ANTHOLOGY: PERSONAL TESTAMENTS

Some of the most common phrases used to describe the “New Songs” anthology are in reference to the historical backdrop [*lishibeijing*] at that time [*shidai beijing*] that the songs provide; the political and historical climate of the 1972-1976 period is revealed through the political themes and language used in the songs. An examination of the compilation and composition processes further illustrates this unique period in history; the following personal accounts attest to the types of personal experience of those involved in the “New Songs” anthology.

3.5.1. Composer Wang

For some, the Cultural Revolution was a period of accomplishment and recognition; some of those swept up in the vigorous spirit of the political period actually achieved great success. Many of these people later suffered as the leaders of the Cultural Revolution were punished in following decades. The example of the ethnic nationality composer, however, is quite different.

Composer Wang began as an underpaid musician in a musical troupe in an ethnic nationality area of China's borderlands. In the years leading up to the Cultural Revolution Wang became well known in his region for musical compositions and performances. Singing in the local language and utilizing musical styles of his ethnic group, Wang was invited to travel around with different musical troupes to compose, perform, and record revolutionary music. As the Cultural Revolution began, Wang's music was put under great scrutiny. At one point he was severely criticized for not including enough about "class struggle" and his hopes for a musical career were shattered. Months later, at a gathering at a hospital, while Wang was hanging laundry out to dry, he began to hear some familiar notes. Seated together in one section, soldiers of the People's Liberation Army were singing his song that had been formerly criticized. As the entire crowd began to join in Wang began to cry; through their gesture, the PLA had just "liberated" him and he could once again continue with his musical career.

Nearly a year into the Cultural Revolution, a number of Wang's compositions became well-known revolutionary songs. The Central Committee began hearing of Wang and his revolutionary music and was interested in producing recordings for national broadcast on television and radio. Before doing so, however, the CCP sent a team to investigate Wang and his background. The team researched Wang's entire background including his family and friends;

furthermore, the team wanted to ensure that Wang's revolutionary music was indeed newly composed and not merely an imitation of songs already existent in the musical repertoire of his nationality group. After Wang, his family, his friends, and his music all received approval from the party, Wang's career carried on at full speed. Following the success of the recording and broadcasts of his music, the CCP invited Wang to become a resident composer with the Central Committee in Beijing where he remains to this day.

For Wang, the period of the Cultural Revolution was, and remains to be, his claim to fame. It was his big break and he has enjoyed a lifetime of personal and professional success because of it. As can be expected, he acknowledges the difficulties and hardships endured during the Cultural Revolution: the extreme censorship, the endless revisions, and the never-ending web of politics; yet overall, the period marked success for Wang and continues to this day. A number of his compositions are known throughout the entire nation, and with China's substantial population, it is a remarkable accomplishment. His story is unique, and the following story of Composer Chen presents an alternative perspective on the period and the anthology.

3.5.2. Composer Chen

Nearing the commemorative activities for the 30th anniversary of Mao's Yan'an talks, Chen was already an established government official in the politics of the musical arts scene. Despite his own disinterest, the party asked Chen to lead the organization of the commemorative activities. Soon the party announced the approval of a song anthology and the process began with Chen at the reigns. Talking with Chen is probably the closest I will ever get to the Cultural Revolution; every word, every statement, every story, are all dripping with political fervor. He

outlines every procedure, every process, down to the specific naming of committees and the individuals involved. Never leaving out a name or a step, his memory is as sharp as a tack.

Chen's description of the compilation process for the "New Songs" anthology is a long and tedious narrative of rejection, revisions and, inevitably, criticism. According to Chen, the editors of the anthology were met with critical debate and political bureaucracy at each and every step. Sometimes, however, they themselves created some of the roadblocks. For example, the process of deciding upon a name for the editorial committee was marked with long and heated debates; this process was then repeated once again to decide upon the name for the actual anthology. They were required to submit to various departments within the CCP to obtain approval for each and every little decision or movement; more often than not, the CCP would reject the editorial committee's ideas several times before granting approval to continue. Soon every little stamp of approval became a personal victory for Chen.

The balance between old and new songs was a topic of much debate during the compilation of the anthology. For Chen and some other members, the contribution of the anthology was to present new songs, and therefore, the incorporation of old songs (in their opinion) was secondary. Other members naturally opposed this and criticized the lack of old standards. In Chen's words, "If you include one song, you would be criticized, yet if you didn't include another song you would be criticized." The committee spent months going back and forth among one another and then with various departments of the CCP.

Finally, when the first print of the anthology was completed and ready for its initial distribution, Chen received a late night phone call requesting him to meet with Zhou Enlai. Despite multiple revisions and repeated rejections, the anthology had received the final approval and Chen worried what Zhou would have to say. Soon after meeting Zhou, Chen's uneasiness

disappeared. According to Chen, Zhou was extremely pleased with the anthology and wanted to congratulate Chen on the swift and meticulous process of compilation. After asking Chen a few questions concerning the details of the compilation process Zhou asked why the well-known revolutionary song “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman” [*dahai hangxing kao duoshou*] was not included. Zhou questioned Chen on this, asking if it was because of the slogan’s association with Lin Biao (a founder of the Red Army and People’s Liberation Army who after years of devotion toward Mao staged a coup and was later the subject of mass critical campaigns). Chen replied that the anthology introduced new songs from the Cultural Revolution and afterward, therefore, much later than the song “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman.” Zhou agreed with Chen, yet asked if this one song could be the exception; that the song carried too important of a message to be omitted. Zhou then asked if including the song would delay publication to which Chen assured him it would not. Other sources confirm this last minute change and apparently, the song was glued by hand onto the first page of the limited first edition of the anthology to avoid re-printing and maintain the timeliness of release.

Chen undoubtedly has a lifetime of stories to tell. He was under house arrest for several years following the Cultural Revolution for his close association with the Gang of Four. Nonetheless, he is eager to tell his stories and continues to write his personal memoirs. His reflections are certainly laden with personal and political bias; however, his stories provide a glimpse into the surging bureaucratic waters one needed to navigate to steer through the Cultural Revolution.

3.5.3. Composer Yuan

Composer Yuan is a leading composer in the Beijing music scene; a number of his compositions from the “New Songs” anthology continue to be broadcast today. Composer Yuan grew up in a poor, rural area. He did not begin formal schooling until the age of 10, and even then he only attended for six years. “Coincidentally” as he puts it, the teacher of his school could dance and play music; Yuan was drawn to the teacher’s musical and artistic versatility and developed an interest in music himself. Yuan constructed his own *jinghu* (2-string fiddle commonly used in Chinese opera) and began to experiment on his own. When the teacher discovered Yuan’s interest he took Yuan on as his pupil and began teaching Yuan several of the traditional Chinese instruments. The teacher soon joined a cultural troupe of a nearby military theater and brought Yuan along with him. By this time, Yuan could play several of the traditional Chinese instruments in addition to a number of western instruments such as the cello, trumpet, and tuba.

Yuan quickly advanced in status at the military theater and soon he was conducting the orchestra and composing music for the troupe. He enrolled in one of the larger Chinese music conservatories in 1951 and was sent to Korea to study music for two years. Upon his return to China he was invited to work in the Department of Culture offices and was appointed editor of a leading music publication.

I asked Yuan about some of his compositions that were published in the “New Songs” anthology and he would only tell me the story behind one of the many songs he was involved with. He was working with two other musicians on other projects when they received a call from the art troupe affiliated to the general office of politics in the military (PLA); they were instructed to write songs for some of the leading solo singers at the time. Yuan comments, “In

those years, every song that was written had to be approved by Jiang Qing so no one dared to write new songs. People were hesitant to write anything for fear of being criticized by Jiang Qing.” Due to the heightened level of criticism, the three composers were careful in selecting a theme for the songs. They decided to write songs in praise of the motherland and each began drafting individual songs. After each of their individual songs were rejected, the three of them decided to work together and compose a song collectively. The resulting song was rejected once again for its use of a waltz rhythm; the leaders criticized the song for being too romantic and insisted that they be “more serious.” Finally, Yuan was instructed to write his own version and the resulting song was selected for the anthology.

Yuan claims to have composed some three-thousand songs during his career, yet only one-thousand of those were ever published. Many of the songs were written for campuses or specific industries and even more songs were in support of political campaigns that quickly faded. When I asked Yuan about some of these additional songs, he refused to comment stating that they can not be discussed because they contain political campaigns that were criticized after the Cultural Revolution.

3.5.4. Composer Li

Composer Li was much less forthcoming in our discussion of the “New Songs” anthology. Extremely bitter about the period and particularly skeptical of my inquiry, Li provided general comments on the anthology and minimal details regarding the compilation and compositional processes. Additional sources confirm that Li was one of the leading editors of the anthology for the first four volumes and, though not confirmed, some suggest that he too was punished following the Cultural Revolution for his involvement with the Gang of Four.

Li states that the “New Songs” anthology really only consists of four volumes since there was a complete overhaul in editors and additional staff for the fifth volume. According to Li, all of the composers and editors who had been working on the anthology since its beginning were all cast aside by Jiang Qing and the gang of four and had nothing to do with the fifth volume.

Li also identified the first volume as the most popular and most successful because of the timing of its release. Citing the military marches and quotation songs of the early Cultural Revolution period, Li considers the “New Songs” anthology to be of “higher artistic value.” He commented that the styles found in the anthology were much greater and more diverse than what had been heard during the early years of the Cultural Revolution.

My interview with Li largely centered around the history of the Cultural Revolution; before telling me anything about the “New Songs” anthology Li wanted to be sure that I had a complete and thorough understanding of the political developments leading up to the “New Songs” anthology. Even after addressing some of the key figures and political events Li said, “Young people have no idea what the period was actually like, it isn’t something that you can just read about.” Reluctantly, he told me bits and pieces regarding the compilation and compositional processes of the anthology.

With regard to music and arts during the Cultural Revolution, Li says in retrospect he now considers one of the main problems to be that, “there were too many songs in praise of Mao Zedong and too many songs in praise of the Cultural Revolution.” He criticized how under the leadership of Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four, censorship of creative production was far too severe: “For example, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution there were eight billion people but only eight plays.” Li summarizes the period in general as “Ten years of trouble...if it wasn’t for the Cultural Revolution, China and the lives of the Chinese people would have developed much faster and sooner.”

3.6. SUMMARY

The composers’ stories are concrete examples of the experiences of those involved with the “New Songs” anthology. Clearly, personal attitudes, contemporary reflections, and interactions with the anthology in general, differ from person to person. Many of my sources confirm that Composers Chen and Li were two of the chief editors most closely associated with the anthology. Yet the two no longer speak to one another and barely acknowledge each other’s involvement in the anthology. Their willingness to share information regarding the anthology with me could not be any more contrasting. Chen easily discusses the ins and outs of his experience with the anthology whereas Li is much more reserved. This difference in character is similar to that of Composers Wang and Yuan, for Wang is still cheerful and excited about his career, whereas Yuan is extremely diplomatic and merely states the facts.

Individual character, personal experiences, and the influence of one's direct community may all provide insight into why each of these individuals tells a different story. While arranging and conducting interview, I also noticed that the family members of many of the composers often play the role of guardian for their spouse or parent. Many of these family members refused to allow their spouse or parent to discuss the period with me for fear of bringing up a painful past, and/or getting an elderly person too excited or agitated while discussing what can be an extremely emotional topic.

Additional exploration of personal accounts and narratives could produce an examination of greater study, however, at present, these stories provide a short example of the personal involvement in the musical and political processes, and how the two could never be completely separate. Through the four stories presented here a few generalizations may be made: 1) For a few individuals, such as Composer Wang, the "New Songs" anthology provided a platform for professional advancement; for others, such as Composer Chen and Li their involvement with the anthology brought them punishment and persecution later on in life. 2) The willingness to reveal the details of the anthology's history also differs from person to person. Composers Wang and Chen feel obliged to divulge the information whereas Composers Yuan and Li are more reserved. Perhaps after more time and distance has passed the anthology's history will come to light; yet seeing as many of the key players have already passed away or advanced in age, it is difficult to know how much of the information will be available in the future since there is known documentation.

To fully understand the editorial process of the "New Songs" anthology is well beyond the scope of the current study and quite possibly may never be done. The heightened level of sensitivity and lack of documentation results in an unstable foundation upon which to begin

exploration. The impact of post-Cultural Revolution criticism and punishment is yet another factor that deeply affects the investigation of the “New Songs” anthology. Undoubtedly, there are many stories behind the compilation of the anthology that (for however long) will remain unknown.

4. THEMATIC AND TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

4.1. OVERVIEW

Each volume of the “New Songs” anthology follows a similar outline of six general themes: 1) Chinese Communist Party (CCP) classics; 2) songs of praise, battle songs, and songs of political campaigns; 3) songs of ethnic nationalities; 4) songs of the workers, soldiers and peasants; 5) youth and children’s songs; 6) songs of international relations. The themes are not explicitly identified as such; however, thematic distinction may be implicitly understood by their successive appearance in the anthology’s table of contents and general introduction in the 1972 preface. Though the exact order of appearance of the six themes differs slightly from volume to volume, the songs within each theme are always grouped together. For example, CCP classics and songs of praise, battle songs, and songs of political campaigns always appear first in the table of contents; next are either the songs of ethnic nationalities or songs of workers, soldiers and peasants; the fifth category is always the youth and children’s songs, and each volume ends with a few songs of international relations. The thematic groups are most obvious in the table of contents for volume four where the individual themes appear spaced apart in groupings; in all other volumes the table of contents does not present any visual distinction of thematic groupings other than listing them in consecutive order. Furthermore, the first volume of “New Songs” outlines four of these six categories in a general sketch of the content of songs:

The song anthology is composed in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings in regard to, "political standards first, artistic standards second" and "strive for the unity between revolutionary political content in the perfect artistic form." In subject matter, there are songs in praise of the Communist Party, in praise of Chairman Mao, and in praise of our socialist country; there are songs which reflect the battles and life of workers, peasants, and soldiers on different battlefields of socialist revolution and construction; there are also songs that reflect the youth and the children growing up strong under the shining illumination of Chairman Mao's thought as well as songs that reflect the people of China and every country's people's revolutionary friendship and unity in combat. (*Zhandi Xinge* 1972)

The wording of the preface suggests four thematic categories: 1) songs in praise of the Communist Party, Chairman Mao, and the socialist country; 2) songs reflecting the workers, peasants, and soldiers; 3) songs of the youth and children; 4) songs of international relations. I have added two categories: 1) CCP classics and 2) songs of ethnic nationalities; adding these two categories allows for separate attention to songs of distinction found in the anthology.

Beginning with CCP classics, this category of songs are actually not new songs at all but rather old songs from earlier periods of CCP revolutionary music. The CCP classics represent a mere six percent within the entire anthology yet their prominent position at the head of three volumes demonstrate their high regard within Chinese revolutionary music; they are also the only songs that continue to be published and broadcast today. The remaining five themes are all newly composed songs that, in general, promote official ideologies and provide representation of certain pockets of a model socialist society. In this study, I will identify the CCP classics; however, the primary focus is upon the five remaining themes as they are the new compositions and make up the majority of the anthology.

Given the heightened political environment of the Cultural Revolution, these songs all inherently carry multiple political messages. Examination and analysis show a dominant message could be identified; for the purpose of this study I have made my classifications based upon what I consider the strongest identity marker for each particular song. For example, a Tibetan song will undoubtedly be in praise of Mao or a political campaign; however, it is recognized primarily as being Tibetan. In the following sections, I will utilize the six general themes as a framework to provide examples of the breadth of thematic and textual content of the “New Songs” anthology (see Appendix D for a selection of original Chinese lyrics and the Glossary for individual Chinese terms).

4.2. CCP CLASSICS

The thirty-four CCP classics published in the “New Songs” anthology fall into three subdivisions of historic revolutionary songs [*geming lishi gequ*], revolutionary folk songs [*geming minge*], and Mao’s poetry songs [*wei maozhuxici puqu*]. The three subdivisions were presented to me by current Chinese musical scholars in their introductions to the “New Songs” anthology and additional research justifies their usage; I will explain the categorization for each subdivision accordingly. The greatest distinction between the subdivisions is their musical composition and historical context; musical analysis of these subdivisions follows in the next chapter.

The first four songs in volume one include one revolutionary folk song and three historic revolutionary songs that are separated from the remainder of the anthology both in the table of contents (where they are listed in bold face) and in the publications of scores. The intense impact of these four songs cannot be understated. In the late 1960s, at the height of Jiang Qing's criticism and attacks on the arts, the production of songs came to a complete stop. Liang Maochun characterizes the period of 1969-1971 as a period of silence (Liang, Maochun 1993), when the only songs broadcasted and disseminated were the following four songs:

“East is Red” [“*Dongfanghong*”]
“Internationale” [“*Guojige*”]
“Three Disciplines and Eight Points of Attention”
 [“*san da jilu ba xiang zhuyi*”]
“Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman”
 [“*dahai hangxing kao duoshou*”]

The preface to the first volume mentions the inclusion of ten historic revolutionary songs and five historic revolutionary folk songs¹² which fails to include these first four songs. In my analysis, I have added these four songs into their appropriate categories yet acknowledge their prominent position as the introduction to the anthology.

4.2.1. Historic Revolutionary Songs

The division of historic revolutionary songs [*geming lishi gequ*] is an official categorization that appears in both Chinese and English language sources in reference to songs

¹² “*shi shou geming lishi gequ, wu shou geming lishi mingge*”

that depict the history of Chinese Communist Party revolutions.¹³ Historic revolutionary songs in the “New Song” anthology all appear in the first volume and are comprised of the following 13 songs:

- “Internationale” [“*guojige*”]
- “Three Disciplines and Eight Points of Attention”
[“*san da jilu ba xiang zhuyi*”]
- “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman” [“*dahai hangxing kao duoshou*”]
- “Sword March” [“*dadao jinxingqu*”]
- “March to Battle” [“*zhandou jinxingqu*”]
- “Battle Song of the War of Resistance Against Japan” [“*Kangrizhange*”]
- “Thrust into the Enemy Rear” [“*dao diren houfang qu*”]
- “Workers and Peasants are all of the Same Family” [“*gongnong yijiaren*”]
- “Graduation Song” [“*biyege*”]
- “Advancement Song” [“*qianjinge*”]
- “The Great Road” [“*daluge*”]
- “Workers and Peasants Make Revolution” [“*gongnong gemingge*”]
- “The New Women” [“*xin de nüxing*”]

Each of these songs has their own unique history and all appear in the “New Songs” anthology after some revision. The lyrics to “Internationale” were written by Eugene Pottier as a song of the Paris “Commune” in 1871; Pierre Degeyter set Pottier’s words to music in 1888 and the song was introduced to China in the 1920s. The CCP adopted the song and it was published in the national paper, *The People’s Daily* on April 28, 1962 (*zhongguo yinyue cidian*: 137). Since that time, the song often serves as a symbol of China’s early days of Communism (Wong, I. 1984: 120).

¹³ The categorization of songs is confirmed by a 1970 songbook titled, “Historical Songs of the Revolution” [*geming lishi gequ*] and an undated record of the same title.

“Three Disciplines and Eight Points of Attention” is a military song of the Red Army based upon a folk song. It is listed in the “New Songs” anthology simply as a “Red Army Song” [*hongjūn gēqu*] though it was originally arranged by Cheng Tan (*yinyue cidian* 329). In 1928 Mao Zedong announced the “Three Disciplines and Six Points of Attention” for the Red Army; in 1929 he revised this to, “Three Disciplines and Eight Points of Attention.” By 1935 Mao’s directives were arranged into song and the song was popularized throughout the war of resistance against Japan as well as during the war of liberation. The song appears in both volumes one (1972) and three (1974) of the “New Songs.”

“Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman” (composed by Wang Shuangyin with lyrics by Yu Wen) is characteristic of the early period of the Cultural Revolution and reflects the idolization of Mao promoted largely by Lin Biao. Unlike the other historic revolutionary songs, this particular song is rather limited to its Cultural Revolution context in terms of broadcast and publication. Despite its overwhelming circulation during the Cultural Revolution, the song is rarely mentioned today.

“Sword March” and “March to Battle” are both military songs; “Sword March” was written in 1937 by Mai Xin specifically for the “brothers” [*di’er*] of the 29th military unit for their heroic feats in the war of resistance against Japan; the song lyrics were later revised to the “brothers of the entire nation’s armed forces” [*quanguo wuzhuang de di’ermen*] (*zhongguo yinyue cidian*: 64). Along the same lines, “March to Battle” was written by Pei Zhi and is also associated with the Japanese war.

Of the eight remaining songs, two are composed by Xian Xinghai and six by Nie Er. These two Chinese composers are well-known for introducing and applying their western musical training to early 20th century Chinese musical composition. Both composers contributed

hundreds of revolutionary songs during the war of Resistance against Japan, including numerous compositions for patriotic films (Wong, I. 1984). The relationship with patriotic films, particularly throughout the 1930s perhaps accounts for much of their popularity

Xian Xinghai wrote the “Battle Song of the Resistance to Japan” and “Thrust into the Enemy Rear”; as with most of the historic revolutionary songs, Xian Xinghai’s compositions were renamed, revised, and recomposed over the course of CCP history. For example, “Battle Song of the Resistance to Japan” was originally composed in 1936 (lyrics by Sai Ke) during the war of resistance against Japan as “Military Song of Rescuing the Nation” [*jiuguo junge*] (*zhongguo yinyue cidian*: 204). The original and revised lyrics are as follows:

“Military Song of Rescuing the Nation (1936 lyrics)¹⁴”

With the mouth of the barrel pointed away, advance with a tidy step!
Without hurting civilians, without striking our own!
We are the iron troops, we have an iron core!
Defending the Chinese nation, we will forever be a free people!
With the mouth of the barrel pointed away, advance with a tidy step!
Defending the Chinese nation, we will forever be a free people!
Load the bullet carefully, and take aim at the enemy!
Hit one with one gun, advance forward with each step!
We are the iron troops, we have an iron core!
Defending the Chinese nation, we will forever be a free people!
Load the bullet carefully, and take aim at the enemy!
Defending the Chinese nation, we will forever be a free people!

¹⁴ See Appendix D, Number 2 for original Chinese lyrics.

“Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan¹⁵”

With Chairman Mao, millions of people all of one mind,
the entire country’s compatriots, advance bravely!
We are the troops in the war against Japan, we are tightly united,
raise high the red flag of revolution, and advance to victory!
With Chairman Mao, millions of people all of one mind,
Grab tightly the hand pistol, and annihilate the invading troops!
We are the troops in the war against Japan, we are tightly united,
raise high the red flag of revolution, courageously kill the enemy.
With Chairman Mao millions of people all of one mind,
raise high the red flag of revolution, and advance to victory!

The original lyrics in the 1936 “Military Song of Rescuing the Nation” repeats the phrase “defending the Chinese nation, we will forever be a free people” four times; whereas in the lyrics rewritten anew for “Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan” the line that is repeated three times is, “with Chairman Mao, millions of people all of one mind.” The emphasis shifts from defending a free nation to following Chairman Mao. Additionally, the language changes slightly in tone from the original, “load the bullet carefully, and take aim at the enemy!” to the rewritten lyrics of “Grab tightly the hand pistol, and annihilate the invading troops” as well as “...courageously kill the enemy.”

“Thrust into the Enemy Rear” was also composed during the war of resistance against Japan to describe the valiant efforts of troops going deep into the enemy lines to fight. The version that appears in the “New Songs” anthology does not recognize the original lyricist, Zhao Qihai, but merely cites the editorial committee for lyrical revisions.

¹⁵ See Appendix D, Number 3 for original Chinese lyrics.

The six remaining historic revolutionary songs are composed by Nie Er; Nie was a leading figure in early 20th century Chinese music composition, most notable is his composition “Song of the Volunteers” which became China’s national anthem upon CCP establishment in 1949 (I. Wong 2002: 384). Nie remains today as a leading Chinese composer in Chinese music history and many of his historic revolutionary songs are still broadcasted and published regularly. “Fighting the Yangtze River” [*Dachangjiang*] was renamed “Workers and Peasants are all of the Same Family” and appears in the “New Songs” anthology with the following lyrics “revised anew”:

“Workers and Peasants are all of the Same Family¹⁶”

My brothers, workers and peasants, we are all of the same family,
From the same root, we are all people who suffer;
Workers, peasants of the same root, we are from the same root.
We build all the houses and we grow all the grain,
But evil landlords, and foreign compradors have robbed them all away.
Full of burning hatred, wild our wrath flames up,
Smash the dark old world, we will then be free,
Outright smash the dark old world, only then will we be free.
All of us of one mind, follow the Communist Party,
Take up swords and rifles, wipe out all the wolves.
Workers and peasants must arise, be the masters of the land.
Closely knit together, millions of hearts as one beat,
Smash the iron shackles, rise to win liberation,
Smash the shackles, we will be free!
Smash the shackles, we will be free!
We will be free! We will be free!

¹⁶ See Appendix D, Number 4 for original Chinese lyrics.

The lyrics speak of the struggle for liberation and the great hopes of a new life under the Communist Party. Original lyrics were written by Tian Han, a well-known poet and playwright who was criticized by the CCP during the Cultural Revolution (Yan and Gao 1996: 121). Tian's original affiliation with the songs "Workers and Peasants are all of the same Family" is not recognized at all in the "New Songs" anthology.

Tian Han also wrote the original lyrics to "Graduation Song," the theme song to a 1934 Shanghai Movie "Plunder of the Peach and Plum" [*tao li jie*] that depicts the struggles of University students in the 1930s. The lyrics appear "revised anew" in the "New Songs" anthology, although post-Cultural Revolution publications have reverted to the original lyrics and recognize Tian Han.¹⁷ The original lyrics promote patriotism, and a general sense of dedication and faith in the nation in the face of the hardships of the Japanese invasion:

"Graduation Song" (original lyrics)¹⁸

Come together fellow students!

We will shoulder the responsibility of the life and death of our nation!

Listen! What we can hear is only our people's groans.

Look! Year after year our land becomes smaller and smaller.

What should we take, "fight" or "surrender"?

We'd rather fight to death on the battlefield as our land's owner
than to advance higher in the society as slaves.

Today we are students, tomorrow we will be the pillars of society;

today we are here singing together,

tomorrow we'll start the surge of national salvation!

¹⁷ This is confirmed by a 2001 publication "Sing in Praise of the Motherland, Sing in Praise of the Party", a collection of songs in commemoration of the 80 year anniversary of the founding of the CCP.

¹⁸ See Appendix D, Number 5 for original Chinese lyrics.

Surge! Surge! Stronger and stronger!
Our fellow students, let's pick up our courage
and shoulder the responsibility of the life and death of our nation!

The "New Songs" editorial committee published "Graduation Song" in the 1972 volume with the lyrics "revised anew"; these revised lyrics similarly promote patriotism and commitment to a national movement but also inserts specific reference to the war of resistance against Japan, the efforts of the workers and peasants, and the red banners of the battlefield:

"Graduation Song"¹⁹

(lyrics as published in 1972 volume of "New Songs")

Come together fellow students,
let's head for the front of the War of Resistance against Japan!
Listen! The bugle call for the War of Resistance against Japan is blowing.
Look! The red banners in the battlefields are flying.
We follow the Communist Party and arm ourselves.
We vow to fight to the death in defense of our country's frontiers.
We are determined to wipe out all aggressors.
Together with the workers and peasants we must build that
impregnable fortress (wall of bronze and iron).
Unite all the people of the country.
Let's greet the dawn of the victorious liberation of our nation.
Advance! Advance! The bugle call is blowing.
Classmates! Classmates!
Quickly assemble, go straight toward the front line of the War against Japan!
Advance! Advance! The bugle call is blowing.
Classmates! Classmates!
Quickly assemble, go straight toward the front line of the War against Japan!

¹⁹ See Appendix D, Number 6 for original Chinese lyrics.

The original lyrics promote a sense of a unified spirit and the dedication to participate in ensuring a better future for the nation. The revised lyrics that appear in the 1972 “New Songs” make more specific military reference; while also fostering a sense of unity and dedication to fighting for the nation, the linguistic style is slightly more exaggerated.

Both “The Great Road” and “Workers and Peasants Make Revolution” were originally composed for the 1934 movie “The Great Road” (*zhongguo yinyue cidian*: 66). “The Great Road” is also the title for the movie’s theme song and “Workers and Peasants Make Revolution” also originally appeared in the film as “Vanguard” [“*Kai lu xianfeng*”]. “The New Women” [“*xin de nüxing*”] (originally titled “*xin nüxing*”) was the theme song for the 1934 movie of the same title; Nie Er also composed “Advancement Song” for a one-act play “Yangtze River tempest” [“*Yangzijiang baofengyu*”] by Tian Han in 1934 (*zhongguo yinyue cidian*: 452).

4.2.2. Revolutionary Folk Songs

The term “revolutionary folk song” is based upon references in the prefaces to the volumes in which they appear. In the 1972 original volume of “New Songs” the songs are introduced as “historic revolutionary folk songs” [“*geming lishi minge*”] and when they next appear in volume three, they are introduced as “revolutionary folk songs” [“*geming minge*”] with specific regional identification. In total, the sixteen revolutionary folk songs that appear in the “New Songs” anthology are:

“East is Red”

[“*Dongfanghong*”]

“Our Leader Mao Zedong”

[“*Zanmen de lingxiu maozedong*”]

- “The Mountain's Red Azaleas Bloom a Bright, Bright Red”
 [“*Shandandan kai hua hong yanyan*”]
- “Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production”
 [“*Junmin da shengchan*”]
- “Song of Liberation”
 [“*Fanshen daoqing*”]
- “Workers and Peasants Lets Arm Ourselves”
 [“*Gongnong qi wuzhuang*”]
- “Autumn Harvest Uprising Song”
 [“*Qiushou qiyi ge*”]
- “Commissar Mao Comes to Sanwan”
 [“*Sanwan lai le Maoweyuan*”]
- “Commissar Mao is Together with Us”
 [“*Mao weiyuan he women zai yiqi*”]
- “The Cadres of the Revolutionary Bases have a Good Style of Work and Life”
 [“*Hongqu ganbu hao zuofeng*”]
- “The August Osmanthus Flower Blossoms Everywhere”
 [“*Bayue guihua biandi kai*”]
- “When the Sun Rises on Shao Mountain, the East is Red”
 [“*Richu Shaoshan dongfang hong*”]
- “Liuyang River”
 [“*Liuyanghe*”]
- “The Sun in the Sky is Red”
 [“*Tianshang taiyang hongtongtong*”]
- “Carrying Tea Leaves to Beijing”
 [“*Tiao dan chaye shang Beijing*”]
- “Dongting, a Land of Plenty”
 [“*Dongting yumixiang*”]

“The East is Red” [“*dongfanghong*”] is a well-known historic revolutionary folk song based upon a Shanbei folk song, “Riding the White Horse” [“*qi baima*”] (*zhongguo yinyue*

cidian: 85). Peasant folk singer Li Youyuan popularized the song and in 1943 the song became known as “Migration Song” [“*yiminge*”] extolling the CCP and revolutionary leader Mao Zedong (*ibid*). Mao’s workers of literature and art in Yan’an later changed the name to “East is Red” and it was published as such in the Liberation Army’s daily paper, *Jiefang Ribao*, in 1944 (*ibid*).

The five (historic) revolutionary folk songs in volume one are all edited by the Shaanxi Literature and Art workers Editorial Committee” [“*shaanxi wenyi gongzuoze jiti*”]. “Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production” is from Guangxi province in southwest China and “The Mountain's Red Azaleas bloom a bright, bright red” is from the Shaanxi/Gansu region. The three remaining songs are from the northern part of Shaanxi province (referred to as Shanbei), they include the two Shanbei folk songs “Our Leader Mao Zedong” and “Workers and Peasants Let’s Arm Ourselves” and the *Shanbei daoqing* “Joy of Emancipation.”

“Joy of Emancipation” [“*fanshen daoqing*”] speaks of the liberation of the people in the early years of the CCP and the promise of a new, changed life under the new leadership. The song was revised and arranged in 1943 by the “Literary Work Troupe of the Luxun Institute of Art and Literature” [“*luxun wenyixueyuan wengongtuan*”]; the song is based upon a local type of spoken song, “*daoqing*,” that the workers studied while living with rural peasants (*zhongguo yinyue cidian*: 100). The first line refers to the optimistic spirit of the peasants after liberation and the remainder of the lyrics addresses the hardships of the past and hope for the future.

“Joy of Emancipation²⁰”

As the Sun comes out, the mountain is covered with red sunshine.
The Communist Party has emancipated us.
In the old society, we people who suffered were at the bottom of society.
We were bullied and oppressed by every layer of society.
The grains we harvested were snatched away by the landlords,
we toiled like cattle, and suffered from hunger and cold
but we were full of raging fury.
Our leader Chairman Mao leads us in the revolution,
we who have suffered have come out of the sea of bitterness
and see a glorious light.

In the past years we could only swallow our tears,
and today, we stand up together and act as masters.
Those who have suffered in the world are all of one family,
let us unite and fight for emancipation,
let us unite and fight for emancipation.

The preface to volume three identifies the inclusion of five “Hunan Revolutionary Folk Songs” [*“hunan geming mingē”*] and five “Jiangxi Revolutionary Folk Songs” [*“jianxi geming mingē”*] in addition to the new compositions of the anthology. Nine of the ten songs are associated with some type of art worker’s group of that province. For example, of the five songs from Hunan, revised lyrics are credited to the “Hunan Revolutionary Song Collection Task Force” [*“hunan geming gequ zhengji xiaozu”*] or “Music and Dance Unit, Hunan Province Literary Work Troupe” [*“Hunansheng wengongtuan gewudui”*]; and four of the five songs from

²⁰ See Appendix D, number 7 for original Chinese lyrics.

Jianxi recognize the “Jiangxi Province Cultural Group” [*“jiangxisheng wenhuazu”*]. It should be noted that Hunan province is Mao’s birthplace. The ten songs, composer, lyricist and editors are:

Five Hunan Revolutionary Folk Songs:

1. “When the Sun rises on Shao Mountain, the East is Red”
(Shaoshan Mountain Song)
Revised Lyrics and Musical Arrangement:
“Music and Dance Unit, Hunan Province Literary Work Troupe”
2. “Liuyang River”
(Hunan Folk Song)
Revised Lyrics:
“Music and Dance Unit, Hunan Province Literary Work Troupe”
3. “The Sun in the Sky is Red”
Revised Lyrics: “Hunan Revolutionary Song Collection Task Force”
Music: Song Yang
4. “Carrying Tea Leaves to Beijing”
Revised Lyrics: “Hunan Revolutionary Song Collection Task Force”
Musical Arrangement: Bai Chengren
5. “Dongting, a Land of Plenty”
Revised Lyrics: “Hunan Revolutionary Song Collection Task Force”
Musical Arrangement: Bai Chengren

Five Jiangxi Revolutionary Folk Songs (all listed as “Revolutionary Folk Songs”):

1. “Autumn Harvest Uprising Song”
Straightened out by: Zhang Shi Xie Deng
2. “Commissar Mao comes to Sanwan”
Revised Lyrics & Revised Arrangement by:
“Jiangxi Province Cultural Group”

3. “Commissar Mao is Together with us”

Straightened out and Revised Arrangement by:

“Jiangxi Province Cultural Group”

4. “The Cadres of the Revolutionary Bases have a good style of work and life”

Straightened out and revised arrangement by:

Jiangxi Province Cultural Group

5. “The August osmanthus flower blossoms everywhere”

Straightened out and revised arrangement by:

Jiangxi Province Cultural Group

The revolutionary folk songs frequently reference regional landmarks including mountains, rivers, etc. For instance, “Liuyang River,” from Hunan refers to a river near Chairman Mao’s home town; the song also mentions another major river in Hunan Province, the Xiangjiang River:

“Liuyang River²¹”

How many turns are there in the Liuyang River?

How many miles does it wend

To Xiangjiang River?

What county is there on the river bank?

Who grew up there to lead us to the liberation?

There are nine turns in the Liuyang River,

It takes fifty miles to reach Xiangjiang River,

There is a Xiangtan county on the river bank.

Chairman Mao grew up there and led us to the liberation!

(Translation by Yu Ma)

²¹ See Appendix D, Number 8 for original Chinese lyrics.

In general, many of revolutionary folk songs feature regions and areas that historically have a relationship with Mao Zedong and/or the CCP. Hunan province was most likely chosen as it is the birthplace of Mao Zedong, and Jianxi for its association with the founding of the CCP. Additionally, much of the CCP's arduous Long March have roots in Southeastern China including the provinces of Hunan, Shaanxi, Gansu and the Xian region in general. Though regional identification does appear in the newly composed songs of the anthology, including the historic revolutionary songs and revolutionary folk songs in the anthology promotes the history of the CCP from its early days.

4.2.3. Mao Poetry Songs

The final subdivision of CCP classics is the pre-existing category of poems by Mao set to music, or “Mao Poetry songs” [*wei maozhuxici puqu*]. The thematic content and lyrics of this subdivision are distinct in that the lyrics are directly from the poetry of Mao. While there are numerous publications and anthologies of this type of song, only four appear in the “New Songs” anthology.

The first four songs of volume five are based upon two poems of Mao Zedong, with two arrangements for each poem; one arrangement by the Central Music Troupe Collective and the second by individually named composers. An arrangement of the poem, “Going up Jingang Mountain Again-to the tune of “*Shui diao ge tou*” [*Shui diao ge tou.chongshang jinggangshan*] by composers Liu Yan and Guan Xu Chang is followed by an arrangement of the poem “Birds Call and Response to the Tune of “*Nian nu qiao*” [*Nian nu qiao: niao'er wen da*] by composer Shen Yawei.

The practice of publishing multiple arrangements for the same poem is still common; a 1993 publication of Mao's poetry songs contains anywhere from two to twelve arrangements for each of Mao's poems (Lin 1993). There are perhaps hundreds of these songs published in numerous volumes of songbooks and recordings. Their musical composition varies depending upon the status of the individual or collective composers.

The following is a translation of Mao's poem "Reascending Jinggang Mountain" written in May, 1965:

"Reascending Jinggang Mountain"²²

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds
And I again ascend *Jinggang* Mountain.
Coming from afar to view our old haunt,
I find new scenes replacing the old.
Everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart,
Streams babble and the road mount skyward.
Once *Huangyanggai* is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled with a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.

²² See Appendix D, Number 9 for original Chinese lyrics.

The linguistic style is clearly set apart from the other CCP classics as well as the other thematic categories. Mao's poetry is more classical in style than the language of other revolutionary songs; his writing is full of imagery, and utilizes references and symbols of the military and the revolution. The four Mao poetry songs in volume five of the "New Songs" anthology differ from the other revolutionary songs in their lyrics; though there are still references to CCP goals and symbols, the manner in which the messages are expressed stands apart from the others.

4.3. PRAISE SONGS, BATTLE SONGS, AND SONGS PROMOTING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Though the majority of the "battles" were those of ideological content, the idea of fighting and battle as the ultimate form of class struggle led to the title of "New Songs of the Battlefield" [*Zhandi Xinge*]. Though some scholars have suggested the songs be broken down into "Praise songs" (*zhange*) and "Battle songs" (*songge*) I find it difficult to label most of the songs in the anthology as strictly being one or the other. While the language of the songs are largely in praise of Mao, the CCP, the nation or a political campaign, the underlying message and ideological content is often suggestive of some intrinsic "battle." Battle songs criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius are the few examples of explicit "battle songs." Generally, very few songs in the "New Songs" anthology tend to be overtly negative; alternatively, the songs tend to stress and promote political movements (or symbolic reference to movements and campaigns) more often than criticizing the enemy or opposition. For this reason, I categorize the songs promoting

official ideologies together and identify the primary significance of the song as reflected in the song title.

One of the defining characteristics of music and arts of the Cultural Revolution is the propagandistic linguistic style and tone. The tumultuous period was marked by an overwhelming presentation of new political slogans as each new political campaign was presented to the masses. The vocabulary is overtly propagandistic and often limited to a standard set of keywords. Symbolic reference to Mao, the Party, and the nation are frequently repeated, such as the red sun for Mao and the red star or red flag for the CCP. Table 4.1 illustrates the frequency of certain keywords appearing in the five-hundred and fifty-six song titles.²³

²³ The table includes characters, or combinations of characters, that appear at least ten times within the five-hundred and fifty-six song titles. Keywords were selected by observing high levels of frequency and utilizing tools of the Microsoft excel spreadsheet.

Table 4.1: Frequency of Keywords

big/great	<i>da</i>	103
red	<i>hong</i>	54
we/our	<i>women/zanmen</i>	50
Mao (Zedong)	<i>Mao (zedong)</i>	49
work/worker	<i>gong</i>	43
battle/war/fight	<i>zhan</i>	38
soldier	<i>bing</i>	38
toward	<i>xiang</i>	38
revolution/revolutionary	<i>geming</i>	28
learn	<i>xue</i>	27
Dazhai	<i>Dazhai</i>	27
forward/front	<i>qian</i>	27
motherland	<i>zuguo</i>	25
sun	<i>yang/taiyang</i>	25
up/ahead	<i>shang</i>	25
new	<i>xin</i>	24
party (CCP)	<i>dang</i>	23
army	<i>jun</i>	20
the people	<i>renmin</i>	20
peasant	<i>nong</i>	19
flag	<i>qi</i>	19
love	<i>qian</i>	19
sing in praise	<i>gechang</i>	18
iron	<i>tie</i>	18
woman/female	<i>nü</i>	17
great	<i>weida</i>	16
struggle/fight	<i>dou</i>	15
advance	<i>qianjin</i>	14
high	<i>gao</i>	13
strike	<i>da</i>	12
warrior/soldier	<i>zhanshi</i>	12
Beijing	<i>Beijing</i>	11
Daqing	<i>Daqing</i>	11
commune	<i>gongshe</i>	11
point (guide)	<i>zhi</i>	11

steel	<i>gang</i>	11
little red soldiers	<i>hongxiaobing</i>	10
victory	<i>shengli</i>	10
unite/unity	<i>tuanjie</i>	10

The five most common keywords, “big/great,” “red,” “we/our,” “Mao,” and “worker,” illustrates how the grandiose imagery of Mao, the CCP, and the revolution, were expressed relentlessly in song. Additional keywords that appear with great frequency may be grouped into general categories of references to CCP people, places, and ideologies (worker, peasant, soldier, Beijing, motherland, sun, flag, little red soldiers, etc.) and propagandistic language of optimism and strength (new, great, victory, unity, up, high, advance, etc.).

The simple and repetitive revolutionary language facilitated easy memorization by people of all ages and educational backgrounds. In this way, the political messages would easily spread throughout the nation. A typical example of a song in praise of Mao is illustrated in the following song from volume one:

“The Great Leader Mao Zedong²⁴”

The most resonating song is “the East is Red,”
the greatest leader is Mao Zedong.
Mao Zedong, Mao Zedong!

You are the sunshine in the hearts of the revolutionary people,
your brilliant thought guarantees victory.
Mao Zedong, Mao Zedong!

²⁴ See Appendix D, Number 10 for original Chinese lyrics.

You are the tutor of the revolutionary people,
your revolutionary line guides the correct voyage.
We will forever love you dearly, great leader Mao Zedong!
We will forever sing in praise of you, great leader Mao Zedong!

The lyrics are extremely simplistic and repetitive. The content of the lyrics focuses upon promoting the ideology of a great and mighty leader, his brilliant political thinking and/or revolutionary line, and supreme faith in his guidance. The message presents an image to the people of the revolution that suggests they will have no worries under Mao's leadership; additionally, the song's lyrics provide a means for the masses to demonstrate their support for him. Songs in praise of the party and the nation are similar in style, as can be seen in the following song published in volume two:

“Song in Praise of Beijing²⁵”

Magnificent rosy dawn rises upon gold colored Beijing,
stately music announces the dawn of our motherland.
Ah! Beijing, oh Beijing!
The heart of our motherland, the symbol of unity,
the pride of the people, the guarantee for victory.
People of all ethnic groups extol you;
you are the shining star in our hearts.

The fiery red sun shines on *Zhongnanhai*, the great capital,
you are the place where Chairman Mao lives.
Ah! Beijing, oh Beijing!
The red flag of *Daqing* flutters toward you,
the red flowers of *Dazhai* blossom toward you.

²⁵ See Appendix D, Number 11 for original Chinese lyrics.

News of victory comes from both water and land;
Good news spreads to all villages, small towns, and cities.
Ah! Beijing, oh Beijing!
Our red hearts beat with you, our warm blood courses with you,
advancing with giant steps, guiding us into the glorious future.

“Song in Praise of Beijing” is a characteristic example of how a song simultaneously promotes a number of political ideologies at once. In this example, though the title suggests a song about Beijing, the lyrics refer to a number of other topics such as Mao, the motherland, unity, victory, *Daqing*, and *Dazhai*.

4.4. SONGS OF ETHNIC NATIONALITIES

In four of the five volumes, there are a series of songs representing ethnic nationalities of China embedded within the songs of praise, battle songs, and other songs of official ideology. Most often, these songs are representing ethnic nationalities that are identified as minority nationalities. Throughout the five volumes, there are dozens of songs that represent a variety of ethnic nationalities and/or promote the campaign for national unity amidst ethnic diversity; many of the identity markers are found within lyrics, often using regional or linguistic nuances to reference a particular nationality. However, there is direct identification in the song titles of twenty-seven songs that refer to particular ethnic nationalities:

Miao Nationality (4 songs):

“The Sons and Daughters of the Miao Nationality
Learn from Dazhai”

[“*Miaojia er nü xue dazhai*”]

“Tractors go into the Miao Village”

[“*Tuolaji kaijin miaojiazhai*”]

“Miao Mountains Leads to Beijing”

[“*miaoling lian Beijing*”]

“The Miao Nationality Happily sing the Bumper Harvest Song”

[“*Miaojia xichang fengshou ge*”]

Korean Nationality (3 songs):

“The Brilliance of the Party Shines Yanbian

[“*dangde guanghui zhao yanbian*”]

“Red Sun Shines on Frontier”

[“*hongtaiyang zhao bianjiang*”]

“Yanbian People Love Chairman Mao”

[“*yanbian renmin re'ai maozhuxi*”]

Mongolian Nationality (3 songs):

“The Red Guards on the Grasslands met Chairman Mao”

[“*caoyuan shang de hongweibing jiandaole maozhuxi*”]

“Chairman Mao, the Grasslands People Love You Dearly”

[“*maozhuxi, caoyuan renmin re'ai nin*”]

“I Love the Great Grasslands of Our Motherland”

[“*Wo ai zuguo de da caoyuan*”]

Li Nationality (2 songs):

“Chairman Mao is the Dearest Person of the Li Nationality”

[“*maozhuxi shi lijia zuiqin de ren*”]

“I am a lumberer of the Li minority”

[“*chi shi lijia famugong*”]

Tibetan Nationality (2 songs):

“Sing in Praise of Our New Tibet”

[“*gechang women de xin xizang*”]

“New Tibet of Our Motherland Frontier”

[“*zuguo de bianjiang xin xizang*”]

Zhuang Nationality (2 songs):

“Zhuang people Sing in Praise of Chairman Mao”

[“*Zhuangzhu renmin gechang maozhuxi*”]

“Zhuang Youth Love Chairman Mao”

[“*zhuangjia shaonian re'ai maozhuxi*”]

Bai Nationality (1 song):

“The Voice of the Green Mountain Song Never Stops”

[“*cangshan gesheng yong buluo*”]

Buyi Nationality (1 song):

“Bright Pearls are Scattered throughout the Buyi Village”

[“*Mingzhu saman buyi zhai*”]

Dong Nationality (1 song):

“Dong Nationality Sing toward Beijing”

[“*dongge xiangzhe Beijing chang*”]

Hani Nationality (1 song):

“Hani People Love Chairman Mao”

[“*Hani renmin re'ai maozhuxi*”]

Kazak Nationality (1 song):

“Saliha Listen to the Words of Mao”

[“*Saliha suiting maozhuxi de hua*”]

Qiang Nationality (1 song):

“Mao Zedong Thoughts Shine upon the Qiang Nationality”

[“*maozedong sixiang zhao qiangjia*”]

She Nationality (1 song):

“She Nationality Sings in Praise of Chairman Mao”

[“*Shejia gesong Maozhuxi*”]

Shui Nationality (1 song):

“The Flowers of Dazhai Blossom on Shui Minority Village”

[“*dazhai huakai shuijiazhai*”]

Tujia Nationality (1 song):

“Tu People Love Dong Dong note”

[“*tujia xi'ai dong dong ku*”]

Wa Nationality²⁶ (1 song):

“A-wa People Are Singing New Songs”

[“*awa renmin chang xing*”]

Yao Nationality (1 song):

“Yao People Sing in Praise of Chairman Mao” “

[“*yaojia gesong maozhuxi*”]

In order to analyze the number of songs under each nationality group, a number of factors must be considered. To begin, the present list only reflects identification in song titles—there are many additional songs that reference ethnic nationalities within the lyrics of a song. Secondly, identification of ethnic nationalities in China most frequently selects the ethnic groups from border regions, such as Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang, as these groups are significantly distanced by the majority Han Chinese in both geographic distance and cultural practices. Thirdly, the groups with three or more songs in the anthology (Miao, Korean, and Zhuang) are three of the larger ethnic nationality groups in China. Lastly, many of the songs appear due to individual promotion of musicians, performers and or composers. For example, if the editorial committee was pleased with a particular regional music troupe, or if that region was the subject of political campaigns, more songs would be selected from that group.

Despite being categorized here as ethnic nationality songs, the songs are similar in content to the other “New Songs” in the promotion of official ideologies and representation of

²⁶ The Wa nationality is transliterated both as “Wa” and as “Va” but both refer to the same nationality group.

the Socialist society. The lyrics speak of a particular group and their support for Chairman Mao, the party, the nation and/or specific political campaigns. For example, the following song represents the Wa nationality, yet also speaks to a number of additional topics:

“A-wa People Sing New Songs²⁷”

Gongs and drums are played in villages,
A-wa people are singing new songs.
Chairman Mao's glory shines on the frontier,
mountains and waters are smiling, and people are filled with joy.
The tea gardens are green and lush, terraced fields seethe in golden waves,
our road to the future is getting wider and wider.
People from all nationalities unite closely to march forward.
The great aspiration shakes mountains and rivers.
A-wa people do what Chairman Mao says.
Following Chairman Mao, following the Chinese Communist Party,
A-wa people are singing new songs.

In addition to serving as a promotion of the Wa people's support for Mao, the song lyrics also promote support for the party and the models of agriculture and industry. Overall, the lyrics portray an exceedingly positive view of life under Mao and the Communist Party rule with the mountains, waters, and people all smiling and glowing with joy from the optimistic future. Furthermore, the lyrics articulate the unity of all ethnic nationalities and instruct all people, especially the ethnic nationalities to follow instructions from Mao.

The lyrics of songs representing ethnic nationalities follow an identical style, portraying a positive and uplifting message of unity, support, and victory under the guidance of Mao and the

²⁷ See Appendix D, Number 12 for original Chinese lyrics.

party. All of the songs emphasize ethnic unity and following the guidance of Mao and the party as a didactic message of official ideologies. Many of the scores and songbooks were even transcribed into regional written scripts (see Appendix E for photographs of original “New Songs” songbook published in the Korean nationality (*Chaioxianzu*) written script).

4.5. SONGS OF THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS

Songs of the workers, peasants, and soldiers make up the majority of the songs in the anthology. In the effort to construct a socialist society, the mobilization of the masses, and the elimination of social classes played a large role in the campaigns and movements of the Cultural Revolution; as a result, the workers, peasants, and soldiers are often the focus of revolutionary campaigns. Additionally, the “New Songs” anthology follow Mao’s guidelines for revolutionary art and music to be of, by, and for the people; a large part of the songs of the workers, peasants, and soldiers are submissions from actual work troupes, agricultural collectives and military units. The songs specifically identify certain pockets of the three pillars of a socialist society: workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Songs of the workers cover a wide range of industrial and menial laborers. The following example recognizes the laborers of the revolution. The lyrics are an attempt to acknowledge the hardships that the laborers bear while simultaneously instilling a rousing sense of devotion, dedication, and ideological direction.

“We Workers Must Work Vigorously²⁸”

The motor hums, spreading the song of triumph,
we the workers must work vigorously.
Braving the difficulties, courageous from head to toe,
we whole-heartedly do the revolution,
willingly bearing the heavy burden upon our shoulders.

We should endure great difficulties and hardships,
make our strenuous efforts to learn from Daqing.
Fight united and advance forward forever.

The motor hums, spreading the song of triumph,
we the workers must work vigorously.
We’ll earnestly study Marxism and Leninism,
And our will of the red heart is unyielding;
having the whole world in mind,
we’ll have endless strength.

Go all out, work hard for the top quality and high yield.
Overcome all difficulties and hardships and get the top success.
We’ll contribute more to the revolution.

The following list of song titles provides a glimpse into the broad array of themes represented in the songs of workers. Common themes are the support of political campaigns specifically aimed at industrial goals, as well as individual work groups. *Daqing*, the model of industry, and other model figures of industry are reoccurring themes.

²⁸ See Appendix D, Number 13 for original Chinese lyrics.

- “Bright and Brave Female Electrical Workers”
 [“*yingzisashuang nü diangong*”]
- “Song of the Female Drillers”
 [“*nü zuangong zhi ge*”]
- “Song of the Lumberers”
 [“*famu gongren ge*”]
- “Be a Pioneer in Achieving a High Quality Bumper Harvest”
 [“*youzhi gaochan dang jianbing*”]
- “The Will of the Iron and Steel Workers is as Strong as Steel”
 [“*gangtie gongren zhi ru gang*”]
- “We are Miners as well as Soldiers”
 [“*women shi kuanggong ye shi bing*”]
- “The Battle Song of the Oil Workers in Dagang”
 [“*dagang shiyou gongren zhange*”]
- “Miners are Full of Great Socialist Drive”
 [“*kuanggong dagan shehuizhuyi you jintou*”]
- “Daqing Oil Fields are Advancing”
 [“*daqing youtian zai qianjin*”]
- “Raise High the Flag of Daqing, Learn From the Iron Man Wang”
 [“*gaoju daqing qi, xuexi wangtieren*”]

Iron Man Wang is an example of a model figure, a worker at *Daqing* who was so strong that he was referred to as an “Iron Man.” Identifying such models and legends are common practice within the “New Songs” anthology and is utilized as a means to identify model citizens of socialist society as a didactic message to the rest of the nation.

Songs of the peasants often mention models as well, specifically the model of agriculture, *Dazhai* and how prosperous the model farms continue to be. An example of this is the song “Happily Watch Today’s New Dazhai”; the song’s lyrics recognize the hard labor of the peasants

and glorify the prosperity of the farms. The message presented connects the hard work and lifestyle of the peasant with the political agenda of the nation in confirmation of their efforts and dedication.

“Happily Watch Today’s New Dazhai²⁹”

Atop *Hutou* mountain, motors hum,
water flows in the canals in the terraced fields.
Happily watch today’s new *Dazhai*,
great efforts bring about great changes and great bumper harvests,
great bumper harvests.

Look at the eight hill ridges and seven valleys,
colorful silk banners flutter on them.
Lang Wuozhang becomes plains
and tractors rumble around the mountain,
the scientific farm work blossoms new flowers,
achieving the best high and stable yields.
Pens full of sheep, pigsties full of pigs on the sunny slopes.
Horse and cows are feeding on the shady ones.
Fish jump merrily in the *Zhinong* pool.
Chestnuts and apples are heavy on tree branches.
Look at the new village, gaze into green willows,
commune members live in the decent cave dwellings.
Heavy burdens grind out iron shoulders.
Struggle refines strong bones.
Let the political line be our principle,
we’ll pay attention to important state affairs,
with our red hearts we dare to fight against evil trends.

²⁹ See Appendix D, Number 14 for original Chinese lyrics.

The old Party Secretary still works in the field.
The old stone mason still waves his steel hammer.
A new generation will take on the old generation's duty;
never ceasing to transform mountains and rivers.

Dazhai once again climbs up new and high summits,
continuing the revolution, walking with the party,
climbing higher step by step, new changes every year,
Dazhai ascends another level, ascends another level.

One particular group that is frequently mentioned is the “barefoot doctors” [*chijiao yisheng*]. During the Cultural Revolution, medical professionals identified as requiring “re-education” were sent out to the rural areas to provide much needed medical assistance in the countryside while simultaneously learning and living with the peasants. In the countryside, these professionals instructed peasants on basic health care and these “trained” peasants themselves then went out to serve their fellow peasants. Since many of these peasants were indeed poor and from the rural areas they often had no shoes and thus became known as the “barefoot doctors” (Li, K. 1995: 25). The song “Barefoot Doctors are Sunflowers” emphasizes the Barefoot Doctors as diligent followers of Mao. The imagery in the lyrics is that Mao is the Sun and the doctors, following his orders and glowing from his guidance, are the sunflowers.

“Barefoot Doctors are Sunflowers³⁰”

Barefoot doctors are Sunflowers,
the poor and lower-middle class peasants praise.
A silver needle cures a hundred ailments.
A red heart warms a thousand homes, warms a thousand homes.

³⁰ See Appendix D, Number 15 for original Chinese lyrics.

Willing to climb over a thousand mountains to make a house call,
daring to scale the cliff to collect medicine.

Facing the wind and rain in the course of struggle,
on the revolutionary road, on the revolutionary road,
spreading the rosy clouds, spreading the rosy clouds.

Barefoot doctors are Sunflowers,
taking deep roots in the vast country land.
Thousands of fiery flowers are red as fire.
The poor and lower-middle class peasants speak highly of them.

In addition to general agricultural models, women and other specific members of the “peasants” group are portrayed as models of the socialist society. Though many of the images reference specific people or places, they are common to a wide majority of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. The lyrics identify the everyday work and efforts of the masses, and all in accordance with CCP ideology. Additional examples of peasant songs include:

“In Agriculture, Learn from Dazhai”

[“*nongye xue dazhai*”]

”The Red Flowers of Dazhai Blossom Everywhere”

[“*dazhai honghua piandikai*”]

“The Rich and the Beautiful Lu River Dam”

[“*furao meili de lujiang ba*”]

“Song of Tractor Drivers”

[“*tuolajishou zhi ge*”]

“The Red Flags of Dazhai Flutter in the Herding Districts”

[“*muqu dazhai hongqi piao*”]

“Learn From Dazhai and Change for a New World”

[“*xuexi dazhai huan xintian*”]

“Agricultural Machine Repairing Group”

[“*nongji xiuli dui*”]

“At Times of Bumper Harvest Lets Not Forget to Store up Grain”

[“*fengshou bu wang guang jiliang*”]

“Singing Fishing Songs to Beijing”

[“*yuge xiangzhe Beijing chang*”]

“Oyster Picking Girls Learn From Dazhai”

[“*caihao guniang xue dazhai*”]

Songs of the soldiers similarly identify a variety of groups and military models, including the red guards and people’s liberation army. Many of these military units had a wide repertoire of their own and only a handful appear within the “New Songs” anthology. The following is an example of a military song that refers to the nation’s soldiers:

“Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers³¹”

Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers,
Everywhere in our vast land is our camp.
Enhance one’s vigilance to protect the motherland,
we are the unbreakable great wall of iron and steel.
Hold high the red flag and unite closely,
we’re working as well as doing military training.
Once Chairman Mao has a command,
we’ll charge courageously to wipe out any aggressors.
Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers,
Everywhere in our vast land is our camp.
Enhance one’s vigilance to protect the motherland,
we are the unbreakable great wall of iron and steel.

³¹ See Appendix D, Number 16 for original Chinese lyrics.

Songs of the soldiers are similar to the songs of the workers and peasants in that they also include songs endorsing political campaigns, songs in praise of symbols of socialist society, and simple songs of the soldier's daily activities. Some examples of these songs include:

“We are Chairman Mao's Red Guards”

[“*women shi maozhuxi de hongweibing*”]

“Sing in Praise of our Liberation Army”

[“*gechang zanmen jiefangjun*”]

“Strike Tanks”

[“*datanke*”]

“Shooting Song”

[“*dabage*”]

“The Red Women Telephone Operators in the Army”

[“*hongse nü huawubing*”]

“I love My Tank Car”

[“*wo ai wo de tankeche*”]

“We are the Powerful Urban Militiamen”

[“*women shi qiang da de chengshi minbing*”]

“The Party Commands us into a Hundred Battles
and a Hundred Victories”

[“*dang zhihui women baizhan baisheng*”]

“Practice Well ‘Three Strikes’ To Kill the Enemy”

[“*lian hao ‘sanda’ ba di sa*”]

“Chairman Mao's Soldiers Take Everywhere as Their Home”

[“*maozhuxi de zhanshi sihaiwei jia*”]

4.6. YOUTH AND CHILDREN'S SONGS

Following the section of songs for the workers, peasants, and soldiers is a section of songs devoted to the revolutionary youth and children. In each volume of the “New Songs” anthology there are at least a dozen songs representing the revolutionary youth [*“geming qingnian”*] and Children’s songs [*“ertongge”*]. While many campaigns focused upon the mobilization of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, campaigns also targeted the revolutionary youth who were swept up in the fervor and spirit of revolution. These youngsters, along with their younger siblings, ensured the future of the revolution as well. For these reasons, the songs of the revolutionary youth and the children’s songs are often considered the most memorable and influential for their emotional impact upon the adolescent generation from the Cultural Revolution.

This category of songs continue in the same fashion as the earlier categories in the endorsement of political campaigns, songs in praise of socialist symbols and songs of daily life as a revolutionary youth or child during the Cultural Revolution. Analyses of the compositional differences follow in the next chapter; however, one natural tendency is for the songs to be much shorter and simpler, as their targeted singer is much younger. Though the simple lyrics and repetitive nature of the songs were intended for young children, the simplicity often resulted in the song’s popularity among adults as well. An example of this is the well-known Children’s song, “I Love Beijing’s Tiananmen”:

“I Love Beijing’s Tiananmen³²”

I love Beijing’s Tiananmen, the sun rises over Tiananmen
Our great leader Chairman Mao, guides us forward.
I love Beijing’s Tiananmen, the sun rises over Tiananmen
Our great leader Chairman Mao, guides us forward.
I love Beijing’s Tiananmen, the sun rises over Tiananmen
Our great leader Chairman Mao, guides us forward.

Children’s songs include references to Mao’s “Little Red Soldiers” [*“hongxiaobing”*], “Little Militia Men” [*“xiao minbing”*], “Little Patrol Soldiers” [*“xiao xunluobing”*] etc.; these songs portrayed images of models for the young children’s futures. Additionally, there are a number of Children’s songs educating this young generation on the political campaigns of the Cultural Revolution. The following list of Children’s songs illustrates both the songs of model citizenship as well as songs of political campaigns:

“I am a Little Member of the Commune”
[*“wo shi gongshe xiao sheyuan”*]
“We are Chairman Mao’s Little Red Soldiers”
[*“women shi maozhuxi de hongxiaobing”*]
“Remember in Your Heart to Work Hard and Economize”
[*“qinjian jieyue ji xinjian”*]
“Uncle Lei Feng Smiles at us”
[*“leifeng shushu wangzhe women xiao”*]
“Letters Sent to the Children of Taiwan”
[*“xiner shao gei Taiwan xiaopengyou”*]
“Embroider a Red Star”
[*“xiu hongxing”*]

³² See Appendix D, Number 17 for original Chinese lyrics.

“The Little Red Soldiers are Busy Sweeping the Grains”

[“*hongxiaobing sao gu mang*”]

“Grow Up to be a New Peasant”

[“*zhangda dang ge xin nongmin*”]

“Little Patrol Soldiers on the Grasslands”

[“*caoyuan xiao xunluobing*”]

“Little Militia Men of the East China Sea”

[“*donghai xiao minbing*”]

Thematic content for the songs of the revolutionary youth differs in that this group was a group of displaced and hard-working adolescents and young adults. An entire generation of young students was sent out to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution to be re-educated, to learn from the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to help their country in industry and agriculture. Families were separated and students had no schools to attend; the impact upon this generation was intense as they came of age in the midst of extreme political fervor and turmoil. Often times the commitment to the revolution and Mao provided a sense of direction and guidance to the otherwise misplaced and lonely individuals.

Songs of the youth, therefore, are often in praise of their hard work, commitment, and dedication to Mao, the party, and the motherland. “The Song of the Revolutionary Educated Youth” is one example of this group. The lyrics liken the youth to young seedlings, growing and maturing under the sunlight of the great motherland; they lyrics also present the official ideologies of dedication to the party and the countryside and peasants as a classroom for the youth.

“The Song of the Revolutionary Educated Youth³³”

The brilliant sunlight shines upon the great land of our motherland,
grain seedling's bathe in the raindrops and grow healthily.

We, the Revolutionary Educated Youth,
contribute our entire life to the great party.

CHORUS:

[Raise high the battle flag of Revolution,
follow Chairman Mao's guiding direction.

We are full of youthful spirit and have high morale.

Unite in the struggle, and advance forward.]

The wide and vast lands are the best classrooms for us;
the poor and lower-middle class peasants are the best models for us.

We, the Revolutionary Educated Youth,
Are tempered in the three big revolutions,

[Chorus]

The songs of victory resonate on the revolutionary journey;

The storms of the whole worlds are surging in our hearts.

We, the Revolutionary Educated youth,

pledge to devote our strength to liberate mankind.

[chorus]

The following list of song titles illustrate how the songs of the revolutionary youth present official ideologies, identifying the youth directly within this ideological context. The song titles alone exhibit the propagandistic linguistic style, always emphasizing an allegiance to, and faith in, the CCP:

³³ See Appendix D, Number 18 for original Chinese lyrics.

- “To Dedicate Our Youth to the Great Party”
 [“*qingchun xiangei weida de dang*”]
- “Marching Song of the Youth”
 [“*geming qingnian jinxingqu*”]
- “Study Well and Make Progress Everyday”
 [“*haohao xuexi tiantian xiangshang*”]
- “We are the Glorious Members of the Communist Youth League”
 [“*women shi guangrong de gongqingtuanyuan*”]
- “We Must Be the Successors of Communism”
 [“*yao zuo gongchanzhuyi jiebanren*”]
- “The Party is the Spring Rain, I am the Seedling”
 [“*dang shi chunyu wo shi miao*”]
- “The Educated Youth Comes to the Country”
 [“*zhishi qingnian xiexiang lai*”]
- “The Revolutionary Youth Advance”
 [“*geming qingnian benxiang qianfang*”]
- “We are the Young Stock Brigade Learning from Dazhai”
 [“*women shi xue dazhai de qingnian tuijidui*”]

4.7. SONGS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Most of the songs promoting international relations are placed at the end of each volume, following the songs of the youth. The songs of international relations promote political campaigns endorsing international unity and specifically identify individual nations. There are twenty songs that directly address international relations:

General International Relations (ex: “People of the world”) (9 songs):

“All the People of the World Unite”

[“*quanshijie renmin tuanjie qilai*”]

“All the People of the World Unite to Fight”

[“*quanshijie renmin tuanjie zhandou*”]

“All the People of the World will be Victorious”

[“*quanshijie renmin yiding shengli*”]

“The Whole World is in Great Disorder but the Situation is Excellent

[“*Tianxia daluan xingshi dahao*”]

“We are Dear Friends”

[“*Women shi qin’aide haopenyou*”]

“Fully Loaded with Friendship We Sail Far”

[“*Manzai youyi qu yuanhang*”]

“To Sail Far”

[“*Yuan hang*”]

“We Have Friends All Over the World”

[“*Womende pengyou bian tiansha*”]

“Anti-imperialist troops advance on the crest of a victory”

[“*Fandi dajun chengsheng qianjin*”]

Third world (2 songs):

“Third World Unite Together”

[“*Disanshijie tuanjie qilai*”]

“Third World-Let's Unite and Fight”

[“*Disanshijie tuanjie zhandou*”]

Specific International Relations (6 Songs):

“Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother”

[“*aerbaniya, wo qinmide tongzhi he dixiong*”]

“Song of Friendship between People of China and Cambodia”

[“*zhongjian renmin youyi zhige*”]

“Song of Friendship between People of China and Vietnam”

[“*zhongyue renmin youyi zhige*”]

“Song of Friendship between People of China and Laos”

[“*zhonglao renmin youyi zhige*”]

“The Great Friendship Sealed in Blood” (North Korea)

[“*Xianxue ningcheng de weida youyi*”]

“Songs fly toward Tehran”

[“*Gesheng feixiang dilana*”]

Taiwan (3 songs):

“Taiwan Must Be Liberated, Our Motherland Must Be Reunited”

[“*Taiwan yiding yao jiefang, zuguo yiding yao tongyi*”]

“Taiwan Compatriots, my Blood Brothers”

[“*Taiwan tongbao wode gurou xiongdi*”]

“The Red Sun Must Shine Brightly on Taiwan”

[“*Hongtaiyang yiding yao zhaoliang Taiwan*”]

Similar to the songs of praise and the songs of political campaigns, the songs of international relations promote international unity, support for Mao and his political campaigns and suggest the prosperous future under Mao’s guidance. The following song “Song of Friendship between People of China and Vietnam” [“*zhongyue renmin youyi zhige*”] is one example of the specific identification of an individual nation and its ‘militant friendship’ with China:

“Song of Friendship between people of China and Vietnam”³⁴,

Water joins with water, mountains join with mountains,
the peoples of China and Vietnam stand hand in hand,
shoulder to shoulder.

³⁴ See Appendix D, Number 19 for original Chinese lyrics.

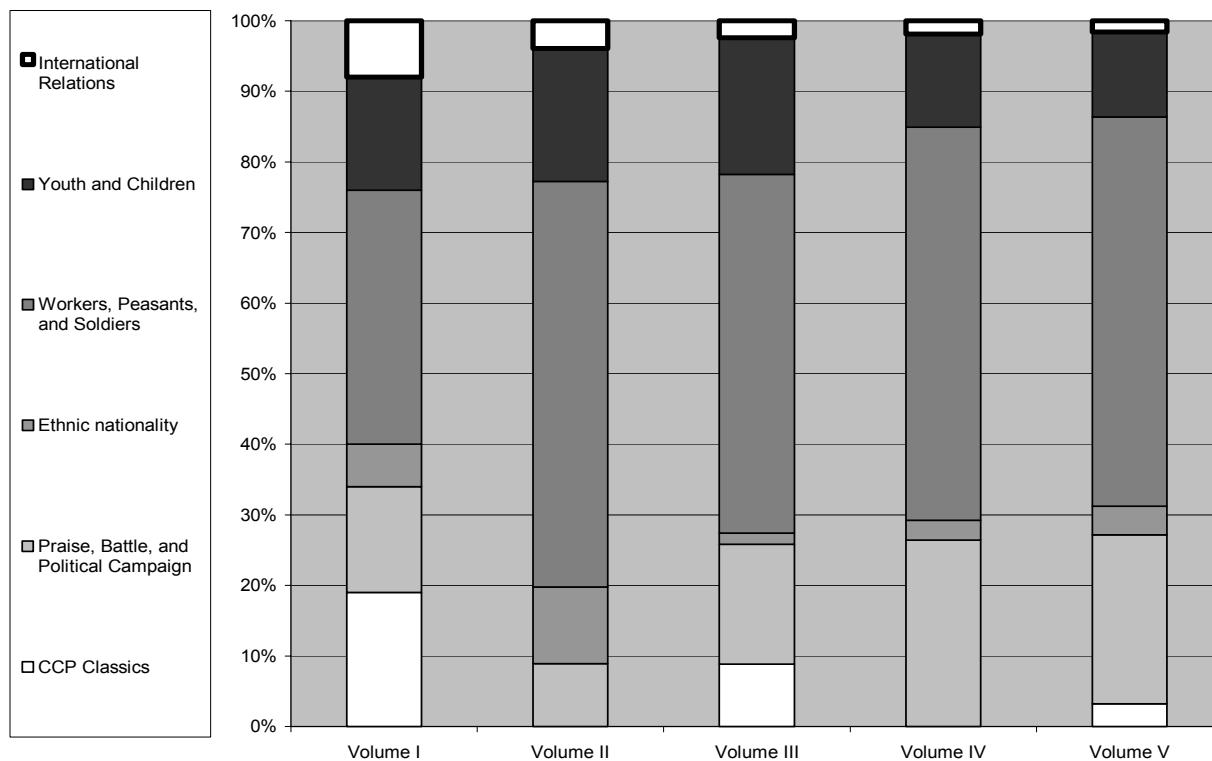
Militant friendship fills Beijing and Hanoi,
Revolutionary Unity joins China and Vietnam.
We have fraternal friendship, we are bonded closely together,
we struggle for a common cause, we support each other.

Let's greet the brilliance of victory,
walk toward that magnificence of tomorrow.
The surging Red River praises the Hanoi and Beijing it surrounds,
the surging Yangtse river sings in praise of China and Vietnam.
China! Vietnam!

4.8. SUMMARY

Each volume in the “New Songs” anthology follows a similar thematic outline of the six major themes: 1) CCP classics; 2) Songs of Praise, Battle Songs and Songs of Political Campaigns; 3) Songs of Ethnic Nationalities; 4) Songs of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers; 5) Youth and Children’s Songs; 6) Songs of International Relations. Overlap certainly does occur, nonetheless, the six general themes provide a map to the wide range of themes addressed in the anthology.

Generally, it may be said that the themes all revolve around the promotion of official ideology and the representation of specific individual pockets of a model socialist society. As songs of political propaganda, the songs provide a means to educate the masses on political movements and provide models for ideal citizenship. The following figure provides the general breakdown of thematic content within each individual volume (Figure 4.1).



	Volume I	Volume II	Volume III	Volume IV	Volume V	Total
CCP Classics	19	0	11	0	4	34
Praise, Battle, and Political Campaigns	15	9	21	28	30	103
Ethnic Nationality	6	11	2	3	5	27
Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers	36	58	63	59	69	285
Youth and Children	16	19	24	14	15	88
International Relations	8	4	3	2	2	19
<i>total number of songs:</i>	Volume I: 100	Volume II: 101	Volume III: 124	Volume IV: 106	Volume V: 125	Anthology: 556

Figure 4.1: Thematic Content by Volume³⁵ (numbers reflect actual number of songs)

The figure illustrates that the majority of songs are of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Furthermore, thematic distribution changed slightly each year. Based upon personal interviews, the changes are largely editorial in nature, though some changes also reflect the changing political climate from year to year. Compilers of the series intended to include all six categories

³⁵ Numbers reflect actual number of songs, not percentages. The four songs that are repeated are counted each time they appear.

though sometimes had to make adjustments based upon political pressures as well as the quality of works submitted. Detailed analysis of the changes requires placing them within a larger historical and theoretical context; however, here they may serve as an indication of the changing political landscape of China from 1972-1976.

5. MUSICAL EXAMPLES

5.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter presents ten songs as examples of the musical diversity found within the “New Songs” anthology. Comprehensive analysis of the five-hundred and fifty-six songs in the entire anthology is well beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, the ten examples provide insight into some of the general musical characteristics found within the “New Songs” anthology. The ten songs are selected based upon a number of factors including musical composition, thematic category, arrangement or song type, as well as the background of the composers themselves.

To begin with musical composition, the first five of the ten songs were all composed before the “New Songs” anthology (some as early as the 1930s and yet another during the early years of the Cultural Revolution); these songs illustrate the musical lineage of the newly-composed songs that were written specifically for the “New Songs” anthology. In terms of thematic genre, the first five songs are all “CCP Classics” and the five “newly-composed” songs represent the remaining thematic categories as described in this dissertation. Furthermore, the specific songs that appear in this chapter are songs that both scholars and informants often cite as representative examples of particular thematic groups. As for arrangement or song type, the examples selected are comprised of mass songs, military songs, artistic and/or solo songs, and

children's chorus. Finally, the identification of individual versus collective composition and/or editing will also be addressed as relevant to the individual examples along with the professional or amateur status of the composer.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the basic musical features of the songs including a brief discussion of instrumentation, arrangements, and recordings; upon this, the ten musical examples are provided with a general discussion based on the factors listed above. The summary then provides observations of the ten examples as a whole, as representatives of the "New Songs" anthology.

5.1.1. Basic Musical Features

The "New Songs" anthology presents songs in cipher notation, a common format for Chinese music using numbers to represent scale degrees that is still used today (see Appendix E for example of original score). Time signatures, key signatures, and musical expressions are quite similar to those used in five-line staff notation; for example, dynamics and articulations are generally identical to those found in five-line staff notation. (Musical examples in this chapter are all transcribed by the author based upon the printed cipher notation score). As songs intended for the masses, the general characteristics of the songs are rather basic. Mode, meter, and rhythm are all relatively simple and easy to learn. Phrasing and general musical form are straightforward and repetitive to aid in memorization. Occasional exceptions do occur, particularly with songs intended for solo voice, as will be illustrated in the musical examples.

Over three quarters of the songs are in two/four time; the remaining songs are mostly in four/four time, with a few instances of three/four, six/eight, and three/eight time. Around a dozen songs have no time signature marked and are free and lyrical solo pieces. In general, the

songs either fall into upbeat marching and/or work songs, or free and slow tempo ballads. Most often, a musical expression is printed to suggest the style of song.

The key signatures listed in the printed anthology all suggest western scales; the songs are well within a comfortable singing range (exceptions to this will be addressed in the musical examples). Accidentals are used infrequently though a considerable amount of ornamentation appears in the songs set similarly to traditional Chinese folk music styles.

Nearly half of the songs³⁶ designate a particular vocal arrangement either by gender or age such as female, male, or child’s voice; or by number of voices such as solo, duet, small chorus, etc. The overwhelming majority of these specific arrangements are for female and/or solo voice. The breakdown for the two-hundred and nine songs that designate a particular arrangement are represented in the following Tables; Table 5.1 for female voice, Table 5.2 for male voice, Table 5.3 for Children’s voice, and Table 5.4 for additional designated voices.

Table 5.1: Arrangements for Female Voice

female solo	<i>nüsheng duchang</i>	46
female small chorus	<i>nüsheng xiaohechang</i>	26
female chorus	<i>nüsheng hechang</i>	11
female performance song	<i>nüsheng biaoyanchang</i>	9
female soprano solo	<i>nü gaoyin duchang</i>	4
female group/unison song	<i>nüsheng qichang</i>	2
female play (an instrument) and sing	<i>nüsheng tanchang</i>	1
	TOTAL	99

³⁶ Two-hundred and nine of the five-hundred and fifty-six songs in the anthology designate a particular vocal arrangement.

Table 5.2: Arrangements for Male Voice

male solo	<i>nansheng duchang</i>	18
male small chorus	<i>nansheng xiaohechang</i>	11
male chorus	<i>nansheng hechang</i>	6
male performance song	<i>nansheng biaooyanchang</i>	1
male tenor solo	<i>nan zhongyin duchang</i>	1
	TOTAL	37

Table 5.3: Arrangements for Children's Voice

girl's song	<i>nüsheng ertongchang</i>	4
boy's song	<i>nansheng ertongchang</i>	1
children's song	<i>ertong gequ , ertong chang, or tongsheng ertongchang</i>	13
children's performance song	<i>ertong biaooyanchang</i>	2
children's duet	<i>ertong duichang</i>	1
boy and girl song	<i>nannü ertong chang</i>	5
boys and girl's small chorus	<i>nannü xiaohechang</i>	1
	TOTAL	27

Table 5.4: Additional Designated Voices

solo	<i>Duchang</i>	36
performance piece	<i>biaoyan chang</i>	4
small chorus	<i>Xiaohechang</i>	2
male, female duet	<i>nannüsheng duichang</i>	2
duet	<i>duichang</i>	1
mountain song duet	<i>shangeduichang</i>	1
	TOTAL	46

Based on Tables 5.1-5.4, ninety-nine songs designate vocal arrangements for female voice(s) whereas there are only thirty-seven songs specifically for male voices (a ratio of nearly three to one) This is surprising for the Cultural Revolution period, a time when gender equity was being promoted. Many Chinese women I interviewed emphasized gender equity as a defining feature of Chinese society during the Cultural Revolution. Contemporary narratives and memoirs of the period also address the de-feminization of women during the Cultural

Revolution.³⁷ Therefore, despite the promotion of gender equity, a bias for female voice in music still did exist during the Cultural Revolution.

Though the majority of songs in the “New Songs” anthology are published for vocalists, the songs were almost always recorded with instrumental accompaniment;³⁸ everyday performance of the songs often included instrumental accompaniment as well. Therefore, several songs in the anthology include a few measures of instrumental overture or accompaniment, though never providing a complete score for accompaniment.

5.1.2. Instrumentation, Arrangements, and Recordings

The scores that appear in the “New Songs” anthology are basically intended for individual and/or group voices. Unsurprisingly, the songs were performed in a variety of settings, greatly influencing the instrumentation and arrangement. Songs may have been sung without any accompaniment by individuals and/or groups. When accompaniment was available, it was most often adapted and utilized as desired. Likewise, new arrangements based upon the published scores, were often composed utilizing an amateur or professional musician’s expertise among other things.

As for recordings, instrumentation and additional arrangements include a combination of Chinese and Western musical accompaniment and/or instrumental ensembles.³⁹ A selection of

³⁷ Zhong, Wang, and Bai 2001 and Min 1994 are merely two examples of many.

³⁸ It is difficult to obtain original recordings of the “New Songs” anthology; therefore, it is difficult to say conclusively that a cappella recordings do not exist. However, all of the recordings that I have collected include some type of instrumental accompaniment. Furthermore, I have never heard of an a cappella recording in my discussions with individuals familiar with the Cultural Revolution period.

³⁹ The instrumental designation of “Chinese” or “Western” orchestra appears simply to identify instrument type; further analysis may demonstrate a diversity of musical style detached from the traditionally prescribed style of the particular instrument.

musical recordings surveyed illustrates the multiple combinations of arrangements and instrumentation of the “New Songs” anthology (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Examples of Musical Recordings

Song title	Arrangement	Instrumentation
"Song in Praise of Beijing"	instrumental	Western Orchestra
"I Love Beijing's Tiananmen"	children's chorus	Western Orchestra
"Workers and Peasants are all of the Same Family"	mixed chorus	Western Orchestra
"The Song of Liberation"	female solo	Chinese Orchestra
"Strike the Tanks"	male chorus	Accordion
"The Heart of the Dazhai people is Toward the Red Sun"	female chorus	Chinese Orchestra
"Song of Tractor Drivers"	male solo	Western Orchestra
"Red Guards on the Grasslands Have Met Chairman Mao"	instrumental	Chinese Orchestra
"The Railways are Built up to the Miao Village"	mixed chorus	Chinese Orchestra

The recordings have no publication dates, however, comparing the publication numbers with other recordings from the 1960 and 1970s it is my understanding that these are in fact “original recordings,” in other words, recordings that were produced and distributed during the Cultural Revolution.

Many songs were recorded and released in a variety of arrangements, with varying instrumentation as well. For example, the song “Song in Praise of Beijing” was recorded by the Central Broadcasting Cultural Worker’s Troupe Orchestra [*Zhongyan guangbou wengongtuan guanxianyuatuan*] both as an orchestral arrangement [*guanxianyue*] (China Record BM-75/20016) as well as for solo female soprano [*nü gaoyin duchang*] (China Record BM-33/73129).

5.2. MUSICAL EXAMPLES

The musical examples include five “CCP classics” and five “Newly Composed Songs.” The “CCP classics” are presented to illustrate the development of revolutionary songs preceding the “New Songs” anthology, as well as providing examples of the various thematic categorizations such as “Historic Revolutionary Song,” “Historic Revolutionary Folk Song,” and “Mao Poetry Song.” Though there are only thirty-four “CCP classics” included in the five-hundred and fifty-six song anthology, the “CCP classics” are significant as forerunners to the “Newly Composed Songs.”

5.2.1. CCP Classics

CCP Classics serve as the foundation for modern Chinese revolutionary music (Wei, J. 2000 and Wong, I. 1984). The military spirit and mass song format from this period heavily influenced subsequent periods of modern Chinese music history, most noticeably in the “New Songs” anthology.

The first musical example is the Historic Revolutionary Song “Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan” (Figure 5.1). The song illustrates the practice of revising revolutionary songs from earlier historic periods to be used in a new historical and political context. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the song was originally composed by professional composer Xian Xinghai (with lyrics by Sai Ke) in 1936 as “Military Song of Rescuing the Nation” (Figure 5.2). Xian Xinghai is credited as the composer of “The Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan” in the 1972 “New Songs” publication although the editorial committee is credited with revising the lyrics anew (with no mention of Sai Ke).



Figure 5.1: “Battle Song of the War of Resistance Against Japan”

“Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan” is published in the “New Songs” anthology with the musical expression to sing the song “majestically” [*xiongzhuang*] and with “strength” [*youli*]. The song is nearly identical to its 1936 counterpart, the only compositional changes made were slight rhythmic modifications (mm 3, 5, 7, 10, 18, 21 and 23 of Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.2: “Military Song of Rescuing the Nation”

“Military Song of Rescuing the Nation” and “Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan” both have a vocal range of one octave plus a third; the original version has one additional measure (see measure 21 in Figure 5.2) when a note is sustained from the preceding measure. The simple form and melody are characteristic of a mass song. The song maintains a straightforward two-part compositional structure that is repeated once. Examining Figure 5.1 as an example, the first part contains the A theme (mm. 1-8), next is the B theme (mm. 9-20), and the third section contains four measures of the A theme (mm. 21-24) followed by seven measures of the B theme (mm.25-31). Though there are some syncopated beats (ex: mm. 9, 12, 16, etc.) the song is simple in both melody and rhythm in a stern and march-like style.

The next example is a revolutionary folk song, “Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production” that reveals how composers utilized musical materials of the masses and incorporated them into new musical compositions (in this case) for revolutionary music. The song is listed in the “New Songs” anthology as a “Longdong Folk Song” [*longdong minge*] with lyrics revised by the “Shaanxi Literature and Art Workers Editorial Committee” [*shaanxi wenyi gongzuoze jiti*]. Additional research reveals that the revolutionary folk song is directly from a work song known as, “Pounding Song” [*hangge*], that composer Zhang Hanhui (1902-1946) composed after hearing Longdong peasant workers singing. Known as both a composer and a playwright, Zhang was originally from Hubei province but studied in Beijing as a young man. He spent time in various regions of China working and teaching and went to Yan’an in 1941 where he continued composing revolutionary music and theater (*yinyue cidian* 496). Zhang first heard the Longdong folk song while peasants were constructing a house. The song was sung in call and response and assisted in coordinating the physical movements of the workers (Liang 1985: 284). The eight bar song was recorded by Zhang as follows:

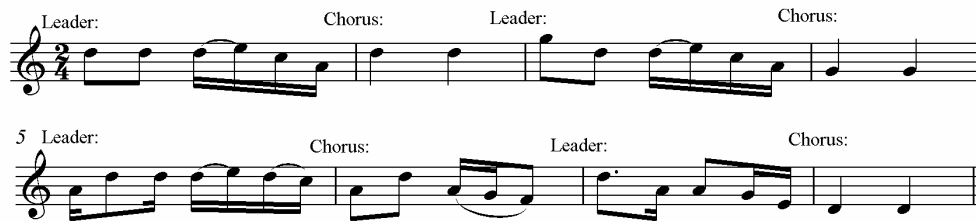


Figure 5.3: “Pounding Song”

“Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production” (Figure 5.4), as published in the “New Songs” is extremely similar to the “Pounding Song” recorded by Zhang (Figure 5.3). It appears in the anthology also with a range of an octave plus a fourth, but with the musical expressions to sing the song “enthusiastically” [*relie*] and “with strength” [*youli*].



Figure 5.4: “Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production”

The revised historic folk song does not suggest a call and response style; in fact, shortening the original quarter note to a dotted eighth note in the second beat of measure two allows for the singer to catch a breath before measure three. This change suggests that the song is no longer intended for call and response singing. The main difference between the two versions is in the final three bars where they differ in final cadence.

The third musical example “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention” (Figure 5.5) is a revolutionary folk song that is associated with the Red Guards. The song serves as an example of a simple mass song with a specific relationship to a military unit. The song was originally taken from a folk song (*yinyue cidian*: 329) and appears in both the 1972 and 1974 volumes of the “New Songs” anthology.



Figure 5.5: “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention”

The song has eight verses that are repeated to the same eight bar melody. The melody consists of two phrases of four bars each, or in other words, a simple AB pattern. Melodically, the interval of the fourth is emphasized in measures one (b up to e), four (b down to f), and five (b up to e); the overall melody suggests a pentatonic mode as the fourth and seventh degrees (d and g sharp) are rarely used. The entire song does not go beyond the range of one octave and maintains simple rhythmic contour; both of these factors result in a song that is easy for soldiers to sing.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The last two measures of the song do not produce a full cadence and ends abruptly on the second degree. Perhaps this is in anticipation of the repetitive nature of the song and the multiple verses.

The fourth musical example is the Mao Poetry song, “Two Birds: A Dialogue (to the tune of *nian nu qiao*)” (Figure 5.6); as stated in the title, the song is based upon a traditional folk tune. This example illustrates the distinction of the Mao Poetry songs within other genres of revolutionary music; the Mao Poetry songs have prescribed lyrics and also often utilize pre-existing melodies, arranged by professional musicians.

The example provided here is one of the two arrangements of this song that appears in volume five, composed by the Central Music Troupe Committee [*“zhongyang yuetuanjiti”*]. Mao Poetry songs are generally composed by professional composers, as opposed to amateur or collective groups. The Mao Poetry songs are typically more complex in form and style; usually for solo voice, the songs demand a trained, and/or more sophisticated vocalist as compared to mass songs. The songs are distinct from other categories of revolutionary songs in that the Mao Poetry songs are composed specifically for a pre-existing set of lyrics taken from the poetry of Mao; furthermore, the songs often utilize pre-existing folk tunes for the musical composition.

accompaniment

6 (voice)

11 (accomp.)

16

22

30

40

51

61 (accomp.)

Figure 5.6: “Two Birds” A Dialogue (to the tune of *nian nu qiao*)



Figure 5.6 continued

This piece is ninety-two measures long, has a range of nearly two octaves (B below middle C up to the A two octaves above middle C), changes time signature twelve times and includes accompaniment in the arrangement. The melodic and rhythmic contour of the song is extremely lyrical with fluid phrase lines as opposed to the march-like quality of many of the other CCP classics. The score includes the phrase “with great momentum” [*qishi pangbo*] and the tempo marking “a little slow” [*shao man*] set the mood and pace for the majestic song.

5.2.2. Newly Composed Songs

Newly composed songs incorporate five thematic categories: 1) Praise Songs, Battle Songs, and Songs of Political Campaigns, 2) Songs of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers, 3) Songs of Ethnic Nationalities, 4) Youth and Children’s Songs, and 5) Songs of International

Relations. The next five musical examples discuss the general musical characteristics of newly composed songs based upon thematic categorizations.

The first two examples of newly composed songs are from the thematic category of Praise Songs, Battle Songs, and Songs of Political Campaigns. Both examples are frequently cited by both scholars and individuals for their extreme popularity or lack thereof. “Song in Praise of Beijing” is a popular praise song composed by a professional musician whereas “The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution is Good” is a song in praise of a political campaign often cited for its lack of musical complexity and symbolic of Cultural Revolution culture dominated first and foremost by political content.

“Song in Praise of Beijing” is a praise song published in volume two of the “New Songs” anthology. The song is composed by professional musician Tian Guang and Fu Jin with lyrics by Hong Yuan; the song was extremely popular during the Cultural Revolution and continues to experience great popularity even today. The song is a total of forty-nine measures including eight and a half bars of introduction by accompaniment. The vocal range of the song is nearly two octaves, from middle C up to the A two octaves above middle C. The textual theme of the song is expressed musically with soft and flowing phrases, at times with dramatic swells (such as in measures 5-6, 18-19, 29-30). Melodic ornamentation is used frequently, for instance in measures 7, 12, 22, 25 and 26. As a solo piece [*duchang*], the song allows for dramatic and lyrical expression on the part of the singer, in order to effectively and artistically produce all of the melodic ornamentations and broad vocal range. This is dictated in the printed musical expression of “stately” [*zhuangyan*].

accompaniment

4 *ff* *mp*

7 *gradually slow* *slow tempo*

11

15 *gradually slow* *f* *enthusiastically*

20 *v* *v*

24 *v*

28 1. *gradually slow* 6 2. *slow tempo*

32 *ff* *marching tempo*

38

45 *slow tempo* *ff* *v*

Detailed description: This is a musical score for an accompaniment piece. It consists of ten staves of music in a single system. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings. The piece starts with a tempo of 'slow tempo' and includes a section marked 'marching tempo' starting at measure 32. The score concludes with a final cadence in measure 45.

Figure 5.7: “Song in Praise of Beijing”

In contrast, the second example, “The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good” (Figure 5.8) is composed by an amateur group of individuals interested in music (Lyrics and music were written by the “Literature and Art Study Class, City of Shanghai Worker’s Cultural Palace” [*“Shanghaishi gongren wenhuagong wenyi xuexiban ciqu”*]). The song is forty-nine measures, with a vocal range of one octave plus a third (from D above middle C to the F two octaves above middle C). The uncomplicated melody and rhythm results in a song that can be sung loudly and forcefully by large groups of people (the song even includes a middle section in measures 35-39 where the words “The Cultural Revolution is Good” is shouted (not sung) two times). The musical expressions listed are “enthusiastic” [*relie*], “lively” [*huankuai*], and “staunchly” [*jianding youli*].

The image displays a musical score for the song "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good". The score is written in a single system on a grand staff (treble clef) and is set in the key of B-flat major (two flats) and 2/4 time. The piece consists of 43 measures, divided into six systems of eight measures each. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and ties. The final measure (43) features a first and second ending, with the second ending marked with a repeat sign and a double bar line. The score is presented in a clean, black-and-white format.

Figure 5.8: “The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good”

The seventh musical example is “Strike the Tanks,” a newly composed soldier’s song composed by Shen Yawei with lyrics by He Zhaohua (figure 5.9). The soldier’s song is representative of the thematic category of songs for workers, peasants, and soldiers in its short and repetitive form resulting in a simple song for the masses. The simple yet rousing and repetitive style of the song makes it ideal for group singing, not only to inspire and encourage one’s morale, but also perhaps to facilitate in some sort of physical activity, be it manual labor or marching.



Figure 5.9: “Strike the Tanks”

The song is forty-six measures with a vocal range of one octave plus a fifth (middle C to the g one octave above middle C). The song has a rousing [*fenfa*], upbeat tempo [*shaokuai*] that reflects the song’s title. The middle section of the song (measures 29-36) is a chorus to be

repeated, getting stronger and faster; this section may be sung in two parts with the second part echoing the first. The melody and rhythm are undemanding and the entire song remains in two/four time.

The newly composed song “Red Guards on the Grasslands Have Met Chairman Mao” (Figure 5.10) is a musical example of the songs of ethnic nationalities. The song was composed by Gao Shiheng, with Lyrics by Li Dequan and identifies the Red Guards from the grasslands, a typical reference to the Mongolian nationality. Often times, the songs of ethnic nationalities were actually composed by professional musicians in Beijing who had little (or no) knowledge of the particular ethnic nationality group. As a result, many of the ethnic nationality songs are identifiable and perceived as such through the lyrics, instrumental arrangement, and performance of the songs.⁴¹ For example, lyrics may specifically mention terms or geographical landmarks that are stereotypically identified as being of a particular ethnic nationality group; and instrumental arrangements would commonly feature instruments associated with a particular nationality group.

“Red Guards on the Grasslands Have Met Chairman Mao” is a typical example of the ethnic nationality songs as the lyrics, instrumentation, and performance collectively promote the identification of the Mongolian nationality. The upbeat song consists of fifty-six measures including ten bars of introduction for accompaniment; the vocal range is one and a half octaves. The melodic line is disjunct, constantly ascending and descending; the rhythm is often syncopated but also includes a number of instances where notes are sustained over two bars at the end of a phrase. There is no musical expression listed, but the tempo marking is “a little fast” [*shao kuai*].

⁴¹ See Chapter two of Baranovitch 2003 for further discussion of minority representation in popular songs.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Red Guards on the Grasslands Have Met Chairman Mao". The score is written in a single system on a grand staff (treble clef) with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The music is divided into sections for accompaniment and voice. The accompaniment section starts at measure 6 and continues through measure 67. The voice section begins at measure 11 and continues through measure 67. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like accents (v) and slurs. A first and second ending bracket is present between measures 48 and 54. The piece concludes with a double bar line at measure 67.

Figure 5.10: “Red Guards on the Grasslands Have Met Chairman Mao”

Additional musical analysis and comparative research is necessary to identify exact “Mongolian” styles within the music itself; however, taking additional features into consideration reveals how

the ethnic nationality songs differ from those of the other thematic categories. To begin, the lyrics, and title itself, specifically identify the Mongolian nationality; track #8 on the accompanying CD is an instrumental arrangement of the song that features the er-hu, the two-stringed fiddle commonly associated with the grasslands of Mongolia.

“I Love Beijing Tiananmen” (lyrics by Jin Guolin, music by Jin Yueling) is a newly composed song for children (figure 5.11). Similar to mass songs in the other thematic categories, the song is simple in its musical form in order to be taught to, and sung by, young children.



Figure 5.11: “I Love Beijing Tiananmen”

The song “I Love Beijing Tiananmen” is in a simple ABA pattern. The first section (mm. 1-12) contains two phrases that make up the A theme, followed by a sixteen bar B theme (mm. 13-28), and the A theme then returns as the third section (mm. 29-40) with the only difference being a slightly modified cadence in the final two measures. The vocal range for the song is just

over an octave (from middle C to the second D above middle C). Musical expressions listed are “enthusiastically” [*reqing*] and “vivaciously” [*huopo*] and the song is listed as a Children’s song [*ertong gequ*].

The final example is the newly composed song of International Relations, “Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother.” The song was composed by the Central Political Propaganda Composition Committee [*Zongzheng Xuanchuan Chuangzuo zu*]. Similar to the songs of ethnic nationalities, “Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother” also utilizes a combination of lyrics, music, and performance to enforce its identification as a song of international relations.

The image displays a musical score for the song "Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother". The score is written in a single treble clef staff and consists of nine lines of music. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are several dynamic markings, including accents (v) and a hairpin crescendo. A bracket labeled "accompaniment" spans the first line. A first and second ending bracket is present between measures 47 and 50. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Figure 5.12: “Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother”

“Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother” is fifty-four measures long with a range of one octave plus a fourth. The song begins in four/four time, yet changes tempo ten times throughout the

course of the song, including tempos of two/four and three/four time. The musical complexity (as compared to mass songs) reflects the musicianship of the composer and demands a vocalist with some musical training in order to grasp the multiple tempo changes as well as extended vocal range. Though not labeled specifically as a solo song, “Albania, My Dear Comrade and Brother” contrasts the mass songs with its lyrical melody and fluid rhythms.

5.3. SUMMARY

The ten musical examples present elementary data for analysis. The five-hundred and fifty-six song anthology includes a variety of musical compositions difficult to generalize without a comprehensive musical analysis. However, examining songs based upon thematic categorizations displays some of the basic musical characteristics found throughout the anthology.

To begin, many of the “CCP Classics” are heavily militaristic, usually arranged as mass songs (such as “Battle Song of the War of Resistance against Japan,” and “Three Main Rules of Discipline, Eight Points for Attention”). However, attempts were made to incorporate traditional elements, such as in the revolutionary folk song “Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production”; attempts were also made to incorporate more lyrical and artistic styles, such as the Mao Poetry song, “Two Birds: A Dialogue.”

The “Newly Composed Songs” such as “Strike the Tanks” and “I Love Beijing Tiananmen” do not appear to be all that new in their simple and revolutionary form and content.

However, through the efforts of professional composers and lyricists, many of the newly composed songs demand advanced musicianship of their vocalists and stray from the simple form and style of the mass songs; examples of this type of song include the praise song “Song in Praise of Beijing” and the ethnic nationality song “Red Guards on the Grasslands Have Met Chairman Mao.”

On the other end of the spectrum, though certain achievements were made, the “New Songs” anthology is known (in retrospect, of course) to include some compositions that were clearly chosen for their political content alone. Songs such as “The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good” is an example of this type of song, often published by non-professionals, in this case the “Literature and Art Study Class, City of Shanghai Worker’s Cultural Palace” [*“Shanghaishi gongren wenhuagong wenyi xuexiban ciqu”*].

The ten songs selected as examples here uncover a number of key points in regard to the musical characteristics, or features, of the “new songs” anthology. First, the historical lineage of the CCP Classics illustrates the development of revolutionary songs from early twentieth century up through the Cultural Revolution period. Many revolutionary songs are revised and reappear throughout different historical periods, thus becoming known as “historic revolutionary songs” and/or “historic revolutionary folk songs.” Second, the newly composed songs that continue in a similar musical fashion are largely those designated as mass songs. Third, the significant development within the “New Songs” anthology are those songs composed by professional musicians that reach beyond the simple form of the mass song to include songs of greater length, with more musical complexity in terms of the tempo, rhythm, vocal range and overall form. Through these key points, it appears as though the basic musical characteristics of songs found within the “New Songs” anthology differ in their historical lineage, status of composer/lyricist,

song type/arrangement, and instrumental arrangement. A complete musical analysis would certainly provide more conclusive results, however the ten examples provide a general look into the musical characteristics of the “New Songs” anthology.

6. CONTEMPORARY MEMORY

In this chapter, I will examine the contemporary memory of the “New Songs” anthology through an analysis of the present-day knowledge of songs and attitudes toward them. The analysis will utilize statistical data collected from a public opinion survey, first hand testaments from both the survey and personal interviews, followed by additional interpretations of responses. I will begin with a detailed explanation outlining the methodology and rationale in designing the survey. Upon this I present a quantitative analysis of survey results followed by first-hand testaments; I will then examine changes in contemporary context such as the 1990s resurgence and changes in modes of dissemination and production. To this end, I will examine the collective memories of different generations in order to understand not only who remembers these songs, but also how they are remembered.

6.1. SURVEY DESIGN

The design of the survey itself shapes any resulting data; therefore, I will begin with an outline of the rationale behind the individual questions included in the survey. The complete original Chinese language survey, along with English translation, appears in Appendices A and B. The general objective of the survey is to test the knowledge of, and attitude toward, the “New Songs” anthology. Specifically, the three main objectives of the survey are:

1. To identify knowledge of the “New Songs”
2. To identify the mediation, dissemination, and production of songs during the Cultural Revolution and today
3. To identify distinctions, if any, in attitudes toward the music of revolutionary songs versus the lyrics of revolutionary songs.

The controlled variables in the survey were to include an even distribution of sex (male and female), residence type (urban and suburban), residence location (Beijing and Shanghai) and age (four groups as described under Question #2).

Following the survey, certain categories were redefined in order to fully utilize the data collected. For example, question #7 provided five possible choices of how songs were first learned, the fifth choice being “other”; however, respondents who chose “other” identified exactly what that other medium was and thus four additional categories appeared. In order to utilize the data from the “other” or “open-ended” responses, new categories were created following the survey to best represent the actual responses from the survey. These changes are noted accordingly.

6.1.1. Question #1

The first question of the survey asked respondents how long they have lived in their current city of residence (Beijing or Shanghai). Representatives of Horizon (the marketing research company I contracted) suggested that individuals who have lived in their current city of residence for less than three years be excluded from the survey. This is a common technique used in Horizon marketing research in order to obtain what they consider to be more reliable and dependable results. I was somewhat hesitant to include this question, yet following their persistence I decided to include it while acknowledging how it limits the respondent pool. One variable I was considering was that of residence as distinguished by urban vs. suburban and Beijing vs. Shanghai; therefore, the transient communities were not integral to my intended research questions.

6.1.2. Question #2

The survey was to sample four different age groups, 18-42, 43-52, 53-62, and 62 and up. These age groups were initially designed to include one group with minimal first-hand exposure to the Cultural Revolution (individuals less than ten years of age by the end of the Cultural Revolution), one group with experience of the Cultural Revolution as a youth (individuals at least six years of age at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution), a third group with experience of the Cultural Revolution as young adults (individuals with who were at least 16 years of age at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution), and a final group with experience of the Cultural Revolution as adults (individuals who were at least 35 years of age at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution).

Table 6.1: Original Age Groups

Age in 2003	Age in 1976	Age in 1966
18-42	<15	<5
43-52	16-25	6-15
53-62	26-35	16-25
63 and up	>36	>26

The first group (ages 18-42 in year 2003) covers a wider age range in order to include responses of the Reform generation. The groups could have been broken down further to decrease the age range of the first group; however, to do so would have necessitated increasing the sampling pool and redesigning the entire survey to include questions appropriate for the youngest group. Unfortunately, the addition was not possible due to financial constraints.

After the survey was conducted, I decided to modify the age divisions slightly based upon comments and feedback I had received from a number of sources; I also labeled each group with an individual name for ease of discussion. The groups were re-divided to reflect the political history of China. (The original data itself was not altered, I merely re-arranged/re-grouped the same data into a new set of four groups). In my analysis I use the following age groups:

Table 6.2: Adjusted Age Groups

	Age in 2003	Age in 1976	Age in 1966	Age in 1949
Reform generation	18-30	Ages <3	Not yet born	Not yet born
Cultural Revolution generation	31-53	Ages 16-26	Ages 6-16	Not yet born
Socialist generation	54-70	Ages 27-43	Ages 17-33	Ages <16
Pre-Socialist generation	71-87	Ages 44-60	Ages 34-50	Ages 17-33

The age range for the youngest group was decreased to include individuals with minimal contact with the Cultural Revolution (individuals under the age of three at the end of the Cultural Revolution); in this way, the group largely had no direct contact whatsoever with the Cultural Revolution. Furthermore, this generation has come of age during China's "Reform Era" of the 1980s and 1990s, thus I labeled this group the "Reform generation."

The second group is the "Cultural Revolution generation" and this age group remained close to the original age group for the same intention of covering those individuals who came of age during the Cultural Revolution.

The third group includes individuals who came of age under Socialist rule in China, thereby labeled as the "Socialist generation.": This group was expanded slightly to include individuals ages 54-70 in order to accommodate changes in the next, fourth group

The fourth group, "Pre-Socialist generation" was created to include adults who came of age (turned 16) before Socialist rule in China. Therefore, the "Pre-Socialist generation" received the majority of their education, and developed their political outlook with minimal Socialist influence. One hypothesis is that the "Pre-Socialist generation" will have a different outlook from the three other groups based on their non-Socialist upbringing.

6.1.3. Question #3

The third question asked respondents if they had heard of the "New Songs" anthology; initial research revealed that though many individuals are familiar with a number of the songs found in the "New Songs" anthology, they may not recognize, or be familiar with the anthology itself. This question was included in order to identify any possible correlation between recognition of the anthology title with particular age groups.

6.1.4. Question #4

In the fourth question, a list of twenty-four song titles (see Table 6.3) were presented to the respondents and they were asked to identify if they 1) do not know the song, 2) know the song, or 3) know the song well and can sing it. The list was compiled with four key points in mind. The first point is simply to include songs from each of the five volumes; the second point is to include songs from each of the six official thematic categories. The first two points are thus mainly concerned with providing an evenly distributed representation of the five-hundred and fifty-two songs. The third and fourth points differ in that they focus on testing the effect of dissemination. The third point is to include songs that were associated with movies; in designing the survey many individuals suggested that this would often increase the level of dissemination. The fourth point is to include CCP classics that are extremely well known to use as a comparison to the other categories in the “New Songs” anthology. In general, the four points were considered for their possible effect upon knowledge and attitude, as well as in an attempt to produce a small sampling of songs representative of the five-hundred and fifty-six songs in the entire anthology.⁴²

⁴² The list of twenty-four songs included in the survey are listed roughly by themes; in general terms, the first five songs listed are closely linked to the Cultural Revolution period; the next fifteen songs are also representative of the “New Songs” anthology, but perhaps more specific or obscure; the last four songs are well-known CCP Classics, some of which continue to be broadcast today.

Table 6.3: Songs listed in Public Opinion Survey (including themes, volume # and film songs)

Song #	English Title	Theme	Volume	Film Songs
1	Song in Praise of Beijing	PBPC	II	
2	Awa People Sing New Songs	EN	I	
3	The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good	PBPC	III	
4	Carry the Struggle Against Lin Biao and Confucius to the End	PBPC	IV	
5	Advance Quickly Along the Big Road of Socialism	WPS	III	Film Song
6	Sing in Praise of our New Tibet	EN	II	
7	Defend our Country, Build the Frontier	PBPC	V	
8	The Workers of Machala Learn From Daqing	WPS	III	
9	Red Guards on the Grasslands met Chairman Mao	EN	I	
10	Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers	WPS	II	
11	Bright and Brave Female Electrical Workers	WPS	II	Film Song
12	The Powerful Current of Iron and Steel Moves Forward Forever	WPS	III	Film Song
13	Oyster Picking Girls Learn From Dazhai	WPS	V	
14	Barefoot Doctors are Sunflowers	WPS	V	Film Song
15	I Love Beijing's Tiananmen	YC	I	
16	We Cherish the Memory of the Children of Taiwan	YC	IV	
17	The Educated Youth Comes to the Country	YC	IV	
18	We are Dear Friends	IR	V	
19	All the People of the World will be Victorious	IR	I	
20	Third World Unite Together	IR	IV	
21	Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman	CCP	I	
22	The Song of Liberation	CCP	I	
23	The Mountain's Red Azaleas Bloom a Bright, Bright Red	CCP	I	
24	Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention	CCP	I, III	

Key:

PBPC: Songs of Praise, Battle and Political Campaigns

EN: Songs of Ethnic Nationalities

WPS: Songs of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers

YC: Songs of the Youth and Children's Songs

IR: Songs of International Relations

CCP: CCP Classics

6.1.5. Questions #5 and #6

Questions five and six asked respondents to identify songs from the list that they considered to be the “most memorable” (question #5) and “most popular” (question #6). These

questions were included to identify songs of distinction, and to test the extent to which respondents would make a distinction between memorability, and popularity.

6.1.6. Questions #7-#9

Questions seven, eight, and nine asked respondents about the original mediation, dissemination, and production of the songs; the questions asked where respondents originally learned, heard, and sang the songs. Once again, the possible responses were originally designed under the consultation of Dr. Wenfang Tang (Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh) and then with the Horizon representatives.

For question #7, “how did you first learn the songs,” respondents were given the following options:

- 1) self-study
- 2) friends/family
- 3) school/work unit
- 4) music class
- 5) other

For practicality and ease in data analysis, the options were kept to a minimum; additional consideration included the recognition of common channels of mediation, dissemination, and production during the Cultural Revolution. Conceptually, the options were constructed to include an individual setting (self-study), an informal group setting (friends/family), a formal group setting (school/work unit), a technical/specialized setting (music class), and other. An overwhelming number of respondents answered “other” and provided details of exactly where they learned the songs. In order to fully utilize the data, these open ended-responses were then

taken into consideration, and the list of categories (for analysis) includes the following (additions/modifications marked in bold face):

- 1) self study
- 2) friends/family
- 3) school/work unit
- 4) music class
- 5) television, movies, evening performances**
- 6) public broadcasts and/or radio**
- 7) did not hear**
- 8) did not sing, cannot sing**
- 9) other**

Question eight asked, “where did you hear these songs- rank in order 1-5 with 1 as most frequent” with the following options:

- 1) Cable Radio
- 2) Wireless Radio
- 3) Television
- 4) Public performance
- 5) Special anniversary meeting
- 6) Friends/family
- 7) Other

Once again, the options were selected with the specific context of the Cultural Revolution in mind. Until the 1980s and 1990s, cable radio was the main means of media communication in China, followed by the wireless radio; television was rather scarce and public performances were quite common, especially the “special anniversary” or commemorative meetings. Conceptually,

the options were designed to include formal modes of dissemination of both recorded and live performance along with informal modes of dissemination.

Options for question eight were also expanded and re-organized in order to accommodate open-ended responses collected under the “other” category. In the analysis, the following options appear (changes marked in bold face):

- 1) Cable Radio
- 2) Wireless Radio
- 3) Television **and film**
- 4) Public performance
- 5) Special anniversary meeting
- 6) Friends/family
- 7) **School**
- 8) **work unit, military unit, factory, work**
- 9) **cassettes and records**
- 10) **other**
- 11) **“I forget”**

Question nine asked where respondents would sing the songs, with the following possible answers:

- 1) by myself
- 2) with friends/family
- 3) School/work unit activities
- 4) Music class
- 5) Work unit meetings
- 6) Other

Similar to the options provided in questions seven and eight, the possibilities were designed with the Cultural Revolution context in mind along with conceptual distinctions of individual and group (formal and informal). These options were also re-organized after the survey to the following (changes marked in bold face):

- 1) by myself
- 2) with friends/family
- 3) School/work unit activities
- 4) Music class
- 5) Work unit meetings
- 6) **do not sing**
- 7) **military unit**
- 8) **while working**
- 9) **sing along with broadcasts**
- 10) **other**
- 11) **“I have forgotten”**

6.1.7. Questions #10 & #11

Questions ten and eleven are a contemporary follow up to issues of dissemination and production as tested in questions seven through nine. Questions ten and eleven address contemporary dissemination and production of the songs, largely, where the songs are still heard today (question 10) and on what occasions do respondents still sing the songs today (question 11). The questions were included to identify contemporary memory of the songs and to collect data to compare the change, if any, in dissemination and production of revolutionary songs from the Cultural Revolution context to today.

The choices provided to respondents changed slightly in questions ten and eleven to reflect changes in Chinese society. For example, the options provided for question ten and eleven include “Karaoke” and “Restaurants” as these were recommended by Horizon representatives as two major musical contexts in China today. The original possible responses for question ten include:

- 1) Cable Radio
- 2) Wireless Radio
- 3) Television
- 4) Public performances
- 5) Special anniversary meetings
- 6) Friends/family
- 7) Karaoke
- 8) Restaurants
- 9) other

Following the survey, the categories were re-organized as appropriate to responses collected; the original option (8) of “Restaurant” collected no responses so it was replaced with “by oneself.”

The categories used in analysis include (changes marked in bold face):

- 1) Cable Radio
- 2) Wireless Radio
- 3) Television
- 4) Public performances
- 5) Special anniversary meetings
- 6) Friends/family
- 7) Karaoke
- 8) by one self**

- 9) **cassettes and records**
- 10) **other**
- 11) **can not hear**

Possible answers for question eleven, “On what occasions do you sing these songs today?” include:

- 1) By oneself
- 2) Friends/family
- 3) School/work unit activities
- 4) Music class
- 5) Work unit meetings
- 6) Karaoke
- 7) Restaurants
- 8) Other

Once again the response of “restaurants” was eliminated due to lack of responses and replaced with the common “do not sing” response. The list of categories were expanded to include (changes marked in bold face):

- 1) By oneself
- 2) Friends/family
- 3) School/work unit activities
- 4) Music class
- 5) Work unit meetings
- 6) Karaoke
- 7) **do not sing**
- 8) **sing whenever I hear them**
- 9) **other**

6.1.8. Questions #12 & #13

Questions twelve and thirteen test attitudes toward revolutionary songs with a specific distinction between music and lyrics. The questions are as follows:

#12.1: “When you hear these songs today, how does the music make you feel?”

#12.2: “When you hear these songs today, how do the lyrics make you feel?”

#13: “What are more memorable to you about revolutionary songs
-the lyrics or the music?”

Possible answers for question twelve were extremely difficult to design; I initially composed a list of possible answers based upon responses from personal interviews I had already conducted. Utilizing responses from those interviews, I selected a number of responses that I felt provided a wide range of emotions, yet within a practical number appropriate for the purpose of the survey. Horizon representatives assisted me in finalizing the options based upon linguistic and cultural appropriateness. The final list includes:

- 1) Nostalgic
- 2) Inspiring (boost morale)
- 3) Filled with hope
- 4) Sad/miserable
- 5) Indignant/angry/full of wrath
- 6) Bitter
- 7) other

Following the survey, based upon survey results and further analysis some adjustments were made. To begin, the options of “inspiring” and “filled with hope” were too similar to be considered separately so I combined them into one category. Also, responses from the “other”

option were divided into three sub-categories of “indifferent,” “other-positive” and “other-negative” in order to utilize all of the answers received.

For question thirteen (“What are more memorable to you about revolutionary songs -the text or the music?”) respondents were simply given the option of “Lyrics” or “Music.”

6.1.9. Questions #14 & #15

Questions fourteen and fifteen test the knowledge of the contemporary remakes of revolutionary songs, as well as general attitudes toward them. Question fourteen simply asks, “Have you heard the remakes of the early 1990s?” with possible answers of “yes” or “no”; question fifteen asks, “Do you prefer the original musical style (1960-1970s) or contemporary versions of revolutionary songs?” likewise with only two possible responses of “1960-70s” or “1990s and later.” These questions were included due to the overwhelming attention and interest in the 1990s remakes in English language scholarship such as Gregory Lee (1995), Sheldon Lu (1996), and Mercedes Dejunco (2002).

6.1.10. Questions #16-#20

Questions seventeen through twenty all collect information to identify and categorize the respondent. Information collected includes sex (question 16), education (question 17), occupation (question 18A), political affiliation (question 18B), and personal outlook (questions 19 and 20). All of these questions are standard in public opinion surveys of this nature in order to understand the demographics of the survey pool. In future data analysis of the survey results I intend to utilize this information more comprehensively. For the purpose of this study, I find the

demographics useful in supporting credibility of the survey in that respondents do in fact cover a broad range of Chinese society in terms of sex, education, occupation, and political affiliation.

Each of the questions and collected responses are listed below, the number of responses listed are all actual numbers and not percentages. All of the possible options were designed by Horizon representatives based upon their technical and cultural expertise.

Question sixteen (Sex):

1)	Male:	250
2)	Female:	249

Question seventeen (Education):

1)	No formal education:	22
2)	Elementary school:	68
3)	Middle school:	127
4)	High school:	105
5)	Poly-technical school/Trade school:	52
6)	Some undergraduate coursework:	63
7)	College and above:	62

Question eighteen-A (occupation):

1)	Public servant:	8
2)	Company manager:	28
3)	Company employee:	51
4)	Laborer:	45
5)	Farmer:	13
6)	Service industry:	19
7)	Medical industry:	6
8)	Educator/researcher:	22
9)	Self employed:	18

10)	Artist:	0
11)	Student:	30
12)	Unemployed/retired:	67
13)	Other:	192

Question eighteen-B (Political affiliation):

1)	Communist Party of China	13
2)	Communist Youth League	62
3)	Democratic Parties	4
4)	Non-Partisan	320

Question nineteen: “how satisfied are you with your current lifestyle?”

1)	extremely satisfied:	89
2)	fairly/relatively satisfied:	276
3)	ordinary:	82
4)	not very satisfied:	34
5)	extremely unsatisfied:	6
6)	indifferent, unable to say:	12

Question twenty:

“How do you feel your life will have changed five years from now?”

1)	will have improved tremendously:	77
2)	will have improved somewhat:	280
3)	will not have changed:	54
4)	will have declined somewhat:	24
5)	will have declined considerably:	0
6)	indifferent, unable to say:	64

I was extremely disappointed in the results from question eighteen in that the design of categories was not effective since the majority of responses fell into “other.” Redesigning the

question was not an option, and therefore remains (as is) in the data analysis. Additionally, in analyzing the data option 10) “Artist” was eliminated due to the lack of responses.

6.1.11. Question #21

The final question of the survey provided respondents to offer any additional comments they may have regarding revolutionary songs. The original Chinese responses, along with English translation appear in Appendices G and I. Responses are utilized throughout my analysis as appropriate.

6.2. ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

The contemporary knowledge of the “New Songs” anthology is difficult to assess; however, the public opinion survey I conducted in 2003 does provide one basis for investigation. The potential analysis based upon the data collected is beyond the scope of the current study. I will utilize the data relevant to the questions addressed in my dissertation. Additionally, the survey results may be interpreted in a variety of methods; I will analyze the survey data first based upon raw data/numbers, official thematic categorizations, and statistical observations. I will then return to the same three methods of analyses but additionally examine the effect of age upon knowledge and attitude.

6.2.1. Quantitative Analysis of Knowledge

Only 45% of survey respondents recognize the “New Songs” anthology by name; however, individuals may recognize many of the five-hundred plus songs in the anthology without identifying the anthology’s actual title itself. This could be due to a number of possibilities including a lack of direct experience with the Cultural Revolution, and/or a lack of music in general. Therefore, in order to test the contemporary knowledge of the “New Songs” it is essential to look at both individual songs as well as some official and unofficial categorizations.

The survey listed twenty-four songs from the “New Songs” anthology as represented in Table 6.3; respondents were asked to indicate their level of knowledge according to one of three categories: 1) do not know, 2) recognize/know, and 3) know well/can sing. The “know well/can sing” responses are illustrated in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Songs that Respondents “Know well and/or Can Sing”

SONG TITLE	THEME	
I Love Beijing's Tiananmen	YC	79%
Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention	CCP	64%
Sailing the Seas depends on the Helmsman	CCP	62%
The Mountain's Red Azaleas bloom a bright bright red	CCP	50%
Awa people sing new songs	EN	38%
The Song of Liberation	CCP	37%
Advance Quickly Along the Big Road of Socialism	WPS	32%
Red Guards on the grasslands met Chairman Mao	EN	28%
The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good	PBPC	27%
Song in praise of Beijing	PBPC	26%
Defend our country, build the frontier	PBPC	19%
Sing in praise of our new Tibet	EN	19%
Carry the struggle against Lin Biao and Confucius to the end	PBPC	19%
The Educated Youth Comes to the Country	YC	13%
Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers	WPS	13%
Barefoot doctors are sunflowers	WPS	12%
All the People of the World will be Victorious	IR	12%
The Workers of Machala Learn From Daqing	WPS	11%
Bright and Brave Female Electrical Workers	WPS	11%
Oyster picking girls learn from dazhai	WPS	10%
Third World Unite Together	IR	8%
We are Dear Friends	IR	7%
The powerful current of Iron and Steel moves forward forever	WPS	6%
We Cherish the Memory of the Children of Taiwan	YC	5%

PBPC: Songs of Praise, Battle and Political Campaigns

EN: Songs of Ethnic Nationalities

WPS: Songs of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers

YC: Songs of the Youth and Children's Songs

IR: Songs of International Relations

CCP: CCP Classics

According to the survey results, the five songs most respondents know well, and their percentages, are as follows:

1. “I Love Beijing’s Tiananmen” (79%)
2. “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention” (64%)
3. “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman” (62%)
4. “The Mountains’ Red Azaleas Bloom a Bright, Bright Red” (50%)
5. “Awa People Sing New Songs” (38%)

There is a significant gap between the first three songs and the remaining songs included on the list. In fact, the numbers of responses for the fourth and fifth songs are actually much closer to the songs ranked six through ten.⁴³ The song “I Love Beijing’s Tiananmen” is perhaps so well known (79% of respondents) due to its popularity and dissemination throughout the Cultural Revolution and continuing into the 21st Century. As a children’s song, the lyrics are simple and have remained politically appropriate throughout the past few decades.⁴⁴ The songs “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention” and “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman” are two of four CCP Classics broadcast exhaustively during 1969-1972 therefore making a lasting impression upon the generations that lived through the Cultural Revolution.

The impact of the two CCP Classics, along with the well-known “I Love Beijing’s Tiananmen” greatly affects the results organized by official thematic categorization as illustrated in Figure 6.1. Included in the list of twenty-four individual songs are four CCP classics and three songs of the youth and children’s songs; therefore, the top three songs account for half of

⁴³ The next five songs are 6. “The Song of Liberation” (37%)

7. “Advance Quickly Along the Big Road of Socialism” (32%)

8. “Red Guards on the Grasslands Met Chairman Mao” (28%)

9. “The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good” (27%)

10. “Song in Praise of Beijing” (26%)

⁴⁴ See Chapter 5 for translation of lyrics, Figure 5.5 for score, and Appendix D for original lyrics.

the CCP classics and one third of the youth and children's songs. This point should certainly be taken under consideration in an analysis by official thematic category; yet their impact is not cause for complete disregard of the results.

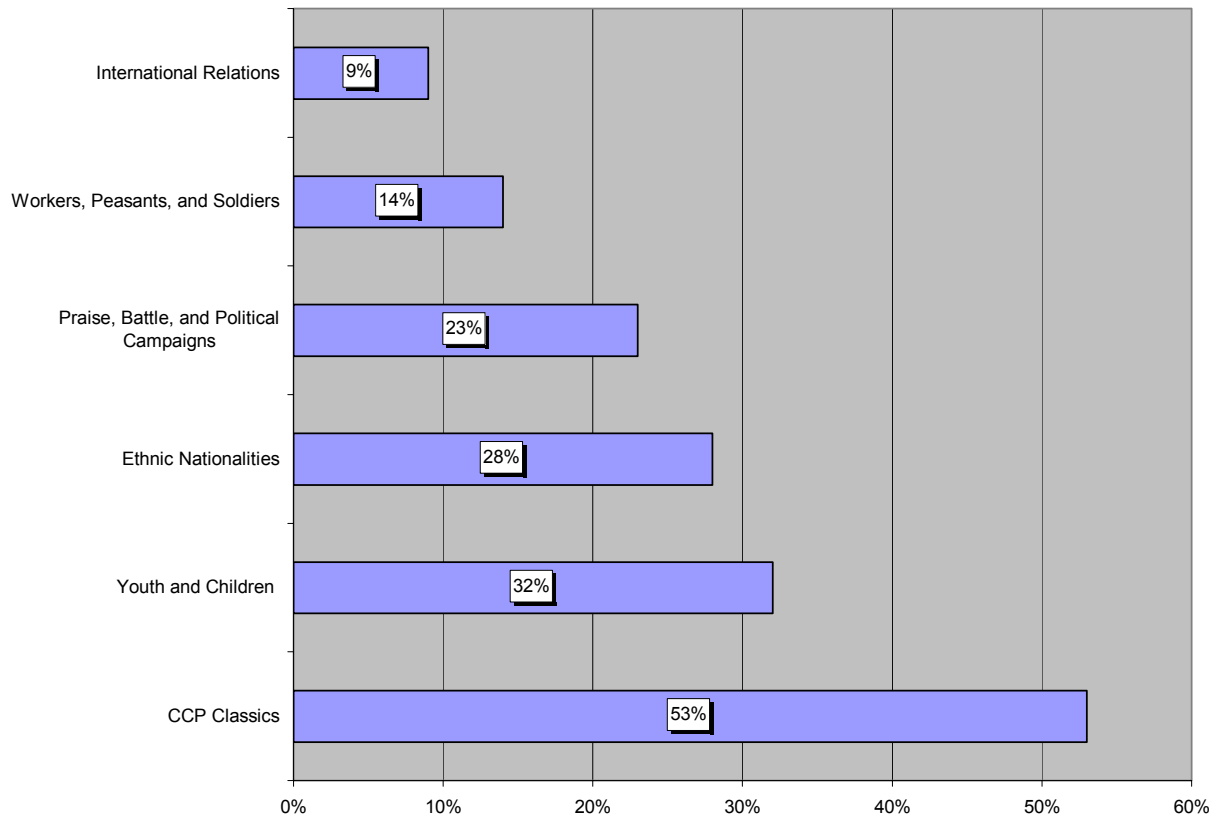


Figure 6.1: Know Well-by theme

According to the official thematic categories, the songs that respondents know well appear in the following order:

1. CCP Classics (53%)
2. Songs of the Youth and Children's Songs (32%)
3. Songs of Ethnic Nationalities (28%)
4. Songs of Praise, Battle, and Political Campaigns (23%)
5. Songs of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers (14%)
6. Songs of International Relations (9%)

Based upon the official thematic categories, the songs identified as “most memorable” are curious when compared to the actual distribution within in the “New Songs” anthology. Put simply, the sheer number of songs for each official thematic category apparently had little impact on the memorability. Figure 6.2 reveals how the lack of relationship between distribution and memorability is most prominent in two categories⁴⁵.

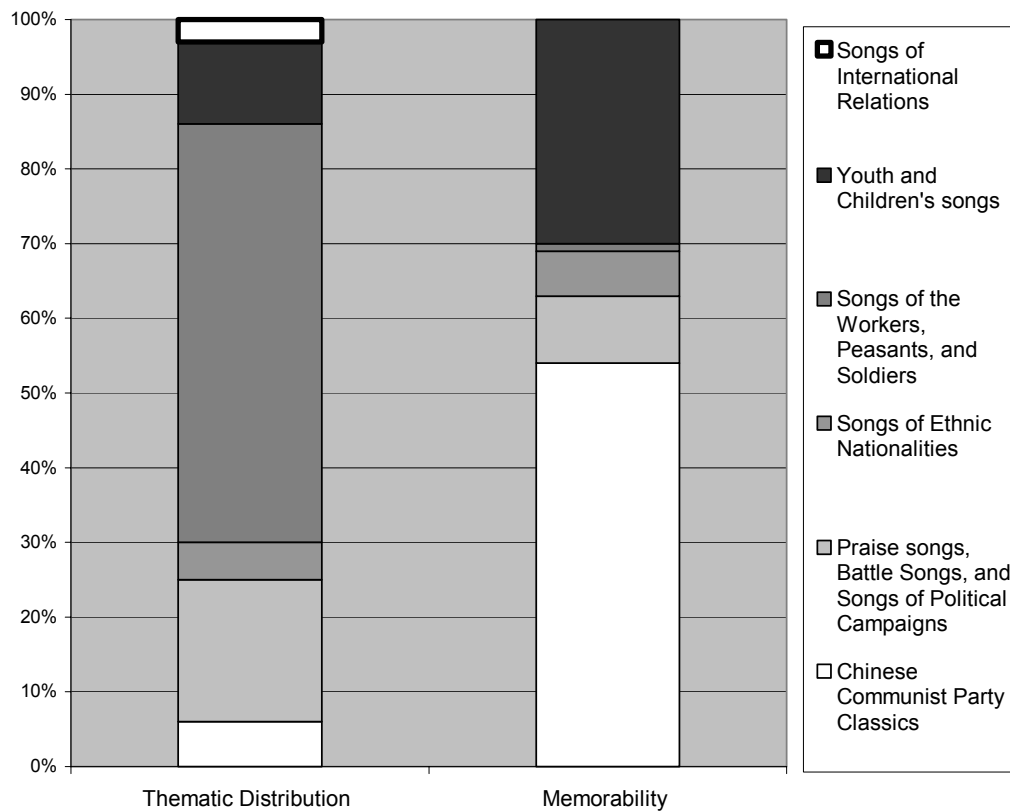


Figure 6.2: Thematic Distribution and Memorability

First, the classics are by far the most memorable of all themes at 54% despite the fact that they make up only 6% of songs in the anthology. This is undoubtedly because these classics

⁴⁵ Age does not appear to influence the memorability of songs as according to themes, therefore figure 6.2 does not control for age.

were promoted both before as well as after the “New Songs” anthology. Secondly, of the remaining five themes, the Youth and Children’s songs are by far the “most memorable” at 30% despite that they make up only 16% of the entire anthology. It should be noted that the gap between distribution and memorability of the youth and children’s songs is much greater than any of the remaining themes. One must question whether this gap is a result of the generational imprinting, thereby making a lasting impression on the youth of the Cultural Revolution; or rather is it that these songs have continued to be promoted in contemporary society thereby increasing their dissemination to contemporary generations. Further research is necessary to determine the exact impact of thematic categories upon memorability; however, based upon the research conducted for this dissertation I believe that it is a combination of both generational imprinting and contemporary promotion.

Raw statistical data and official thematic categories provide a primary basis for interpretation, and the additional consideration of age enhances the results and begins to uncover a number of remarkable observations. The survey targeted four age groups divided along generations according to China’s political history (see Table 6.2): Group I, “Reform generation,” includes individuals currently ages 18-30: individuals who experienced little to none of the Cultural Revolution. Group II, “Cultural Revolution generation,” includes ages 31-53: individuals who experienced the Cultural Revolution while coming of age. The third group, “Socialist generation,” includes ages 54-70: individuals who were at least 17 years of age at the onset of the Cultural Revolution, this generation was not as impressionable as the previous group, however, they did come of age under socialist rule. The last group, “Pre-Socialist generation,” ages 71 and up, were 34 years of age at the onset of the Cultural Revolution. This group came of age before 1949 and was therefore, not raised under Socialist rule.

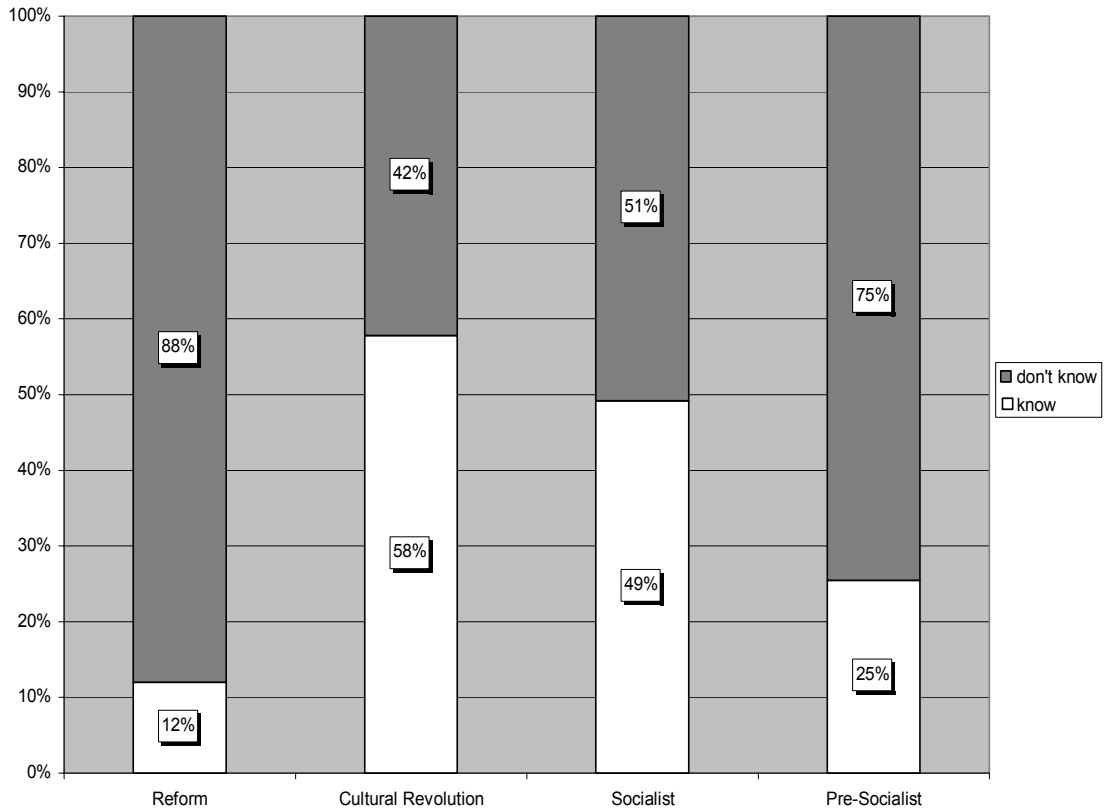


Figure 6.3: Knowledge of “New Songs” anthology-by age groups

Utilizing these age groups, generational differences become apparent as can be seen in the overall recognition of the “New Songs” anthology by its title alone (see Figure 6.3). Only 12% of Reform generation, and 25% of the Pre-Socialist generation recognize the “New Songs” anthology by title as compared to an overwhelming level of recognition in the Cultural Revolution generation and Socialist generation.

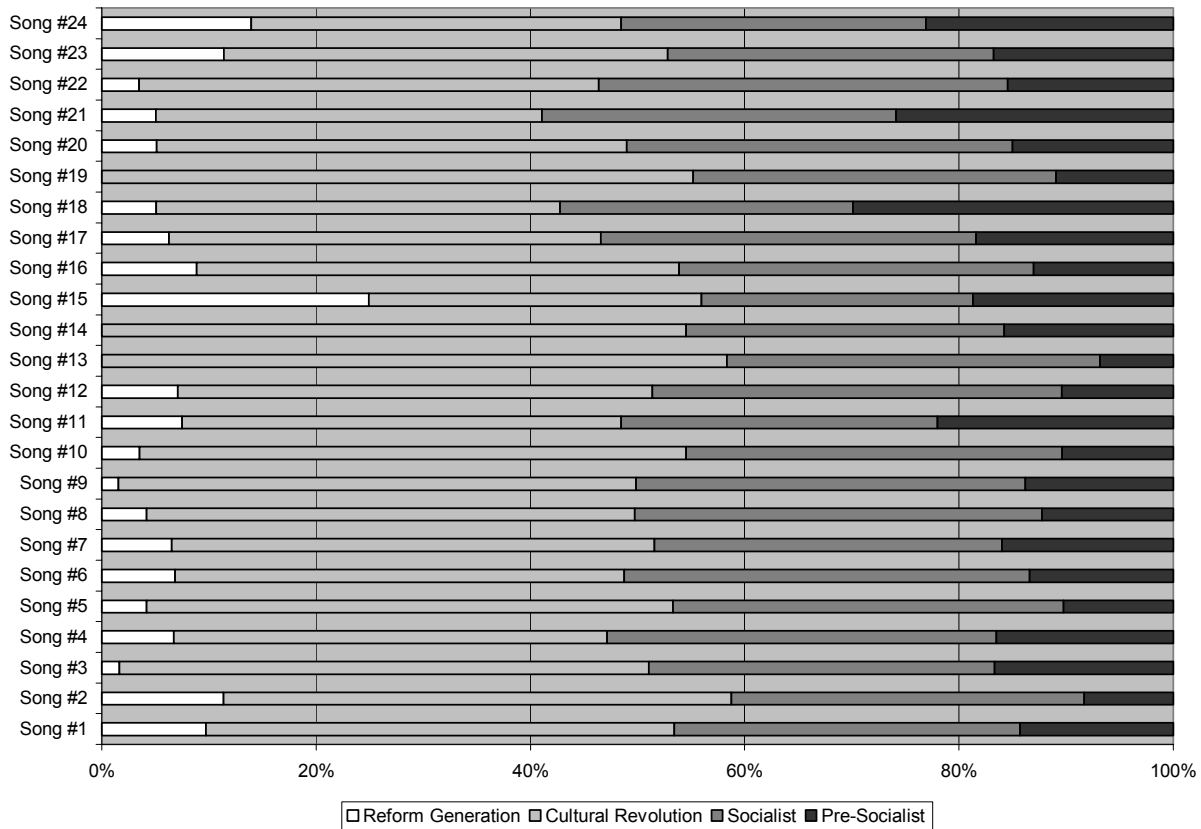


Figure 6.4: Individual Songs that Respondents “Know well/can sing” (by age groups)

Similar trends appear in the individual song recognition of the “New Songs” anthology (see Figure 6.4). The two age groups that experienced the Cultural Revolution as a youth and/or young adult (Cultural Revolution generation and Socialist generation) report a significantly higher level of knowledge of individual songs. The younger and elder groups (Reform generation and Pre-Socialist generation) have similar levels of knowledge, in spite of the elder group having survived the Cultural Revolution directly.

In general, songs that individuals claim to “know well and/or can sing” are similarly distributed among thematic categories (see Figure 6.5). The Classics are by far the most well known, second and third place alternate between songs of youth/children’s songs and songs of the ethnic nationalities. Fourth place are the Battle Songs, Praise songs and songs of political

campaigns, followed by songs of the workers, peasants and soldiers and finally the songs of international relations. Despite dramatic variance in the actual percentages the rankings remain consistent throughout the age groups.

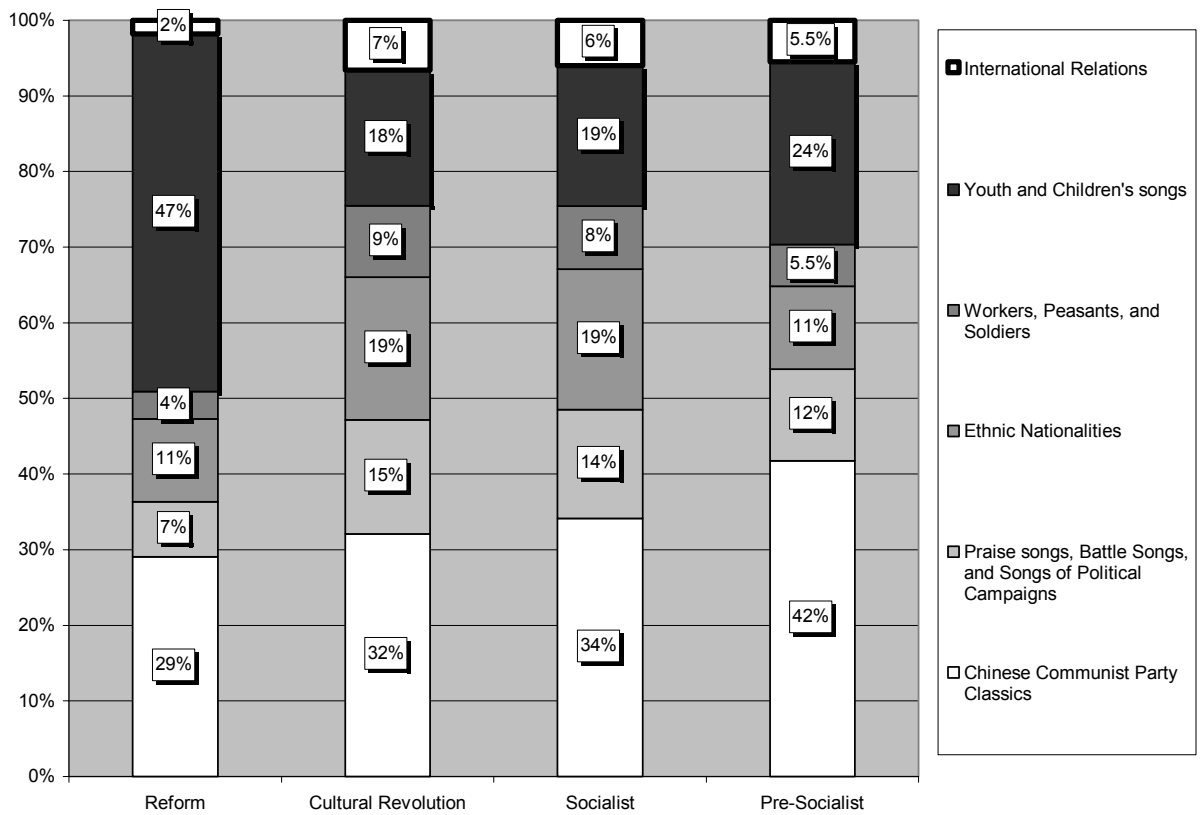


Figure 6.5: Songs that Respondents “Know Well/Can Sing” (by thematic categories & age groups)

Although the classics are the most well known in all age groups, the gaps in percentages vary dramatically: 68% of Cultural Revolution generation know the classics well as compared to only 16% of Reform generation. Similarly, though the order of themes may be the same in all groups, the actual percentages vary significantly between the two general trends. The only exception to this is in the songs of the youth and children’s songs, where the youngest group (Reform generation) is slightly more knowledgeable than the eldest group (Pre-Socialist

generation), perhaps due to the continued promotion of some of these children’s songs today. The simplicity of these children’s songs make them more accessible and politically appropriate in contemporary Chinese society than some of the other categories of songs that are specifically representative of the Cultural Revolution political scene.

6.2.2. Quantitative Analysis of Attitudes

When asked what are more memorable, the lyrics or the music of revolutionary music in general, 64% of respondents identified music as compared to 36% for lyrics. The strong leaning toward music remains consistent when examined across the four age groups (See Figure 6.6).

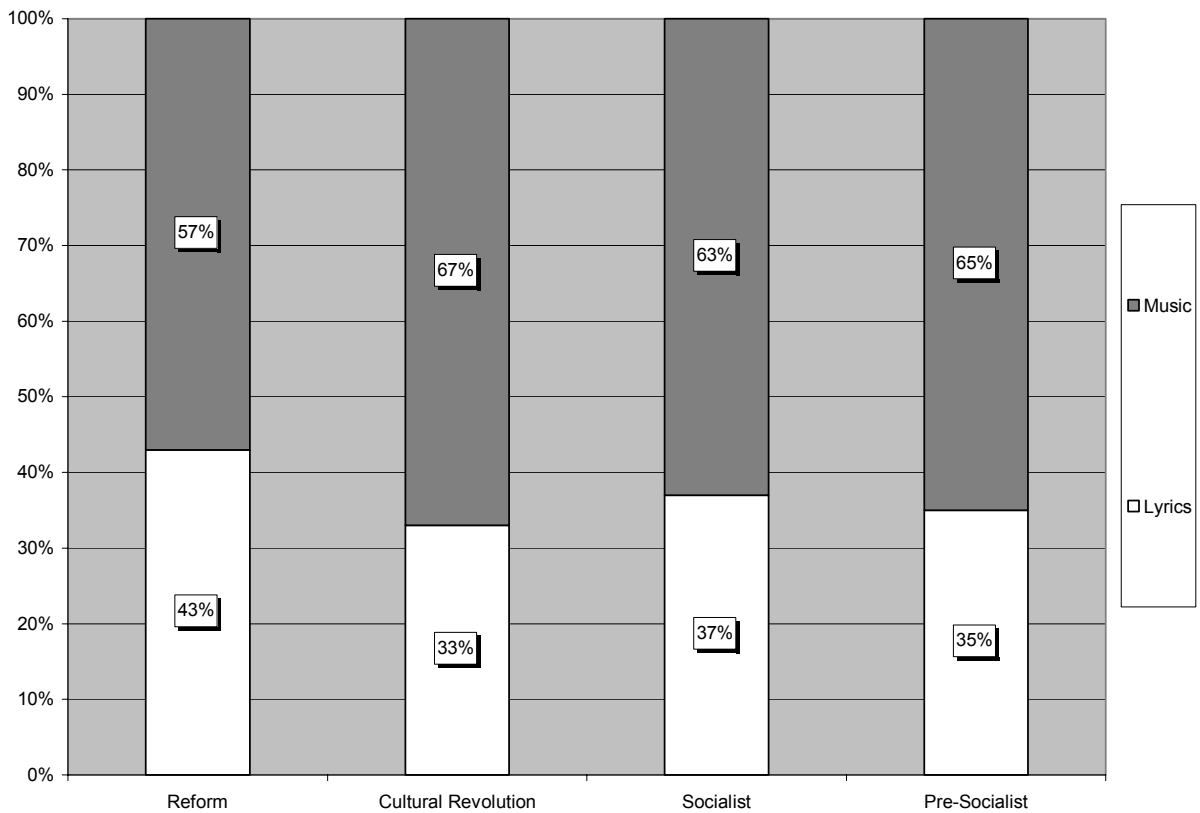


Figure 6.6: “What are more memorable to you, the lyrics or the music of revolutionary songs?”

In order to assess the different attitudes toward the “New Songs” anthology, the survey included a question asking respondents the following two questions: 1) when you hear these songs today, how does the music make you feel? And 2) when you hear these songs today, how do the lyrics make you feel? The variety of answers was grouped into the following responses: nostalgic, encouraging/full of hope, sad, angry, painful/bitter, and indifferent, miscellaneous comments were grouped into other-positive and other-negative.

In general, “nostalgia” and “encouraging” appear as the two main responses concerning attitude. In terms of nostalgia, music is considered more nostalgic than lyrics; however, in terms of encouragement, lyrics are considered more encouraging than music (see Figure 6.7.)

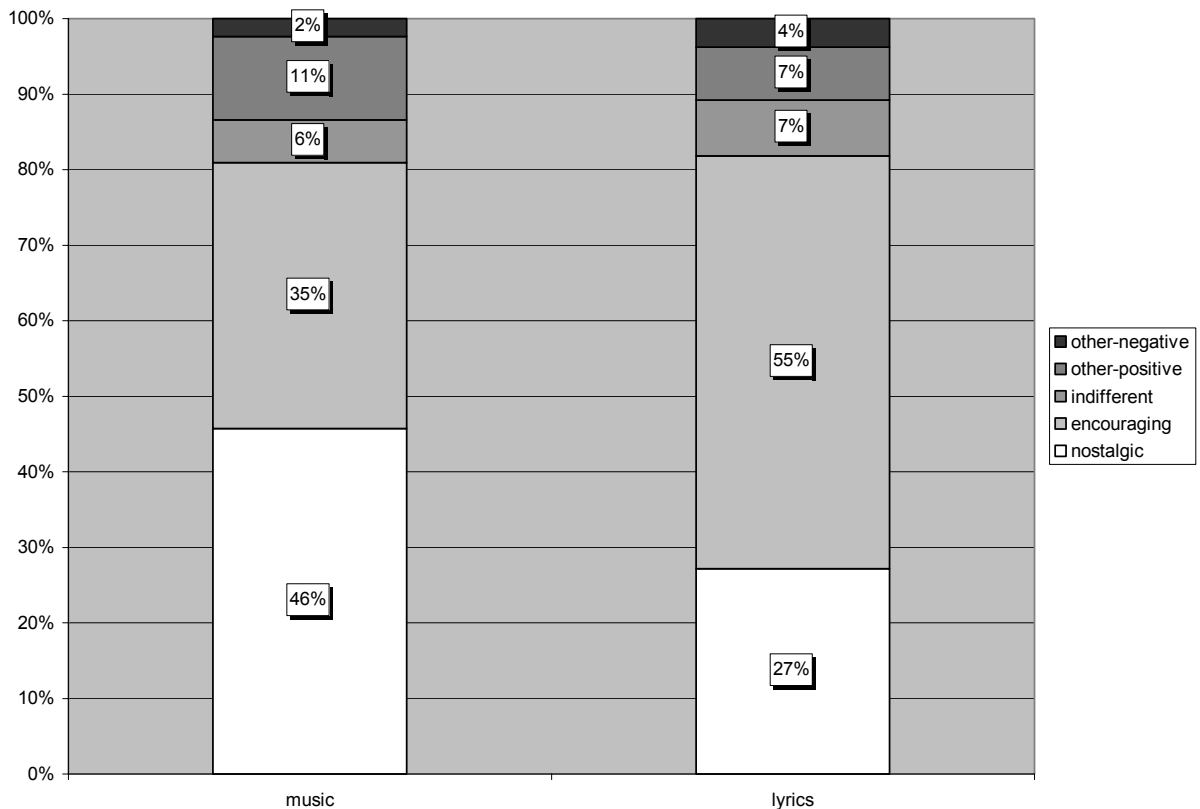


Figure 6.7: Attitude toward music and lyrics

Examining the results according to the four age groups once again provides some additional insight. To begin with the attitudes toward lyrics, there appears to be an inverse relationship between “nostalgic” and “encouraging” (See Figure 6.8). Put simply, lyrics appear to be less nostalgic yet more encouraging as age increases; in other words, the oldest group (Pre-Socialist generation) finds lyrics to be the least nostalgic, yet the most encouraging.

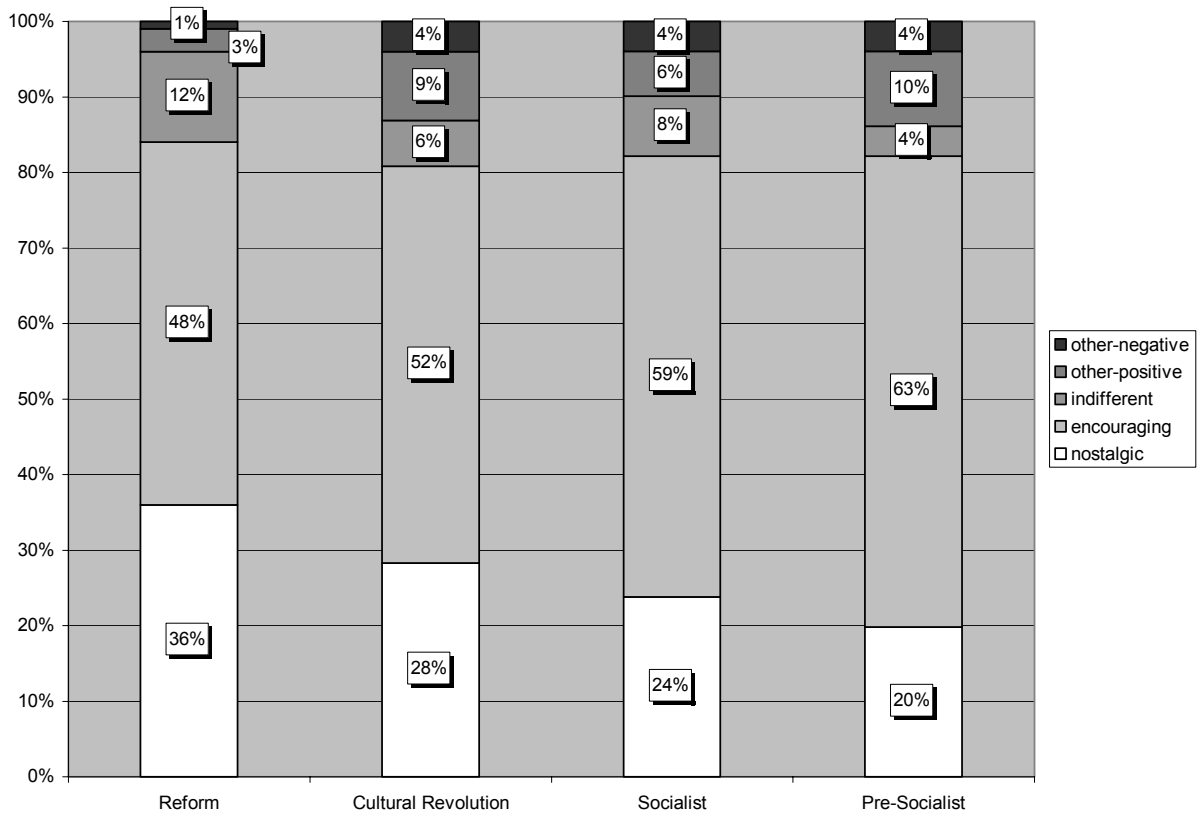


Figure 6.8: Attitude toward Lyrics-by age

Analysis of attitudes toward music according to age groups is slightly different (see Figure 6.9). Here the responses fall into two groups: the Reform generation and Pre-Socialist generation as one, and the Cultural Revolution generation and Socialist generation as the other. Whereas the attitude toward lyrics follow a consistent pattern in relationship to an increase or decrease in age, the attitudes toward music do not. What is questionable about these responses is

the overwhelming amount of Reform generation that find revolutionary music to be nostalgic. What this group is longing for could only be an “imagined” past or else this is simply a conditioned response that they have heard elders reply in regard to revolutionary music. Though revolutionary music is still promoted in China today, it is in no way of the same magnitude as during the Cultural Revolution and the preceding decades.

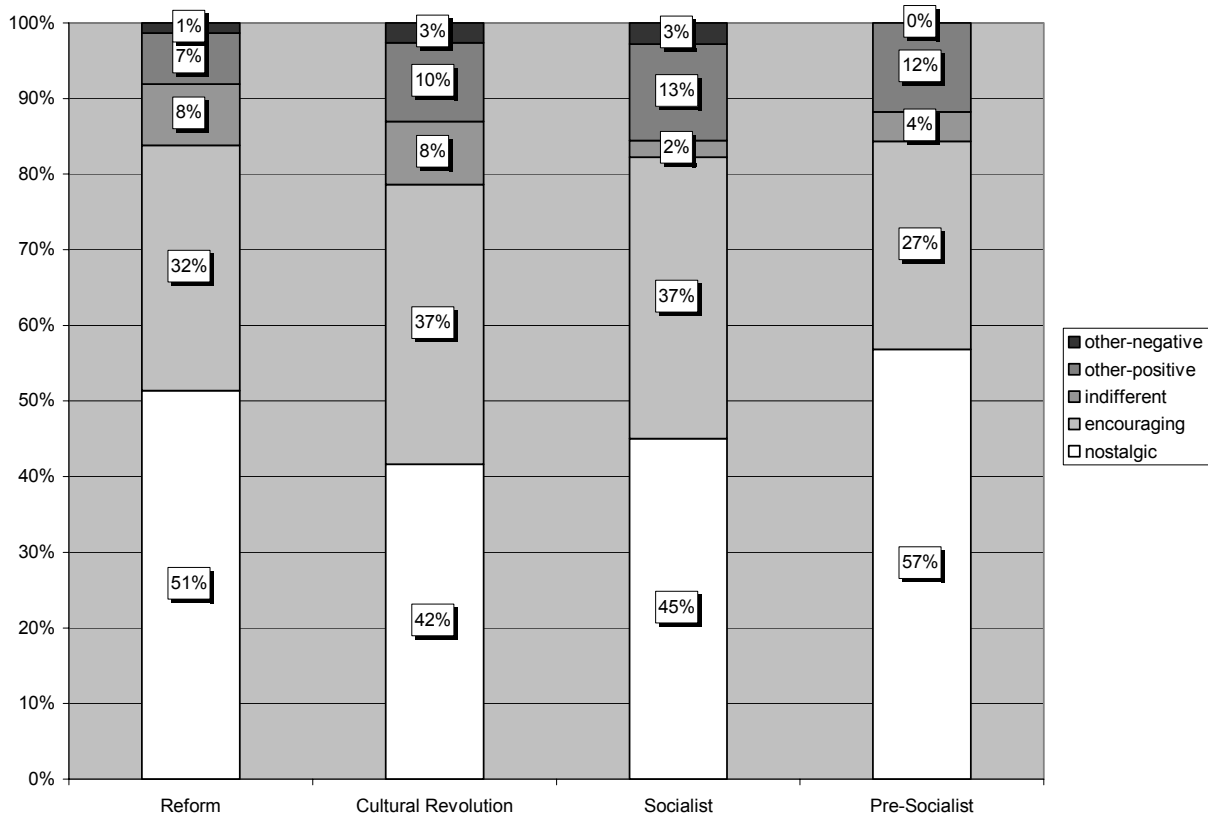


Figure 6.9: Attitude toward Music-by age

Additional responses toward music are rather insignificant with the following exception: Cultural Revolution generation and Socialist generation are less likely to be indifferent than the other two groups, and the Reform generation are less likely to respond “other-positive” than the other three groups. Though the data here is quite limited, possible explanations could be that for the Cultural Revolution generation and Socialist generation, their direct and influential

experience during the Cultural Revolution have left them more opinionated on the matter and willing to respond. Likewise, the Reform generation are less likely to have anything specific to say regarding the period due to their lack of experience and/or knowledge.

The final question on the survey provided an opportunity for respondents to share any additional thoughts they may have regarding revolutionary music. 62% of respondents provided additional comments, the majority of which were extremely positive (see Appendices E and F for original Chinese responses and English translations.) Table 6.5 provides general summations of the open-ended responses and Figure 6.10 outlines the general nature of responses as indifferent, positive, negative, or no response according to age.

Table 6.5: Generalization of Open-Ended responses

Would like the revolutionary music to be broadcast, publicized, and played more often	33%
Prefer the revolutionary music better than today's music, for it is full of spirit, exciting, and patriotic	8%
The revolutionary music should be preserved and continue to be used	5%
Should update and change the revolutionary music	5%
Should use revolutionary music to educate the youth	4%
Revolutionary music is of a different time, don't need it anymore	4%
Revolutionary music is part of history; it is nostalgic and helps remember the past, especially for the elders	3%
no answer, indifferent and other	37%

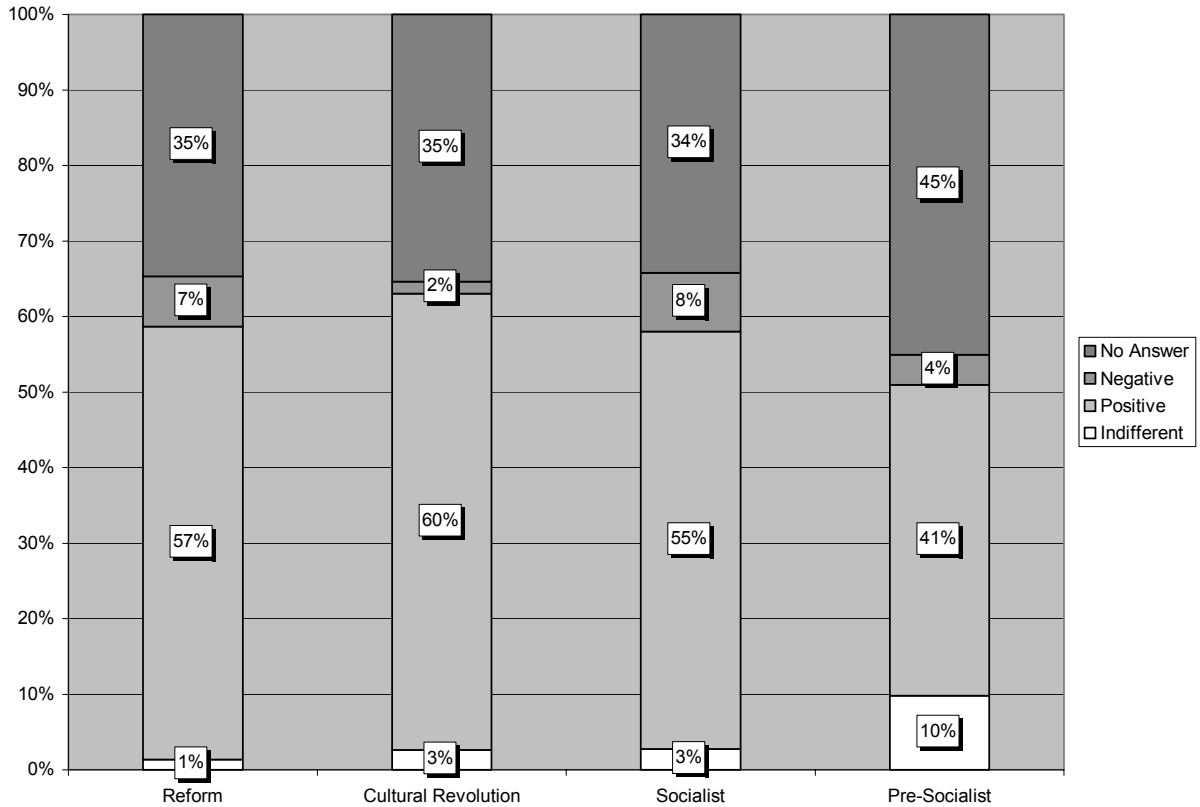


Figure 6.10: Open-ended responses-by age

Table 6.5 and Figure 6.10 illustrate the overwhelmingly popularity and positive impact of revolutionary music. Figure 6.10 indicates that the Pre-Socialist generation was much less likely to respond positively to the open ended question, however it should also be noted that this group was also the least likely to provide any answer at all.

In summary, some main observations may be drawn from the survey results. To begin, music is reported as being more memorable than lyrics by a ratio of 2:1. Music is also found to be more nostalgic than lyrics, and the nostalgia for music increases with age (excluding the exception of the Reform generation). As for lyrics, the nostalgia for lyrics decreases with age; however, respondents reported lyrics to be more encouraging than music, and this level of encouragement increases with age. In general, attitudes toward music and lyrics of the “New

Songs” anthology are overwhelming positive in nature; the same may be said for general attitude toward revolutionary music as reported in the overwhelmingly positive open-ended responses.

Exactly what is it about the music that is considered nostalgic, and what is it about the lyrics that are encouraging? Why do these attitudes become stronger or weaker with age? How can we interpret the meaning of “encouraging” and “nostalgia” that individuals attach to the music and lyrics of revolutionary songs? What is the relationship between age (and/or generations) and the construction of such meanings? And how are songs that are associated with such an outdated, and often negative, political and historical context still viewed in such a positive light? These complex questions are difficult to generalize and impossible to analyze based upon numbers alone. Therefore, the following section utilizes the open-ended survey responses, along with information gathered through personal interviews to offer some first-hand accounts and testaments to the complex issues at hand. Once again, the four age divisions provide a starting point for analysis.

6.3. IN THEIR OWN WORDS: PERSONAL TESTAMENTS

6.3.1. Reform Generation

To begin, the Reform generation know so little of the “New Songs” anthology, yet their curiosity is quite strong. University students that I spoke with were generally unfamiliar with the “New Songs” anthology and they almost all laughed or chuckled while reading through the song titles as they appeared to be exaggerated, overly political, and outdated.

Members of the Reform generation generally know very little about the Cultural Revolution; and they know even less about the songs from the period. A female university student stated:

I've only heard of these songs from my parents and grandparents...they talk about it sometimes and sometimes they'll sing some of the songs...all that I really know about the music is that there was no other kind of music at that time, no pop music or anything. Probably the only music I know from that time are the Revolutionary Model Operas.

As a student of politics aspiring to pursue graduate work in the United States, she was extremely diplomatic in explaining how the songs of the Cultural Revolution are neither, "positive or negative, just a phenomenon of that time." She continued to say that the songs are merely a piece of history, and that they really hold no meaning for her personally.

Two male university students with whom I spoke had a similar response. They stated that there is so little in their history books about the Cultural Revolution that anything they know about the period was told to them by parents and grandparents. One student said, "Most parents openly discuss the period but some may not be willing to say anything at all...as kids, we listen as though it is some joke, but for them it is painful and they want us young people to know." The student continued to say that it is hard to know what is true and what is not, but after hearing many people tell the same story it becomes easier to distinguish the truth.

Open-ended survey responses from the Reform generation expressed a common desire to learn more as a way to promote patriotism as well as learning about their country's history:

“I am a student; I didn't experience the Cultural Revolution,
I would still like to hear some of these songs so as not to
forget history.”
(19 year old female student, resident of Shanghai Suburban area)

“(we should) preserve how we were able to excite people;
also it reflects the feeling of people at that time.”
(21 year old male student, resident of Shanghai Suburban area)

“This revolutionary music will help everybody to be more patriotic”
(24 year old company employee, resident of Beijing city)

University students are required to participate in some level of military training throughout their education. The majority of revolutionary songs that the Reform generation know well are those taught during military training. A third-year university student whom I spoke with participated in military training three times (at the age of thirteen, sixteen, and nineteen); she claimed that, “a lot of times a group of us will want to sing together to build some team spirit and be energized, but the only songs we all know are the revolutionary songs so we end up singing those.” While the Reform generation may not be as familiar with the older revolutionary songs, the songs that they are learning today seem to carry on the tradition of the older revolutionary songs in promoting excitement and encouragement. Integrating revolutionary music as part of the formal education in China certainly plays a role in the attitude toward revolutionary songs; two male university students who graduated from one of the most prestigious schools in China (and are currently pursuing graduate degrees in the United States)

articulated, “My friends and I have all received traditional education, we feel good about the country so we aren’t critical of revolutionary songs. Maybe if you asked others who are not in support of the country, they may hate these songs.”

6.3.2. Cultural Revolution Generation

The Cultural Revolution generation have largely positive responses to the “New Songs” anthology and revolutionary music; still, conflicting perspectives do appear. Common responses include, “when I hear this music it takes me back,” or “when I hear this music it makes me very excited.” The desire to hear more of the songs, along with utilizing music as a tool to educate the youth are additional comments that appear with great frequency. One respondent stated, “contrary to today’s music, the revolutionary music of the past was very encouraging and excited people, the media should play some more” (35 year old male company employee resident of Beijing’s suburban area), while another said, “we should play some more of these songs. On the one hand we educate the younger generations, on the other hand we entertain the older generations” (43 year old female unemployed resident of Beijing’s suburban area). Yet another Cultural Revolution generation reported, “Revolutionary music was good, but today's music is also good. Why not let the past be the past? Let it go...they are just something left over from that time” (50 year old female resident of Shanghai city).

A Chinese scholar I spoke with who came of age during the Cultural Revolution emphasized how her age played such an integral role in her personal experience with revolutionary songs:

I was around 10 years old at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution...we were so small, we didn't have anything to do at night so a group of kids would just get together and sing; most of the songs we sang were from the "New Songs" anthology. One unique feature of these songs is that they had songs for everyone, from children to seniors, we all had some revolutionary songs to sing...At that time we frequently had to line up quickly on the street; if we all sang together it helped the group fall into line faster. If we had to sing, we would sing "New Songs." There were endless meetings and we always sang at the meetings; when several groups would come together for a large meeting all of the different groups would each sing a song and see who sang the best...I feel that singing these songs didn't have that strong of a connection to the politics of that time, we were just kids; but I'm sure our parents would have a different reaction.

As I sat with the scholar and her husband in a Beijing McDonald's dining room, the couple competed with one another to tell me the stories of their childhood during the Cultural Revolution. The couple carefully inspected each volume of the anthology and the motion of doing so triggered endless tales of their youth.

Another couple I spoke with was also eager to view the individual volumes and, in a similar fashion, reflected on their youth as they turned through the pages of songs. The wife (a Beijing city business woman) discussed how, despite the hardships of the Cultural Revolution period and all of the political errors, there is something about the songs that still excites her today.

During the Cultural Revolution, we were always in a group, surrounded by others, the group identity was so important and we did everything together. Nowadays,

the city is filled with individuals who are self-absorbed and merely interested in earning more money. There is no longer any group identity. Hearing the “New Songs” brings me back to a really exciting time of my life that was full of energy.

Members of the Cultural Revolution generation commonly begin their statements with the acknowledgement of the serious gravity of the Cultural Revolution period, but then get excited and energetic thinking of the old songs they used to sing:

...although for the country, the Cultural Revolution was a period of difficult memories and history. As a person, I really keep a strong memory of it and the music makes me think of a lot of the past and brings my memories back. I hope someone can start all over to re-arrange accompaniments/styles.
(50 year old female academic, resident of Beijing city)

The shift in reflection from solemn remembrance to overwhelming nostalgia was observed most significantly in the Cultural Revolution generation, though some Socialist generation had similar responses.

6.3.3. Socialist Generation

The significant change of attitude in the Socialist generation is that of a painful remembrance. A woman who left China following the Cultural Revolution to complete her graduate work in the United States communicated to me:

Looking over the songbooks makes me so sad,
to think about all of the young people whose lives
were lost, or disrupted. To think of an entire generation
who had their education thrown away and were sent
out to the countryside, and for what? It is so important
to study these songs and the Cultural Revolution
period so nobody forgets what happened.

Currently teaching at an American University, the professor would often have tears in her eyes as she spoke of the devastation during the Cultural Revolution. In the handful of personal interviews I personally conducted with individuals from the Socialist generation, respondents were less forthcoming (and less excited) to discuss the Cultural Revolution than the respondents from the Cultural Revolution generation. From the limited amount of formal and informal personal interviews conducted with the Socialist generation, it seems as though there is more pain, and less excitement as compared to the Cultural Revolution generation. For this reason, the Socialist generation require a much higher level of trust and familiarity before divulging their personal accounts.

However, based on the public-opinion survey responses alone, open-ended responses from the Socialist generation are rather similar to those of the Cultural Revolution generation. Once again, common responses included, “I still think the old music is good because it helps me remember the past” (62 year old female retiree, resident of Shanghai suburban area), and “we should sing more and more, on television and on the radio to let us remember the past” (66 year old male farmer, resident of Shanghai suburban area). Again, many respondents suggest that the revolutionary songs are publicized more because they, “get people excited,” and are, “...very healthy for spirit and very strong for fighting” (56 year old female academic, resident of Beijing

city). The issue of a group identity surfaces again as one respondent declared, “I personally would really like to be there and be singing in the chorus” (63 year old female, resident of Shanghai city).

6.3.4. Pre-Socialist Generation

Responses from the Pre-Socialist generation are much fewer in number making it difficult to draw any concrete conclusions; however, their general tone is similar to the earlier groups. One respondent considers revolutionary music, to be, “a reflection of that time” (73 year old male, resident of the Beijing Suburban area) and another emphasized the encouraging factor of the music and explained, “When you listen to this music it gets you very excited, I hope to hear it all the time” (75 year old male retiree, resident of Shanghai city). Negative responses still appear, as one person expressed, “all of the revolutionary music is based on the Cultural Revolution, and all of the lyrics are all very dogmatic; they do not fit people’s everyday life” (78 year old male, resident of Shanghai city).

The personal testaments reflect a shared interest in revolutionary music, though each generation maintains their own unique attachment to the songs. For the songs of the Cultural Revolution, clearly the Cultural Revolution generation and Socialist generation have more personal stories to tell and a stronger interest in hearing the songs again. It is of little surprise, therefore, to see how the knowledge and familiarity of the “New Songs” anthology is heightened in the two age groups representative of the youth and young adults during the Cultural Revolution.

The Reform generation, unfamiliar with the Cultural Revolution period as a whole, sees the interest in their parents and grandparents' eyes and they are curious to learn more about their history and their country. The Pre-Socialist generation is a bit more difficult to assess, does their silence stem from a lack of interest, a negative opinion, or merely because of their advanced age? Whatever the reason may be, despite the Pre-Socialist generation's first-hand experience with the Cultural Revolution, they share similar levels of knowledge with the Reform generation who most likely experienced very little to none of the Cultural Revolution period first-hand.

As individuals and groups remember the "New Songs," they reconstruct an image of their past, yet embedded in this reconstruction of the past is the context of their present. Changes in the dissemination of music, changes in Chinese society, and additional contemporary influences all shape the image of the past. In China, many of these changes have occurred only in the past ten to fifteen years.

6.4. CHANGES IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

During the 1990s, a resurgence of revolutionary music occurred when contemporary arrangements of revolutionary music were released and consumed with great popularity. Most prominently featured was the remake of the classic "East is Red." Scholars such as Xiaomei Chen, Mercedes DeJunco, Michael Dutton, Gregory Lee, and Sheldon Lu have examined the sudden resurgence of allegiance to Mao. Generally, these scholars appear to agree that the return to Mao in Post-Modern China may be interpreted as a reaction to contemporary leader Deng Xiaoping and the transformation into an open economy within a socialist society. The flood of

consumer culture into China was an abrupt shock for the older generations with the sudden shift into an individualist and money driven society.

Dutton describes how, “the revolution returns as product” (Dutton 1999: 269) and Dejunco provides further explanation for the sudden “Mao craze” as the increase in earning and buying power in Chinese society led to the ability to, “indulge in nostalgia for the revolutionary years of their youth” (Dejunco 2002: 34). Through interviews with young Chinese, Chen observed:

When asked about the impression they had obtained of the Cultural Revolution from their parents, young people described it as an era when people were sincere, passionate, and enthusiastic about their ideals. The parents characterized the period as free, one in which drugs and prostitution were unknown, with low and stable grocery prices, a low crime rate, and more honest officials. (Chen 1999: 19)

Though my own research suggests that the “East is Red” Mao-craze has passed, the impact of the fad is still felt today. Nearly a decade later, the motivation of the fad remains questionable. Could it be that the return to Mao worshipping was really in protest of Deng Xiaoping? Alternatively, was it merely a surge of consumption for a society that had disposable income for the first time? The 1990s remakes of Cultural Revolution songs and other revolutionary music made a lasting impression upon a large section of contemporary Chinese society (see Figure 6.11); yet when asked which versions they preferred, except for the Reform generation, the majority preferred the originals (see Figure 6.12).

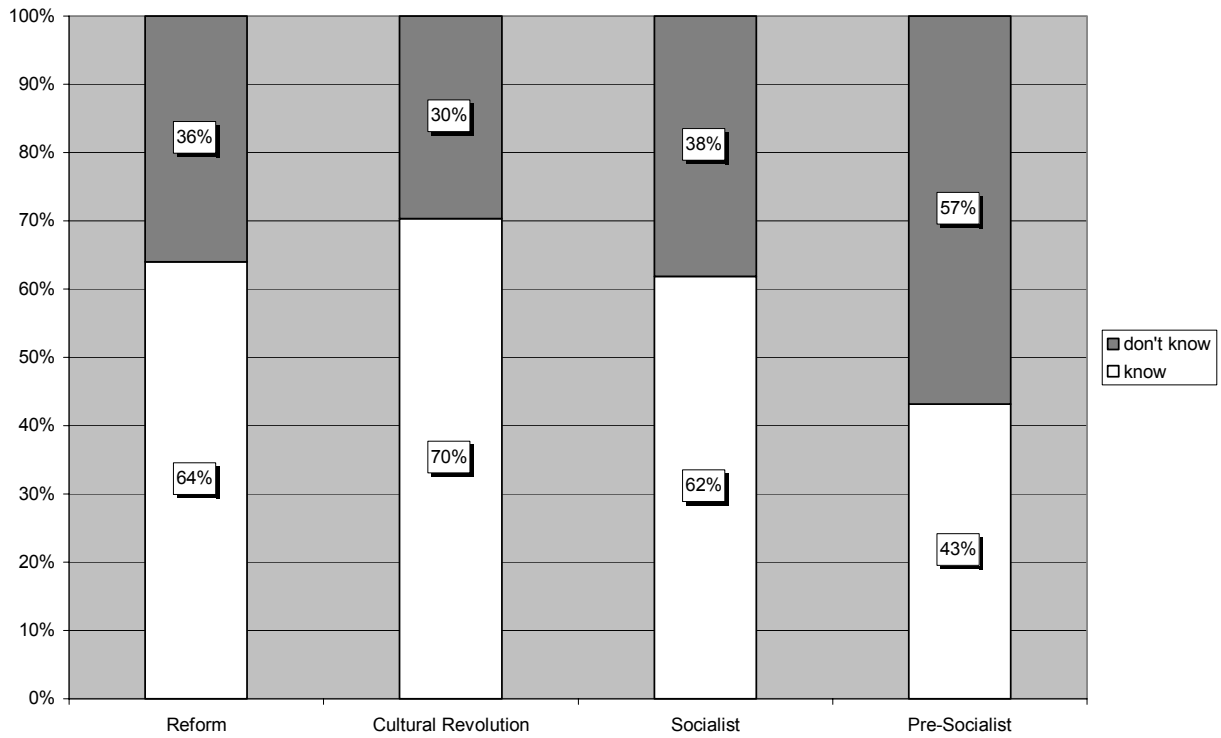


Figure 6.11: Knowledge of Contemporary Re-makes of Revolutionary Songs

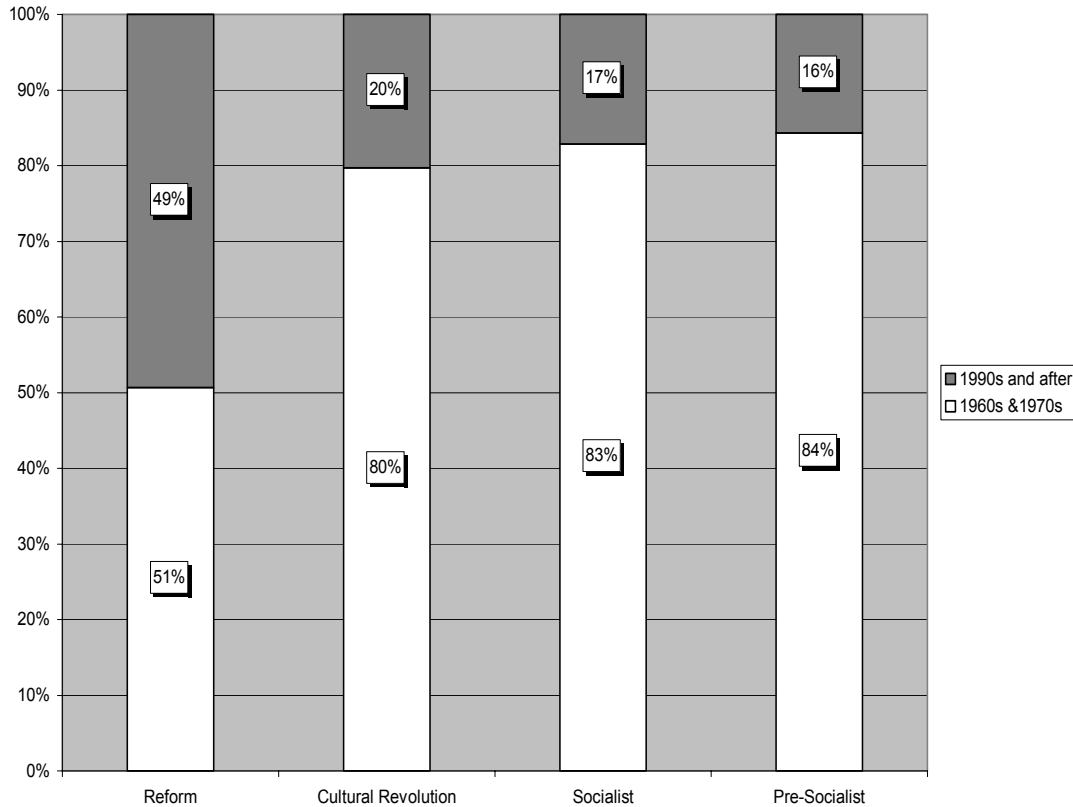


Figure 6.12: “Do you prefer the revolutionary music of the 1960s-1970s or contemporary versions from the 1990s and later?”

The motivation for the 1990s Mao-craze, along with contemporary attitudes in general, are both deeply affected by significant changes in the way music is disseminated and produced in contemporary Chinese society. Respondents commonly refer to the powerful force of the group identity during the Cultural Revolution and contrast it to the individualistic nature of contemporary Chinese society. This shift is not limited to the general outlook of society, but is paralleled in the dissemination and production of revolutionary music as well.

Table 6.6 reveals the context in which revolutionary music was heard in the past and how that has changed today. Because of the young age and contemporary upbringing of the Reform generation, they are excluded from this comparison; the “past” for the Reform generation is far too recent. Furthermore, the difference between the “past” and the “present” for the other three

age groups include unique changes in politics, economics, and technology that are (by and large) part of both the “past” and the “present” for the Reform generation.

Table 6.6: Change in Context Where Revolutionary Music is Heard (excluding Reform Generation)⁴⁶

	PAST	PRESENT
cable radio	179	18
wireless radio	95	36
television and film	25	115
friends & family	32	15
School	23	0
special anniversary events	24	7
public performances	19	16
work unit, military unit, factory, or workplace	11	0
cassettes and records	5	22
Other	11	4
do not hear	0	128
Karaoke	0	50
Oneself	0	13
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES	424	424

The most obvious changes are found in the media, mainly cable radio, wireless radio, and television/film; whereas cable radio and wireless radio have decreased significantly, they appear to have been replaced by the significant increase of television and film. Generalizing⁴⁷ the variety of means by which music is disseminated, the change from past to present is represented in Table 6.7.

⁴⁶ Tables 6.5-6.8 report actual raw numbers reported, not percentages.

⁴⁷ The categories were grouped as follows: Media includes: Cable Radio, Wireless Radio, Television and film, anniversary meetings, public performances and Cassettes/Records; Formal Group includes: School and Work unit; Informal Group includes: Family/Friends and Karaoke.

Table 6.7: General Changes in Context Where Revolutionary Music is Heard

	PAST	PRESENT
Media	347	214
Formal Group	34	0
Informal Group	32	65
Individual	0	13
Other	11	4
Do not Hear	0	128
Total	424	424

Overall, the changes reflect a significant decrease in formal group setting and media that give rise to an increase in informal group, individual settings, and not hearing the music at all. The shift away from an emphasis on the group is accentuated in the comparison of where music was sung in the past and in the present.

Table 6.8 presents the change in the context in which revolutionary music is sung. Drastic decreases appear in school/work unit activities and work unit meetings. Dramatic increases appear in the individual context, not singing at all, and the present context addition of Karaoke.

Table 6.8: Change in Context of Where Revolutionary Music is Sung (excluding Reform Generation)

	PAST	PRESENT
at school/work unit activities	136	19
by oneself	82	115
at work unit meetings	66	4
in music class	22	1
with family & friends	26	37
did not/do not sing	13	120
with military unit	5	0
while listening to broadcasts	3	4
while working	2	0
Karaoke	0	57
other	4	3
do not remember	1	0
no answer	64	64
TOTAL	424	424

Similarly generalizing⁴⁸ the various contexts produces the changes as represented in Table 6.9:

Table 6.9: General Changes in Where Revolutionary Music is Sung (excluding Reform Generation)

	PAST	PRESENT
Formal Group	229	24
Informal Group	26	94
Individual	87	119
Do/Did not Sing	13	120
Other	5	3
No Answer	64	64
	424	424

The significant drop in formal group setting for singing revolutionary songs illustrates the shifting context in which revolutionary songs are sung; again, the decrease in formal group setting is replaced with a large increase of individuals who no longer sing, as well as increases in informal group and individual settings. The basic observations are clearly limited by the scope of the survey and generalizations of data, however, the statistics do provide some basis for comparison to substantiate the claims of a shift in contemporary Chinese society.

6.5. SUMMARY

Understanding the contemporary memory of the “New Songs” anthology requires the evaluation of multiple modes of analysis drawn from a variety of sources. In my research, I have employed data collected from a public opinion survey in addition to personal accounts in order to provide a combination of statistical and personal observations. In the next chapter, I will examine the principal issues that affect how the songs are remembered, how the memories are

⁴⁸ The categories are grouped as follows: Formal Group includes: School/work unit activities, music class, work unit meetings, and military unit; Informal Group includes Family/friends and Karaoke.

constructed, and who remembers them. These issues include age, official thematic categories, music, lyrics, dissemination, and production. Moreover, further analysis will consider how the complexities of contemporary Chinese society may play an even larger role in the impact of these principal issues.

7. MUSIC, MEMORY, AND NOSTALGIA

The “New Songs” anthology were compiled in commemoration of Mao’s 1932 “talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Arts” to implement Mao’s policies for utilizing the arts and literature as a cultural army in the revolution. Appearing during the second half of the Cultural Revolution, the songs were intended to educate the masses in political campaigns while simultaneously promoting official ideologies.

Despite fervent efforts to educate and mobilize the masses, the individual reception of revolutionary music often strayed greatly from its original political intentions. Chapter Six demonstrates how the “New Songs” anthology, though associated with an outdated political and historical context, is still viewed in a positive light. Respondents frequently mention an “encouraging” element in the lyrics of revolutionary songs; in general, attitudes toward the songs revolve around feelings of nostalgia. Furthermore, attitudes and responses appear to fall into two patterns distinguishable by age. Additional analysis reveals that individuals find music to be more memorable and more nostalgic than lyrics and that the nostalgia increases with age. On the other hand, the lyrics are considered to be more encouraging than the music, and this level of encouragement also increases with age.

What accounts for the overwhelming sense of nostalgia that the songs trigger? What is it about the lyrics of revolutionary music that older generations find to be so encouraging? Moreover, just how can the effect of age be explained? In order to examine these questions, I will first address music and lyrics separately as the two main elements of song. Discourses on

music as a powerful vehicle for emotions and memory will demonstrate why this particular means of disseminating revolutionary content had such an emotional and long-lasting impact on individuals. Next, I address the lyrics, generational imprinting, and the Cultural Revolution generation to illustrate how particular meanings and emotions are attributed to the songs along generational lines. Upon this, I will investigate the contemporary context in which the Cultural Revolution is currently being remembered and examine elements of nostalgia to offer suggestions for how the meanings and emotions associated with the “New Songs” anthology are constructed, by whom, and for what reasons.

7.1. MUSIC AND EMOTION, MUSIC AND MEMORY

In my fieldwork experience, I discovered that most individuals do not offer an unsolicited outpour of personal stories or observations regarding the Cultural Revolution. Yet upon flipping through an old song book or reading a few song titles the majority of respondents immediately begin to reminisce about their personal experiences and/or offer personal commentaries on the Cultural Revolution period in general. Thus, the songs frequently serve as a powerful vehicle that triggers an individual’s emotions and memories. What is fascinating is how it may not be the music itself (that is the aural element such as humming a melody or perhaps hearing a recording) but just a song title or a few lyrics alone that elicit an emotional response. Music, more often than not, serves as a reliable means to evoke the memories and emotions of the Cultural Revolution period perhaps otherwise forgotten.

The emotional power of music and its ability to bolster memory has been the subject of much research in a variety of disciplines. In his research on music and nationalism, Ethnomusicologist, Thomas Turino examines music as an indicator of emotion and meaning:

Music, dance, clothing, food, and performative speech,
...typically function semiotically as icons and indices,
and the indexical nature of these media especially augments
their emotional potential (Turino 2000: 174).

What Turino suggests is that music is a compelling mode of indexing, or representing and signifying emotion. Connell and Gibson (2003) refer to the embedded emotion as the “affective investments” in music; they state that meaning is not linked directly to the lyrics or aural elements of music itself but rather in a complex web of the meanings constructed by individuals and groups (Connell and Gibson 2003: 222).

With regard to memory, psychologist Anthony Storr states:

The mnemonic power of music is still evident in modern culture. Many of us remember the words of songs and poems more accurately than we can remember prose. That music facilitates memory has been objectively confirmed by the study of mentally retarded children who can recall more material after it is given to them in a song than after it is read to them as a story (Storr 1992: 21).

The research of Turino, Connell and Gibson, and Storr may be combined to address key issues in music and memory; to begin with, music is recognized as an indicator that has the potential to manifest powerful emotions and that music is also an effective means to increase memory.

Storr examines the emotional potential of music further and identifies a relationship between music and arousal: “Music is said to soothe the savage beast, but it may also powerfully excite it. What seems certain is that there is a closer relation between *hearing* and emotional arousal than there is between *seeing* and emotional arousal” (Storr 1992: 26). I can only imagine the debate that visual artists and others may offer in response; however, Storr continues to discuss how the arousal also intensifies a sense of solidarity and group identity. He provides an example of singing in a chorus and how the natural desire to be in solidarity with others is achieved through such moments of synchronized physiological harmony (Ibid: 7).

In an alternative, yet similar discussion, Rubie Watson emphasizes the physicality of memory and how, “...the visual arts, poetry, memoirs, and novels contribute to memory construction in part because they make us *feel* as well as *think* the past” (Watson 1994: 8). Though Storr focuses on the aural and Watson on the visual, the similarity lies in the appreciation of a physical response to the visual and aural.

In an examination of music and memory in Colombia, Lise Waxer labels recordings as “sound vehicles” for, “through their capacity to reproduce past moments, recordings also become potent triggers for memory in the present” (Waxer 2002: 10). Waxer cites Joseph Roach’s definition of memory as, “a process that operates through selective remembering and forgetting, in which certain objects, images, or personae are substituted for some imagined original located in the past” (Waxer 2002: 11-12).

Similarly, Connell and Gibson submit that, “Music can evoke memories of youth and act as a reminder of earlier freedoms, attitudes, events; its emotive power (in the music itself, and through visual stimuli such as album covers) serves to intensify feelings of nostalgia, regret, or reminiscence” (Connell and Gibson 2003: 223).

Discourses on music and memory reveal two main themes; firstly, that music commonly serves as a vehicle that arouses individuals and that this arousal may be intensified in a group setting. Secondly, that music also serves as a vehicle that stirs up memories of one's past; what is remembered, however, is a selectively constructed re-production of the past.

Re-productions of the past are often constructed similarly among groups that share common features and/or experiences. Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs identifies collective memory as a socially constructed notion and asserts, "While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember" (Halbwachs 1992: 22). Therefore, based upon Halbwachs, collective memory is initially a personal memory, yet personal memory is directly influenced by an individual's relationship to a group.

Connell and Gibson suggest a similar pattern of meaning construction in the identification of the shared experience, "Music is heard in different ways by individuals, and may be emblematic of a particular period, generation, or experience; for those people who shared and enjoyed those same recordings..." (Connell and Gibson 2003: 222). Wheeler emphasizes this personalized meaning one creates with music and asserts, "music has the ability to evoke personal memory, to place something in one's life in a personalized period context" (Wheeler 1996: 336).

Therefore, the songs of the Cultural Revolution serve as a means for eliciting the emotions and memories of the past. The meanings and emotions that an individual experienced during the Cultural Revolution resurface upon listening to a song, reading a songbook, or simply hearing a song title alone. However, in order to fully appreciate the meanings and emotions that

are resurrected, it is of use to address the context of the songs as prescribed by age, in addition to the content of the songs (i.e. the lyrics).

7.2. GENERATIONAL IMPRINTING, CULTURAL REVOLUTION GENERATION, AND REVOLUTIONARY LYRICS

The identification of generation as one means of collective memory is significant in regard to the Cultural Revolution. Primary analyses of the public opinion survey identify trends and patterns among age groups, thereby reinforcing the influence of age on knowledge and attitude toward revolutionary songs. The collective memories of individual generations therefore provide a starting point for observation.

My research demonstrates that there are patterns of memory that coincide along similar age groups; how can the construction of collective memories be explained and how can the various collective memories be distinguished from one another? Sociologists Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott's study on generations and collective memory supports the theory that the political events of one's youth are 'most' significant and 'most' remembered (Schuman and Scott 1989). Furthermore, it is during the general period of ages 17-25 that one's unique character and personal political outlook are developed (Ibid: 359).

Schuman and Scott explain their theory in three-fold: first is that an individual can not remember historical events preceding one's lifetime, second that it is only at this age that one has usually developed the necessary intellectual maturation, and thirdly that the impact of primacy overrides all other experiences; events experienced during adolescences and early adulthood are

registered most strongly (Ibid. 360-1). The only two exceptions discovered in their findings were that of space exploration and the computer; their conclusion suggests that the non-political nature of these events explain the lack of association with age (Ibid. 377-8).

Applying these theories to the Cultural Revolution, it is apparent how the distinct generational imprinting occurred and provides some insight into the contemporary attitudes toward the “New Songs” anthology in particular.

Firstly, as Vivian Wagner points out in an examination of Red Guard songs from the Cultural Revolution the impact of Cultural Revolution propaganda is of an immeasurable magnitude, particularly when it comes to music. Every individual campaign was accompanied by song or song(s) (Wagner 2001: 1-2); individuals in all areas of China were inundated with the select few songs, operas, and movies over a short period of time. The isolation of material disseminated through government media accounts for the high level of saturation. Moreover, the revolutionary language and general tone was of utmost simplicity, utilizing a concise and uniform set of terms and slogans repeated continuously (Perry and Xun 2001: 3).

The emotional impact of the repetition of terms and slogans is reminiscent of Anthony Storr’s critique of Hitler and his propaganda. Storr suggests that the repetitive nature of Hitler’s speeches connected individuals and fostered a sense of unity and group identity:

Considered intellectually, this speech is rubbish. Considered emotionally, its effect was overwhelming. Hitler was using words to reinforce the effect which the music, the banners, the searchlights, and the processions had already induced. He was both arousing his audience and making them experience the same, or closely similar emotions, simultaneously. Over and over again, Hitler stressed the feeling of unity: unity with him,

unity with each other. The language which Hitler used is not the conceptual language which is used for abstract thought or exchange of information. It is rhetoric of a hypnotic persuasiveness, exploiting the basic human need to belong; to feel part of a social group; to be united with one's fellow countrymen (Storr 1992: 47).

To this end, Cultural Revolution propaganda had many similar effects. The continuous repetition of simple terms, slogans, and speeches all fostered a sense of unity and a sense of belonging for individuals to identify with. Wagner accentuates the significance of group identification through the singing of Red Guard songs: "Former Red Guards claimed that singing strengthened their self-confidence, made them more courageous, and fostered group solidarity as well as a sense of community. Through its unifying effect, singing facilitates efforts to distinguish between one's own group and out-groups" (Wagner 2001: 8).

In many ways, the "New Songs" anthology continued along the same course of the Red Guard songs from the early years of the Cultural Revolution. The songs provided a means for individuals, young and old, to join in solidarity to express their commitment and dedication to the Communist Party; and the need to belong to a group and demonstrate one's allegiance to that group was most prevalent in the Cultural Revolution generation.

In addition to establishing one's role within a group, the songs also provided an outlet for excitement and camaraderie. For a young spirit, the songs were one of very few acceptable outlets. In her memoir, *Red China Blues*, Chinese-Canadian Jan Wong describes how revolutionary songs were sung to boost morale and how choirs competing to sing over one another reminded her of a college football rally (Wong, Jan: 1996). Despite the political turmoil

of the nation, the youth were often caught up in the excitement of the energy and thrill of being part of such a mass movement.

Results from the public opinion survey confirm that the lyrics of revolutionary music are considered more encouraging as age increases; put simply, the older the respondent, the more encouraging they report the lyrics to be. The increased level of encouragement may be a result of an individual's first-hand experience in the Cultural Revolution. Something about the first-hand experience in chanting slogans, attending rallies and other group events, adds to the level of excitement and therefore increases the ability of lyrics to encourage. As Schuman and Scott suggest, "...for most of us it is the intersection of personal and national history that provides the most vital and remembered connection to the times we had lived through" (Schuman and Scott 1989: 380). Obviously there is a stronger emotional tie to a memory of an event that one has lived through personally.

The arousing and exciting power of music is not then in the music alone, but it is in combination with the lyrics that the arousal is intensified. As a result, presenting revolutionary lyrics that inspire unity and group identification in a powerfully emotional and memorable medium such as music produces a potent phenomenon. Moreover, the particular emotions and memories associated with the songs are, in fact, directly correlated to specific generations.

7.3. POST CULTURAL REVOLUTION CHINA

Thus far, it has been established that age has an effect on memory construction with a strong emphasis upon an individual's first-hand experience; that is to say, how the past is remembered is deeply effected by an individuals' personal experience and context to that past. Yet another factor must also be considered in the re-construction of the past that occurs in an individual's memory; that is, the present context in which the past is re-constructed. Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs emphasizes that, "...our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present" (Halbwachs 1992: 34). Therefore the present context of contemporary China must be considered when analyzing how individuals remember the Cultural Revolution.

As early as the late 1970s, reproductions of Cultural Revolution and pre-Cultural Revolution films, songs, and books were released in attempts to "recover" the past (Barmé 1999: 318). Just a few years after the end of the Cultural Revolution, individuals already began their attempt to reclaim what they considered to be their "lost past." Gregory Barmé cites the "commercial nostalgic revival of the Cultural Revolution" as beginning in the late 1970s, continuing throughout the 1980s and increasing to its peak in the 1990s (Ibid. 319).

Lu explains the phenomenon as follows: "Popular music as such, thus, has become a vehicle for the common people to express a wide range of complex feelings and sentiments: discontent with the present; a lingering nostalgia for the past; disillusion with both the past and the present" (Lu 1996: 156). Post Cultural Revolution China has been overwhelmed with economic and political reforms, leaving contemporary Chinese society in the midst of tremendous change in their daily lifestyle. Each individual accepts or rejects these changes in

their own way; however, much of the older generations have found it difficult to accept the drastic economic reforms and increase in materialism. Lu proposes that the return of allegiance to Mao in the 1990s was driven by older generations' dissatisfaction with Deng Xiaoping (Lu 1996: 156). Lu explains further that the older generations' nostalgia for Mao, and life under Mao, is, "...directly related to the fact that their childhood and youth were spent, and 'lost,' in the heyday of Mao worship" (Ibid.).

Scholars have recently begun examining the generation of "Sent-Down Youth" [*zhishi qingnian*], a particular group of the Cultural Revolution generation who spent their influential years away from their families working throughout rural China (see Yang 2003 and 2000).⁴⁹ Beginning in the late 1970s and continuing throughout the 1980s, the "Sent-Down Youth" began returning to the cities; soon after, they began sharing their experiences through what is often labeled as the "Literature of the Wounded" (see Gold 1980 and McLaren 1979). By the 1990s, the "Sent-Down Youth" began shifting their perspective and focus of their experiences during the Cultural Revolution from reporting tales of suffering into an overwhelming nostalgia. For this generation, the economic, political, and social changes they have experienced as adults in contemporary China are exceedingly different than their experiences as adolescents. As sociologist Guobin Yang explains, "Nostalgia connects individuals to their past, compels them to articulate their generational experience in narratives, and contrasts a past viewed as containing beauty, meaning, and purpose with a present increasingly dominated by economic inequality and instrumental rationality" (Yang 2003: 267).

⁴⁹ With the majority of schools and universities closed down during the Cultural Revolution, the cities were overwhelmed with students. In order to ease the burden on the urban scene, the government employed a campaign to send the youth out to the countryside to learn from the peasants. The "Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside" [*Shangshan Xiexiang*] campaign resulted in tens of thousands of students moving out to rural areas throughout China for manual labor in rural farming communities, state farms and/or state factories. Many families were separated by great distances and the majority of students did not return to the cities until the end of the Cultural Revolution (Li 1995: 396-7).

By and large, as more time passes the older generations, including the “Sent-Down Youth,” look back at the Cultural Revolution period (and similarly with life under Mao) as a time when life was much simpler than the complexities of contemporary Chinese society. Geremie Barmé describes how many individuals reflect upon the period as one of “simple emotions and plain living” (Barmé 1999: 323-4). The return to a “simpler” lifestyle goes hand in hand with the older generations’ reminiscence of their childhood and youth:

During the 1990s, the mainland experienced many facets of totalitarian nostalgia. The childhood and adolescence of socialist China, the 1950s and 1960s, was imbued with a romantic incandescence; it became a hazy past that was reflected in revived heroic films and mass culture that depicted a national youthfulness and vitality (Barmé 1999: 343).

The concept of “totalitarian nostalgia” that Barmé mentions will be addressed in the following section; for now it is important to recognize how an individual’s experience in contemporary Chinese society may influence how they choose to remember their past.

The nostalgic reflection of the Cultural Revolution era and life under Mao is one of the more common and popular responses, particularly during the 1990s; yet alternative interpretations or modes of reflection certainly do exist. English language publications of personal memoirs from individuals who survived the Cultural Revolution began appearing in North America in the 1980s and gained in volume throughout the 1990s. The vast amount of memoirs published is far too extensive to list here, but some of the more well-known accounts include: *Life and Death in Shanghai* (Cheng 1986), *Wild Swans* (Chang, J. 1991), *Red Azalea* (Min 1994), and *Red Scarf Girl* (Jiang 1997). Much of the literature exposed tragic first-hand

accounts of loss and suffering endured by individuals and their families during the Cultural Revolution.

By the late 1990s, scholars started to analyze the personal testaments in a new light; the observations provide an alternative perspective and critique of both the Cultural Revolution experience itself, and how it is represented. One example is the collection of essays entitled, *Some of Us* edited by Xueping Zhong (2001), the essays focus upon the “intersection between ‘official ideology’ and ‘lived experience’” (Zhong et al. 2001: XVII). The authors attempt to provide an alternate perspective of life under Mao, as urban women who endured the Cultural Revolution and went on to establish themselves as academics throughout North America. The approach is a drastic departure from the earlier accounts that focused upon loss, pain, and suffering.

In a similar fashion, my research on the “New Songs” anthology attempts to identify the contradiction in the official party line and western critique with actual individual experience. In no way am I suggesting that the high-spirited youth were naïve or numb to the tragedies and hardships of the historic period; rather, the songs of one’s youth more often than not trigger the memories of a youthful spirit before recollecting some outdated political campaign.

Complete analysis of the shifting waves in memoir writing of the Cultural Revolution deserves a more complete and thorough study; however, the influence of the contemporary context is somewhat similar to the shifts in attitudes toward revolutionary music and the “New Songs” anthology. In the years following the Cultural Revolution, individuals who endured the Cultural Revolution and began a new life in North America were able to share their stories with the English speaking world, often times emphasizing their role as victim or survivor depending upon their perspective. With both time and distance, scholars and writers are beginning to take

responsibility for how their experiences are represented in the west and contemporary analyses of the Cultural Revolution now consider such issues as memory, emotion, class, education, and gender.

To this end, how the past is remembered is a complex web of not only the past but also the present. The contemporary context of the nation, the group, and the individual all influence how an individual or generation chooses to remember their past. Therefore, it is imperative to take the contemporary context of an individual, their group (be it generational or other) and their environment in order to analyze memory construction.

7.4. NOSTALGIA

In examining the contemporary knowledge and attitudes of the “New Songs” anthology, a number of themes frequently surface; perhaps the most prevalent of these is the concept of nostalgia. Gregory Barmé defines nostalgia as, “a longing for or painful yearning to return home” (Barmé 1999: 317) and, “a condition of being lost to a familiar abode, an exile from home and, as such, is said to be closely related to the homing instinct”(Ibid).

In *The Future of Nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym identifies two types of nostalgia related to the two parts of the word itself. The first is a restorative nostalgia, coming from the *nostos* part of the word indicating a return home. The second is a reflective nostalgia, from the *algia* of nostalgia indicating “longing” (Boym 2001: xiii). Boym states, “At first glance, nostalgia is a longing for a place, but actually it is a yearning for a different time-the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams. In a broader sense, nostalgia is rebellion against the modern idea

of time, the time of history and progress” (ibid: xv). Frequently, the nostalgia is a longing for a past that never even existed.

In her work on nostalgia and the Japanese popular song, Enka, Christine Yano identifies nostalgia as a variable cultural practice; her specific research demonstrates how music invokes a collective memory of the nation’s painful past (Yano 2002: 14). Also in contrast to their contemporary context, Japanese audiences find great comfort in the longing for a constructed past of simple, raw and powerful emotions (Ibid: 182).

Three key themes underline all of these definitions of nostalgia: a means to create a site of memory, a new way of imagining communities, and as a recovery of past emotions. Nostalgia as a means to create a site of memory is an attempt to construct some meaning for past experiences and emotions in light of one’s current environment. As Barmé puts it:

Nostalgia is a central feature in how people form, maintain, and reconstruct a sense of self and the place of the individual in the world. Nostalgia develops usually in the face of present fears, disquiet about the state of affairs, and uncertainty about the future. Confronted with social anomie and disjuncture, nostalgia provides a sense of continuity (Barmé 1999: 319).

Nostalgia therefore surfaces amidst confusion as a means of clarifying and positioning oneself and one’s identity.

Nostalgia as a new way of imagining communities expands on the issue of defining one’s identity and place in the world by emphasizing the powerful and dynamic element of shared experience (Sant Cassia 2000: 299). The dramatic events of the Cultural Revolution are

undoubtedly a point for individuals to identify with one another and discover a sense of solidarity in the common personal history.

Nostalgia as a recovery of past emotions often stems from a sense of loss, as perceived either in the past or in the present. Here the past emotions are recovered to resurrect a feeling of survival having endured great hardship, or alternatively to resurrect feelings of joy and simplicity that are no longer present in an individual's lifestyle. In either case, the longing or yearning element of nostalgia remains true.

The nostalgia for the "new songs" anthology and revolutionary music in general, manifests all three of these themes. In the changing times of the 1990s, and into the twenty-first century, economic reforms in China have resulted in a rapidly changing lifestyle for urban Chinese. Confronted with a changing environment, older generations experience a sense of loss or confusion and search into their past for the familiar. The past, be it positive or negative, provides signposts for an individual's sense of self and as a result offer meaning to the present. Nostalgia as a site of memory is therefore fueled by the change in contemporary society.

In the search for one's past and the familiar, it is often the shared past, the collective memory that is so powerful. I have demonstrated in this dissertation, that particularly in the case of the Cultural Revolution, the intense shared experience unites individuals and allows them to identify with a group. Furthermore, when comparing the average individual's lifestyle during the Cultural Revolution and today, there is an overwhelming shift from group participation to that of the individual. The shift serves as a key impetus for nostalgia for the past; a yearning for the imagined community of the past when confronted with contemporary individualism.

As a recovery of past emotions, nostalgia for the Cultural Revolution seeks to remove the pain (contrary to Yano's study of Enka and the conjuring of the painful past). Though some individuals still mourn the loss and tragedy endured in their past, a great majority of individuals look to the period in search of recovering emotions of solidarity, camaraderie and simplicity. Moreover, music is what commonly triggers this sense of nostalgia. The emotional power of music and the meanings which individuals construct surrounding music allows basic emotions to be carried through the otherwise complex web of politics and history. In this sense, the nostalgia is an attempt to recover the positive emotions of the past, but not necessarily an attempt to recreate or rebuild the past.

7.5. Music, Memory, and Nostalgia in Post-Cultural Revolution China

In conclusion we return to the questions posed at the beginning of the chapter; these questions may be summarized as follows:

1. How do the songs trigger such a strong sense of nostalgia?
2. What role does age play in the construction of collective memories?
3. Why do older generations find lyrics to be so encouraging?
4. How can the nostalgia be explained?
5. How can the individual reception of revolutionary music stray so greatly from its intended function?

In a general sense, the emotive power of music may be cited to support how and why the songs trigger such a strong sense of nostalgia. The semiotic function of music allows individuals to

attach their own individual meanings to music and/or sound. Doing so often facilitates memory as well, thereby creating a powerful signifier for an individual; hearing a few notes or reading a few lines of a song may then spark a powerful and personal emotional response. In addition to music serving as a memory aid, music has also been identified as a means of arousing individuals; the heightened emotional response to music enhances and strengthens an individual's memory.

An individual's age (especially their association to a particular generation) plays a leading role in the construction of collective memories. Sociologists Schuman and Scott have identified the effects of generational imprinting and conclude that an individual's experiences as a youth remain prominent in one's memory for the remainder of their life. First hand experience deeply affects an individual's memory as the full context of an event, including one's emotional response, is difficult to convey once the moment has passed. During the Cultural Revolution, the repetitive propaganda and energetic fervor deeply influenced an individual's emotional response to music. The revolutionary language, such as the lyrics to songs in the "New Songs" anthology, had a striking impact particularly on the youth; the lyrics, as presented through the medium of music, inspired individuals and provided a means for group identification. This context is difficult to reproduce or appreciate in contemporary Chinese society. The multifaceted emotional atmosphere of the Cultural Revolution is therefore embedded in an individual's response to revolutionary music.

The impact of first hand experience and context in general may explain why older generations find lyrics to be so encouraging. As age increases, music is found to trigger nostalgia and lyrics inspire encouragement; the two observations are complementary in that the older generations have more emotional meanings attached to music and lyrics than the younger

generations. Furthermore, in addition to the first hand experiences of the Cultural Revolution context, the older generations are simultaneously negotiating their present context in contemporary China. Since the older generations have a larger pool of experiences to draw upon, there is a marked contrast of past and present contexts.

What then, is the nostalgia which individuals say the songs trigger? Inherent in the term itself is a longing to recover some element(s) of the past. What is it that individuals long for about the Cultural Revolution and what instigates their desire? I propose that for the Cultural Revolution generation the period was an extremely emotional and energetic period that coincided with their prime period of maturation. Therefore, the events are remembered most significantly and often most fondly. The camaraderie, group participation, and energy of the Cultural Revolution are difficult to find in contemporary Chinese society; thus in attempt to negotiate one's identity in contemporary China, the constructed memory of an energetic youth provides an individual with comfort and thereby trigger waves of nostalgia. The type of nostalgia is similar to Boym's concept of "reflective nostalgia" in the longing for the past, as opposed to "restorative nostalgia" where there is attempt to restore the past.

How can the individual reception of revolutionary music stray so greatly from its intended function? It results from a complex web of parts including the emotive power of music, its ability to aid in memory construction, generational imprinting, contemporary Chinese society and nostalgia. Put simply, it is both the past and present contexts that determine how various meanings are created in different generations. The sense of nostalgia is strongest in the youth of the Cultural Revolution because they experienced the events at such an influential period of their life. Additionally, contemporary Chinese society and an individual's personal and political outlook also affect how they construct memories of the past.

The “New Songs” anthology was an attempt to mobilize the masses, educating them on political campaigns and official ideologies via forms and styles already familiar and accessible to them; however, it appears as though the signs and symbols themselves (i.e. the music and melodies) are remembered above and beyond the political content itself. How the songs are remembered today and who remembers them demonstrate that the Cultural Revolution generation have attached deeply emotional meanings to the music; in their contemporary lives, the music provokes memories of childhood and youth otherwise untapped.

8. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation provides original documentation of the “New Songs” anthology, examination of the individual reception, and analysis of the contemporary memory of the songs. Through primary research based upon source materials, formal, and informal interviews, the dissertation investigates five main research questions.

The first question asks, “How is the “New Songs” anthology situated within the development of revolutionary music in contemporary China?” Analysis has shown that the “New Songs” anthology has left a significant impact upon contemporary Chinese society. The “New Songs” anthology included a number of revolutionary songs from earlier historical periods, yet also provided a large number of new songs specifically for the Cultural Revolution. The “New Songs” anthology continued the tradition of using music to promote political ideologies and political campaigns, yet the scale and intensity was taken to all new levels during the Cultural Revolution. Contemporary re-makes of older revolutionary songs demonstrates the contemporary continuation of utilizing musical forms popular among the masses to promote political ideologies; however, the intensity of the Cultural Revolution period is beyond comparison.

The second question asks, “What is the thematic, textual and musical construction of the “New Songs” anthology?” This dissertation divides the “New Songs” anthology thematically into six categories:

1. Chinese Communist Party Classics
2. Praise Songs, Battle Songs, Songs of Political Campaigns
3. Songs of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers
4. Songs of the Ethnic Nationalities
5. Songs of the Youth and Children's Songs
6. Songs of International Relations

Furthermore, the first category of CCP Classics may be sub-divided into “Historic Revolutionary Songs,” “Revolutionary Folk Songs,” and “Mao Poetry Songs.”

Both textual and musical construction are generally simplistic in their revolutionary form and content though exceptions do occur. Some of the most popular songs from the “New Songs” anthology are more advanced musical compositions that stray from the simplistic revolutionary form of mass songs. Additionally, one of the defining characteristics of the anthology is its compilation of songs composed by both professional and amateur musicians throughout China.

The third question, “How and why do the songs today continue to trigger specific moments and emotions in an individual’s memory?” is a complex question addressing issues of the emotional power of music, music and memory, as well as the contrast between Cultural Revolution society and Contemporary Chinese society. The semiotic function of music is known to be a powerful vehicle, particularly in connection with individual and collective memory. The songs today serve as signposts for an individual’s emotions and memory of a time past; and music, in particular, transports an individual to a past time and place, but also resurrects the specific emotional past as well.

The fourth question, “How and why do different generations construct meanings of memory and nostalgia associated with the songs?” may be explained through studies of generational imprinting and collective memories. How the Cultural Revolution is remembered is

closely linked to the particular age of the individual. Through an examination of the four key generations (Reform, Cultural Revolution, Socialist, and Pre-Socialist), the dissertation demonstrates how the individual's coming of age, paired with the socio-political context of their youth dictates their interpretation of the past.

The final question asks, "How is it that songs from a tragic period in modern Chinese history now inspire overwhelming nostalgia?" The question is an amalgamation of the first four questions situated in the context of contemporary Chinese society. First, the semiotic function of music results in individuals attaching emotional memories to the songs. Second, the emotions and attitudes of individuals differ depending on the socio-political backdrop of their youth, adolescence, and contemporary life. Third, for the Cultural Revolution generation, the emotions and memories of the Cultural Revolution are the memories of their childhood; despite the hardships and struggles endured during that period, the time is remembered positively in light of their confusion with the changes in contemporary Chinese society. It is only after examining all of these aspects that an answer may be proposed to the final question.

GLOSSARY

Baizu (Bai Nationality)	白族
Beijing	北京
bian (editorial term)	编
biaoyanchang	表演唱
bing	兵
Buyizu (Buyi Nationality)	布依族
Chaoxianzu (Korean Nationality)	朝鲜族
Cheng Tan	程坦
chijiao yisheng	赤脚医生
chong xin gai (editorial term)	重新改
chong xin tianci (editorial term)	重新填词
da (strike)	打
da (big/great)	大
dang	党
daoqing	道情
daqing	大庆
Dazhai	大寨
difang xing	地方性姓
dong fang hong	东方红
Dongzu (Dong Nationality)	侗族
dou	斗
duchang	独唱
duichang	对唱
erhu	二胡
ertong biaoyanchang	儿童表演唱
ertong chang	儿童唱
ertong duichang	儿童对唱
ertong ge	儿童歌
ertong gequ	儿童歌曲
gao	高
Gao Shiheng	高士衡
gai (editorial term)	改
gaibian (editorial term)	改变

gang	钢
gechang	歌唱
geming	革命
geminghua, minzhuhua, qunzhonghua	革命化, 民族化, 群众化
geming lishi gequ	革命历史歌曲
geming lishi minge	革命历史民歌
geyao	歌谣
gong	工
gongnongbing	工农兵
gongshe	公社
Guan Xuchang	关绪昌
guowuyuan wenhuazu	
geming gequ zhengji xiaozubian	国务院文化组革命歌曲征集小组编
guowuyuan wenhuazu	
wenyi chuangzuo lingdao xiaozubian	国务院文化组文艺创作领导小组编
Hanizu (Hani Nationality)	哈尼族
Hasakezu (Kazak Nationality)	哈萨克族
He Zhaohua	何兆华
hong	红
hongbaoshu	红宝书
hongxiaobing	红小兵
jinghu	京胡
Jin Guolin	金果临
Jin Yueling	金月苓
jun	军
Li Dequan	李德全
Li Jiefu	李劫夫
lishi beijing	历史背景
Liu Yan	刘岩
Li Youyuan	李有源
Lizu (Li Nationality)	黎族
Maiozu (Miao Nationality)	苗族
Mai Xin	麦新
Menguzu (Mongolian Nationality)	蒙古族
nannü ertong chang	男女儿童唱
nannüsheng duichang	男女声对唱
nannü xiaohechang	男女小合唱
nansheng biao yan chang	男声表演唱
nansheng duchang	男声独唱
nansheng hechang	男声合唱
nansheng xiaohechang	男声小合唱

nanzhongyin duchang	男中音独唱
Nie Er	聂耳
nong	农
nü	女
nügaoyin duchang	女高音独唱
nüsheng ertong chang	女声儿童唱
nüsheng biao yanchang	女声表演唱
nüsheng duchang	女声独唱
nüsheng hechang	女声合唱
nüsheng qichang	女声齐唱
nüsheng tanchang	女声弹唱
nüsheng xiaohechang	女声小合唱
pilin pikong yundong	批林批孔运动
qi	旗
Qiangzu (Qiang Nationality)	羌族
qianjin	前进
qingnian	青年
renmin	人民
renmin ribao	人民日报
renmin wenxue chubanshe	人民文学出版社
renmin yinyue chubanshe	人民音乐出版社
Sai Ke	塞克
sanhua	三化
sanjiehe	三结合
shan duichang	山对唱
shang	上
Shanghaishi gongren wenhuagong wenyi xuexiban ciqu	上海市工人文化宫文艺学习班词曲
Shen Yawei	沈亚威
shaoshan	韶山
Shezu (She Nationality)	畲族
shidai beijing	时代背景
shengli	胜利
shijian xing	时间性
Shuizu (Shui Nationality)	水族
songge	颂歌
Tian Han	田汉
tie	铁
taiyang	太阳
tianci (editorial term)	填词
tiantian du	天天读

tongsheng ertongchang	童声儿童唱
tuanjie	团结
Tujiazu (Tujia Nationality)	土家族
Wang Shuangyin	王双印
Wazu (Wa Nationality)	佤族
weida	伟大
wei maozhuxici puqu	为毛主席词谱曲
women	我们
Xian Xinghai	冼星海
xiao hechang	小合唱
xin	新
xiugai (editorial term)	修改
xue	学
xiang	向
yang	阳
yangbanxi	样板戏
Yaozu (Yao Nationality)	瑶族
yeyu	业余
yulu ge	语录歌
Yu Wen	郁文
Zangzu (Tibetan Nationality)	藏族
zanmen	咱们
zhan	战
Zhandi Xinge	战地新歌
“Zhandi Xinge” bianxian xiaozubian	“战地新歌”编选小组编
zhange	战歌
Zhang Hanhui	张寒晖
zhanshi	战士
Zhao Qihai	赵启海
zhengli (editorial term)	整理
zhi	指
zhishi qingnian	知识青年
Zhuangzu (Zhuang Nationality)	壮族
zhuan ye	专业
Zongzheng Xuanchuan Chuangzuozu	总政宣传队创作组
zuguo	祖国

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL CHINESE LANGUAGE SURVEY

ID:

受访者姓名: _____

联系电话: _____

☺访问员承诺:

- ◇ 我清楚本人的访问态度对调查结果的影响;
- ◇ 我保证本份问卷的各项资料都是由我本人按照公司规定的访问程序进行访问和记录的, 绝对真实无欺;
- ◇ 我知道若发现一份作假, 本人访问的所有问卷将全部作废, 并需对因此而给公司造成的损失作出赔偿。

访问员签字: _____ 访问员代号: _____/005 学校名称: _____

问卷一审: _____

问卷二审: _____

您好,我是零点公司的访问员我们正在进行一项关于文化大革命时期的革命歌曲的研究,想了解一下您对这些革命歌曲的了解及亲身感受。您的说法没有对错之分,只要是您的真实感受和看法,对您的回答我们将绝对保密,谢谢您的合作。

G1. 请问您在上海(北京)居住多长时间了。

3年以下..... 1 3年及以上..... 2

G2. 请问您现在的周岁年龄是_____岁【请访问员记录受访者实际年龄的具体数字】

18岁以下.....1【表示感谢,终止访问】 18-42岁.....2

43-52岁.....3 53-62岁.....4

62岁以上.....5

G3. 文化大革命时期有一本革命歌曲集,叫做“战地新歌”,您有听说过吗?

听过.....1

没有听过..... 2

G4. 下面我会读出一些“战地新歌”这本歌曲集中有的部分歌曲的名字,您看看您是否知道这些歌曲,是否会唱这些歌曲。

【请访问员依次询问受访者对每首歌曲的熟悉程度】如:“采药”这首歌您知道吗?如受访者“不知道”则直接记录1。

“知道”则追问:您会唱这首歌吗?——“不会”记录2,——“会”则记录3。

	不知道	知道	会唱(熟悉)
1、北京颂歌	1	2	3
2、阿瓦人民唱新歌	1	2	3
3、无产阶级文化大革命就是好	1	2	3
4、把批林批孔斗争进行到底	1	2	3
5、沿着社会主义大道奔前方	1	2	3
6、歌唱我们的新西藏	1	2	3

7、保卫祖国，建设边疆	1	2	3
8、马查拉工人学大庆	1	2	3
9、草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席	1	2	3
10、七亿人民七亿兵	1	2	3
11、英姿飒爽女电工	1	2	3
12、钢铁洪流永向前	1	2	3
13、采蚝姑娘学大寨	1	2	3
14、赤脚医生向阳花	1	2	3
15、我爱北京天安门	1	2	3
16、我们怀念台湾小朋友	1	2	3
17、知识青年下乡来	1	2	3
18、我们是亲爱的好朋友	1	2	3
19、全世界人民一定胜利	1	2	3
20、第三世界团结起来	1	2	3
21、大海航行靠舵手	1	2	3
22、翻身道情	1	2	3
23、山丹丹开花红艳艳	1	2	3
24、三大纪律八项注意	1	2	3

都不知道.....

【对 G3 题选 2 者表示感谢，终止访问】

G5. 你所知道的这些歌曲中，你最喜欢或你记忆更深的是哪一只歌？

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1、北京颂歌 | 9、草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席 | 17、知识青年下乡来 |
| 2、阿瓦人民唱新歌 | 10、七亿人民七亿兵 | 18、我们是亲爱的好朋友 |
| 3、无产阶级文化大革命就是好 | 11、英姿飒爽女电工 | 19、全世界人民一定胜利 |
| 4、把批林批孔斗争进行到底 | 12、钢铁洪流永向前 | 20、第三世界团结起来 |
| 5、沿着社会主义大道奔前方 | 13、采蚝姑娘学大寨 | 21、大海航行靠舵手 |
| 6、歌唱我们的新西藏 | 14、赤脚医生向阳花 | 22、翻身道情 |
| 7、保卫祖国，建设边疆 | 15、我爱北京天安门 | 23、山丹丹开花红艳艳 |
| 8、马查拉工人学大庆 | 16、我们怀念台湾小朋友 | 24、三大纪律八项注意 |

G6. 在您所知道的所有革命歌曲中，您认为在文革中最流行的是哪首歌呢？其次呢？再次呢？

- | 最流行 | 其次 | 再次 |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1、北京颂歌 | 9、草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席 | 17、知识青年下乡来 |
| 2、阿瓦人民唱新歌 | 10、七亿人民七亿兵 | 18、我们是亲爱的好朋友 |
| 3、无产阶级文化大革命就是好 | 11、英姿飒爽女电工 | 19、全世界人民一定胜利 |
| 4、把批林批孔斗争进行到底 | 12、钢铁洪流永向前 | 20、第三世界团结起来 |
| 5、沿着社会主义大道奔前方 | 13、采蚝姑娘学大寨 | 21、大海航行靠舵手 |
| 6、歌唱我们的新西藏 | 14、赤脚医生向阳花 | 22、翻身道情 |
| 7、保卫祖国，建设边疆 | 15、我爱北京天安门 | 23、山丹丹开花红艳艳 |
| 8、马查拉工人学大庆 | 16、我们怀念台湾小朋友 | 24、三大纪律八项注意 |

G7. 从前您是怎么学会这些歌的呢?

【若受访者选了多项则追问】那您最主要从哪学的呢? 其次呢? 再次呢?【依次排序】

- 自己识谱自学.....1 音乐课上学的.....4
 家人/朋友教唱2 其它-----【请注明】
 学校/单位组织学唱..... 3

排序: _____

G8. 从前您是在哪里听过这些歌?

【若受访者选了多项则追问】那您最常在哪儿听到呢? 其次呢? 再次呢?【依次排序】

- 有线广播.....1 特别的会议场合.....5
 收音机.....2 听家人/朋友唱..... 6
 电视.....3 其它-----【请注明】
 公开演出.....4

排序: _____

G9. 从前您通常是在哪种情况下唱这些歌?

【若受访者选了多项则追问】那您最常什么情况下唱呢? 其次呢? 再次呢? ...【依次排序】

- 一个人自娱自乐.....1 音乐课上学唱.....4
 朋友/家人聚会时2 单位开会时.....5
 学校/单位组织活动时3 其它-----【请注明】

排序: _____

G10. 现在您还能在哪里听过这些歌?

【若受访者选了多项则追问】那您最常在哪儿听到呢? 其次呢? 再次呢?【依次排序】

- 有线广播.....1 听家人/朋友唱..... 6
 收音机.....2 卡拉OK里..... 7
 电视.....3 饭店 8
 公开演出.....4 其它-----【请注明】
 特别的会议场合.....5

排序: _____

G11. 现在您通常是在哪种情况下唱这些歌?

【若受访者选了多项则追问】那您最常什么情况下唱呢? 其次呢? 再次呢? ...【依次排序】

- 一个人自娱自乐.....1 单位开会时.....5
 朋友/家人聚会时2 卡拉OK里..... 6
 学校/单位组织活动时3 饭店 7
 音乐课上学唱.....4 其它-----【请注明】

排序: _____

G12. 通常我们细分一下的话, 可以将一首歌曲分为音乐(曲、旋律)和歌词两部分, 当您现在听到这些革命歌曲的旋律(音乐)时, 您会有什么样的感觉, 可以用一个什么样的词来形容这种感觉?

当您听到这些革命歌曲的歌词时, 又会有什么样的感觉? 可以用一个什么样的词来形容?

	对音乐的感觉	对歌词的感觉
怀旧的	1	1

鼓舞人心的	2	2
充满希望的	3	3
悲伤的	4	4
愤怒的	5	5
痛苦的	6	6

其他【请注明】

G13. 在您看来，这些革命歌曲是它的歌词还是它的音乐或者说旋律更容易让人记住？

歌词.....1

音乐（旋律）.....2

G14. 90年代初的时候曾经有一批音乐人对象“红太阳”、“南泥湾”等这些革命歌曲进行了重新的编曲，并流行了一段时间，您知道这个事情吗？

知道.....1 不知道.....2

G15. 您比较喜欢六、七十年代的革命歌曲风格还是九十年代以后重新处理后的新的革命歌曲风格？

六、七十年代.....1 九十年代以后.....2

G16. 请访员记录受访者性别：

男.....1 女.....2

G17. 请问您的最高学历是：

没有受过正式教育.....	1	中专/技校.....	5
小学.....	2	大专或大学非本科.....	6
初中.....	3	大学本科或以上.....	7
高中.....	4		

G18a. 请问您目前的职业是：

公务员.....	1	教育/科研机构人员.....	8
公司管理人员.....	2	自由职业者.....	9
公司普通职员.....	3	文艺工作者.....	10
工人.....	4	学生.....	11
农民.....	5	下岗/待业.....	12
服务业员工.....	6		
医疗机构人员.....	7	其他【请注明】 13	

G18b. 请问您的政治面貌是：

中共党员.....	1
共青团员.....	2
民主党派.....	3
群众.....	4

G19. 总体说来，您对生活状况满意吗，是非常满意、比较满意、不太满意还是非常不满意呢？

非常满意.....	5
比较满意.....	4
一般【不读出】.....	3
不太满意.....	2
非常不满意.....	1
说不清或拒答【不读出】.....	9

G20. 您估计五年后您的生活会有什么变化，是会变得很好、会好一些、会差一些、会变得很差还是不会有什么变化呢？

- 会变得很好 5
- 会好一些 4
- 不会有什么变化【不读出】 3
- 会差一些 2
- 会变得很差 1
- 说不清【不读出】 9

G21. 对于革命歌曲，您还有什么其他的想法吗？

* 访问到此结束，谢谢您的合作！

APPENDIX B

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SURVEY

1. How many years have you lived in Beijing/Shanghai:
 less than 3 years more than 3 years

2. What is your current age?
[examiner: please put the respondent's age into the appropriate category]
 Under 18 **[express thanks and end the survey]**
 18-42 43-52
 53-62 62 and up

3. During the period of the Cultural Revolution there was an anthology of Revolutionary Songs known as, "New Songs of the Battlefield," have you heard of this anthology?
 Yes No

4. I will list some songs that are from the "New Songs of the Battlefield" anthology, please see if you recognize any of the songs. If you do recognize the song, can you sing it?
[examiner: please ask in succession the level of the respondent's familiarity with each song] for example: "picking medicine" do you know this song? If respondent says "I don't know" mark 1, if respondent says "I know it" then continue on to ask: "can you sing this song?" if respondent replies "no" mark 2, if "yes" mark 3

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Song #1 | Song in Praise of Beijing |
| Song#2 | Awa People Sing New Songs |
| Song#3 | The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good |
| Song#4 | Carry the Struggle Against Lin Biao and Confucious to the End |
| Song#5 | Advance Quickly Along the Big Road of Socialism |
| Song#6 | Sing in Praise of our New Tibet |
| Song#7 | Defend our Country, Build the Frontier |
| Song#8 | The Workers of Machala Learn From Daqing |
| Song#9 | Red Guards on the Grasslands met Chairman Mao |
| Song#10 | Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers |
| Song#11 | Bright and Brave Female Electrical Workers |

- Song#12 The Powerful Current of Iron and Steel Moves Forward Forever
- Song#13 Oyster Picking Girls Learn From Dazhai
- Song#14 Barefoot Doctors are Sunflowers
- Song#15 I Love Beijing's Tiananmen
- Song#16 We Cherish the Memory of the Children of Taiwan
- Song#17 The Educated Youth Comes to the Country
- Song#18 We are Dear Friends
- Song#19 All the People of the World will be Victorious
- Song#20 Third World Unite Together
- Song#21 Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman
- Song#22 The Song of Liberation
- Song#23 The Mountain's Red Azaleas Bloom a Bright, Bright Red
- Song#24 Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention

Don't know any of these songs.....**[if respondent also answered no to question 3 express thanks and end the survey]**

5. What are some of your favorite or most memorable revolutionary songs from those listed above?
6. In your opinion, what are the three most popular revolutionary songs from those listed above?
7. Of the songs listed above that you know, how did you first learn them?

[encourage respondents to chose multiple items and inquire further]

Where did you mainly learn the songs? And then...and then?

[notate accordingly]

- Self-study Friends/family
- School/work unit Music class
- Other **[please indicate]**

8. Where would you hear these songs?

[encourage respondents to chose multiple items and inquire further]

Where did you mainly hear the songs? And then...and then?

[notate accordingly]

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| _____ Cable Radio | _____ Wireless Radio |
| _____ Television | _____ Public performance |
| _____ Special anniversary meeting | _____ Friends/family |
| _____ Other [please indicate] | |

9. Where would you sing these songs? Rank in order 1-5 with 1 as most frequent

[encourage respondents to chose multiple items and inquire further]

Where did you mainly sing the songs? And then...and then?

[notate accordingly]

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| _____ By myself | _____ With friends/family |
| _____ School/work unit activities | _____ Music class |
| _____ Work unit meetings | _____ Other [please indicate] |

10. Where can you still hear revolutionary songs today?

[encourage respondents to chose multiple items and inquire further]

Where do you mainly hear the songs? And then...and then?

[notate accordingly]

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| _____ Cable Radio | _____ Wireless Radio |
| _____ Television | _____ Public performances |
| _____ Special anniversary meetings | _____ Friends/family |
| _____ Karaoke | _____ Restaurants |
| _____ Other [please indicate] | |

11. On what occasions do you sing these songs today?

[encourage respondents to chose multiple items and inquire further]

Where do you mainly sing the songs? And then...and then?

[notate accordingly]

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> By oneself | <input type="checkbox"/> Friends/family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> School/work unit activities | <input type="checkbox"/> Music class |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Work unit meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> Karaoke |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Restaurants | <input type="checkbox"/> Other [please indicate] |

12.1 When we examine a song, we can discuss separate the music (melody, score) and the lyrics as two parts; when you hear these songs today, how does the music make you feel?

12.2 How do the lyrics make you feel?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nostalgic | <input type="checkbox"/> Inspiring |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Full of hope | <input type="checkbox"/> Sad/miserable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Angry | <input type="checkbox"/> Bitter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other [please indicate] | |

13. In your opinion, what are more memorable to you about revolutionary songs-the text or the music?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lyrics | <input type="checkbox"/> Music (Melody) |
|---------------------------------|---|

14. In the 1990s many of the revolutionary songs were re-released including, “The East is Red,” “Naniwan” etc.; Do you know of these new releases?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

15. Do you prefer the original musical style (1960-1970s) or contemporary versions of revolutionary songs?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1960-1970s | <input type="checkbox"/> 1990s and later |
|-------------------------------------|--|

16. Sex:
- Male Female
17. What is your highest level of education?
- No formal education Poly-technical school/Trade school
- Elementary school Some undergraduate course work
- Middle school College and above
- High school
- 18a. What is your occupation?
- Public servant Medical industry
- Company manager Educator/researcher
- Company employee Self employed
- Laborer Student
- Farmer Unemployed/retired
- Service industry Other [**please indicate**]
- 18b. What is your political affiliation?
- Chinese Communist Party Communist Youth League
- Democratic Parties Non-Partisan
19. How satisfied are you with your current lifestyle?
- Extremely satisfied
- Fairly/quite satisfied
- Ordinary
- Not very satisfied
- Extremely unsatisfied
- Indifferent, unable to say

20. How do you feel your life will have changed five years from now?"

_____ will have improved tremendously

_____ will have improved somewhat

_____ will not have changed

_____ will have declined somewhat

_____ will have declined considerably

_____ indifferent, unable to say

21. Do you have any additional thoughts or comments regarding revolutionary songs?

APPENDIX C

**ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF PREFACES AND POSTSCRIPTS
TO THE ANTHOLOGY**

Preface to the Volume One of the “New Songs” Anthology (1972)

In commemoration of the thirty year anniversary of the publication of the great leader Chairman Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on arts and literature,” we offer to the broad masses of the workers and peasant soldiers this selection of songs composed since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution.

This book has selected revolutionary songs newly composed since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution and ten folk songs on revolutionary history.

Flowers on the battlefield are more fragrant. Since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, the broad masses and amateur composers from revolutionary workers, peasants, and soldiers, guided in line with Chairman Mao’s Revolutionary thought on art and literature and illuminated by the Yan’an speech, take as model the revolutionary model operas, and persist in working to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers and the proletariat politics; they have composed and produced a great quantity of outstanding revolutionary songs. This anthology of songs attempts to show the great achievements in order to promote the creation of revolutionary songs and the singing activities to satisfy the needs of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

The selection of the song anthology has been carried out with the broad masses of the entire country, in every region and many class leaders’ enthusiastic support and vigorous assistance. The broad masses and leaders recommended to us very good revolutionary songs created and sung in their own areas; after early selections, all places can use the speech and various ways to mobilize the broad masses of the people to participate towards the selection of songs, and carefully review, choose and select toward the process of songs, revise and alter to put forth a lot of good advice, and make many sound suggestions. This selection of works can triumph as a prerequisite.

The song anthology is composed in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings in regard to, "political standards first, artistic standards second" and "Strive for the unity between revolutionary political content in the perfect artistic form." In subject matter, there are songs in praise of the Communist Party, in praise of Chairman Mao, and in praise of our socialist country; there are songs which reflect the battles and life of workers, peasants, and soldiers on different battlefields of socialist revolution and construction; there are also songs that reflect the youth and the children growing up strong under the shining illumination of Chairman Mao's thought as well as songs that reflect the people of China and every country's people's revolutionary friendship and unity in combat. In form, the songs are of various forms that are well accepted by the broad masses including chorus, solo song, performance songs, etc. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been achieved in all of these songs, from each and every side of the greatest victory and the battlefronts since the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution.

Due to the limitation of political and ideological level, many shortcomings will surely exist in this book of anthology; we warmly welcome the priceless suggestions from our revolutionary comrades and the workers, peasants, and soldiers so that improvement can be made at the time of the next edition.

Postscript to Volume Two of the “New Songs” Anthology (1973)

For the purpose of the prosperity of musical creation, reflecting the present socialist construction revolution and socialist construction’s very good situation, and to further satisfy the needs of the broad masse of working and peasant class for revolutionary songs, we take the opportunity after the publication of “New Songs of the Battlefield” here again composed this sequel to “New Songs of the Battlefield.” We now present to our readers in commemoration of the 31st anniversary of the publication of the brilliant Chairman Mao’s Talk at Yan’an.”

The pieces included in this sequel are all new creations of recent years; these works to a certain extent express the boundless love of every race of people towards our great leader Chairman Mao, towards the great Communist Party of China, and towards the great socialist motherland. The songs reflect the flourishing new atmosphere of our socialist motherland and the broad masses of the working and peasant class who are singing the praise of combating every battle. This is the new result of the vast professional and amateur artists in implementing Mao’s revolutionary line in arts and literature.

Upholding the stand to make arts and literature serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers; serve the socialist revolution and construction, and serve the proletariat politics. At present, under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line for art and literature, the mass movement is in full swing for the creation of arts and literature. We are confident, the broad masses of professional and amateur writers and artists after serious studies of Marxism-Leninism, Mao’s thought, going deep into the criticism of and rectification of revisionism of the incorrect style of work making great effort to learn from the experience in the creation of the Revolutionary Model Operas, in the heat of the combats of three great revolutionary moments surely will be able to create even better revolutionary songs imbued with rich spirit of the time

and breath even more, especially the short but well built revolutionary songs, to make new contributions to further the development and flourishing of socialist art.

Preface to Volume Three of the “New Songs” Anthology (1974)

Inspired by the spirit of the 10th congress of the Communist Party of China and amidst the mass movement criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, we have selected and composed the third volume of “New Songs of the Battlefield” to present it to our readers on the occasion of the commemoration of the 32nd year anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao’s “Talks at Yan’an.”

In this volume, once again, we publish the Red Guard songs “3 big disciplines, 8 rules for attention” at the same time, we have selected revolutionary folk songs from Hunan and Jiangxi, 5 songs each. The hundred song volume came from the struggling lifestyles of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, many embody strong spirits and are in distinctive national styles. Lyricists and composers with energetic political sentiment sing the praises of the great leader Chairman Mao, sing the praises of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, and new things that have emerged and developed in the battle waves of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution. This is another harvest in the creation of revolutionary songs that we can be proud of following the revolutionary model operas.

In the fierce struggle between the two roads on the literary and artistic battlefield, same as the entire field of infrastructure, exists two classes. People of the landlord and bourgeoisie classes, not easily accepting their failure, always try by every possible means to fight for the

cultural thought battleground. Revolutionary songs is also no exception, if the proletariat will not go to capture it, the bourgeoisie will seize it and restore the ancient ways; in the territory of music the appearance of the tendency to worship the foreign and the dissemination of bad songs in certain areas are good examples. This is an expression of the resurgence of the black line of literature and arts and we must give it a firm and resolute counter attack.

At the same time, we should make great efforts toward new composition works and vigorously popularize revolutionary songs in order to firmly capture the song. Let those disciples of Confucius who attempt to turn the history bemoan their fate in the resonant battle songs of the Proletariat. Proletariat art will usher in an even more brilliant and magnificent spring.

APPENDIX D

SELECTED CHINESE LYRICS

1. “The Force at the Core Leading Our Case Forward Is the Chinese Communist Party”

(English translation on page 50)

“领导我们事业的核心力量”

领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党，指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思列宁主义。

共产党万岁！毛主席万岁！共产党万岁！毛主席万岁！万岁，万岁，万万岁！

2. “Military Song of Rescuing the Nation” (English translation on page 86)

“救国军歌”

枪口对外，齐步前进！不伤老百姓，不打自己人！

我们是铁的队伍，我们是铁的心！维护中华民族，永做自由人！

枪口对外，齐步前进！维护中华民族，永做自由人！

装好子弹，瞄准敌人！一枪打一个，一步一前进！

我们是铁的队伍，我们是铁的心！维护中华民族，永做自由人！

装好子弹，瞄准敌人！维护中华民族，永做自由人！

3. “Battle Song of the War of Resistance Against Japan” (English translation on page 87)

“抗日战歌”

跟着毛主席，万众一条心，全国同胞们，奋勇前进！

我们是抗战的队伍，我们要团结紧，高举革命红旗，胜利向前进！

跟着毛主席，万众一条心，紧握手中枪，歼灭侵略军！

我们是抗战的队伍，我们要团结紧，高举革命红旗，勇敢杀敌人

跟着毛主席，万众一条心，高举革命红旗，胜利向前进！

4. “Workers and Peasants are all of the Same Family” (English translation on page 88)

“工农一家人”

工农兄弟们哪，我们是一家人哪，本是一条根哪，都是受苦人，
工农本是一条根哪，工农本是一条根。

我们盖的房，我们种的粮，地主买办黑心肠，都把我们剥削光。
仇恨满胸膛啊，怒火高万丈啊，砸碎旧世界呀，才能得解放啊，
彻底砸碎旧世界，我们才能得解放。

大家一条心哪，跟着共产党啊，拿起刀和枪啊，杀尽狗豺狼。

工农要翻身把家当啊，工农要翻身把家当。

工农团结紧哪，万众一条心哪，砸碎铁锁链哪，
翻身得解放啊，砸碎了锁链得解放啊！砸碎了锁链得解放啊！
得解放啊！得解放啊！得解放啊！

5. “Graduation Song” (original lyrics) (English translation on pages 89-90)

“毕业歌” (original lyrics)

同学们大家起来，担负起天下的兴亡！听吧！满耳是大众的嗟伤；

看吧！一年年国土在沦丧！我们是要选择“战”还是“降”？

我们要做主人去拼死在疆场，我们不愿做奴隶而青云直上！

我们今天是桃李芬芳，明天是社会的栋梁；

我们今天是弦歌在一堂，明天要掀起民族自救的巨浪！

巨浪，巨浪，不断地增长！同学们！同学们！快拿出力量，担负起天下的兴亡！

6. “Graduation Song” (1972 lyrics) (English translation on page 90)

“毕业歌” (1972 lyrics)

同学们大家起来，奔向那抗战的前方！听吧！抗战的号角已吹响；

看吧！战斗的红旗在飘扬。我们跟着共产党，拿起枪！

我们誓死保卫祖国的边疆，我们决心把侵略者彻底埋葬。

我们要和工农在一起，筑成那铁壁铜墙，全国人民团结起来，

迎接那民族解放胜利的曙光。前进！前进！军号已吹响。

同学们！同学们！快行动起来，奔向那抗战的前方！

前进！前进！军号已吹响。同学们！同学们！

快行动起来，奔向那抗战的前方！

7. “Joy of Emancipation” (English translation on page 94)

“翻身道情”

太阳一出来，哎哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳哎咳，

满山红哎哎咳哎咳呀，共产党救咱翻了（哟嗬）身哎咳呀。

旧社会，咱们受苦的人是人下人哎咳哎咳呀，受欺压一层又一（哟嗬）层哎咳呀。

打下的粮食，地王地夺走哎咳呀，做牛马受饥寒怒火难平哎咳呀。

毛主席领导咱闹革（噢）命哎咳呀，受苦人出苦海见了光（噢）明哎咳呀。

往年咱们眼泪肚里流哎咳咳咳呀，如今咱站起来作主（哟嗬）人哎咳呀。

天下的受苦人是一家人噢哎咳哎咳呀，

大家团结闹翻（哟）身呀哎咳咳依呀咳，大家团结闹翻身。

8. “Liuyang River” (English translation on page 96)

“浏阳河”

浏阳河弯过了几道湾？几十里水路到湘江？江边有个什么县哪？

出了个什么人领导人民得解放啊依呀依子哟？

浏阳河弯过了九道湾，五十里水路到湘江，江边有个湘潭县哪，

出了个毛主席领导人民得解放啊依呀依子哟。

9. “Re-ascending Jinggang Mountain” (English translation on page 98)

“重上井冈山”

久有凌云志，重上井冈山，千里来寻故地，旧貌变新颜。

到外莺歌也燕舞，更有潺潺流水，高路入云端。

过了黄洋界，险外不须看。

风雷动，旌旗奋，是人寰。三十八年过去，弹指一挥间。

可上九天揽月，可下五洋捉鳖，谈笑凯歌还。

世上天难事，只要肯登攀。

10. “The Great Leader Mao Zedong” (English translation on page 102-103)

“伟大的领袖毛泽东”

响亮的歌是“东方红，”伟大的领袖是毛泽东。

毛泽东，毛泽东！您是革命人民心中的太阳，您的光辉思想是胜利的保证。

毛泽东，毛泽东！您是革命人民的导师，您的革命路线指引着航程。

我们永远热爱您，伟大的领袖毛泽东！我们永远歌唱您，伟大的领袖毛泽东！

11. “Song in Praise of Beijing” (English translation on pages 103-104)

“北京颂歌”

灿烂的朝霞，升起在金色的北京，庄严的乐曲，报导着祖国的黎明。

啊！北京啊北京！祖国的心脏，团结的象征，人民的骄傲，胜利的保证。

各族人民把你赞颂，你是我们心中一颗明亮的星。

火红的太阳照耀在中南海上，伟大的首都，你是毛主席居住的地方。

啊！北京啊北京！大庆红旗向你飞舞，大寨红花向你开放。

捷报来自边疆海防，喜讯传遍村镇城乡。啊！北京啊北京！

我们的红心和你一起跳动，我们的热血和你一起沸腾，

你迈开巨人的步伐，带领我们奔向美好的前程。

12. “Awa People Sing New Songs” (English translation on page 108)

“阿佤人民唱新歌”

村村寨寨哎，打起鼓，敲起锣，阿佤唱新歌。毛主席光辉照边疆，山笑水笑人欢乐。
人民公社好哎，架起幸福桥，哎。道路越走越宽阔，越宽阔。哎江三木啰！
山山岭岭哎，歌声起，红旗飘，闪闪银锄落。毛主席号召学大寨，清清河水上坡。
茶园绿油油哎，梯田翻金波，哎大寨花开千万朵，千万朵。哎江三木啰！
各族人民哎，团结紧，向前进，壮志震山河。毛主席怎样说，阿佤人民怎样做。
跟着毛主席哎，跟着共产党，哎阿佤人民唱新歌，唱新歌。哎江三木啰！

13. “We Workers Must Work Vigorously” (English translation on pages 110)

“咱们工人要大干”

马达响，凯歌传，咱们工人要大干。迎着困难上，浑身都是胆，一心为革命，
重担挑在肩。吃大苦，耐大劳，出大力，流大汗。吃大苦，耐大劳，出大力，流大汗。
学习大庆闯新路，团结战斗永向前。马达响，凯歌传，咱们工人要大干。
认真读马列，心红意志坚，放眼世界，力量大无边。
鼓干劲，争上游，创优质，夺高产。鼓干劲，争上游，创优质，夺高产。
排除万难攀高峰，誓为革命多贡献。

14. “Happily Watch Today’s New Dazhai” (English translation on pages 112-113)

“喜看今日新大寨”

虎头山上马达吼，层层梯田渠水流，喜看今日新大寨，大干大变大丰收，大丰收。
看八梁，望七沟，七沟八梁飘彩绸。
狼窝掌变成小平原，铁牛隆隆环山走，科学种田开新花，稳产高产争上游，
向阳坡上猪满圈，背阴坡上喂马牛，支农池里鱼儿跳，核桃苹果满枝头，满枝头。
看新村，望翠柳，社员住上窑洞楼。重担磨出铁肩膀，
斗争炼出硬骨头，路线为纲抓大事，心红敢于反湖流，
老支书劳动在田间，老石匠铁锤不离手，一代新人接班来，移山治水永不休，永不休。
大寨又攀新高峰，继续革命跟党走，步步登高年年变，大寨更上一层楼。更上一层楼。

15. “Barefoot Doctors are Sunflowers” (English translation pages 113-114)

“赤脚医生向阳花”

赤脚医生向阳花，贫下中农人人夸。

一根银针治百病，一颗红心哪，一颗红心暖千家暖千家。

出诊愿翻千层岭，采药敢登万仞崖。

迎着斗争风和雨，革命路上啊，革命路上铺彩霞铺彩霞。

赤脚医生向阳花，广阔天地把根扎。千朵万朵红似火，贫下中农人人夸人人夸。

16. “Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers”

(English translation on page 115)

“七亿人民七亿兵”

七亿人民七亿兵，万里江山万里营。

提高警惕保卫祖国，我们是攻不破的钢铁长城。

高举红旗团结紧，一面劳动一面练兵。

只要毛主席一声令下，消灭侵略者勇敢向前冲。

七亿人民七亿兵，万里江山万里营。

提高警惕保卫祖国，我们是攻不破的钢铁长城。

17. “I Love Beijing Tiananmen” (English translation on page 118)

“我爱北京天安门”

我爱北京天安门，天安门上太阳升，伟大领袖毛主席，指引我们向前进。

我爱北京天安门，天安门上太阳升，伟大领袖毛主席，指引我们向前进。

我爱北京天安门，天安门上太阳升，伟大领袖毛主席，指引我们向前进。

18. “The Song of the Revolutionary Educated Youth” (English Translation on page 120)

“革命知识青年之歌”

灿烂的阳光照耀在祖国大地上，禾苗沐浴着雨露茁壮成长。

我们革命的知识青年，把一生献给伟大的党。

CHORUS:

[高举革命的战旗，沿着毛主席指引的方向，
我们潮气蓬勃斗志昂扬，团结战斗奔向前方。]

广阔的天地是我们最好的课堂，贫下中农是我们学习的榜样。

我们革命的知识青年，在三大革命中百炼成钢。 [Chorus]

革命征途胜利的歌声嘹亮，五洲的风雷在胸中激荡。

我们革命的知识青年，誓为人类解放贡献力量。 [chorus]

19. “Song of Friendship between the People of China and Vietnam”

(English translation on pages 123-124)

“中越人民友谊之歌”

水连着水，山连着山，中越人民携手并肩。

战斗的友谊充满着北京河内，革命的团结连结着中国越南。

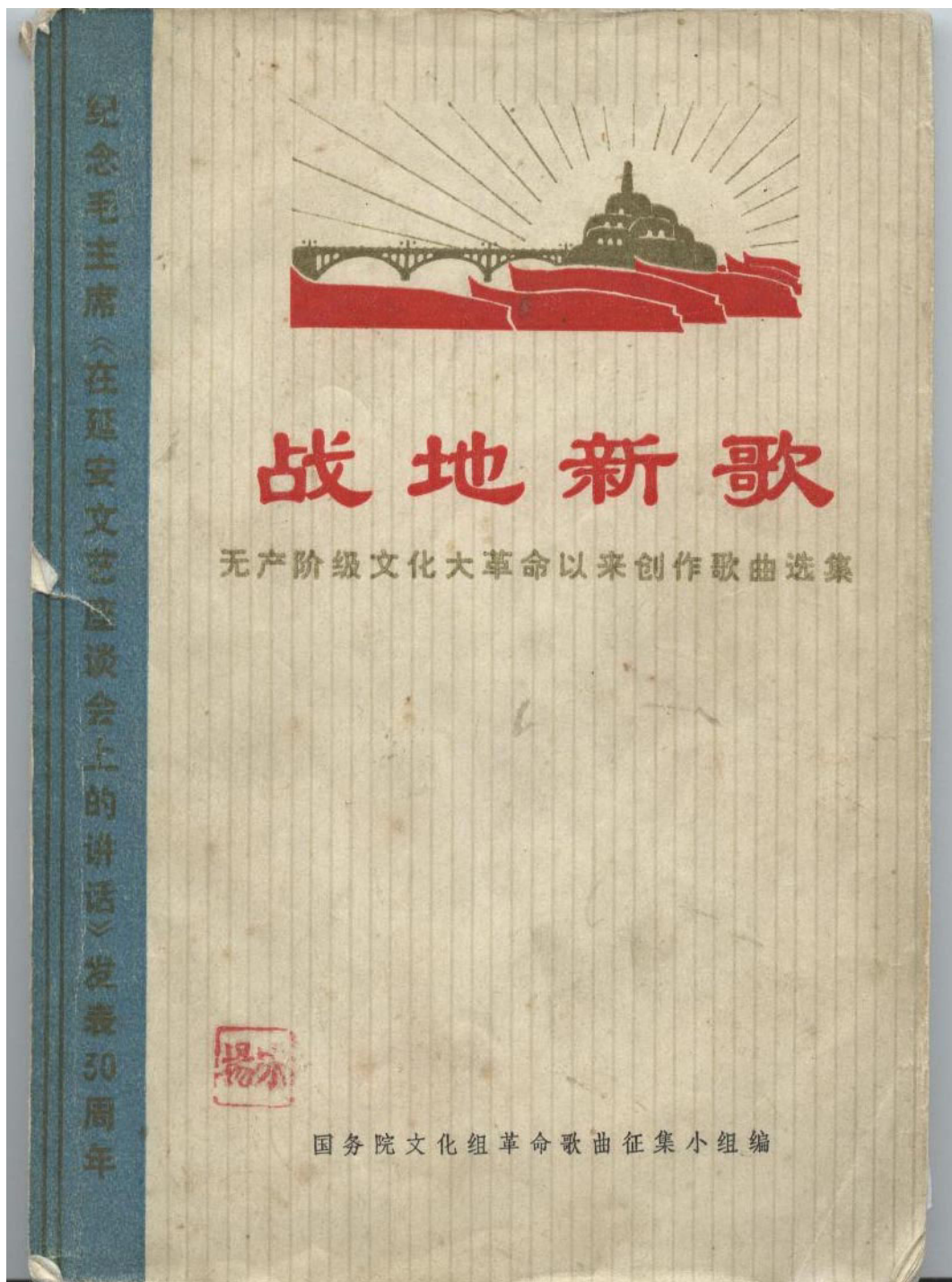
我们情同手足，我们亲密无间，我们共同战斗，我们互相支援

迎接光辉的胜利，走向那灿烂的明天。滔滔的红河赞美着河内北京，

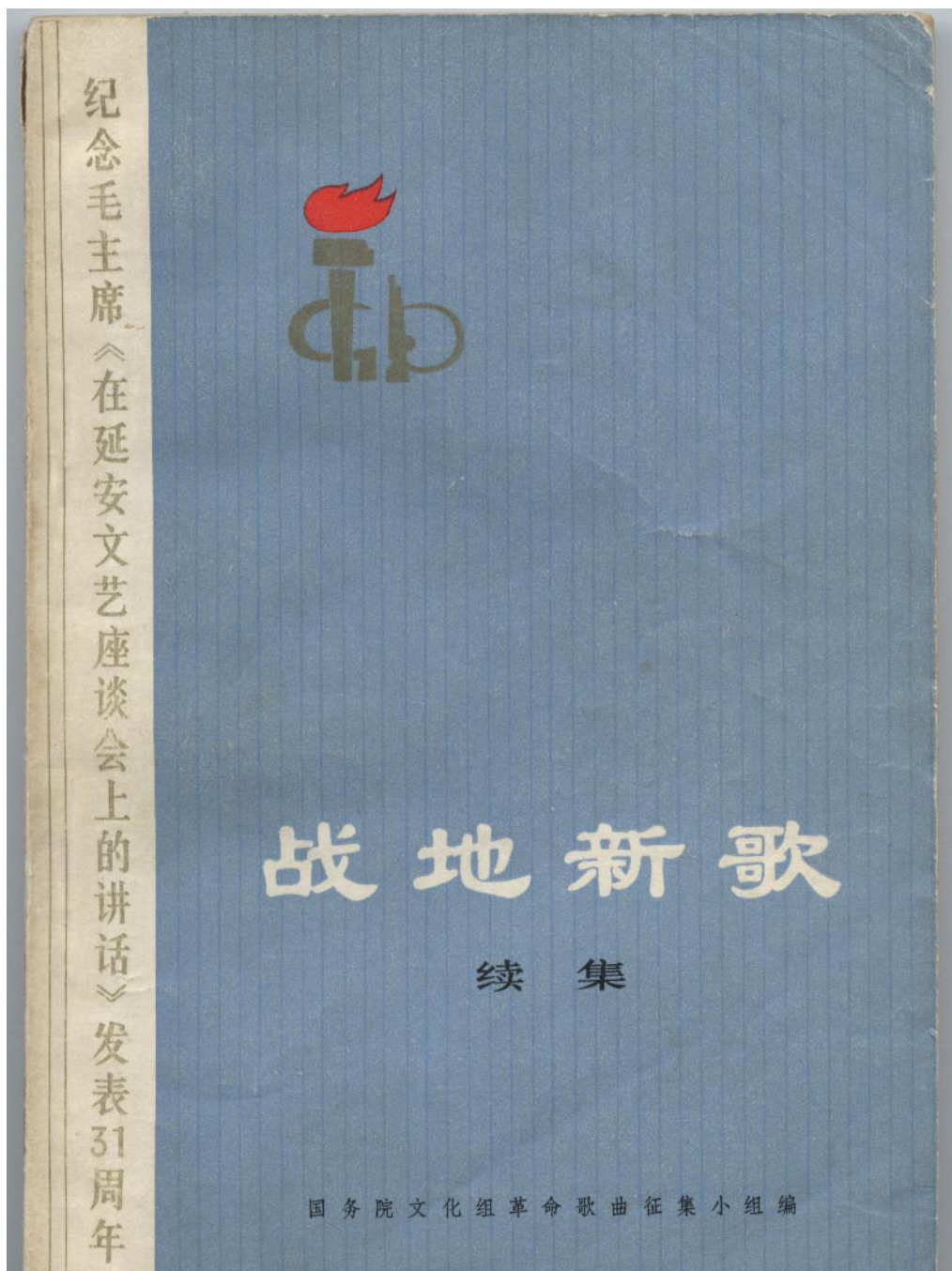
滚滚的长江歌唱着中国越南。中国！越南！

APPENDIX E

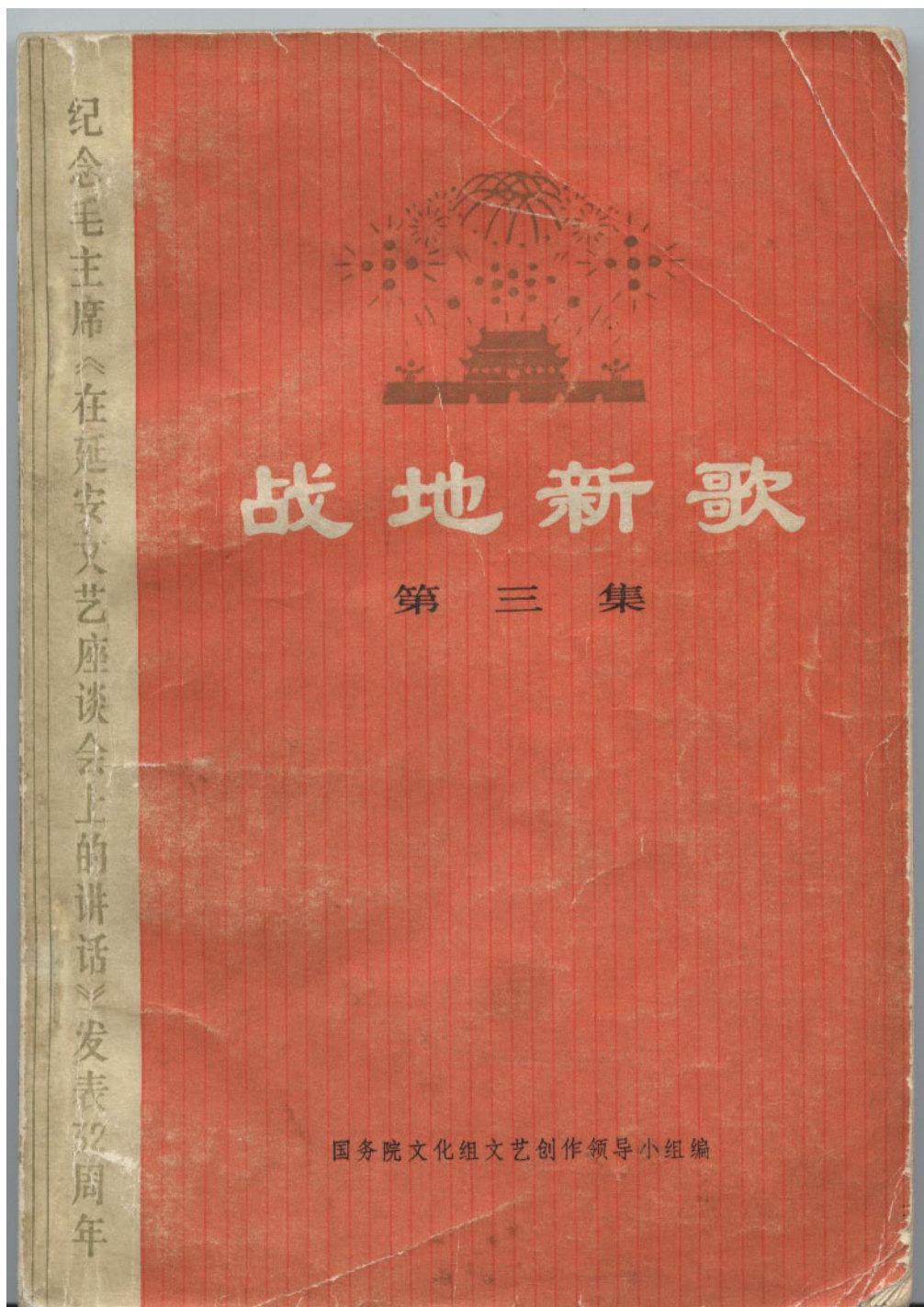
**PHOTOGRAPHS OF SELECTED
ORIGINAL SONGBOOKS, SCORES, AND RECORDINGS**



Original Songbook: "New Songs of the Battlefield" Volume One



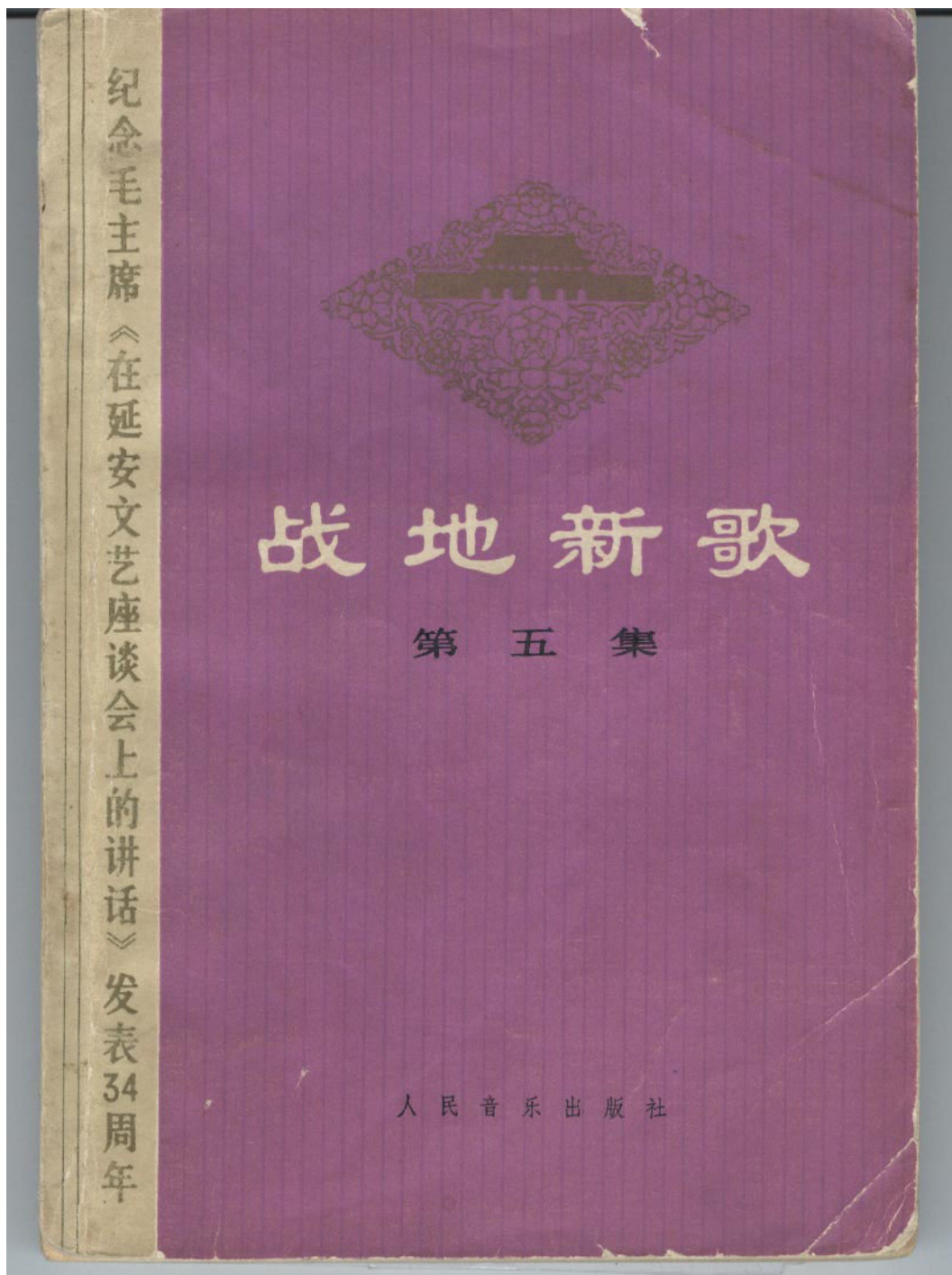
Original Songbook: "New Songs of the Battlefield" Volume Two



Original Songbook: "New Songs of the Battlefield" Volume Three



Original Songbook: "New Songs of the Battlefield" Volume Four



Original Songbook: "New Songs of the Battlefield" Volume Five

阿佤人民唱新歌

杨正仁词曲

集体改词

1 = A $\frac{2}{4}$

热情、欢快地

(2235 21 6 | 2235 21 6 | 2235 6 53 | 2 2161 | 6 33 3 66 |

6 33 3 6 | 6 6 5621 | 6 ⁵3 | 2 35 3 | 3212 1 |

1. 村村寨寨 哎，打起鼓，敲起锣，
2. 山山岭岭 哎，歌声起，红旗飘，
3. 各族人 民 哎，团结紧，向前进，

6 6 5621 | 6 - | 3 2 3 1 3 | 2352 3 | 3 23 1 3 |

阿佤唱新歌。毛主席光辉照边疆，山笑水笑
闪闪银锄落。毛主席号召学大寨，清清河水
壮志震山河。毛主席怎样说，阿佤人民

2 21 6 | 2 2 35 | 2 21 6 3 | 2 2 35 | 2 21 6 35 |

人欢乐。人民公社好哎，架起幸福桥，哎
上山坡。茶园绿油油哎，梯田翻金波，哎
怎样做。跟着毛主席哎，跟着共产党，哎

6. 53 | 2 - | 6 53 2 35 | 6 53 2 35 | 2 0 2161 |

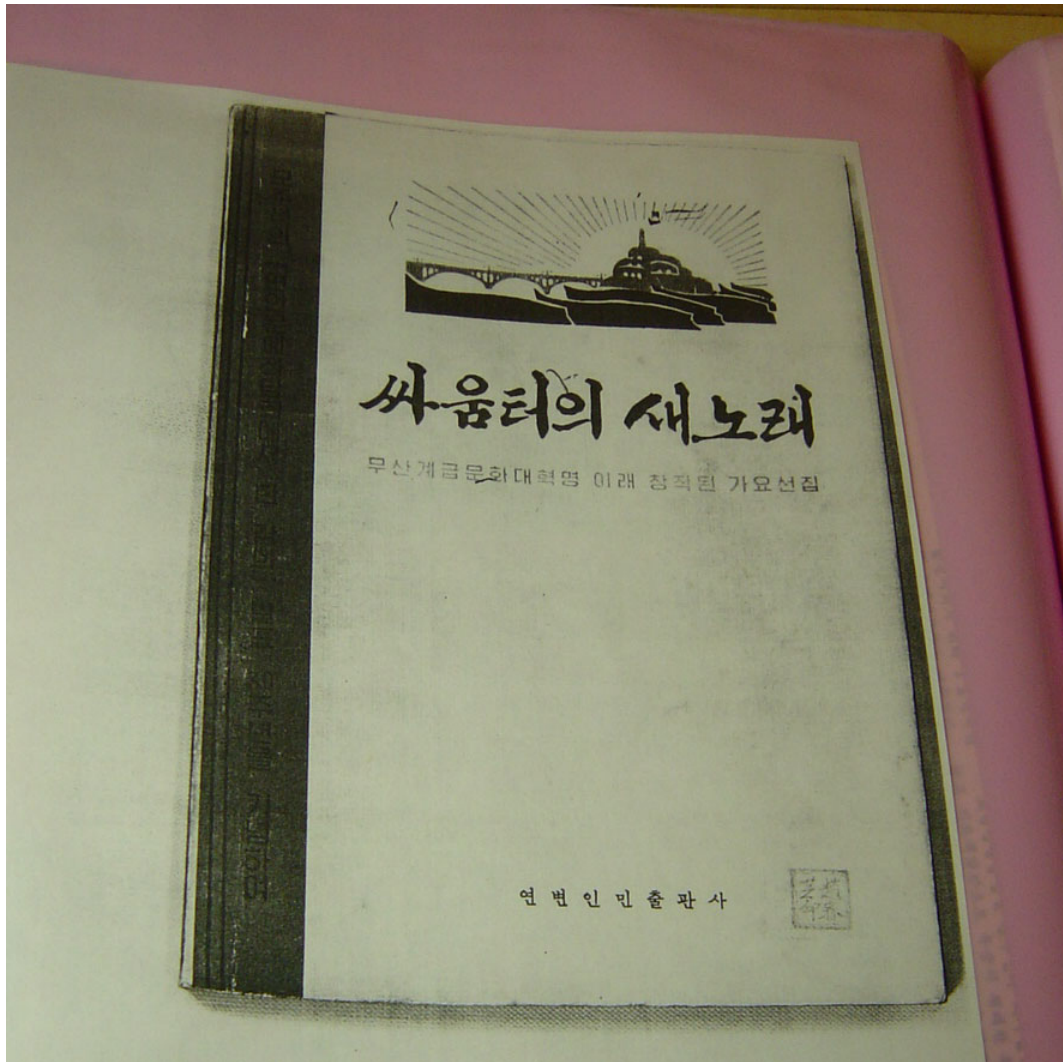
道路越走越宽阔，越宽
大寨花开千万朵，千万
阿佤人民唱新歌，唱新

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阔。哎 江三木啰！ 歌。哎 江三木啰！
朵。哎 江三木啰！

注：“江三木”是佤族民歌中常用的衬词，用以表达欢乐、友好的情绪。

Original Score: "A-Wa People Sing New Songs" (Volume One)



Original Songbook: “New Songs of the Battlefield” Volume One,
published in written language of the Chaoxian Nationality (bordering Korea)



Original 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ phonograph



Original 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ phonographs

APPENDIX F

“NEW SONGS” CATALOGUE

The “New Songs” catalogue includes original Chinese titles with English transliteration and English Translations (entries are listed in alphabetical order of English transliterations). Additionally, the catalogue indicates the volume number, page number, and thematic categorization of each song. The key for the thematic categories are as follows:

Theme	
C: HR	Chinese Communist Party Classic: Historic Revolutionary Song
C: RF	Chinese Communist Party Classic: Revolutionary Folksong
C: P	Chinese Communist Party Classic: Mao Poetry Song
PBPC	Song of Praise, Battle or Political Campaign
EN	Song of Ethnic Nationalities
WPS	Song of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers
YC: C	Song of Youth and Children's Songs: Children
YC: Y	Song of Youth and Children's Songs: Youth
IR	Song of International Relations

中文	Transliteration	English	Vol. page	Theme
阿尔巴尼亚，我亲密的同志和弟兄	Aerbaniya, wo qinmide tongzhi he dixiong	Albania, my dear comrade and brother	I-161	IR
爱舰爱岛爱海洋	Ai jian ai dao ai haiyang	Love the warship, love the island, love the ocean	II-143	WPS
俺班多了一个兵	Anban duole yige bing	My group has a new soldier	V-196	WPS
阿瓦人民唱新歌	Awa renmin chang xingge	Awa people sing new songs	I-73	EN
保卫祖国，建设边疆	Baowei zuguo, jianshe bianjiang	Defend our country, build the frontier	V-216	PBPC
把批林批孔斗争进行到底	Ba pilin pikong douzheng jinxing daodi	Carry the struggle against Lin Biao and Confucius to the end	IV-53	PBPC
八月桂花遍地开	Bayue guihua biandi kai	The August osmanthus flower blossoms everywhere	III-19	C: RF
北京颂歌	Beijing songge	Song in praise of Beijing	II-8	PBPC
边防战士爱红柳	Bianfang zhanshi ai hongliu	Frontier soldiers love the red willow	II-131	WPS
边防战士之歌	Bianfang zhanshi zhi ge	Song of the Frontier Soldiers	IV-169	WPS
边塞哨兵	Biansai shaobing	Fortress Guard on the Frontier	IV-166	WPS
并肩战斗团结紧	Bingjian zhandou tuanjie jin	Unite to fight shoulder to shoulder	IV-42	PBPC
兵团战士胸有朝阳	Bingtuan zhanshi xiong you zhaoyang	Military unit soldier's has the Morning Sun in his chest	III-199	YC: Y
毕业歌	Biye ge	Graduation Song	I-9	C: HR
步调一致向胜利	Budiao yizhi xiang shengli	March in step toward victory	III-151	WPS
采蚝姑娘学大寨	Caihao guniang xue dazhai	Oyster picking girls learn from dazhai	V-140	WPS
采石场的铁姑娘	Caishichang de tieguniang	The Iron Girls at the Iron picking sites	IV-85	WPS
采药	Caiyao	Picking herbal medicine	I-135	WPS
采油女工之歌	Caiyou nugong zhi ge	Song of the Oil drilling girl workers	IV-66	WPS
苍山歌声永不落	Cangshan gesheng yong buluo	The sound of the green mountain will never die out	I-71	EN
草原牧民学大寨	Caoyuan mumin xue dazhai	Grassland herdsman learn from dazhai	II-85	WPS

草原千里占旗红	Caoyuan qianli zhanqi hong	The Red battle flags stretch for thousands of miles over the grasslands	IV-176	WPS
草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席	Caoyuanshang de hongweibing jiandaole maozhuxi	Red Guards on the grasslands have met Chairman Mao	I-56	EN
草原小巡逻兵	Caoyuan xiao xunluobing	Little patrol soldiers on the Grasslands	V-238	YC: C
草原雄鹰	Caoyuan xiongying	Majestic eagle on the Grasslands	V-206	WPS
插秧机真不错	Chayangji zhen bucuo	The Rice seedling transplanting machine is good	V-152	WPS
赤脚医生好	Chijiao yisheng hao	Barefoot doctors are good	IV-148	WPS
赤脚医生向阳花	Chijiao yisheng xiangyanghua	Barefoot doctors are sunflowers	V-77	WPS
赤脚医生心向党	Chijiao yisheng xinxiang dang	Barefoot doctors always have the party in their mind	III-181	WPS
赤是黎家伐木工	chi shi lijia famugong	I am a lumberer of the Li minority	IV-80	EN
外外盛开大寨花	Chuchu shengkai dazhai hua	The Flowers of Dazhai Blossom Everywhere	V-234	YC: C
春风商店送货到	Chunfeng shangdian songhuo lai	The Spring air store delivers goods to us	II-175	WPS
春光万里红旗扬	Chunguang wanli hongqi yang	The Spring light shines of thousands of miles of Red Flags	II-21	PBPC
春苗出土迎朝阳	Chunmiao chutu ying chaoyang	spring greens sprouts to greet the morning sun	V-75	WPS
从小扎根在草原	Congxiao zhagen zai caoyuan	Rooted in the grasslands from childhood	II-198	YC: C
打靶歌	Dabage	Shooting Song	II-121	WPS
大刀进行曲	Dadao jinxingqu	Big knife marching song	I-11	C: HR
打电话	Da dianhua	Calling on the Telephone	II-206	YC: C
大干快上夺高产	Dagan kuaishang duo gaochan	To work vigorously for a bumper harvest	IV-100	WPS
大干社会主义	Dagan shehuizhuyi	Work hard for socialism	IV-57	PBPC
大港石油工人战歌	Dagang shiyou gongren zhange	The Battle Song of the Oil Workers in Dagang	IV-64	WPS
大搞农业机械化	Dagao nongye jixiehua	Work hard on agriculture mechanization	V-150	WPS
大海航行靠舵手	Dahai hangxing kao duoshou	Sailing the Seas depends on the Helmsman	I-5	C: HR

大家来做广播操	Dajia laizuo guangbocao	Everybody come do radio broadcast exercises	I-159	YC: C
打开咱的收音机	Dakai zande shouyinji	Turn on our Radio	III-223	YC: C
大路歌	Daluge	Song of the Big Road	I-14	C: HR
当代愚公换新天	Dangdai yugong huan xintian	Contemporary Yugong will bring a New Day	II-82	WPS
党的光辉照延边	Dangde guanghui zhao yanbian	The Brilliance of the Party Shines Yanbian	III-55	EN
党的光辉照亮了我们心田	Dangde guanghui zhaoliangle women xintian	The Brilliance of the Party Shines and Brightens our Heart	IV-195	YC: C
党的十大光辉灿烂	Dangde shida guanghui canlan	The brilliance of 10th Congress of the party shines magnificently	III-35	PBPC
党的阳光照耀着祖国	Dangde yangguang zhaoyaozhe zuguo	The Sunlight of the Party Illuminates Our Motherland	II-6	PBPC
党领导我们胜利前进	Dang lingdao women shengli qianjin	The Party Leads us into Victory	III-42	PBPC
党旗，光荣的旗	Dangqi, guangrongde qi	The flag of the Party, The Flag of Glory	III-38	PBPC
党是春雨我是苗	Dang shi chunyu wo shi miao	The Party is the spring rain, I am the seedling	III-196	YC: Y
党指挥枪	Dang zhihui qiang	The Party Commands Rifles	V-185	WPS
党指挥我们百战百胜	Dang zhihui women baizhan baisheng	The Party Commands us into a hundred battles and a hundred victories	IV-157	WPS
到敌人后方去	Dao diren houfang qu	Go to the backline of the enemy	I-18	C: HR
大起双桨争上游	Daqi shuangjiang zhengshang you	Rowing the boat to achieve higher goals	V-172	WPS
大庆道路宽又广	Daqing daolu kuan you guang	The road of Daqing is wide and vast	I-78	WPS
大庆工人有气派	Daqing gongren you qipai	Daqing workers have an air of distinction	II-53	WPS
大庆花开遍地红	Daqing hua kai biandi hong	The flowers of Daqing bloom in red	I-154	YC: C
大庆油田在前进	Daqing youtian zai qianjin	Daqing oil fields are advancing	V-93	WPS
大庆油加快了我的心	Daqingyou jiakuai le wode che	Daqing's oil quickly accelerates my car	IV-77	WPS
打坦克	Da tanke	Strike Tanks	II-120	WPS
大学毕业回山村	Daxue biye hui shancun	A College graduate returns to the mountain village	IV-153	WPS

大寨的山呀大寨的水	Dazhai de shan ya dazhai de shui	Oh the mountains of Dazhai! The water of Dazhai	IV-92	WPS
大寨红花遍地开	Dazhai honghua biandi kai	The red flowers of Dazhai blossom everywhere	I-98, II-80	WPS
大寨红花在草原开	Dazhai honghua zai caoyuan kai	The Red Flowers of Dazhai blossom on the Grasslands	IV-115	WPS
大寨红旗映河山	Dazhai hongqi ying heshan	The red flag of Dazhai shines on the rivers and the mountains	V-114	WPS
大寨花开水家寨	Dazhai hua kai shuijiazhai	The Flowers of Dazhai blossom on Shui minority Village	V-126	EN
大寨人心向红太阳	Dazhai renxin xiang hongtaiyang	The heart of the Dazhai people is toward the Red Sun	I-95	WPS
定叫山河换新装	Ding jiao shanhe huan xin Zhuang	Make the Mountains and Rivers Change its Face	I-101	WPS
敌人怕啥咱就练啥	Diren pasha zan jiu liansha	What the Enemy fears we just practiced	II-122	WPS
第三世界团结起来	Disanshijie tuanjie qilai	Third World Unite Together	IV-213	IR
第三世界团结战斗	Disanshijie tuanjie zhandou	Third World-Let's Unite and Fight	V-245	IR
地质队员之歌	Dizhi duiyuan zhi ge	Song of the Geology Team Members	II-57	WPS
东方红	Dongfanghong	East is Red	I-1	C: RF
侗歌向着北京唱	Dongge xiangzhe beijing chang	Dong Minority Sing Toward Beijing	II-25	EN
东海小民兵	Donghai xiao minbing	Little Militia Men of the East China Sea	V-239	YC: C
洞庭鱼米乡	Dongting yumixiang	Dongting, a Land of Plenty	III-9	C: RF
冬泳之歌	Dongyong zhi ge	Winter swim song	III-201	YC: Y
独立自主自力更生	Dulizizhu ziligengsheng	Let's be the Masters of our own fate, rely on one's own effort	III-63	PBPC
夺煤战歌	Duomei zhange	The Battle Song of Coal Miners	V-97	WPS
堵住资本主义的路，迈开社会主义的步	Duzhu zibenzhu yi de lu, maikai shehuizhu yi de bu	Block the road to capitalism, March Toward Socialism	V-54	PBPC
伐木工人歌	Famu gongren ge	Song of the Lumberers	I-88	WPS
反帝大军乘胜前进	Fandi dajun chengsheng qianjin	Anti-imperialist troops advance on the crest of a victory	I-172	IR

反復辟，反倒退	Fan fubi, fan daotui	Let's Fight Against Restoration of the old order and fight against going backward	V-53	PBPC
放声歌唱文化大革命	Fangsheng gechang wenhua dageming	Sing in praise of the Great Cultural Revolution	IV-44	PBPC
纺织工人学大庆	Fangzhi gongren xue daqing	Textile Workers Learn from Daqing	I-87	WPS
翻身道情	Fanshen daoqing	The Song of Liberation	I-26	C: RF
飞奔吧！祖国的汽车	Feiben ba! Zuguode qiche	Fly straight! Motherland automobiles	III-91	WPS
丰收不忘广积粮	Fengshou bu wang guang jiliang	At times of Bumper harvest lets not forget to store up grain	IV-122	WPS
丰收歌儿飞满山	Fengshou geer fei man shan	Song of Bumper Harvest Flies to all the Mountain	II-200	YC: C
妇女打坝歌	Funu daba ge	Song of the Dam Building Women	II-107	WPS
富饶美丽的潞江坝	Furao meili de lujiang ba	The Rich and the Beautiful Lu River dam	II-92	WPS
钢铁的纪律钢铁的兵	Gangtie de jilu gangtie de bing	Discipline of Iron, Soldiers of Iron	V-186	WPS
钢铁工人多自豪	Gangtie gongren duo zihao	Iron Workers Take Great Pride	I-79	WPS
钢铁工人日夜奋战	Gangtie gongren riye fenzhan	Iron Workers Fight Bravely Day and Night	IV-72	WPS
钢铁工人志如钢	Gangtie gongren zhi ru gang	The Will of the Iron and Steel Workers is as strong as Steel	III-82	WPS
钢铁洪流永向前	Gangtie hongliu yong xiangqian	The powerful current of Iron and Steel moves forward forever	III-81	WPS
钢铁运输工人之歌	Gangtie yunshu gongren zhi ge	The Song of the Iron and Steel Transportation Workers	II-62	WPS
高举大庆旗，学习王铁人	Gaoju daqing qi, xuexi wangtieren	Raise High the flag of Daqing, Learn From the Iron Man Wang	V-87	WPS
高举反帝反霸大旗前进	Gaoju fandi fanba daqi qianjin	Raise High the Anti-Imperialist Anti-Hegemonist Banner and March Forward	V-246	PBPC
高举红旗大步走	Gaoju hongqi dabu zou	Raise High the Red Flag in Great Strides	I-75	WPS
高举无产阶级专政的旗帜前进	Gaoju wuchan jieji zhuanzheng de qizhi qianjin	Raise High the Banner of Proletarian Dictatorship and March Forward	IV-21	PBPC
高炮战士之歌	Gaopao zhanshi zhi ge	Song of Canon Soldiers	III-164	WPS

高原盛开大寨花	Gaoyuan shengkai dazhai hua	The flowers of dazhai blossom abundantly on the highlands	IV-116	WPS
歌唱“鞍钢宪法”	Gechang "angang xianfa"	Sing in praise of the Anganga Steel Company's Constitution	V-86	WPS
歌唱大会战	Gechang dahui zhan	Sing in praise of a mass campaign	IV-63	WPS
歌唱红旗渠	Gechang hongqiqu	Sing in praise of the Red Flag canal	IV-107	WPS
歌唱井冈山	Gechang jinggangshan	Sing in praise of Jinggang mountain	V-25	PBPC
歌唱民族大团结	Gechang minzu da tuanjie	Sing in praise of the great unity of nationalities	IV-36	PBPC
歌唱南京路上好八连	Gechang Nanjinglu shang haobalian	Sing in praise of the good 8th Company on Nanjing Road	III-154	WPS
歌唱女列车员	Gechang nu liecheyuan	Sing in praise of the female train conductors	III-88	WPS
歌唱伟大，光荣，正确的中国共产党	Gechang weida, guangrong, zhengque de zhongguo gongchandang	Sing in praise of the great, glorious, and correct Chinese Communist Party	I-44	PBPC
歌唱我们的新西藏	Gechang women de xin xizang	Sing in praise of our new Tibet	II-39	EN
歌唱无产阶级文化大革命	Gechang wuchan jieji wenhua dageming	Sing in praise of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution	V-60	PBPC
歌唱彝山新面貌	Gechang yishan xin mianmao	Sing in praise of Yi mountain's new look	V-128	PBPC
歌唱咱们解放军	Gechang zanmen jiefangjun	Sing in praise of our liberation army	I-123	WPS
歌唱遵义	Gechang zunyi	Sing in praise of Zunyi	V-30	PBPC
革命故事会	Geming gu shi hui	Revolution Story Telling	I-158	YC: C
革命精神代代传	Geming jingshen daidai chuan	The Spirit of the Revolution passes from generation to generation	IV-94	WPS
革命青年奔向前方	Geming qingnian benxiang qianfang	The Revolutionary Youth Advance	V-225	YC: Y
革命青年进行曲	Geming qingnian jinxingqu	Marching Song of the Revolutionary Youth	I-145	YC: Y
革命青年之歌	Geming qingnian zhi ge	Song of the Revolutionary Youth	III-183	YC: Y
革命青年志在四方	Geming qingnian zhizaisifang	Revolutionary Youth have high aspirations wherever they go	II-183	YC: Y
革命战士最光荣	Geming zhanshi zui guangrong	Revolutionary Fighters are most Glorious	III-174	WPS

革命知识青年之歌	Geming zhishi qingnian zhi ge	The Song of the Revolutionary Educated Youth	I-147	YC: Y
跟着毛主席，跟着党	Genzhe Maozhuxi, genzhe dang	Follow Chairman Mao, Follow the Party	I-40	PBPC
跟着毛主席向前走	Genzhe Maozhuxi xiangqian zou	Follow Chairman Mao and march forward	III-33	PBPC
根治海河谱新篇	Genzhi haihe pu xinpian	Completely Solve the Problem of High River and Compose a New Song	III-119	WPS
歌声飞出新窝窝	Gesheng feichu xin wowo	Songs fly out of our new village homes	II-36	YC: C
歌声飞向地拉那	Gesheng feixiang dilana	Songs fly toward Tehran	II-207	IR
“共大”赞歌	"Gongda" zange	Eulogy to the “Gongda”	V-67	YC: Y
工农兵大步上讲台	Gongnongbing dabu shang jiangtai	Workers, Peasants and Soldiers take a big step in to the Classroom	IV-51	PBPC
工农兵，革命路上打先锋	Gongnongbing, geming lu shang da xianfeng	Workers, Peasants and Soldiers take the lead along the revolutionary road	I-74	WPS
工农兵是批林批孔的主力军	Gongnongbing shi pilinpike de zhulijun	Workers, Peasants and Soldiers are the main force in the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucious	III-60	PBPC
工农兵学员之歌	Gongnongbing xueyuan zhi ge	Song of the Workers, Peasants and Soldier Students	III-180	WPS
工农的子弟工农的兵	Gongnong de zidi gongnong de bing	We are sons of the Workers and Peasants, and we are Soldiers of the Workers and Peasants	I-114	WPS
工农革命歌	Gong nong geming ge	Revolutionary Song of Workers and Peasants	I-15	C: HR
工农齐武装	Gong nong qi wuzhuang	Workers and Peasants lets arm ourselves	I-30	C: RF
工农一家人	Gong nong yijiaren	Workers and Peasants are all One Family	I-7	C: HR
工人师傅进校来	Gongren shifu jin xiao lai	Master workers Come into the Schools	IV-200	YC: C
公社的庄稼齐登场	Gongshe de zhuangjia qi dengchang	The Commune's crops are all Harvested	IV-124	WPS
公社挤奶员	Gongshe jinaiyuan	The Milkers of the Commune	III-146	WPS
公社喜开丰收镰	Gongshe xi kai fengshou lian	The Commune happily starts their harvest	I-110	WPS
工业学大庆	Gongye xue daqing	Industry Learns from Daqing	I-76	WPS

广阔天地大有作为	Guangkuo tiandi dayouzuowei	There is Plenty of Room for One to Display One's Talents in the Broad Countryside	II-184	YC: Y
国际歌	Guojige	Internationale	I-2	C: HR
古田会议决议指引着方向	Gutian huiyi jueyi zhiyinzhe fangxiang	The Resolution of the Gutian Meeting Guides us (the Red Guards)	I-112	WPS
古田颂歌	Gutian songge	Song in praise of Gutian	V-28	PBPC
海岛红小兵	Haidao hongxiaobing	Island's Little Red Guards	IV-207	YC: C
海岛军民同巡逻	Haidao junmin tong xunluo	Island Units Patrol Together	IV-178	WPS
海防民兵打石雷	Haifang minbing da shilei	Haifang Militia Men Make Stone Mines	IV-184	WPS
海防战士爱海岛	Haifang zhanshi ai haidao	Haifang Frontier Soldiers Love the Island	V-195	WPS
海上南泥湾	Haishang nanniwan	Nanniwan on the Sea	III-169	WPS
哈尼人民热爱毛主席	Hani renmin re'ai maozhuxi	Hani People Love Chairman Mao	II-30	EN
好好学习天天向上	Haohao xuexi tiantian xiangshang	Study Well and Make Progress Every Day	I-149	YC: C
合作医疗开红花	Hezuo yiliao kai honghua	Cooperative Medical Service bloom the red Flowers	IV-143	WPS
红花朵朵向阳开	Honghua duoduo xiangyang kai	The Red Flowers all Blossom Toward the Sun	IV-47	PBPC
红花向着毛主席开	Honghua xiangzhe Maozhuxi kai	The Red Flowers Blossom Toward Chairman Mao	III-202	YC: Y
红旗渠凯歌震天响	Hongqiqu kaige zhentianxiang	The Red Flag Canal Song of Victory Resonates like Thunder into the Heavens	I-104	WPS
红区干部好作风	Hongqu ganbu hao zuofeng	The Cadres of the Revolutionary Bases have a good style of work and life	III-17	C: RF
红色女话务兵	Hongse nu huawubing	The Red Women Telephone Operators in the Army	III-167	WPS
红太阳光照海河	Hongtaiyang guanghui zhao haihe	The Brilliance of the Red Sun Shines on the River Hai	IV-102	WPS
红太阳一定要照亮台湾	Hongtaiyang yiding yao zhaoliang Taiwan	The Red Sun Must Shine Brightly on Taiwan	III-58	IR
红太阳照边疆	Hongtaiyang zhao bianjiang	The Red Sun Shines on the Frontier	I-70	EN

红小兵成长全靠党	Hongxiaobing chengzhang quan kao dang	The Little Red Soldiers Growing Up Rely Completely upon the Party	II-192	YC: C
红小兵扫谷忙	Hongxiaobing sao gu mang	The Little Red Soldiers Are Busy Sweeping the Grains	IV-210	YC: C
红小兵学工歌	Hongxiaobing xue gong ge	The Song of the Little Red Soldiers Learning Industry	III-215	YC: C
红小兵之歌	Hongxiaobing zhi ge	Song of the Little Red Soldiers	III-207	YC: C
红小兵织渔网	Hongxiaobing zhi yuwang	The Little Red Soldiers Weave Fishnets	III-220	YC: C
红心巧手摘银棉	Hongxin qiaoshou zhai yinmian	The Clever Hand with a Red Heart Picks the Silver Cotton	V-178	WPS
红星歌	Hongxing ge	Red Star Song	IV-193	YC: C
红星照我去战斗	Hongxing zhao wo qu zhandou	The Red Star Leads Me to Battle	IV-192	WPS
回延安	Hui Yan'an	Return to Yan'an	III-172	WPS
火車向着韶山跑	Huoche xiangzhe shaoshan pao	The Train Runs Toward Shaoshan	I-151	YC: C
火红的太阳照山村	Huohongde taiyang zhao shancun	The Red Sun Shines on the Mountain Villages	I-100	WPS
火红的战旗把路引	Huohongde zhanqi ba lu yin	The Red Battle Flag Guides the Road	IV-190	WPS
加快步伐朝前走	Jiakuai bufu chao qian zou	Step up the Pace and March Forward	III-108	WPS
艰苦奋斗是我们的政治本色	Jiankufendou shi womende zhengzhi bense	Fighting Hardships and Working Arduously is our Political Nature	IV-160	WPS
教育革命放光彩	Jiaoyu geming fang guangcai	Education Revolution Shines Radiantly	V-66	PBPC
加强战备练兵忙	Jiaqiang zhanbei lianbing mang	The Troops are Busy Training to Strengthen Combat Readiness	III-156	WPS
继承革命光荣传统	Jicheng geming guangrong chuantong	Carry on the Glorious Tradition of Revolution	II-151	WPS
解放军来到赤黎村	Jiefangjun laidao chilicun	The People's Liberation Army Comes to Chili Village	II-162	WPS
解放军学全国人民	Jiefangjun xue quanguo renmin	The People's Liberation Army Learns From the People of the Entire Country	I-113	WPS
解放军野营到山村	Jiefangjun ye ying dao shanchun	The People's Liberation Army's Camp and Field Training at the Mountain Village	I-127	WPS

积肥小唱	Jifei xiaochang	Fertilizer Song	III-131	WPS
阶级斗争是个纲	Jiejidouzheng shi ge gang	Class Struggle is the Guiding Principle	V-52	PBPC
敬爱的导师	Jingai de daoshi	Respected and Beloved Teacher	V-16	WPS
井冈山代代传	Jinggang hongqi daidai chuan	The Red Flag of Jinggang is Passed on from Generation to Generation	IV-17	PBPC
井冈山上太阳红	Jinggangshan shang taiyang hong	The Sun is Red atop Jinggang Mountain	I-50	PBPC
井冈山种南瓜	Jinggangshan xia zhong nangua	Growing Pumpkins at the foot of Jinggang Mountain	III-217	YC: C
金光大道多宽阔	Jinguang dadao duo kuankuo	The Road to the Bright Future is Broad and Wide	IV-112	WPS
敬祝毛主席万寿无疆	Jingzhu maozhuxi wanshouwujiang	Wish Chairman Mao a Long Life	I-53	PBPC
紧紧抓住阶级斗争这个纲	Jinjin zhuazhu jiejidouzheng zhi ge gang	Firmly Seize the Guiding Principle of Class Struggle	V-51	PBPC
今年又是丰收年	Jinnian youshi fengshou nian	This Year is Another Year of Bumper Harvests	V-148	WPS
紧我手中枪	Jin wo shouzhong qiang	Hold Tight the Gun in My Hand	IV-161	WPS
九頂山上红旗飘	Jiudingshan shang hongqi piao	Red Flags are Fluttering atop Jiuding Mountain	IV-118	WPS
军民大生产	Junmin da shengchan	Soldiers and Civilians Engage in Great Production	I-25	C: RF
军民团结向前进	Junmin tuanjie xiangqian jin	Soldiers and Civilians Unite to March Forward	I-132	WPS
开创世界我工农	Kaichuang shijie wo gongnong	We Workers and Peasants Initiate a New World	V-112	WPS
扛起革命枪	Kangqi geming qiang	Carry the Revolutionary Gun	I-115	WPS
抗日战歌	Kangri zhange	Battle Song of the War of Resistance Against Japan	I-10	C: HR
矿工大干社会主义有劲头	Kuanggong dagan shehuizhuyi you jintou	Miners are Full of Great Socialist Drive	IV-69	WPS
矿山工人之歌	Kuangshan gongren zhi ge	The Mine Workers Song	III-80	WPS
劳动竞赛掀高潮	Laodong jingsai xian gao chao	Production Competition Comes to a Climax	III-68	WPS
老房东“查铺”	Lao fangdong "cha pu"	Landlords conduct "bed checks"	II-157	WPS
雷锋叔叔望着我们笑	Leifeng shushu wangzhe women xiao	Uncle Lei Feng Smiles at us	III-210	YC: C

练兵战歌	Lianbing zhange	Troop Training Battle Song	II-118	WPS
练刺杀	Lian cisha	Practice Bayonet Charging	III-158	WPS
两个大苹果	Liangge da pingguo	Two Big Apples	V-241	YC: C
练好“三打”把敌杀	Lian hao "san da" ba di sha	Practice Well "Three Strikes" To Kill the Enemy	V-201	WPS
练为战	Lian wei zhan	Practice for Battle	III-157	WPS
林彪，孔老二都是坏东西	Linbiao, konglaoer dou shi huai dongxi	Linbiao and Confucious are Both Bad Things	III-209	YC: C
浏阳河	Liuyanghe	Liuyang River	III-4	C: RF
陇上山水笑颜开	Longshang shanshui xiaoyan kai	The Water on Long Mountain Smiles	V-109	WPS
龙腾虎跃争上游	Longtenghuyue zheng shangyou	Dragons Rising and Tigers Leaping (Aim high with vigor and vitality)	III-66	PBPC
龙原儿女学大寨	Longyuan ernü xue dazhai	The Sons and Daughters of Longyuan Learn From Dazhai	III-102	WPS
路线对了头，一步一层楼	Luxian duile tou, yibu yiceng lou	If you go in the right direction, you'll keep moving up	IV-23	PBPC
马查拉工人学大庆	Machala gongren xue daqing	The Workers of Machala Learn From Daqing	III-72	WPS
满载友谊去远航	Manzai youyi qu yuanshang	Fully Loaded with Friendship We Sail Far	III-224	IR
毛委员和我们在一起	Mao weiyuan he women zai yiqi	Commissor Mao is Together with us	III-16	C: RF
毛委员来到我家乡	Mao weiyuan laidao wo jiexiang	Commissor Mao Comes to My Hometown	V-36	PBPC
毛泽东思想照羌家	Maozedong sixiang zhao qiangjiao	Mao Zedong Thoughts Shine upon the Qiang Nationality	II-33	EN
毛主席，草原人民热爱您	Maozhuxi, caoyuan renmin re'ai nin	Chairman Mao, the Grasslands People Love You Dearly	II-16	EN
毛主席的革命路线指引咱永向前	Maozhuxi de geming luxian zhiyin zan yong xiangqian	Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line Leads us Forward Forever	III-25	PBPC
毛主席的光辉把炉台照亮	Maozhuxi de guanghui ba lutai zhaoliang	The Brilliance of Chairman Mao Radiates the Steel Worker's Stove	V-84	WPS
毛主席的军事路线永放光芒	Maozhuxi de junshi luxian yong fang guangmang	The Political Line of Chairman Mao's Military Affairs shines Forever	IV-16	PBPC
毛主席的战士四海为家	Maozhuxi de zhanshi sihaiweijia	Chairman Mao's Soldiers take everywhere as their home	V-188	WPS

毛主席革命路线永放光芒	Maozhuxi geming luxian yong fang guangmang	Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line Shines Radiantly Forever	IV-14	PBPC
毛主席关怀咱山里人	Maozhuxi guanhuai za shan li ren	Chairman Mao Cares for us Mountain people	II-165	WPS
毛主席号召农业学大寨	Maozhuxi haozhao nongye xue dazhai	Chairman Mao Calls on Agriculture to learn from Dazhai	I-93	WPS
毛主席夸咱半边天	Maozhuxi kua zan banbiantian	Chairman Mao Praises "Half of the Sky" (women)	IV-56	PBPC
毛主席夸咱女民兵	Maozhuxi kua za numinbing	Chairman Mao Praises our Militiawomen	II-156	WPS
毛主席领导的好	Maozhuxi lingdao de hao	Chairman Mao Leads Well	V-35	PBPC
毛主席您是我们心中的红太阳	Maozhuxi nin shi women xinzhong de hongtaiyang	Chairman Mao, you are the Red Sun in our Hearts	I-34	PBPC
毛主席是黎家最亲的人	Maozhuxi shi lijia zui qin de ren	Chairman Mao is the dearest person of the Li Nationality	V-20	EN
毛主席率领我们奔向前方	Maozhuxi shuailing women benxiang qianfang	Chairman Mao Commands us to Quickly March Forward	IV-1	PBPC
毛主席率领我们反潮流	Maozhuxi shuailing women fan chaoliu	Chairman Mao Commands us to Oppose the Tide	III-34	PBPC
毛主席率领我们继续革命	Maozhuxi shuailing women jixu geming	Chairman Mao Commands us to continue the Revolution	V-13	WPS
毛主席指引我们去登攀	Maozhuxi zhiyin women qu dengpan	Chairman Mao Guides us in climbing to higher goals	V-15	PBPC
毛主席走遍祖国大地	Maozhuxi zoubian zuguo dadi	Chairman Mao Walks All Over the vast Lands of our Motherland	I-37	PBPC
煤矿工人永远听毛主席的话	Meikuang gongren yongyuan ting Maozhuxi de hua	Coal Miners Forever Listen to (the words of) Chairman Mao	III-71	WPS
美丽的海岛，祖国的西沙	Meili de haidao, zuguo de xisha	Beautiful ocean islands, Xisha of our Motherland	V-145	PBPC
眼望红旗情满怀	Mian wang hongqi qing manhuai	Looking at the red banner my heart is full of love	III-40	PBPC
苗家儿女学大寨	Miaojia ernü xue dazhai	The sons and Daughters of the Miao nationality Learn from Dazhai	V-122	EN
苗家喜唱丰收歌	Miaojia xichang fengshou ge	The Miao Nationality Happily sing the Bumper Harvest Song	IV-127	EN
苗岭连北京	Miaoling lian beijing	Miao Mountains leads to Beijing	II-28	EN
民兵打靶歌	Minbing daba ge	Militiamen's Target Practice Song	V-212	WPS

民兵战歌	Minbing zhange	Militiamen's Battle Song	II-154	WPS
明珠撒满布依寨	Mingzhu saman buyi zhai	Bright Pearls are Scattered throughout the Buyi Village	V-133	EN
磨车刀	Mochedao	Polishing the Lathe tool	III-84	WPS
牧区大寨红旗飘	Muqu dazhai hongqi piao	The Red Flags of Dazhai flutter in the herding districts	III-104	WPS
南海儿童爱北京	Nanhai ertong ai Beijing	The Children of the South China Sea Love Beijing	V-229	YC: C
念奴娇:鸟儿问答	Nian nujiao niaoer wen da	Birds call and response	V-6	C: P
念奴娇:鸟儿问答	Nian nujiao niaoer wen da	Birds call and response	V-9	C: P
农机修理队	Nongji xiuli dui	Agricultural Machine Repairing Group	IV-87	WPS
农业机械化道路宽又广	Nongye jixiehua daolu kuan you guang	The Road to the Mechanization of Agriculture is Wide and Vast	III-113	WPS
农业学大寨	Nongye xue dazhai	In agriculture, learn from Dazhai	I-97	WPS
女电焊工之歌	Nü dianhangong zhi ge	Song of the Female Electric Welders	II-64	WPS
女飞行员之歌	Nü feixingyuan zhi ge	Song of the Female Pilots	II-130	WPS
女钻工之歌	Nü zuangong zhi ge	Song of the Female Drillers	I-84	WPS
女子采伐队之歌	Nuzi caifadui zhi ge	Song of the Girl's tree-felling group	III-93	WPS
批臭反动的“三字经”	Pichou fandong de "san zi jing"	The "Three Character Essay" of Criticize Chou and Oppose Movement	IV-203	YC: C
批林批孔当闯将	Pilin pikong dang chuang jiang	Lets be pathbreakers in the "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" campaign	III-61	PBPC
普及大寨县	Puji dazhaixian	Popularize Dazhai County	V-120	WPS
千歌万曲歌唱毛主席	Qiangewanqu gechang maozhuxi	A Thousand songs, Ten thousand melodies sing in praise of Chairman Mao	IV-5	PBPC
枪杆子永远听党指挥	Qiangganzi yongyuan ting dang zhi hui	The Barrel of a Gun Always listens to the Party's Commands	III-150	WPS
前进歌	Qianjin ge	Advancement Song	I-13	C: HR
前进! 伟大的社会主义祖国	Qianjin! Weida de shehuizhuyi zuguo	Advance! Great Motherland of Socialism	II-12	PBPC

前进！英雄的煤矿工人	Qianjin! Yingxiong de meikuang gongren	Advance! Heroic Coal Miners	III-75	WPS
前进在社会主义大道上	Qianjin zai shehuizhuyi dadao shang	Advance along the Great Road of Socialism	IV-33	PBPC
千年的铁树开了花	Qiannian de tieshu kaile hua	A thousand years of Iron Trees Have Blossomed	I-137	YC: Y
千万个雷锋接班来	Qianwange Lei feng jieban lai	Millions of Lei feng Successors are coming	III-155	WPS
千万个“铁人”奋勇向前	Qianwange "tieren" fenyong xiangqian	Millions of "Iron men" advance bravely	III-65	PBPC
青春献给伟大的党	Qingchun xiangei weida de dang	To Dedicate our Youth to the Great Party	I-143	YC: Y
青春战歌	Qingchun zhange	Battle Song of the Youth	III-186	YC: Y
勤俭节约记心间	Qinjian jieyue ji xinjian	Remember in your heart to Work Hard and Economize	III-221	YC: C
骑上小木马	Qishang xiao muma	Ride the little Rocking Horse	II-206	YC: C
秋收起义歌	Qiushou qi yi ge	Autumn Harvest Uprising Song	III-11	C: RF
齐心建设大寨县	Qixin jianshe dazhaixian	Work together to build Dazhai County	V-121	WPS
七亿人民七亿兵	Qiyi renmin qiyi bing	Seven Hundred Million People, Seven Hundred Million Soldiers	II-155	WPS
全民皆兵就是好	Quanmin jiebing jiushi hao	"Quanmin jiebing" is Good	III-176	WPS
全世界人民团结起来	Quanshijie renmin tuanjie qilai	All the People of the World Unite	II-213	IR
全世界人民团结战斗	Quanshijie renmin tuanjie zhandou	All the People of the World Unite to Fight	III-227	IR
全世界人民一定胜利	Quanshijie renmin yiding shengli	All the People of the World will be Victorious	I-173	IR
让青春放光芒	Rang qingchun fang guangmang	Let the Youth Shine	III-187	YC: Y
人民公社新花开	Renmin gongshe xinhua kai	The New Flowers of the People's Commune are in Full Bloom	IV-96	WPS
人民海军向前方	Renmin haijun xiang qian fang	The People's Navy March Forward	V-190	WPS
人民战士心红似火	Renmin zhanshi xin hong si huo	The Heart's of the People's Militiamen are Red like Fire	V-187	WPS
日出韶山东方红	Richu Shaoshan dongfang hong	When the Sun rises on Shao mountain, the East is Red	III-2	C: RF
瑞丽江畔在秧忙	Ruilijiang pan yang mang	People are Busy Sprouting Along the Ruili River	II-87	WPS

萨丽哈最听毛主席的话	Saliha zuiting maozhuxi de hua	Saliha (Female Kazak Youth) listen to the Words of Mao	II-186	EN
三大纪律八项注意	San da jilu ba xiang zhuyi	Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention	I-4, III-1	C: HR
撒尼人民心向红太阳	Sani renmin xin xiang hongtaiyang	The hearts of the Sani People side with the Red Sun	I-63	WPS
“三落实”指示永放光芒	"San luoshi" zhishi yong fang guangmang	Directives on "San luoshi"	III-175	WPS
三湾来了毛委员	Sanwan lai le Maowei yuan	Commissar Mao comes to Sanwan	III-12	C: RF
山村球赛好热火	Shancun qiusai hao rehuo	The Ballgames are Bustling in the Mountain Village	V-164	WPS
山村迎亲人	Shancun ying qinren	The Mountain Village Welcomes its beloved ones	II-160	WPS
山丹丹开花红艳艳	Shandandan kai hua hong yanyan	The Mountain's Red Azaleas bloom a bright bright red	I-21	C: RF
山乡盼着你们来	Shanxiang panzhe nimen lai	The Mountain Villages Long for you to come	III-188	YC: Y
少年运动员进行曲	Shaonian yundongyuan jinxingqu	The Marching song of the Juvenile Athletes	IV-206	YC: C
社队企业就是好	Shedui qiye jiushi hao	The People's Commune and Production Brigade Factories are Good	V-155	WPS
社会主义文艺百花盛开	Shehuizhuyi wenyi baihua shengkai	The Hundred Flowers of Socialist Art and Literature Blossom Magnificently	V-62	PBPC
社会主义祖国好	Shehuizhuyi zuguo hao	Our Socialist Motherland is Good	IV-30	PBPC
畲家歌颂毛主席	Shejia gesong Maozhuxi	She Nationality Sings in Praise of Chairman Mao	IV-10	EN
身背背篓上山来	Shen bei bei luoshang shan lai	Carrying the Bamboo Basket on the Back up the Mountain	II-174	WPS
胜利全靠党指引	Shengli quan kao dang zhiyin	Victory Completely Relies on the Party's Guidance	IV-19	PBPC
胜利永远属于我们	Shengli yongyuan shuyu women	Victory Always Belongs to Us	IV-43	PBPC
神圣的领土不许侵犯	Shensheng de lingtu buxu qinfan	Our Sacred Territory Must Not be Violated	III-59	PBPC
社社队队学大寨	Sheshe duidui xue dazhai	The Commune and Brigade Learn from Dazhai	III-100	WPS
社员爱看样板戏	Sheyuan ai kan yangbanxi	Commune Members Love to Watch Revolutionary Model Operas	IV-134	WPS

十大軍事原則是胜利的法宝	Shi da junshi yuanze shi shengli de fabao	The Ten Principles of Great Military Affairs are the Magic Weapons for Victory	IV-158	WPS
时刻准备打	Shike zhunbei da	Always be prepared to Fight	III-159	WPS
世世代代铭记毛主席的恩情	Shishi daidai mingji Maozhuxi de enqing	Chairman Mao's Great Kindness will be Remembered from Generation to Generation	III-29	PBPC
石油工人铁打的汉	Shiyou gongren tie da de han	Oil Workers are Men as Strong as Iron	IV-68	WPS
石油工人之歌	Shiyou gongren zhi ge	Song of the Oil Workers	II-60	WPS
石油工人志在四方	Shiyou gongren zhizaisifang	Oil Workers have high aspirations wherever they are	I-82	WPS
师长有床綠军被	Shizhang you chuang lu junbei	Our Division Commander has a Green quilt	II-150	WPS
誓做公社新一代	Shi zuo gongshe xin yidai	Vow to be a new generation of Commune Members	III-192	YC: Y
手捧鲜果献亲人	Shou peng xianguo xian qinren	Hands Hold Fresh Fruit as Offerings to Our Kin	III-178	WPS
手捧新宪法心里乐开了花	Shou peng xin xianfa xinli yue kaile hua	Hands Hold the New Constitution and the Heart's Joy Blossoms	IV-29	PBPC
首都民兵之歌	Shoudou minbing zhi ge	Song of the Capital Militia Men	III-177	WPS
永调歌头·重上井冈山	Shuidiao ge tou. Chong shang jinggangshan	Going up Jingang Mountain again	V-1	C: P
永调歌头·重上井冈山	Shuidiao ge tou. Chong shang jinggangshan	Going up Jingang Mountain again	V-4	C: P
书记带领咱学大寨	Shuji dailing zan xue dazhai	Secretary Guides us in Learning Dazhai	V-78	WPS
书记的办公桌	Shuji de bangong zhuo	The Secretary's Desk	V-81	WPS
四届人大传喜讯	Sijie renda chuan xixun	The Fourth Session of the People's Congress Spreads Great News	IV-24	PBPC
送饲料	Song siliao	Delivering Feed	II-203	YC: C
颂歌飞北京	Songge fei Beijing	Songs of Praise Fly toward Beijing	V-45	PBPC
颂歌飞向中南海	Songge feixiang zhongnanhai	Songs of Praise Fly toward Zhongnanhai	IV-8	PBPC
颂歌献给毛主席	Songge xiangei Maozhuxi	Offering a Song of Praise to Chairman Mao	II-1	WPS
颂歌一曲唱韶山	Songge yiqu chang shaoshan	A Song of Praise Singing of Shaoshan	II-3	PBPC

松溪河水盘山流	Songxihe shui panshan liu	The Water of the Songxi River Flows Winding down the mountain	III-118	WPS
太行儿女学大寨	Taihang ernü xue dazhai	Sons and Daughters of Taihang Mountain Learn from Dazhai	III-101	WPS
台湾同胞我的骨肉兄弟	Taiwan tongbao wode gurou xiongdi	Taiwan Compatriots, my Blood Brothers	II-45	IR
台湾一定要解放，祖国一定要统一	Taiwan yiding yao jiefang, zuguo yiding yao tongyi	Taiwan Must Be Liberated, Our Motherland Must Be Reunited	V-221	IR
踏着“铁人”脚步走	Tazhe "tieren" jiaobu zou	March in the steps of the Iron Man	II-56	WPS
天山牧场好	Tianshan muchang hao	Pastures of the Tianshan Mountains are Good	II-93	WPS
天山青松根连根	Tianshan qingsong gen lian gen	The Evergreen Trees on Tianshan Mountain Share Common Roots	II-18	WPS
天上太阳红彤彤	Tianshang taiyang hongtongtong	The Sun in the Sky is red	III-6	C: RF
天上银河落太行	Tianshang yinhe luo taihang	The Milky Way in the Sky falls on Taihang Mountains	III-115	WPS
天下大乱形势大好	Tianxia daluan xingshi dahao	The Whole World is in Great Disorder but the Situation is Excellent	IV-212	IR
挑担茶叶上北京	Tiao dan chaye shang Beijing	Carrying Tea Leaves to Beijing	III-7	C: RF
铁道兵战士志在四方	Tiedaobing zhanshi zhizaisifang	Railway Soldiers Have High Aspirations Wherever They Go	I-121	WPS
铁路铺向延河旁	Tielu pu xiang yanhe pang	Pave the Iron Path toward the Side of Yan River	V-232	YC: C
铁路修到苗家寨	Tielu xiudao miaojiazhai	The Railways are built up to the Miao Village	II-73	WPS
体育大军进行曲	Tiyu dajun jinxingqu	Marching Song of the Athletes	II-168	WPS
同心建设大寨县	Tongxin jianshe dazhaixian	With One Heart We Build Dazhai County	V-205	WPS
团结就是力量，团结就是胜利	Tuanjie jiushi liliang, tuanjie jiushi shengli	Unity is Power, Unity is Victory	IV-40	PBPC
团结起来，争取更大的胜利	Tuanjie qilai, zhengqu gengda de shengli	Let us Unite, Strive for an ever Greater Victory	I-49	PBPC
团结渠边团结歌	Tuanjiequ bian tuanjie ge	Aside the Tuanjie (Unity) Canal Unity Song	V-159	PBPC
土家喜爱咚咚亏	Tujia xi'ai dongdong kui	Tu People Love Dong Dong note	V-130	EN
拖拉机开进苗家寨	Tuolaji kaijin miaojiazhai	Tractors go into the Miao Village	II-101	EN

拖拉机手之歌 (男声独唱)	Tuolajishou zhi ge (nansheng duchang)	Song of Tractor Drivers (male solo)	II-96	WPS
拖拉机手之歌(女声 合唱)	Tuolajishou zhi ge (nusheng hechang)	Song of Tractor Drivers (solo)	II-98	WPS
脱下军装不下岗	Tuoxia junzhuang bu xiagang	Take Off the Army Uniform without stepping down from the Post	IV-186	WPS
挖地道	Wa didao	Digging a Tunnel	IV-185	WPS
万岁毛主席	Wansui Maozhuxi	Long Live Chairman Mao	I-61	PBPC
万岁！伟大的中国 共产党	Wansui! Weida de zhongguo gongchandang	Long Live the Great Chinese Communist Party	I-42, II- 5	PBPC
万众一心奔向前	Wanzhongyixin ben xiangqian	Millions of People, All of One Mind, Quickly March Forward	III-109	WPS
万众一心跟党走	Wanzhongyixin gendangzou	Millions of People, All of One Mind, Walk with the Party	III-43	PBPC
喂鸡	Wei ji	Feeding the Chickens	II-205	YC: C
伟大的北京	Weida de Beijing	Great Beijing	I-62	PBPC
伟大的党抚育我成 长	Weida de dang fuyu wo chengzhang	The Great Party Nurtures Me as I Grow Up	V-41	PBPC
伟大的领袖毛泽东	Weida de lingxiu Maozedong	The Great Leader Mao Zedong	I-33	PBPC
伟大的社会主义祖 国在前进	Weida de shehuizhuyi zuguozai qianjin	The Great Socialist Motherland is Marching Forward	I-46	PBPC
伟大的祖国	Weida de zuguo	Our Great Motherland	III-44	PBPC
伟大祖国百花吐艳	Weida zuguo baihua tuyan	Our Great Motherland has a Hundred Flowers in Full Bloom	IV-31	PBPC
伟大祖国充满阳光	Weida zuguo chongman yangguang	Our Great Motherland is Filled with Sunlight	V-43	PBPC
伟大祖国胜利前进	Weida zuguo shengli qianjin	Our Great Motherland Marches Forward Victoriously	II-14	PBPC
巍巍钟山迎朝阳	Weiwei zhongshan ying chaoyang	Towering Zhong Mountain welcomes the Morning Sun	II-50	WPS
为新生事物齐鼓掌	Wei xinsheng shiwu qi guzhang	Applaud for the Newborn Things	V-230	YC: C
为咱亲人补军装	Wei zan qinren bujunzhuang	Mend Military Uniforms for our Loved Ones	I-130	WPS
为祖国而锻炼	Wei zuguo er duanlian	Take Physical Exercise for Our Motherland	II-188	YC: Y

我爱北京天安门	Wo ai beijing tiananmen	I Love Beijing's Tiananmen	I-150	YC: C
我爱五指山, 我爱万泉河	Wo ai wuzhishan, wo ai wanquanhe	I Love Wuzhi Mountain, I Love Wanquan River	II-146	WPS
我爱这公社新一代	Wo ai zhe gongshe xin yidai	I Love the New Generation of this Commune	V-71	WPS
我爱这蓝色的海洋	Wo ai zhe lanse de haiyang	I Love this Blue Ocean	II-144	WPS
我爱祖国的大草原	Wo ai zuguo de da caoyuan	I Love the Great Grasslands of Our Motherland	II-94	EN
我驾战鹰去巡逻	Wo jia zhanying qu xunluo	I Steer the Battle Eagle to go to Patrol	IV-170	WPS
我是公社的放牧员	Wo shi gongshe de fangmuyuan	I am the Commune's Herder	III-145	WPS
我是公社气象员	Wo shi gongshe qixiangyuan	I am the Weather Forecaster of the Commune	III-143	WPS
我是公社小社员	Wo shi gongshe xiao sheyuan	I am a little member of the Commune	I-156	YC: C
我是海港装卸工	Wo shi haigang zhuangxie gong	I am a Harbour Loader	II-70	WPS
我送报刊走的忙	Wo song baokan zou de mang	I am busy delivering Newspapers	II-171	WPS
我为革命多炼钢	Wo wei geming duo liangang	I make more steel for the Revolution	I-81	WPS
我为革命放木排	Wo wei geming fang mupai	I Release Rafts for the Revolution	II-74	WPS
我为革命下厨房	Wo wei geming xia chufang	I work in the kitchen for the Revolution	II-179	WPS
我为革命站柜台	Wo wei geming zhan guitai	I Serve as a Shop Assistant for the Revolution	V-104	WPS
我为伟大祖国站岗	Wo wei weida zuguo zhangang	I Stand on Guard for Our Great Motherland	I-118	WPS
我为祖国守大桥	Wo wei zuguo shou daqiao	I defend the Great Bridge for our Motherland	III-160	WPS
我为祖国献粮棉	Wo wei zuguo xian liangmian	I Offer Grain and Cotton to Our Motherland	III-121	WPS
我心中的歌献给解放军	Wo xinzhong de ge xiangei jiefangjun	I offer the song of my heart to the People's Liberation Army	I-125	WPS
我运煤炭快快跑	Wo yun meitan kuaikuai pao	I Carry Coal and run quickly	IV-70	WPS
我站在珠穆朗玛之巅	Wo zhan zai zhumulangma zhi dian	I Stand at the summit of Zhumulangma	V-223	PBPC
我爱我的坦克车	Wo'ai wode tankeche	I love My Tank Car	III-163	WPS

我们的公社欣欣向荣	Women de gongshe xinxinxiangrong	Our Commune is Flourishing	III-124	WPS
我们的理论队伍壮大起来	Womende lilun duiwu zhuangda qilai	Our Theory Groups are Powerfully Expanding	IV-52	PBPC
我们的朋友遍天下	Womende pengyou bian tiansha	We Have Friends All Over the World	I-160	IR
我们的潜伏哨	Womende qianfu shao	Our Concealed Post	V-192	WPS
我们的巡逻车在前进	Women de xunluoche zai qianjin	Our Patrol Car is Advancing	IV-173	WPS
我们工人跟党走	Women gongren gen dang zou	We Workers March with the Party	IV-61	WPS
我们工人硬骨头	Women gongren ying gutou	We Workers are Dauntless People	IV-62	WPS
我们怀念台湾小朋友	Women huainian Taiwan xiaopengyou	We Cherish the Memory of the Children of Taiwan	IV-209	YC: C
我们是钢铁战斗队	Women shi gangtie zhandoudui	We are Iron Battle Group	V-91	WPS
我们是革命的新一代	Women shi geming de xin yidai	We are the New Generation of the Revolution	III-184	YC: Y
我们是光荣的共青团员	Women shi guangrong de gongqingtuanyuan	We are the Glorious members of the Communist Youth League	II-180	YC: Y
我们是光荣的炼钢工	Women shi guangrong de liangangong	We are the Glorious Steel Workers	V-92	WPS
我们是光荣的人民教师	Women shi guangrong de renmin jiaoshi	We are the Glorious Professors of the People	II-169	WPS
我们是红小兵	Women shi hongxiaobing	We are Little Red Soldiers	I-153	YC: C
我们是矿工也是兵	Women shi kuanggong ye shi bing	We are miners as well as soldiers	III-77	WPS
我们是毛主席的红卫兵	Women shi Maozhuxi de hongweibing	We are Chairman Mao's Red Guards	I-142	YC: Y
我们是毛主席的红小兵	Women shi Maozhuxi de hongxiaobing	We are Chairman Mao's Little Red Soldiers	II-191	YC: C
我们是毛主席的红小兵	Women shi Maozhuxi de hongxiaobing	We are Chairman Mao's Little Red Soldiers	III-206	YC: C
我们是毛主席的战士	Women shi Maozhuxi de zhanshi	We are Chairman Mao's Soldiers	III-148	WPS
我们是强大的城市民兵	Women shi qiang da de chengshi minbing	We are the Powerful Urban Militiamen	IV-182	WPS
我们是亲爱的好朋友	Women shi qin'aide haopengyou	We are Dear Friends	V-242	IR
我们是青年工人	Women shi qingnian gongren	We are Young Workers	III-86	WPS
我们是无产阶级革命军队	Women shi wuchanjieji geming jundui	We are the Proletarian Revolutionary Army	V-180	WPS

我们是学大寨的青年突击队	Women shi xue dazhai de qingnian tujidui	We are the Young Stock Brigade Learning from Dazhai	V-227	YC: Y
我们是朝气蓬勃的红小兵	Women shi zhaqipengbo de hongxiaobing	We are Little Red Soldiers full of vigor and vitality	III-208	YC: C
我们是支农小分队	Women shi zhinong xiaofendui	We are peasant supporter Little Group	III-96	WPS
我们伟大的祖国	Women weida de zuguo	Our Great Motherland	III-48	PBPC
我们英雄的乌苏里苏里民兵	Women yingxiongde wusuli minbing	Our Heroic Wusuli Militiamen	V-213	WPS
我们永远是个战斗队	Women yongyuan shige zhandoudui	We will forever be a battle team	I-117, II-153	PBPC
我们長在延河旁	Women zhang zai yanhe pang	We Grow by the side of the Yan River	III-212	YC: C
我是公社小牧民	Woshi gongshe xiao mumin	I am the Little Herdsman of the Commune	II-197	YC: C
无产阶级文化大革命就是好	Wuchanjieji wenhua dageming jiushi hao	The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is Good	III-62	PBPC
无产阶级专政磐石堅	Wuchanjieji zhuanzheng panshi jian	The Proletarian Dictatorship is as Solid as a Rock	V-56	PBPC
“五·七”路上向前跑	"Wu.Qi" lushang xiang qian pao	On the "5.7" (May 7 Directive) Road we Quickly Run Forward	IV-202	YC: C
五指山太阳红	Wuzhishan taiyang hong	The Sun is Red on Wuzhi Mountain	V-22	WPS
喜送公粮破浪来	Xi song gongliang po lang lai	Happily Deliver Grain through Waves	III-136	WPS
鲜红的党旗高高飘扬	Xian hong de dangqi gaogao piaoyang	The Scarlet Flag of the Party Flutters High	V-38	PBPC
向广阔天地进军	Xiang guangkuo tiandi jinjun	The Advancements Toward the Vast Countryside	V-226	YC: Y
象雷锋那样	Xiang leifeng nayang	Be Like Leifeng	II-152	WPS
向毛主席报喜報喜	Xiang Maozhuxi baoxi	Report a Success Worthy of Celebration to Chairman Mao	V-123	WPS
向全国人民学习	Xiang quanguo renmin xuexi	Learn from the people of the Whole Country	III-152	WPS
向新的胜利进军	Xiang xinde shengli jinjun	Advance to New Victories	IV-58	PBPC
向阳大院开红花	Xiang yang da yuan kai honghua	Red Flowers Blossom in the Courtyard	IV-54	PBPC
向阳院里阳光照	Xiang yangyuanli yangguang zhao	The Sunlight Shines on the Courtyard	V-231	YC: C

橡胶林里歌声响	Xiangjiao lin li gesheng xiang	Sounds of Songs Ring Through the Rubber Forests	IV-204	YC: C
向着太阳歌唱	Xiangzhe taiyang gechang	Sing Toward the Sun	III-32	PBPC
掀起农业建设新高潮	Xianqi nongye jianshe xin gaochao	Start an upsurge of New Agricultural Construction	IV-101	WPS
县委书记到俺村	Xianwei shuji dao ancun	County Secretary comes to our Village	V-157	WPS
鲜血凝成的伟大友谊	Xianxue ningcheng de weida youyi	The Great Friendship Sealed in Blood	I-164	IR
小扁担	Xiao biandan	Little Shoulder/Carrying Pole	IV-211	YC: C
小厂盛开大庆花	Xiaochang shengkai daqing hua	Flowers of Daqing Blossom at the Little Factories	IV-75	WPS
小司机	Xiao siji	Little Driver	II-194	YC: C
小松树	Xiao songshu	Little Pine Tree	III-222	YC: C
小小螺丝帽	Xiaoxiao luosimao	Tiny Screw	I-155	YC: C
小小球儿闪银光	Xiaoxiao qiu'er shan yinguang	Tiny Ball Shines Silver Rays	I-158	YC: C
小小手榴弹	Xiaoxiao shouliudan	Tiny Hand Grenade	V-199	WPS
喜看今日新大寨	Xikan jinri xin dazhai	Happily Watch Today's New Dazhai	III-97	WPS
喜看今日新兰考	Xikan jinri xin lankao	Happily Watch Today's New Lankao	IV-110	WPS
新的女性	Xinde nüxing	The New Women	I-16	C: HR
信儿捎给台湾小朋友	Xiner shao gei Taiwan xiaopengyou	Letters Sent to the Children of Taiwan	III-214	YC: C
行军歌	Xingjunge	Marching Song	II-125	WPS
心里的花样织不完	Xinli de huayang zhibuwan	Patterns of the Heart May Never Be Fully Exhausted	V-100	WPS
新生事物好	Xinsheng shiwu hao	Newly Emerging Things are Good	V-61	PBPC
雄伟的天安门	Xiongwei de tiananmen	Magnificent Tiananmen	II-10	PBPC
西沙- 中华民族壮丽的渔乡	Xisha---zhonghua minzu zhuangli de yuxiang	Xisha Islands-The Majestic Fishing Countryside of China	V-142	WPS
绣红星	Xiu hongxing	Embroider a Red Star	IV-204	YC: C
昔阳永远争上游	Xiyang yongyuan zhengshangyou	Xiyang Always Aim High	V-119	WPS

喜摘丰收棉	Xi zhai fengshou mian	Happily Pick the Bumper Harvest of Cotton	III-133	WPS
选良种	Xuan liangzhong	Select Fine Seeds/Breeds	III-126	WPS
学大寨，要大干	Xue dazhai, yao dagan	You Must Work Vigorously to Learn from Dazhai	IV-91	WPS
学理论，促大干	Xue lilun, cu dagan	Learn Theory, Promote Working Vigorously	V-90	WPS
学习大寨换新天	Xuexi dazhai huan xintian	Learn from Dazhai and Change for a New World	III-105	WPS
学习大寨永远向前	Xuexi dazhai yongyuan xiangqian	Learn from Dazhai and Forever March Forward	IV-93	WPS
学习鲁迅，坚韧地战斗	Xuexi luxun, jianrendi zhandou	Learn from Luxun and Fight Tenaciously	V-58	PBPC
延安儿女心向毛主席	Yan'an ernü xinxiang Maozhuxi	The Hearts of the Youth of Yan'an are with Chairman Mao	I-51	PBPC
延安窑洞住上了北京娃	Yan'an yaodong zhu shangle Beijing wa	The Youth of Beijing live in the Cave Dwellings of Yan'an	III-194	YC: Y
延安赞	Yan'an zan	Song in Praise of Yan'an	V-33	PBPC
扬鞭催马送公粮	Yangbian cuima song gongliang	Raise the whip to urge the horse delivering Public Grain	II-105	WPS
延边人民热爱毛主席	Yanbian renmin re'ai Maozhuxi	Yanbian People Love Chairman Mao	I-68	EN
严格训练为实战	Yange xunlian wei shizhan	Strict Drills for Actual Combat	IV-162	WPS
阳光灿烂照红旗	Yanguang canlan zhao hongqi	The Sunlight Shines Magnificently on the Red Flag	I-40	PBPC
盐工最爱艳阳天	Yangong zui ai yanyangtian	Salt Workers Love Bright Sunny Days the Most	IV-82	WPS
延河畔上的女石匠	Yanhe panshang de nü shijiang	The Female Masons Along the banks of Yan River	I-108	WPS
沿着毛主席的革命路线高飞向前	Yanzhe Maozhuxi de geming luxian gao fei xiangqian	Fly High and Advance Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line	V-182	WPS
沿着社会主义大道奔前方	Yanzhe shehuizhuyi dadao ben qianfang	Advance Quickly Along the Big Road of Socialism	III-111	WPS
要保持那么一股革命劲头	Yao baochi neme yigu geming jintou	We Must Maintain that type of Revolutionary Strength	V-181	WPS
要做共产主义接班人	Yao zuo gongchanzhuyi jiebanren	We Must be the successors of Communism	II-189	YC: Y
瑶家歌颂毛主席	Yaojia gesong Maozhuxi	Yao People Sing in Praise of Chairman Mao	II-23	EN
夜读	Ye du	Nightly Studies	V-74	WPS

夜航之歌	Yehangzhige	Night Navigation Song	II-127	WPS
野营拉练歌	Yeying lalian ge	Field Training Song	IV-177	WPS
野营路上	Yeying lushang	On the Field Training Road	II-123	WPS
野营训练好	Yeying xunlian hao	Field Training Drills are Good	I-116	WPS
一串浪花一支歌	Yichuan langhua yi zhi ge	Every Cluster of Spray is a Song	V-162	WPS
医疗队员之歌	Yiliao duiyuan zhige	Song of the Medicinal Team Members	I-133	WPS
沂蒙欢腾迎亲人	Yimeng huanteng ying qinren	Yimeng Rejoicingly Greets Beloved Ones	V-201	WPS
英姿飒爽女电工	Yingzisashuang nü diangong	Bright and Brave Female Electrical Workers	II-68	WPS
银花朵朵向阳开	Yinhua duoduo xiangyangkai	Silver Flowers All Blossom toward the Sun	V-176	WPS
一切听从党指挥	Yiqie tingcong dang zhihui	Follow the Party Demands in Everything	IV-18	PBPC
永远为祖国放哨	Yongyuan wei zuguo fangshao	Forever Stand Sentry for Our Motherland	II-148	WPS
永做人民的战斗队	Yong zuo ren min de zhan dou dui	Forever be the Battleteam of the People	V-189	WPS
油田的早晨	Youtian de zaochen	Early Morning on the Oil Field	V-94	WPS
优质高产当尖兵	Youzhi gaochan dang jianbing	Be a Pioneer in Achieving a High Quality Bumper Harvest	II-53	WPS
远航	Yuan hang	To Sail Far	II-209	IR
跃进歌声传四方	Yuejin gesheng chuan sifang	Song of Great Leap Forward Spreads Everywhere	II-48	WPS
渔歌向着北京唱	Yuge xiangzhe Beijing chang	Singing Fishing Songs to Beijing	V-138	WPS
渔家姑娘爱武装	Yujia guniang ai wuzhuang	Fishing Girls Love Battle Outfits	V-209	WPS
渔家姑娘耕大海	Yujia guniang geng dahai	Fishing Girls Work Hard in the Big Sea	IV-129	WPS
渔家四季尽春光	Yujia siji jin chunguang	Spring Shines in the Fishing Families All Year Round	V-135	WPS
云岭连北京	Yunling lian Beijing	Cloud Mountain Leads to Beijing	V-47	PBPC
耘田新歌	Yuntian xinge	New Song of Weeding the fields	V-169	WPS
在灿烂的五星红旗下	Zai canlande wuxing hongqi xia	Under the Magnificent Five-Starred Red Flag	IV-198	YC: C

在无产阶级专政旗帜下前进	Zai wuchan jieji zhuanzheng qizhi xia qianjin	March Forward Under the Banner of Proletarian Dictatorship	V-55	PBPC
赞美伟大的祖国	Zan mei weida de zuguo	In Praise of Our Great Motherland	III-50	PBPC
咱们的大学生回到 生产队	Zanmen de daxuesheng huidao shengchandu	Our College Students Return to the Production Teams	V-69	YC: Y
咱们的领袖毛泽东	Zanmen de lingxiu maozedong	Our Leader Mao Zedong	I-20	C: RF
咱们的书记下队来	Zanmen de shuji xia duilai	Our Party Secretary has come to Our Production Team	IV-133	WPS
咱们工人学大庆	Zanmen gongren xue daqing	We Workers Learn from Daqing	V-88	WPS
咱们工人要大干	Zanmen gongren yao dagan	We Workers must Work Vigorously	III-70	WPS
咱们要大干	Zanmen yao dagan	We Must Work Vigorously	III-69	WPS
咱是生产队的羊边 天	Zan shi shengchandu de yang bian tian	We are Half of the Sky in the Production Team	III-139	WPS
咱是支农服务队	Zan shi zhinong fuwudui	We are the Service Team of the Peasant Supporters	V-107	WPS
咱造铁牛豪情壮	Zan zao tieniu haoqing zhuang	We Build Iron Calves with Lofty sentiments and aspirations	V-103	WPS
造船工人钢铁汉	Zaochuan gongren gangtiehan	Ship Builders are Iron Men	IV-73	WPS
战地打夯歌	Zhandi dahang ge	Ramming Song of the Battlefield	V-170	WPS
战斗进行曲	Zhandou jinxingqu	Battle Song	I-12	C: HR
战斗在农村心向党	Zhandou zai nongcun xin xiang dang	We Fight in the Countryside but our Hearts are with the Party	IV-152	WPS
长大当个好社员	Zhangda dangge hao sheyuan	Grow up to be a Good Member of the Commune	II-196	YC: C
长大当个新农民	Zhangda dangge xin nongmin	Grow up to be a New Peasant	V-237	YC: C
张大妈喜看“龙江颂”	Zhangdama xikan "longjiangsong"	Auntie Zhang Happily Watches "Song of Longjiang"	V-63	PBPC
战士想的是什么	Zhanshi xiangde shi shenme	What are the Soldiers thinking	II-140	WPS
战士心中警钟长鸣	Zhanshi xinzhong jingzhong zhangming	Alarm Bells Ring Forever in the Hearts of the Soldiers	IV-163	WPS
政治夜校亮堂堂	Zhengzhi yexiao liangtangtang	Political Night School Shines Impressively	IV-139	WPS
真象一对亲兄弟	Zhen xiang yidui qin xiongdi	They are Really Like Two Blood Brothers	II-136	WPS

针线包是传家宝	Zhenxianbao shi chuanjiabao	Sewing Kit is our Family Treasure	I-157	YC: C
治准大军意志坚	Zhihuai da jun yi zhijian	The Army Battling Huaihe are Strong Willed	IV-106	WPS
芝麻开花节节高	Zhima kaihua jiejiégao	Sesame Flowers Bloom Successively High	III-122	WPS
知识青年下乡来	Zhishi qingniang xiaxiang lai	The Educated Youth Comes to the Country	IV-149	YC: Y
植树苗	Zhi shu miao	Plant Tree Seedling	II-202	YC: C
织网歌	Zhiwangge	Song of Net Weaving	II-115	WPS
志在宝岛创新业	Zhi zai bao dao chuang xin ye	Determination to develop new Industries in the Islands	I-106	WPS
中柬人民友谊之歌	Zhongjian renmin youyi zhige	Song of Friendship Between the People's of China and Cambodia	I-170	IR
种葵花	Zhongkui hua	Plant Sunflowers	II-201	YC: C
中老人民友谊之歌	Zhonglao renmin youyi zhige	Song of Friendship Between People of China and Laos	I-168	IR
中越人民友谊歌	Zhongyue renmin youyi zhige	Song of Friendship Between People of China and Vietnam	I-166	IR
抓革命，促生产	Zhua geming, cu shengchan	Seize the Revolution, Promote Production	II-47	WPS
壮家少年热爱毛主席	Zhuangjia shaonian re'ai Maozhuxi	Zhuang Youth Love Chairman Mao	III-203	EN
壮族人民歌唱毛主席	Zhuangzu renmin gechang maozhuxi	Zhuang People Sing in Praise of Chairman Mao	I-66	EN
祝福毛主席万寿无疆	Zhufu maozhuxi wanshouwujiang	Wish Chairman Mao a Long Life	I-58	PBPC
准备好	Zhunbei hao	Get Ready	V-191	WPS
祖国的边疆新西藏	Zuguo de bianjiang xin xizang	New Tibet of our Motherland Frontier	II-42	EN
祖国盛开大寨花	Zuguo shengkai dazhai hua	Dazhai Flowers blossom Abundantly throughout Our Motherland	V-116	WPS
祖国，我爱你	Zuguo, wo ai ni	Our Motherland, I love you	V-228	YC: C
祖国！我为你战斗，为你歌唱	Zuguo! Wo weini zhandou, weini gechang	Our Motherland! I Fight for you, I sing in praise for you	III-52	PBPC

APPENDIX G

ORIGINAL RESPONSES TO QUESTION #21

对革命歌曲的想法
90年代的歌比较好听，增添了一些新的元素
一些媒体应多放一点这样的歌，一方面让年轻人不要忘记历史，另一方面也让我们这种上年纪的人得到娱乐
一些怀旧
一代人又一代人的歌，那些歌是以前的人才唱的。
不合时代
不太喜欢这样的歌但是年轻人还是应该多听这样的歌
不太感兴趣
不爱好歌曲，对此并不了解
不能流传下来，可惜，现在的年轻人都不会唱
不要改编
不要这么命名，不要用这个概念去全市这个问题，只要市政分明组景升的都是好的。
不论是以前的还是现在的都不错
也是时代的反映，是时代的风尚
什么时代流行什么歌
以前好听
以前是以文革为背景，而且自己又服过役，许多歌的内容还是很贴近百姓生活的。应该多让现在的年轻人听听，让他们得到一些教育
以前的好
以前的好听
以前的歌不错，但经过现在的改编后更好听
以前的歌好听，应该发扬光大
以前的歌曲很多都有革命精神应该多发扬在媒体上多放一些

以前的歌曲是以文革为背景，但歌词都很教条化，并不很贴近人民的生活
以前的歌词比较好，很鼓舞人心，应多放放
以前的革命歌曲是以以前为背景而现在时代变了，年轻人也可以不听了
以后再编一些好的、六、七十年代的老歌在电视，广播播放。最好是在中午12：30以后和下午以后播一些鼓舞人心的歌曲。如（大海航行靠舵手）、（三大纪律八项注意）等能经常听到。
作为一个大学生和预备党员应该多听这样的歌，多受受这样的历史熏陶
作为历史，怀旧
保持原貌，电视里经常放。
保留鼓舞人心的方面，反映民族激情
做成唱片，收音机，广播多一点
做成碟片
做成碟片，对青年人教育
再多播送一点。
创新
创新，改编
创新一些
制成碟片发售
反对改，要以前的风格
发展现代化
发扬光大
只是一个时代的保留
只能记载当时的一些社会情况,不是很符合现在情况.
可以再多一点听到。

可以多听到一些。
可以多放
听了容易怀念
听到令人激进。
听到的时候可以怀旧。
听到的时候比较喜欢
听起来很鼓舞人心，希望能经常听到。
喜欢原汁原味的革命歌曲，希望电视广播能多播放一些
喜欢老歌，愿意听到老歌，不要忘了革命老前辈
在中小学传唱老歌
在学校里多提倡唱革命歌曲
多一些带有民族特色的革命歌曲
多一点，保留一下
多创作一些老歌风格的歌曲
多发扬过去艰苦奋斗精神-朴实对人忠诚信任的歌
多听一些老歌
多听到一些。多搞一些这方面的活动。
多听听歌曲，电视里多放
多唱
多唱一些
多唱一些，让大家熟悉
多唱唱

多唱唱，多发囊
多宣传
多宣传,多改善
多宣传,多教育
多宣传，除一些唱片
多宣传思想健康.战斗力强.鼓舞人心的革命歌曲
多开些像激情广场一样的节目
多播放，多搞点文艺节目，适当改编
多播放一些革命歌曲，让我们多听一点
多播放一点，适应新时代
多播放这些歌。
多改编一些歌曲
多放
多放，可以有机会唱
多放一些
多放一些，电台里设置专栏节目。
多放一些听听
多放一些好歌
多放一些旋律好点的老歌
多放一些有时代特征的歌曲
多放一些老歌
多放一些老革命歌曲，

多放一些过去老歌
多放一点，让年轻一代更熟悉
多放一点。
多放放
多放放就很好
多放放老歌
多普及革命歌曲
大力宣传，让更多人知道。
大力推广
大家唱的形式唱这些老歌
好
好
好
好
好，要多放
好的歌我希望能多播，多宣传。年轻人不知道。流行歌曲美老歌好。
好的歌要多放一些
媒体上应该多放一些使上年纪的人得到娱乐
它是时代的产物
对于以前的歌应该经过塞选，把那些发扬革命精神的一个让年轻人多听听，也让他们接受一些必要的教育
对于我们这些老年人不关心什么歌曲
对以前的歌比较忠爱

小范围创新
就是需要强调精神方面的东西
尽多放老革命歌曲,回顾老革命
尽量多播放,怀旧
希望一些好的歌曲,广播里CD里应该多唱些
希望一些好的歌曲还能继续在耳边响起。
希望以后多播激励人心的歌曲
希望以后能多唱
希望保留
希望再多听到。还是很喜欢听的。
希望去宣传,把老歌集在一起出售
希望发扬下去,继续让大家听到。
希望可以再流行下去。
希望可以多听到
希望可以多编这样的,改编也可以。
希望听到更多的好歌
希望听到老歌星唱。
希望在一些地方还能听到
希望多听到。
希望多听到一些
希望多听到这些歌
希望多唱一些鼓舞人心,歌唱祖国的革命歌曲

希望多放一
希望多放老歌
希望媒体多放一些，多搞此类节目。
希望媒体能多放一些，让我们得到娱乐，也让孩子们受到教育
希望年轻人多了解一些。
希望广播电视多多播放，在再出一些歌带
希望整理后在人们当中流传。
希望每年能听到。
希望现在的小青年多听，有上进心。现在的歌应该也编得有上进心。
希望电台到电视多放一些，让年轻人多了解一些
希望继续保留。
希望能够多听到。
希望能很多地方都听到这些歌
希望重新整理，出专辑，多放一点。
平时多放一点
年轻人不喜欢这些歌，但对于我们这样的人还希王能多放一点，让我们于乐
年轻人应该多听,得到教育
并不是所有的革命歌曲都是好的，都能给人留下深刻印象的。有一些好的歌曲还是很值得保留下来的。我们要有挑选。
广播电视可以多播放一点革命歌曲
应该从新改编（老歌新唱）
应该保留老歌
应该再多听到

应该发扬下去。
应该听听，回顾以往
应该多唱，不要改，要保持原汁原味
应该多推广一些
应该多放一些让年轻人受一些教育
应该多放一些这样的歌一方面教育孩子另一方面娱乐上年纪的人
应该多放一些这样的歌让我们得到娱乐
应该录在专辑里多宣传
应该把它的调子留住，可以改些词。
应该改改歌词了
应该有些这种老歌
应该有新的风格
应该要发扬光大
应该让孩子多受革命教育
应该让年轻的人多听多学一点。
应该让更让人知道一些
开发更多的新歌曲
当今时代的年轻人不爱听这样的歌但考虑到对孩子的教育还是应该适当地放一些
当时好
往后应该继续唱
很好听
很留恋，希望多放。

怀旧的，继续保留
想听，希望可以再多听到。
想听的时候就听
想多放一些老歌
想自己亲身去体验一下,参加合唱团
愿意听老的
我们希望电视上能多放一些，让我们得到娱乐
我们年纪大的还想听听那样的歌曲
我希望电台多放一些歌，老的电视剧
我本身比较喜欢以前的革命歌曲，对于现在的年轻人应该多放一些让他们也能得到教育
我觉得歌曲应该活跃一点,多宣传,多放放
把革命歌曲保存下来
抒情
提倡多唱，振奋人心，提高人们的思想境界，不再如此自私
改编以后比较温和，没什么市场
放多
放的少了，听不到了。希望能够多播一些。
文艺晚会上多播放这些歌，不希望改编
文艺晚会上多放一些，不要翻唱
无
无
无

无
无
无所谓
无所谓
时代不同，歌也不同
时代不同了年轻人可以不听但就教育的角度说学校还是应该适当地放一些。
时代不同了这样的歌放的很少但也应该适当地让孩子们听听，让他们接受历史的熏陶
是时代的产物
普及一下
普及广泛
曲要编得好听，歌词也要编得要容易记。
更新，更好的歌
最好继续流传，如果做不到不要随意串改
有一个轮回
有些古老的，希望可以再听到。
有些好的歌曲还是应该和流行歌曲一样再流行起来。
有些歌改一盖，符号现代
有些歌曲让年轻人知道
有些革命歌曲应该继续唱
有关部门出一些革命歌曲的集子
有时候有必要方一下，因为不普及
有更好的歌曲

有点精神，领导能体谅你们的心情
有的改的不是很好
比较好的可以流传下来
比较容易唱
永远留传下去，音乐代表了当时的面貌
没
没
没什么
没有现在的歌好听
流行不起来了
满喜欢的
现在应该多放，年轻人应该再多了解一些。
现在改编后的比以前的好听
现在改编的革命歌曲有摇滚乐的风格，不太好
现在的年轻人应该要学会革命歌曲，革命歌曲其实是很好的，很鼓舞人心。
由于工作较忙，觉得听一些这样的歌会放松一些
电台多播放，开一些音乐会
电台多放一些
电台里多放
电视上多唱唱,多推广推广
电视台多播放
电视多播放

电视多播放
电视能经常播放一些
电视里多播放
电视里多播放
电视里多播放
电视里多播放
电视里多播放
电视里多播放，做成磁带
电视里多播放一些
电视里多放一点，向群众推广
电视里多放点，在社区活动时候多放
电视里普及
电视里面多播放
电视里面多放放
相对于现在的流行歌曲，以前的歌比较鼓舞人心，媒体上应多放一些
组织到社区多唱歌
经常唱一唱，在电视、广播里放一放，怀怀旧
结合现在改编一下，或在特殊节日多放。
继承发扬
继承发扬革命歌曲
继续保留，并再次基础上有所创新。
继续保留一些，给现在的孩子这方面的熏陶。

继续流传
缺少一些浪漫色彩，音乐因素比较简单
翻成摇滚乐
老人比较喜欢听，电台里多播一些
老歌应该做成CD或磁带
老歌应该多翻唱
老歌曲要保留，经常播放
老歌要提倡
能在公众场合多播放，开革命歌曲晚会
能增加爱国心
能够再编写一些革命歌曲，最好进行出版，使其更为普遍
能够让我们多听一些
能有多一点渠道播放，让我们这些人得到娱乐
能继续流传下去
自己是学生，没有经历过文革，还是希望能听一些这样的歌，不要忘记历史
虽然对于国家来说，文革是一段不堪回首的历史，但对于个人，却留下了一种回忆。歌曲很怀旧，但希望能将歌曲进行重新配器，重新翻唱。
要多点老歌
要弘扬革命歌曲，要让现在的年轻人多听这些歌曲
要有一些变化
要适当的保留此类革命歌曲
觉得很好，想再多听一些。
该唱的唱，不该唱的不唱

过去比现在的歌词要要一点
过去的现在的太少
还好
还应该保留原来的曲调
还是以前的歌的风格好
还是应该发扬
还是比较喜欢，
还是老歌好,容易让人想起过去.
还是觉得以前的歌比较好听
还是非常喜欢听的.
还是革命歌曲好
这些歌对年轻人思想方面能得到教育，对他们以后的人生非常有益
这些歌很怀旧，适合我们这个年纪的人。
适合老人的歌曲
都很好，但和天涯涯海角是不一样的
都很好听
重新流行老歌
重新编排一下
随着潮流走
靠革命精神活下去
革命歌曲多放一些，年轻人要多听
革命歌曲多放放

革命歌曲好听，要流传下去

革命歌曲是特别好的形式，要发扬光大，并且组织一些演出

革命歌曲虽然好听，但是现在的流行歌曲也同样好听，所以已经过去的就是过去了

APPENDIX H

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTION #21

90's music is better to listen to, a lot more ingredients there
after re-arranging, the music is much smoother but there is no market
all nice to listen to
all nice to listen to
all of this music would be good education for young people's thought. It will help them in their future
all the revolutionary music is based on the cultural revolution as a background, I have served in the military before, I feel all the content is close to everybody's daily life. We should let more of the young generation listen to let them get some education
all the revolutionary music is based on the cultural revolution, and all the lyrics are all very hard line not fitting people's everyday life
also is a reflection of that time, also is what was popular at that time
although, for the country, the cultural revolution was a period of hard memories/history; but as a person, it really kept a memory for me and the music made me think of a lot of the past and brought my memories back. I hope someone can start all over to re-arrange accompaniments/styles
aren't played very much, can't hear them, hope they broadcast more so I can hear more
as a college student, and also I will become a member of the party, I should listen to more of this music to get more of this history's influence
as for our old people, we don't care what kind of music
as for the old music, we should select/choose (the good ones) they can broadcast our revolutionary spirit, we should let the young people listen more, let them have some of the education
at that time was good
before were better
before were good/better
broadcast more of these songs
broadcast more so we can hear some more
broadcast more, have more programs/concerts, but also suitable, make some changes
broadcast more, to suit new times
broadcast/disseminate
can play more

can play more
can play more
come up with/write some more new music
compose more songs in the style/character of the old songs
consider very good, would like to listen more
continue to broadcast
continue/preserve the "good" music
contrary to todays music, the revolutionary music of the past was very encouraging and excited people, the media should play some more
doesn't matter
doesn't matter
don't change
don't really care for this type of music but I think young generations should listen to this kind of music
due to work is very busy, if I listen to this music it will make me relax
during the concerts we should play more, shouldn't change the melody or lyrics
during the concerts we should play more, shouldn't change the melody or lyrics
each generation/time has it's own music
easy to sing
every generation has it's own music, revolutionary music is for the past generation, not for us
from now on we should continue singing
good
good
good
good

good music, I hope they can continue to broadcast, more publicity. The young generation doesn't know this music. Popular music isn't as good as the old songs
good songs should be played more
good, should play more
have some more, we should preserve
hope I can hear it every year
hope it continues to be popular
hope it continues to be promoted, continue to let everybody to hear this kind of music
hope some more there are some different channels to broadcast this kind of music to let us get some more entertainment
hope that after re-arranging, that more people will pass it on/continue to sing
hope that some places I can still hear/listen to
hope they can compose more such songs, even make some changes okay
hope they play more
hope they play more old songs
hope to continue/preserve
hope to hear more, I still really like to listen to them
hope to sing more encouraging songs, sing in revolutionary songs in praise of our motherland
hope to still have opportunity to hear
hope we can publicize this and put it in an album and sell it
I am a student, didn't experience the cultural revolution, I would still like to hear some of these songs , (so as not to) forget history
I am more fond of old music
I am opposed to any revisions, I want to keep in the original style
I don't like music so I can't understand your question
I don't think this will be popular

I feel that revolutionary music should be more alive, more publicity and play more
I hope all these revolutionary music can continue and that I can keep hearing them
I hope from now on we can play some more exciting people's music
I hope in the future we should arrange to write more music like the 60s and 70s and play on tv/radio. The best way is to play on 12:30 or afternoon to excite people .
I hope some of the good music, in the radio or cd they should play some more
I hope that broadcasts play more and also make some more tapes
I hope that more places can hear these songs
I hope that now all the young people can listen more, that will keep them moving, some of the music now is also very encouraging too
I hope that the original revolutionary music, I hope that the tv/radio can play more
I hope that younger people understand it more
I hope the media can play some more so we can get some entertainment and that the children can get an education
I hope the media will play some more and that they will organize more such events
I hope the tv and radio play more so the young people will better understand
I hope they continue to be preserved
I hope they rearrange and have a special album and play some more
I hope to hear more of this kind of music
I hope to hear the old singers sing this music
I hope we can hear some more
I like to hear some more, please arrange some more of these kind of activity
I like to hear, I hope I can hear it when I want to
I like to listen to more old songs
I love the old music, I love to hear all the old songs, don't forget our revolutionary old generation
I personally like all the revolutionary music from before, as for today's young people, we should play more to educate them

I personally would really like to be there and be in the chorus
I really miss the old music, I hope they play more
I still like (better) (revolutionary music)
I still prefer to listen to the old music
I still really like to listen to revolutionary music
I still think the old music is good because it helps me remember my past
I still think the older music is better/sounds better
I would like the radio to play some more, and also the old soap operas
I would like to hear more
if play more it would be good
I'm not interested
in primary and middle school should sing more old songs
in the past all the revolutionary music, because of time and background it was different. But now the times are different and they don't have to listen
it is not all of the revolutionary music that is good, but they give us/left a deep memory. Some of the good music is worth keeping. We should select (those songs)
listen to more songs, play more on tv
listen when I feel like listening
lyrics from before were much better, excited people, should play some more
make into CD as education for the young people
make into CD as education for the young people
make into CD, radio, broadcasts more
make it a history, nostalgia
make some new compositions
make some new compositions

make some new compositions
make some new compositions and revisions
media should play more of the music for the senior people to get entertainment
more publicity
more publicity
more publicity, more education
music from before carries a lot of revolutionary spirit and we should publicize and play more in the media
music from before was better
need more of the old songs
need some changes
no
no
no
no
no matter past or now, all of the music is not bad
non
nostalgic, should continue
not as good as today's music
not suitable for this time now
nothing
nothing
nothing
now the re-arranged sounds better than the old music

now the revolutionary music turned into rock in roll, it is not very good

now they play very little of the past music

old music we should keep playing, maybe make some changes

old people much prefer this music, the radio station should play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more

play more and listen more
play more good songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more old songs
play more on radio
play more on radio
play more on radio, set up more concerts
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv

play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv
play more on tv, especially in the suburbs or community activity times
play more on tv, make cassette tapes
play more revolutionary music
play more songs that are particular from that period music
play more songs with nice melodies
play more, radio should set a special program
play more, they are opportunities to sing
play more, let younger generations become familiar with the music
play some more old songs
popularize on tv
preserve how we excite people and also reflects the feeling of people at that time
preserve/continue revolutionary music
preserve/keep the original style, keep playing on tv
produce to become cd and sell it
product of a certain time/generation
product of a certain time/generation
promote to be sung more, get people excited, increase/raise thoughts, won't be so selfish
publicize more

publicize more and produce more records
publicize more, very healthy for spirit and very strong on fighting (struggle strength)
rather like that
re-arrange more
revolutionary music is good, but today's music is also good, why not let the past be the past, let it go
revolutionary music is nice to listen to, we should continue it (pass it on to other generations)
revolutionary music is still good/better
revolutionary music should be publicized
revolutionary music is a special form, should continue to promote, also should organize some performances
should be able to listen more
should be very popular every where all over
should broadcast revolutionary music, let younger generations hear more of this music
should broadcast/disseminate more
should change some of the lyrics
should change/re-compose the old music to become rock and roll
should continue to pass along to other generations
should continue to pass along to other generations
should get all the revolutionary music popular for everyone to sing
should have more of these kinds of old songs
should have more public place to broadcast this music, especially have a concert of revolutionary music
should have youngsters receive more revolutionary education
should keep on because this music represents everything from that time (period)
should let/have the younger people hear more and learn more

should listen more, think about the past
should make the melody beautiful and the lyrics easy to remember
should play more
should play more
should play more of these songs to entertain us
should play more revolutionary music
should play more revolutionary music, especially for younger generations to hear/understand
should play more, young people should understand/experience a bit
should play some more on tv programs, we should promote and get more people in the crowd/masses to push this kind of music
should preserve old songs
should promote sing more revolutionary music in schools
should re arrange the old songs
should rearrange the popular old songs
should rearrange/organize (the music)
should sing more, don't change, don't change the original flavors
should still broadcast/disseminate
should still keep the original melody
sing more
sing more
sing more
sing more
sing more, let everyone be familiar/familiarize
sing some more, get more people to know.

sing them when you have to/ought to, don't sing them when you don't want/have to
soft, slow
some departments of government should publish some revolutionary music albums
some nostalgia, something to remember
some of the media should play some more of this kind of music, on the one hand don't let young people forget history, on the other hand give the old people entertainment
some of the music it should be like our popular music now and it will continue to be popular
some of the old music, I would like to hear again
some of the rearrangements are not very good
some of the revolutionary music we should continue to sing
some of the songs should be taught to younger people
some songs, re arrange a little, to match/be suitable for today's time
some spirit there, the leaders can understand how you feel
sometimes should play because not everyone knows/not very popular
songs from before are much better, we should play more and let people know
still okay
still the older music style is better
such a pity that the revolutionary music can't be passed on, all the young people don't know how to sing
suitable for old people
that just something left from that time
the best way is we continue on into the next generations, if you can't do that, don't keep changing it, keep it in its original
the old songs weren't bad but after rearrangements they are even better
the young people don't like this music, but for us (age people) we would like to play more as entertainment
these songs are very nostalgic, appropriate for older generations

<p>this music is really only for the particular circumstances of the old society, not really suitable for today's circumstances</p>
<p>this revolutionary music there is no romantic color, also the music is very simple</p>
<p>this revolutionary music will help everybody to be more patriotic</p>
<p>times are different, songs are also different</p>
<p>times are different, the young people don't have to listen, but from the education point of view, the schools should still play/teach some</p>
<p>times are different, this kind of music we don't hear much, but at certain times we should let the younger generations hear this, let them get influence/feeling of history</p>
<p>today all the young generations should learn the revolutionary music, revolutionary music is actually is very good music, gets you very excited and patriotic</p>
<p>today all the young people don't like to listen to this music, but you have to consider this as a good education for them, should be played at the right time at the right place</p>
<p>tv can broadcast more revolutionary music</p>
<p>underground new compositions</p>
<p>very nice</p>
<p>we can keep the melodies but should change the lyrics</p>
<p>we don't have to use the old revolutionary music titles, we don't have to use the past that kind of thinking to explain to understand all th past. If everything is organized it is fine</p>
<p>we have to emphasize what the spirit needs</p>
<p>we hope tv can play some more, let us get some entertainment</p>
<p>we live on/depend on the revolutionary spirit</p>
<p>we old people would still like to listen to this kind of music</p>
<p>we should continue to preserve but we should basically renovate and make some changes</p>
<p>we should follow the trends</p>
<p>we should have new styles for revolutionary music</p>
<p>we should have some more of the ethnic groups flavor that kind of revolutionary music</p>
<p>we should have some more programs like "ji qing guang chang" (program) [1000 person choir]</p>
<p>we should let more people know this music</p>

we should organize and sing some more in the community suburbs
we should play more to teach the younger generations
we should play some more of these songs, on the one hand we educate the younger generations, on the other hand we entertain the older generations
we should preserve and continue and broadcast more revolutionary music
we should preserve and continue and broadcast more revolutionary music
we should preserve some of it and give to the young people of today-to influence them
we should preserve the old music, constantly broadcast
we should promote old music
we should properly try to preserve these kinds of revolutionary music
we should publicize and let more people know our spirits for in the past we struggled through hard times, let more people trust and be loyal to this kind of music
we should publicize and modernize
we should publicize more and make some revisions
we should put all the music on CD or tape
we should rearrange more revolutionary music, then we should publish some and then make the revolutionary music more popular
we should record it and then publish them pass them on
we should reorganize with old music and present music and play more in special festivals
we should sing more and more, on tv, on radio station, let us remember the past
we should strongly push and publicize this kind of music
we should strongly push and publicize this kind of music, let more people know
we should try to broadcast this kind of music, it is nostalgic
we should update the new revolutionary music to make them even better
we should repeat/bring it back
we try to play more old revolutionary music so we can look back on the revolutionary history

when I hear them I really like it

when I hear this music it makes me remember the past

when I hear this music it makes me very excited

when I hear this music it takes me back

when you listen to this music it gets you very excited, I hope to hear it all the time

would like to listen to even more good songs

would like to listen to more

would like to listen to more

would like to play more old music

younger people should listen more, receive the education

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